# Quandale, Rousay: The biography of a landscape



# An interpretive landscape survey

**Daniel Lee** 

M.A. Archaeological Practice Orkney College 2008

#### Declaration:

This dissertation represents my own work except where otherwise acknowledged using the Harvard referencing system.

#### Abstract:

The landscape of Quandale, Rousay, Orkney, is a remarkable area of ruined crofts, dykes, run rig and prehistoric mounds. It was subject to clearance in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century and offers a rare opportunity to investigate an unimproved area of the Orcadian landscape. This thesis, facilitated by a reflexive walkover survey, aims to provide an interpretative account of Quandale; a biography of the landscape. A review of recent theoretical approaches to landscape and previous field surveys suggests that 'landscape' has been a neglected area of study in Orkney. The notion of a 'top down' and 'bottom up' approach to landscape is introduced. The former is discussed in relation to the interplay of Lairds, the Ordnance Survey, antiquarians and archaeologists, and the latter embodies the lived-through inhabitation of the landscape. The same approach is taken with the earlier and later landscapes that are both discussed with themes of materiality, place and temporality in an attempt to breakdown period-based constructs. The earlier landscape is explored through the Bronze Age burnt mounds and barrows that form significant monuments that endure to take on new meaning. Current accounts of burnt mounds are unsatisfactory, and both they and barrows monumentalise a range of spatial and temporal activities. The 'event'-like characteristics of barrows can be compared to the 'becoming' of burnt mounds where the processes of varied, and perhaps seasonal, activities are embodied within the mound. The process of construction and the resulting mound may have symbolised wealth, consumption and display. The later landscape is discussed in terms of the task-orientated patterns of life, including the construction of dykes and aspects of tenure, that played out the concerns of the crofters as well as subtly appropriating the past. Social stratification may have been negotiated through the structures of everyday life and gender in crofting communities. In conclusion, it is suggested that Quandale does not represent a relict landscape of the past, but a dynamic landscape with a future.

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## 1) Introduction

Nested between the hills and the sea on the north-west coast of Rousay, Orkney (Fig. 1) is the area known as Quandale. It is a remarkable landscape of ruined crofts, weathered dykes, run-rig and prehistoric mounds. The survival of this 'relict' landscape sits well within the archaeological richness of Orkney. However, this is a contested landscape of eviction and most of its monuments are unintentional. This area of Rousay was the only part of Orkney subjected to clearance during the 19<sup>th</sup> century and was turned into a sheep run. The landscape of Quandale therefore offers a rare opportunity to investigate an area of the Orcadian landscape that was framed by improvement and that is threaded with many interweaving narratives of past, present and future.

Landscape archaeology has generally been a neglected area of study in Orkney. Approaches to landscape and field surveys are reviewed in Chapter 2 and set against a summary of more recent theoretical arguments. Research-led surveys have been rare, with regional examples tending to be environmentally deterministic, description laden and without recent approaches to landscape. The lack of attention may be bound up in the difficulty of classifying the landscape of the archipelago, and for some it appears as if Orkney has *no landscape*. The intention with this thesis is to move away from this paradigm. Central to this was undertaking a walkover survey of Quandale and the adoption of a reflexive methodology to provide a basis for ideas and discussion. In Chapter 3 it is argued that such surveys provide an essential engagement with the archaeological features and landscape from the bottom up, and also create situated observation, interpretation and knowledge. This thesis represents the *selective* discussion of sites and narratives, with the full survey archive summarised in Appendices I-III (Figs 2-5).

A 'bottom up' and 'top down' approach to landscape is contrasted and the latter is discussed in Chapter 4, showing how the interplay of Lairds, the Ordnance Survey (OS), antiquarians and archaeologists shapes our understanding and perception of Quandale today. In Chapters 5 and 6 the interlinking themes of materiality, place and temporality are introduced as part of a consistent approach that blurs the misleading

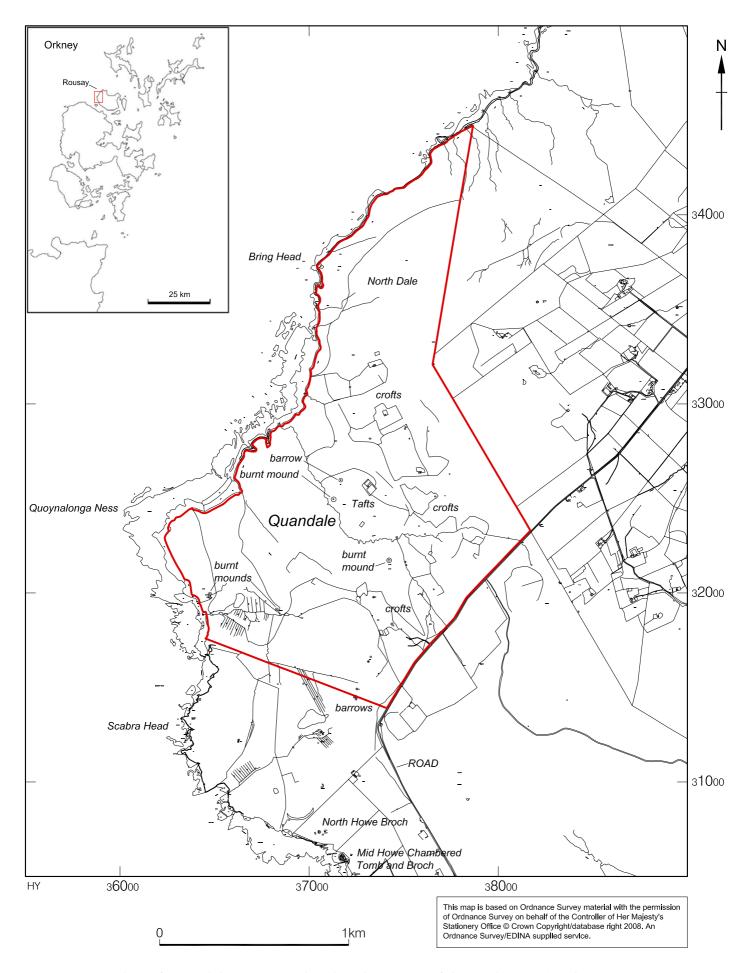


Fig. 1. Location of Quandale, Rousay, showing the extent of the study area (Scale 1:20,000)

boundary between prehistory and history. The Bronze Age burnt mounds and barrows form the focus of discussion in Chapter 5 because they are significant monuments in the landscape in the earlier and later phases. Certainly, burnt mounds are rarely considered in the archaeological literature and there discussion tends to be functional and descriptive. The focus on these monuments and themes leads into a consideration of the later landscape in Chapter 6, where it is argued that the earlier monuments endure and take on new meaning through the task-orientated patterns of life. The theme of materiality is continued with reference to tenure and the construction of dykes, and how these created a certain engagement with the earlier landscape. The mounds, and to a different extent the boundaries, were appropriated in subtle and varied ways bound up in notions of a mythical past and superstition. The final chapter focuses on broader themes of politics and power, highlighting the conflict between estate and community in the post-medieval period, culminating in the 19<sup>th</sup> century clearance and the eviction of Quandale. The idea that the area represents a 'relict' landscape is rejected as it provides a sense of identity for Rousay and Orkney, and is a landscape with a future.

## 2) Landscape archaeology & field survey

#### **Recent approaches to landscape**

Recent approaches to landscape have sought to combine the multiplicity of experience through time and space as part of a process of change, appropriation and contention (Bender 1993, 1998). For Bender, 'landscapes are about the way in which people, any time, anywhere, engage with their physical and imaginary worlds' (2000, 23). They are a dialectic between intimate and familiar, and distant and unfamiliar places. The multi-vocality of landscape means that there are many perceptions and voices, but also that with knowledge and power determine which ones are heard (ibid. 24, Bender 1998). The materiality of the landscape is enmeshed with historically situated experience, social relations and cultural perceptions which cannot be separated. This 'contextualizing' of the landscape, according to Bender (1993, 2), depends upon people's perception and understanding within a specific time and place, and under certain historical conditions. In this way the landscape provides multiple narratives (Bender 1998).

Space is not therefore an abstract container for people and landscape, but is socially constructed and 'meaningfully constituted in relation to human agency and activity' (Tilley 1994, 10). A phenomenological perspective, adopted principally by Tilley (1994; 1999; 2004) and Thomas (1993; 1996), allows narratives to be focused through the experience of the human body in relation to material culture and the landscape. Following Heidegger, these approaches introduced ideas of being-in-the-world and the concept of dwelling to archaeological discourse (also see Ingold 2000), although Tilley uses it as 'a methodology as well as a philosophy' (Brück 2005, 48). The use of phenomenology, however, has been criticised for its lack of methodological rigour and the problem of verification in the field (Fleming 2006) and for its own Romantic tendencies (Thomas 1996; Bender 1998), but mostly due to the problems inherent in directly translating contemporary experiences onto the past (Brück 1998, 2005). These criticisms aside, the significant contribution of phenomenological approaches to landscape archaeology has been in facilitating the breakdown of dualistic postenlightenment thinking and reassessing dichotomies, such as subject/object and

culture/nature, allowing archaeologists to engage with the social significance of landscape and personhood (ibid. 65).

Phenomenological ideas of dwelling and movement have led Ingold (1993, 2000) to assert that people, place and identity are embedded in the landscape through routine practice. He has conceptualised this temporality of landscape with the term 'taskscape' (ibid.). This theoretical stance has been criticised for applying universal themes of labour-based engagement with space and place (Bender 2000, 25); it is also countered that knowledgeable engagement cannot solely be gained through a series of performed tasks (Barrett 1999a, 24). Tilley has suggested that 'a landscape is a series of named locales, a set of relational places linked by paths, movements and narratives' (1994, 34). Several authors have explored ideas of ritual and routine practice within everyday life with a focus on the more transient spaces between settlements and ceremonial monuments (Bender et al. 1997, 2007; Edmonds 1999). Rather than being static definable entities that can be read like a stratigraphic book (Tilley 1994; Barrett 1999a) landscapes are 'untidy' and subjected to constant re-working and reconstitution (Chadwick 2004, 5). The metaphor of tapestries or fabrics has been used for landscape, thus describing the 'complex, intertwined relationships that change over time and from place to place, and into which our own experiences and memories are woven' (ibid.).

Recent archaeological discourse has concerned itself with the concept of human agency whereby knowledgeable individuals continually constitute and re-constitute their world through practice (Dobres and Robb 2000). Barrett, however, suggests that 'the practices by which that agency both gained and used its knowledge are rarely discussed' (1997, 122). He has argued for an *archaeology of inhabitation* (1997, 2000, 2001), following Bourdieu's (1977) notion of *habitus*, where social practice and structure is created out of the routines of daily life, and Giddens' (1984) *duality of structure* where social conditions are created and recreated in an unintentional, ongoing and recursive manner. Crucial to this concept is that contemporary archaeological interpretation *and* the past both represent an 'inhabitation of material culture' (Barrett 1997, 124). Landscapes are thus embodied inhabitation of multiple temporal and spatial narratives formed by practice and experience (ibid. 125-6). Hodder (2000), however, suggests that this approach to agency denies individual

intentionality. He believes that it focuses on the large scale narrative dictated by resources, at the expense of investigation at the human micro-scale through which experience is understood. Nevertheless, this appears to deny the *range* of scales of analysis (see Thomas 1996, 95-8), from the micro to landscape and beyond, and how understanding their interplay is essential to make sense of the past.

These approaches to landscape, however, have generally been applied to prehistory. Johnson (2007) has recently argued that such theories of agency and practice, now common in prehistoric discourse, should also be applied to historic landscapes (see also Symonds 2000; Dalglish 2003). The landscape is the result of human agency over many thousands of years, and the prehistoric, historic and archaeological 'records' are both products and mediators of social action (Johnson 2007, 147-52).

#### Landscape approaches in Orkney

Surprisingly, landscape has been a neglected area of study in Orkney. Investigations have focused on sites and classes of sites, often failing to break down period boundaries. This may reflect the wealth and quality of archaeological remains, the study of which perhaps still suffers from the legacy of antiquarian investigation. Renfrew (1973, 1984), for example, did consider the setting and intervisibility of Neolithic tombs on Rousay, but followed a systemic method with no consideration of what came before or afterwards. The Neolithic landscape was reduced to a static series of imposed Thiessen Polygons which were used to delineate territories based on environmental criteria. More recent studies have considered the experience of landscape in relation to monuments and materiality (Richards 1996a, 1996b) and the relationship between monuments, land and sea (Phillips 2003), but these investigations have remained focused on the Neolithic and have not considered the multi-period landscape.

Certain recent projects have focused on Neolithic settlement (Richards 2003, 2005; Card 2006) in an attempt to place ceremonial monuments in a wider context, and a recent study of Bronze Age funerary practice, specifically cremation, has focused on the practice of burial including a consideration of the constitution of barrows in the landscape (Downes 2005). Iron Age studies have recently attempted to move away

from broch-centric approaches (see Hedges 1985; Armit 2003) towards more interpretative studies that consider the wider landscape (Carruthers pers. comm.; Moore forthcoming). Medieval and post-medieval studies in Orkney are still very much entrenched within their own agenda, and have yet to venture 'out of the box' in terms of recent approaches to landscape. This is exemplified by the debate surrounding the 'integration' of the Vikings and Picts (Grieve and Gibson 2005), where diffusionist ideals assume that the Vikings inherited a blank canvas.

Recent challenges such as developer funded archaeology are at the moment on a relatively small scale in Orkney, and coastally eroding sites (Wilson 2003) continue to be approached in an isolated and reactionary manner. Focus on the contemporary Orcadian landscape has tended to be for classification purposes (RCAHMS 2007; Land Use Consultants 1998) and aspects of setting (Tyldesley 2001).

This lack of attention is perhaps linked to the difficulty of classifying the Orcadian landscape, especially in relation to Scotland. Perceptions of landscape in mainland Scotland have traditionally centred on the Romantic ideal of the Highlands, a pattern reflected in archaeological enquiry (Barclay 2000, 2004). Until recently, the uplands approach to landscape has been applied whether appropriate or not (Barclay 2004). The Orcadian landscape has therefore been difficult to classify; it is neither classic upland nor lowland, but somewhere in between in terms of land use and archaeology. Indeed, the 'upland' areas of Orkney (the hills of Hoy, West Mainland and Rousay) have received the least attention. Even Barclay seems confused in classifying the archipelago as 'highland' (2000, 278). It appears that this problem of definition has led to a lack of clarity in considering the wider landscape. This is also, perhaps, bound up with a common failure to consider the sea as anything but a neutral boundary (cf. Noble 2006; Phillips 2003; Rainbird 2007). The Orcadian landscape has been famously described in terms of the sea as 'the backs of whales in the ocean of time' (George Mackay Brown; Fig. 6). For some, therefore, it seems as if Orkney has no landscape.



Fig. 6. The sea, land and sky: the island of Eynhallow between Mainland Orkney and Rousay.

The Heart of Neolithic Orkney World Heritage Site (HNOWHS) research agenda (Downes et al. 2005) has been important in pushing forward the landscape approach. Whilst the designated WHS zones are small and confined to pre-existing scheduled and environmental areas, the recognition that the Neolithic sites form a dynamic part of a multi-period landscape (Cowley et al. 2005) has been significant. The consideration of landscape has been firmly placed at the heart of the agenda, and set a bench mark for future research. This approach has been centred on recent theoretical approaches to landscape, but also reflects, perhaps, a growing trend of archaeologists undertaking work from within the county, drawing on more locally situated knowledge and experience rather than solely the traditional summer visits from southern universities. Recent work in the WHS has, however, tended to be technique led, for example with the extensive geophysical surveys (Card et al. 2007) and enhanced landscape survey (Robertson 2005) of the inner buffer zones. Richards (1985, 2005) was the first to apply systematic fieldwalking at a research level in Orkney and unsurprisingly found it highly successful in locating previously unrecorded sites, helping to broaden the agenda to consider Neolithic settlement rather than ceremonial monuments alone. Whilst highly productive, research has so

far not considered the landscape at different social and temporal scales nor, apart from mapping, attempted to cross period boundaries.

#### Walkover and field surveys

There have been few research-led landscape surveys in Orkney. The first attempts to characterise the wealth of archaeological remains on the islands was undertaken by John Corrie of the Royal Commission in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (RCAHMS 1946; Reynolds 1984) and later by Raymond Lamb in the 1980s (e.g. Lamb 1980, 1982). Corrie identified and recorded numerous new sites but his methodology was dictated by the pattern of remains previously identified by the OS in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The surveys by Lamb were more detailed and broke away from merely verifying the OS, making significant discoveries for example the major later prehistoric land boundaries known as treb dykes (1980, 1983). Both Corrie's and Lamb's surveys, however, were conducted and compiled in order to produce inventories, and features and monuments were characterised on a site basis without consideration of the wider landscape. Very much a product of their time, they have nonetheless formed a vital resource for the establishment of the county SMR and NMR, and a basis for future research. Other projects in the 1980s followed this inventorisation objective, and surveys of the islands Muckle Skerry (Hunter and Dockrill 1982), Fara (Hunter et al. 1982), Cava, Rysa Little and Switha (Hunter et al. 1984) and Deerness in East Mainland (Steedman 1980) where undertaken. These reports are based on description and gazetteers, at the expense of wider interpretation and consideration of the landscape.

The Rousay, Egilsay and Wyre Community Council Local History Project (REWCCLHP, 1983) took a slightly different approach, placing an emphasis on transposing air photos and collating archive resources with some fieldwork as a means of investigating the islands. The resulting plans and primary archive form a detailed record of the multi-period landscape (including Quandale) and a valuable local resource, however the project was a highly empirical exercise of data collection, and unfortunately, no funding was in place for dissemination.

It is interesting to consider why it has taken over 20 years for more research led walkover surveys to be conducted in Orkney. This may be due to the association of

field surveys with more methodological approaches and the diminishing trend of inventory production. As noted above, the WHS has so far been investigated with technique-led approaches, rather than the characterisation and examination of multiperiod features on the ground. No recent research led walkover surveys have been conducted on mainland Orkney, with the only examples on the islands of Wyre and Eynhallow (Thomas 2006; Moore and Thomas in prep). Systematic characterisation of the archaeology of these islands has been carried out including additional survey, fieldwalking and geophysical survey. A comprehensive approach to the fieldwork was adopted, although the reporting follows a traditional Data Structure Report format (DSR, Historic Scotland 1996; IFA 2001) with sites discussed by type and not considering the nuances of landscape (Thomas 2006). A similar structure has also been used by Bradley (2004) reporting on a recent landscape survey of Foula, Shetland, although the results are discussed by area.

A limited number of surveys have been undertaken in Orkney within the paradigm of developer funded archaeology (e.g. Card 2002; Robertson and Sharman 2006), and extensive coastal surveys have been carried out in response to erosion (Wilson 2003). These have been important in building locally based knowledge and experience, but such reports follow the DSR format with the objective of assessing the 'archaeological resource' within a certain area. This reduces reports to a formulaic written archive or gazetteer created from a brief, engaging little with recent approaches to landscape. Whilst 'fit for purpose' and designed to satisfy standard procedure, the argument as to whether these should adopt more innovative approaches to fieldwork practice and reporting is beyond the remit of this thesis (see Tilley 1989; Barrett 1995, 2000; Chadwick 2004; Bradley 2006). The DSR format is certainly problematic, however, as it often represents the end point with no further publication, interpretation or theoretical input.

Elsewhere in Atlantic Scotland several landscape surveys of varying scales and approaches have been undertaken and provide a useful comparison. Surveys of note in Shetland include Fair Isle (Hunter 1996) and Kebister (Owen and Lowe 1999) which provide detailed accounts of those multi-period landscapes combining survey, excavation and building recording. They are, however, environmentally deterministic, and in the case of Fair Isle, reinforce the notion of marginality and remoteness (Coles

and Mills 1996) without acknowledging the agency of the land and maritime communities, a position Hunter has made clear elsewhere (1994). The Kebister report is a highly traditional monograph with the survey element aimed at 'landscape reconstruction', adopting a technique-and methodology-laden approach. Data production seemed paramount, and 'the intensive topographical and specialist surveys [soil, vegetation, peat, pollen, marine seismic reflection and tephrochronology] produced a wealth of data which is not easy to assimilate' (Owen and Lowe 1999, 75). The people of the past, whose fate was apparently determined solely by climate and soil, are swapped for data and description. These reports are a product of their time (fieldwork in mid 1980s) but they lack more recent theoretical angles and approaches to landscape and inhabitation.

In his recent book on St. Kilda, Fleming (2005) rejects the notion of marginal existence and environmental determinism so often placed on island communities. He argues that these approaches minimise the significance of changing historical conditions and treat communities as 'culture bearers rather than active participants in their own history' (2005, 12). The project has been published in an accessible and readable book and claims to have adopted a more anthropological approach (ibid. 13), but the people of the narrative only appear with the historical and documentary evidence. The opportunity to explore the temporality and inhabitation of the prehistoric landscape, especially in regards to the dolerite quarries and the re-working of earlier monuments in later history, is omitted (although this has been reported to some extent elsewhere with input from Mark Edmonds, see Fleming and Edmonds 1999).

It is easy to be critical of previous landscape surveys, and it must be stressed that the examples mentioned above provide important assessments of otherwise neglected areas. There are, however, other ways of telling a landscape narrative. Recent approaches to landscape have rarely been applied in Orkney and Atlantic Scotland, and investigations have tended to be technique based. Previous walkover surveys, especially in the 1980s, have been objective, methodological and description laden, and in some cases environmentally-deterministic, often reinforcing perceived ideas of marginality. More recent reports have been bound by the concept of the DSR or lacked consideration of place, temporality and inhabitation for both prehistoric and

historical archaeology, themes which have become central to recent approaches to landscape.

# 3) The Quandale survey

A walkover survey was considered to be the logical starting point for the investigation of the landscape of Quandale. This allows a 'bottom up' approach to the features and monuments, rather than a 'top down' approach relying on previous investigations, existing documents and maps that are themselves methodologically and temporally situated, creating their own notion of 'landscapes' (see Chapter 4). Walkover surveys are an important way to engage with landscape features, not only in a physical sense, but also as a means of situated observation, interpretation and knowledge. The success of this approach depends how the survey is approached (not just a perceived need to get your boots muddy) and how the research is presented. As mentioned in Chapter 2, past surveys have tended to be descriptive, and only interpretative when this is inherently bound up in description (Hodder 1999). The experience of the survey itself and perhaps the attraction of small uninhabited islands (e.g. Hunter et al. 1982, 1984) is often denied. It is interesting that, empowered by new approaches to landscape and reflexive archaeological practice, archaeologists are now returning to field survey (e.g. Bender et al. 1997, 2000, 2007) as a means of explicitly engaging with the contemporary (and therefore the past) landscape.

#### Fieldwork, methodology and reflection

In any survey, a study area boundary is a false imposition on the landscape, so the most controversial boundary of all was adopted: the large sheep dyke constructed to enclose Quandale after the clearance of the crofts and improvement of the surrounding area in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 1). This encompasses an area of c.275 hectares within which a rapid walkover was undertaken between the 25<sup>th</sup> October and 13<sup>th</sup> November 2007, with 13 of those days spent in the field (Fig. 7).

Cartographic resources, including historical OS maps which show many of the main post-medieval boundaries, OS Landline map data (acquired from OS/EDINA service), and maps produced by the Rousay, Egilsay and Wyre Community Council Local History Project (REWCCHP, 1983) which transposed local aerial photographic and historical map data, were used as references in the field. The area was not split into separate compartments *per se*, but investigated in blocks defined by enclosure

boundaries and landscape features to ensure systematic and full coverage. Each block was walked including along the full length of each boundary dyke and intersections. Where large open areas were encountered, regular traverses were made (c.50m wide max.) to examine the area as consistently as possible. The distance between traverses was only estimated and some variation did occur, with some areas examined in more detail if the potential for archaeological remains was considered to be high. Other areas, such as those comprising thick peat, were examined systematically but less intensively due to time pressures in the field.

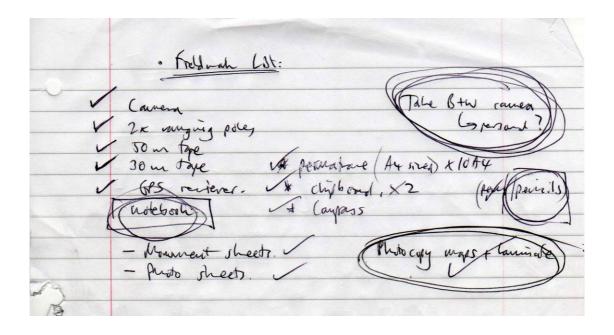


Fig. 7. Fieldwork check list.

The primacy of the map when conducting a field survey is significant. As Johnson points out, traditional landscape archaeology often denies the archaeological elements of the landscape as they are already predetermined by the historical and documentary sources (2007, 58-9). The survey of Quandale had the advantage of the REWCCHP maps which vastly limited the amount of survey that had to be undertaken in short time, but inversely meant that the survey was bound to check and verify the authenticity of predetermined features. Whilst constraining, this process was undertaken reflectively and knowledgeably with careful consideration of whether these features represented a true pattern, or existed at all and also required the investigation of the 'blank' areas in between.

Each site was assigned a unique identifier number in the field and its location recorded using a leisure grade handheld GPS receiver (accurate to +/- 4-7m). A 'site' represents a small isolated discrete feature, a group of related features of similar form and character, or a number of associated features that form a coherent group. The decision as to what formed a site was taken in the field, and sites which comprised a number of features, such as a croft and head dyke, were subdivided (e.g. 100A, B, C etc.) for ease of description and discussion. Sites are referenced in bold in the following chapters, e.g. (12) for Site 12, with the site archive in Appendices I to III. Site locations can be found in Figures 3-5 (Appendix I) unless stated otherwise.

The characteristics of each site were recorded on pre-printed pro forma record sheets or drafting film, depending on conditions. The type of site was noted and the central NGR was recorded using the GPS receiver. Dimensions and orientation were recorded using pacing, hand tapes and a compass. Land use, observable physical relationships, associated sites, erosion, condition, visibility and significance were recorded where appropriate. Weather conditions were also noted. A detailed description and interpretation was compiled for each site including location, visibility, preservation, physical characteristics, construction and materials, and accompanied by a detailed, annotated, sketch plan. Digital photographs were taken of each site when weather conditions allowed.

The fieldwork methodology was primarily visual, following traditional methods in landscape archaeology (Thomas 1993, 25; Johnson 2007, 85-9) with the use of maps as a guide. However, other experiential elements, such as touch or feeling as you walk over features or probe them, and sound and smell, all inform interpretation and must be acknowledged. The influence of the latter may be minimal, but the importance of touch when assessing land use, the form of features and breaks of slope, stone content and regularity is highly significant. Just as excavators often claim they can 'feel' different deposits when trowelling, so walking and moving around features is important in their discovery, characterisation and interpretation.

A diary was completed on a daily basis during the process of the fieldwork. The reflexive element to the survey methodology included detailing alternative interpretations, and less 'decipherable' sites and areas were revisited in different

weather and light conditions. It was unfortunately not possible to engage the local community in the fieldwork due to unfavourable weather conditions (gale force winds and rain) and the tight time scale before the weather turned for winter. The interpretations are therefore those of the author after a sustained period in the field under certain conditions. The next phase in the project will involve revisiting sites for more detailed survey and community involvement, and conducting a guided walk for interested public and peers when the weather improves.

Two side projects were completed during the process of the fieldwork to convey the experience of the survey and the contemporary landscape. The first was a simple three-part record of the weather conditions combined with photographic representations of the sky gained from the photographic archive (Fig. 8). The second was a record of 'Archaeological Half Sites' that were encountered. These are the objects, be they 'natural' or 'cultural'; a plastic bottle, sheep skull, or buoy, that were noticed during walking. They are not archaeological in a true sense, but are part of the way to entering the 'archaeological record'. They are ephemeral contemporary scatters of artefacts that form a frequently noticed but never recorded part of the landscape. Encountered only when walking and looking, they represent pauses and temporary places. These were recorded as if 'archaeological' in the traditional sense with a brief description and grid reference. A selection of these are shown on each page header to convey the experience of the walkover survey.

The results of the walkover survey are presented as a series of archive maps and descriptive tables (Appendix I-III, Figs 2-5). The remainder of this dissertation is concerned with a number of central themes that emerged out of the fieldwork process. Ingold has noted that 'the practice of archaeology is itself a form of dwelling' (2000, 189). This survey is thus the latest chapter in the ongoing inhabitation of the Quandale landscape and has almost at once been superseded. The reflective narratives of this brief inhabitation are the concern of this thesis.

Day 1:	Sunrise then sun then moon
Day 2:	Sun then rain then sun
Day 3:	Grey then rain then home
Day 4:	Sun then rainbows then full moon
Day 5:	Windy then rainbows then strong wind
Day 6:	Grey then scaly clouds then rain
Day 7:	Grey then still then grey
Day 8:	Grey then strong winds then grey
Day 9:	Strong winds then showers then strong winds
Day 10:	Windy then strong wind then gale
Day 11:	Sun then strong wind then salt spray
Day 12:	Still then bright then grey
Day 13:	Bright then sunburst then rainbows

Fig. 8. Field survey

# 4) Notions of the Quandale landscape

This chapter examines some of the different phases of engagement with, and investigation of, the Quandale landscape that shape our understanding and perception of it today. OS mapping and estate control give the appearance that the contemporary landscape is the result of clearance. The 20<sup>th</sup> century saw the first real engagement with Rousay's archaeology and a Romanticisation of the landscape. The interplay of Lairds, the Ordnance Survey, antiquarians and archaeologists form a 'top down' approach to the landscape. This contrasts with the inhabited and lived through landscape, experienced and manipulated by those who constructed the mounds, dykes and crofts. This 'bottom up' approach to landscape, which the walkover survey has enabled, will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. A location map of Rousay is shown in Figure 9 for reference.

#### The Ordnance Survey

More often than not, our first encounter with a place is guided by the use of an OS map, simply to find out where to go and what is there. The map, however, only provides one way of looking at the landscape; it is a set of symbols that are themselves historically and socially constituted. This bird's eye view illustrates the choices of what should be surveyed and named at specific points in time. It is now well attested that the OS programme of mapping during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries represented the legacy of colonial ambition (Johnson 2007, 87; Withers 2000, 533) and a desire to control knowledge, resources and nature (Bender 1998, 108); a process of 'authorising' the landscape (Withers 2000, 532).

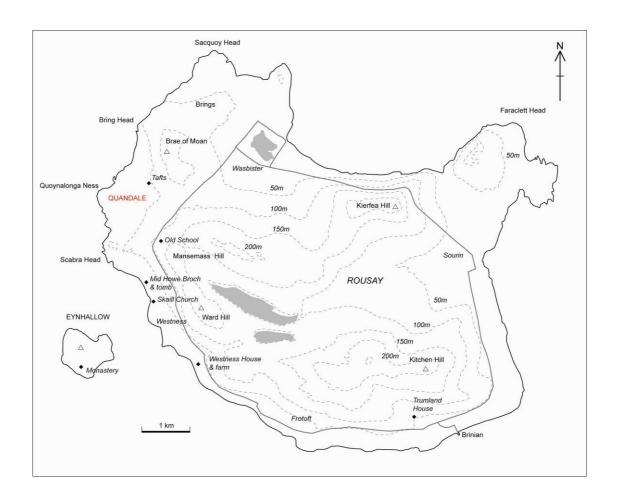


Fig. 9. Map of Rousay showing places mentioned in the text (based on OS map data).

The creation of the first OS edition in Scotland in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century comprised survey first, followed up with name and antiquity research into what was worth of recording; information which was generally sought from the upper levels of society (Davidson, 1986, 11-12). The accuracy of this was dependent on the enthusiasm and thoroughness of 'Sappers' of the Royal Engineers who conducted the name survey, to whom they spoke, and the reliability of their accounts (ibid. 13-14). The resultant 'name books' often contained erroneous information, eccentricities and incorrect, or even controversial Anglicised spelling (ibid.; Table 1). The surveys were a lengthy, piecemeal and complicated process (Withers 2000).

Estate map c.1841-5	OS 1 <sup>st</sup> edition pub. 1882	Туре
Stirling	Starling	Croft
Tofts	Tafts	Croft/house
Meadow Burn	-	Burn
Burn of Dale	-	Burn
-	Dale	Croft
-	Mid Quandale	Croft
Cruly	Croolea	Croft
Burn of Cruly	-	Burn
Hammers of Cruly	-	Rock face
Hammers of Drussifer	-	Rock face
-	Claypots	Enclosure
-	Cairn	Croft
-	Lower Breek	Croft
-	Hestivall	Croft
Green Hill	Brae of Moan	Hill
Singens of Cutlaws	Sinians of Cutlaws	Coastal cave
Waesgoe	-	Coastal
Ebbalongie	-	Coastal
Marbar	-	Coastal
Queenalonganess, (also Quinalonganess 1851)	Quoynalonga Ness	Coastal
-	Swinge Geo	Coastal
-	Water Geo	Coastal
Singens	Kiln of Dusty	Coastal cave
-	Hellia Spur	Coastal
-	Murren	Coastal
-	North Dale	Land

**Table 1:** Variation of place names in Quandale between the Estate map c.1841-5 and the first edition Ordnance Survey map surveyed 1878, published 1882 (where different). The estate map names are derived from an 'official' source rather than residents, but highlight the variation in what was named between an inhabited and uninhabited area. Some of the crofts are absent from the estate map as they were amalgamated with other crofts by that time.

The landscape encountered at Quandale by the survey team in 1878 may have still retained a familiar human scale following the clearances in 1845-8 by the laird George Traill and the remaining croft houses and fields were probably well preserved. Some dwellings had been demolished to form sheep shelters and walls (Grant 1936), and the 45 miles of linear drainage ditches excavated in 1837 (Thomson 1981, 48) may have still seemed fresh. Any sense of abandonment would have been heightened by the lack of people. Whilst some crofters found work with the enlarged farm of Westness that assimilated the cleared areas, most were displaced elsewhere on the island or left (ibid.). The local knowledge of the Quandale area was largely lost with them.

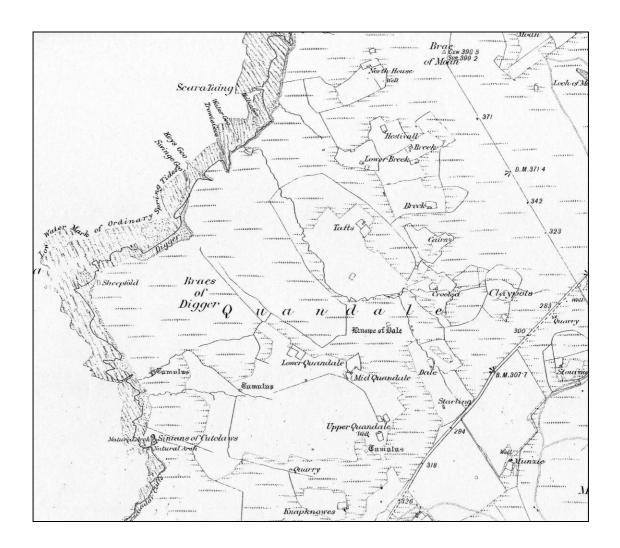


Fig. 10. Extract from Ordnance Survey first edition map (1882, not to scale).

The Ordnance Survey team would have experienced the relative prosperity and improvement of the island characteristic of the period 1870-83 under the new laird, Fredrick Traill Burroughs, but the bitter resentment of the clearances remained. It is unlikely that the Sappers engaged much with the local population, especially in regards to Quandale, and the names and antiquities recorded are likely to have originated from the laird or factor. Whilst the detail of the survey is admirable considering the landscape was essentially 'abandoned', only three unnamed '*Tumuli*' and '*The Knowe of Dale*' (15, 21, 24, 59) are depicted, demonstrating a lack of inhabited local knowledge regarding antiquities, and omitting some of the more prominent Bronze Age mounds (e.g. 103, 117; Fig. 10). This pattern is faithfully repeated in the second edition published in 1903 (Fig. 11, Appendix I). The mapping of Quandale may have hints of Romanticism recording a lost way of life because the

old boundaries and crofts were depicted in detail. The surveys were historically constituted and the product of a particular time and experience. The standardised maps give the impression of consistency and rigour, but behind each sheet is a story of local encounters, knowledge and control.

#### **Estate maps**

The presentation of the landscape by the Ordnance Survey differs quite drastically from that of Traill's estate maps from around the time of the clearance of Quandale. It was his vision driven by his ruthless factor Scarth, which created the present landscape where the past improvement is highly visible with its connotations of contest and abandonment. The earlier 'Plan of the Township of Quendale' is likely to date from when Traill first purchased the area in 1841 (copy undated c.1841-5) and depicts the crofts and 'old boundaries' with tenants and their rents marked (Fig. 12). The straight lines of the 'roads without fences' and 'proposed fences' are more likely to represent intention rather than reality, and suggest some consideration of a future for the community. This is also hinted at by the improvements made in 1842 to certain crofts, including a new corn drier and barn for Tafts (112; ibid. 45).

The purchase of Westness in 1845 changed the fate of Quandale but rather than improving the crofters' holdings, the area was incorporated into Westness and turned over to sheep (ibid. 45-6). Following the clearance in 1845 the township was essentially erased from the estate. Whilst the rest of the Orcadian lairds, gentry and their associates at this time were amusing themselves with antiquarian pursuits (Card 2005a), Traill was focused on his estate, especially Westness and Quandale, in terms of economics and resources. He died suddenly in 1847, but the inheritor, Burroughs, was resident in India; the farm was let with Scarth remaining as the factor (Thomson 1981). The 1851 plan of the Farm of Westness (as proposed to be let) shows the area bounded by a large wall incorporating the land to the north-east of Scabra Head, and named 'Quandale Park' with no detail of the township (Fig. 13). It was the OS who drew this area back into focus depicting the abandoned crofts and boundaries, including those who were amalgamated with other crofts prior to the clearance.

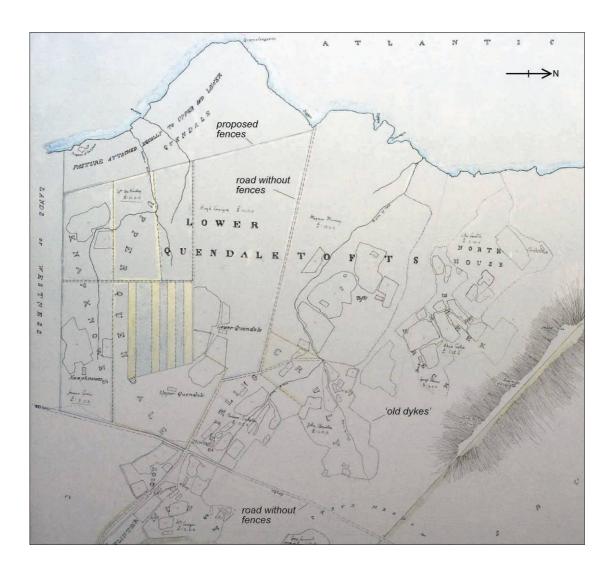
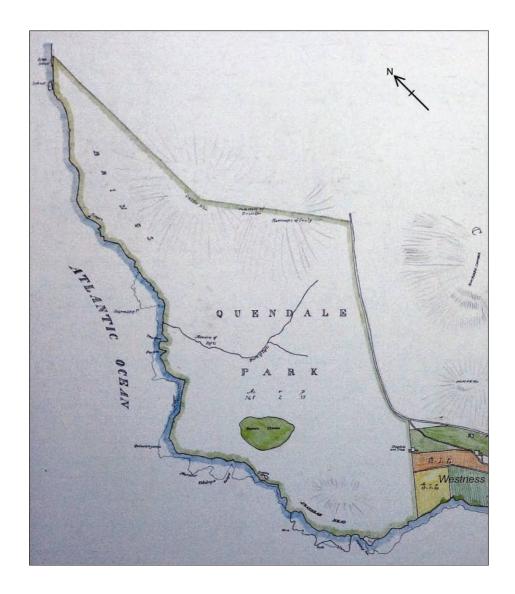


Fig. 12. Extract from Estate map (c.1841-5, not to scale, REWCCLHP).

In contrast to Traill, Burroughs was absent in India and showed little interest in the Rousay estate until his arrival in 1870 (ibid.). Following a short period of residence at Westness House in sight of the contested cleared areas, Burroughs soon constructed the grand Trumland House on the southern side of the island (Fig. 9). This seemed to distance his centre of power from Westness and Quandale. After a period of relative prosperity Burroughs started rack-renting tenants to cover his own financial problems. Combined with poor harvests, crofters were massively in arrears and became desperate. They founded the Crofters Movement and a bitter battle between community and laird ensued and was investigated by the Napier Commission in 1883-4. This advised new land reform and security of tenure to all crofters within the 'Crofters Act' of 1886 (ibid.). The mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century saw bitter disputes and

battles on Rousay and clearly focused the inhabitants in opposition to traditional life, improvements and capital.



**Fig. 13.** Extract from 'Plan of the Farm of Westness' showing Quandale Park (1851, not to scale, REWCCLHP).

The perceptions of living in Quandale are significant. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century this was recorded in official records, however the Napier Commission highlighted that even the crofters often complained of the frequent 'sea gust' which damaged crops with salt (ibid. 42; Fig. 14). The perception from outside the community was one of astonishment that the community could inhabit such a bleak and windswept place (ibid. 45). Even Thomson partly succumbs to this notion of the landscape when he describes Quandale as 'a broad and bare semi-circular depression facing the open sea' (1981, 42). This perception appears to legitimise the clearances as a means of saving

the community from poverty and the environment, but misses the point that these were conditions that were known and worked through on a yearly basis, even if they were adverse at times. Were the conditions on the coast at Quandale really any different to other west facing coastal settlements in Orkney or Atlantic Scotland?



Fig. 14. Sea gust across Quoynalonga Ness, looking south-west.

#### **Antiquarian pursuits**

Antiquarian pursuits in late 19<sup>th</sup> century Rousay were low in priority compared to the rest of Orkney (Card 2005a), and few excavations were carried out on the estate. One exception was Taversoe Tuick chambered tomb, adjacent to Trumland House, partly excavated by General and Lady Burroughs in 1898 after the mound was disturbed during the construction of a proposed garden seat (Turner 1903; Grant 1939; see also McCrie 1881). Lady Burroughs' diary describes how the excavation captured her imagination, perhaps more so than her husband's, but she notes that 'the inhabitants don't much like finding these burials' (Reynolds 1985, 119). This lack of engagement and interest with the wealth of archaeological remains on Rousay characterises Burroughs' perception of the landscape as an economic resource. Perhaps the conflict with the crofters meant that he could not show interest in such remains, as they were

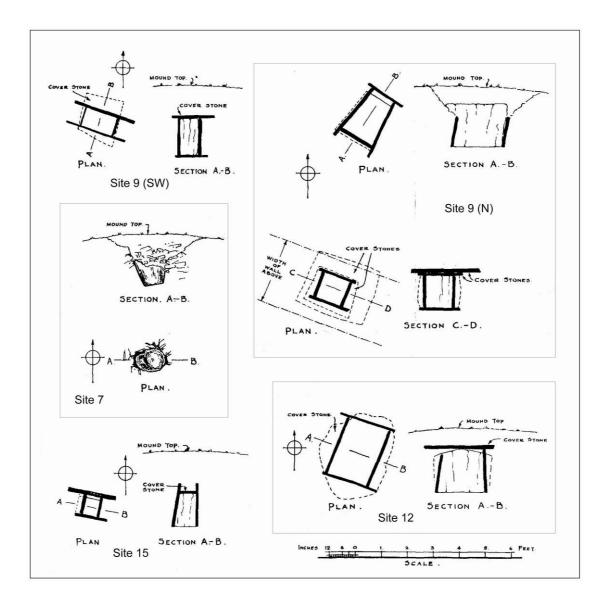
somehow connected with the traditional and mythical past he was trying so hard to remove.

Following General Burroughs' death in 1905 and Lady Burroughs' shortly after in 1908, a new more enlightened laird, Walter Grant was to run the estate. Freed from the previous family legacy of the clearances and rent extortion, Grant looked at the landscape of Rousay with new eyes. Inspired by Gordon Childe's excavations at Skara Brae which started in 1927, and the visit of John Corrie in 1928 to compile the first archaeological inventory, Grant and his team, including the director of the National Museum Graham Callander, a draftsman and local men, excavated 11 sites between 1930-37 (Reynolds and Ritchie 1985). Whereas Burroughs actively avoided archaeological remains unless they were literally on his doorstep, Grant and Callander investigated numerous mounds and became known as 'the broch boys' (Fig. 15).

Grant was the first to engage with the archaeology in Quandale, apart from Corrie's survey (1928). He certainly recognised a Bronze Age 'landscape' of sorts, but this was focused on the funerary monuments, even though the burnt mounds were also partly excavated (Grant 1936; RCAHMS 1946, 225-6). Burnt mounds were not understood in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and not assigned to the Bronze Age; an ambiguity that is reflected in limited publication. It was left to the RCAHMS (1946) inventory to describe them briefly from Grant's notes despite Corrie's general efforts to record them in detail.



Fig. 15. The 'broch boys' Walter Grant (left) and Graham Callander (Orkney SMR).



**Fig. 16.** Cist typology from the excavated barrows within the study area (after Grant 1936, Plate IV).

The excavation methods employed by Grant tell us something of the attitudes to monuments at the time. Only the central cists were targeted for excavation and no cross sections of the eleven mounds were recorded. The resulting cist 'typology' is illustrated as a single figure (Fig 16). Little attempt was made to backfill or reinstate the excavated barrows and central depressions are common (15A, 32, 36). In some cases the central cist is visible (9, 117), and large 'wedges' were excavated from some burnt mounds (21, 24, 59). They were clearly not considered to represent enduring monuments in a landscape, and their life seems to have ended with excavation. The monuments were viewed as isolated expendable 'objects'. This is exemplified by the housing of nearby Mid Howe chambered tomb in Westness within a roofed building

by the Ministry of Works after excavation (Callander and Grant 1934). The monument is presented like an object in a gallery and totally isolated from the landscape.

The excavation of the barrows appears selective, as several previously unrecorded and unexcavated examples have been identified ([39], 80, 81, 98, 122, 124). Two previously unrecorded examples do not appear on Grants plan, but have the characteristic central depression indicating previous investigation (96A, 114). These are likely to represent excavation prior to Grant, as it seems likely he would have reported them given his usual thoroughness. His investigations focused on the southern area of Quandale, and it appears his team may not have fully explored the area north of the Knowe of Dale (59). This is perhaps due to the nine-hole golf course that was laid to the south-east of Scabra Head at that time (Lamb pers comm.). Mark Twain famously said 'golf is a good walk spoiled', but this activity would have brought its own unique engagement with the landscape. Perhaps Grant's intention to build a course raised his awareness of the archaeological remains, and conducted a form of extended 'rescue' excavation on the barrows?

#### **Romanticism**

The early 20<sup>th</sup> century in Orkney saw a growing interest in vernacular architecture and included a description of Tafts (112) in Quandale (Clouston 1922, 1923a, 1923b). This trend was perhaps influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement which held Romantic ideals of nature, lost traditions and in particular a fascination with everyday buildings (Garnham 1993; Cumming 2006). The connection was made stronger following the short residence of Thomas Middlemore at Westness House (Lamb pers. comm.), who purchased the Romanticised island of Eynhallow in 1894 and commissioned the refurbishment of Melsetter House on Hoy in 1898 according to that style (Mooney 1923; Garnham 1993; Butler 2004). The Romantic interest in vernacular architecture is summarised by Birsay who remarks that 'there is an almost inexpressible charm in such studies' (1924, 77). This period, along with Grant's excavations, signifies a change in perception of the more recent past, and a certain Romanticisation of the landscape. More recent building recording has continued the

focus upon the vernacular, but with an objective and methodological interest in architecture and local history (RARG 1980; Newman and Newman 1993).

The recent history of Quandale has been one of a contested landscape. The clearances of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century framed the landscape that is visible today in a physical sense, as well as in memory for the community of Rousay. The landscape was 'authorised' by the Ordnance Survey who replotted the abandoned crofts and boundaries erased from the estate plans. The archaeological monuments of Rousay gained little attention from Burroughs, who rarely engaged with antiquarian pursuits, perhaps because they had connotations of the traditional mythical past he deplored. The early 20<sup>th</sup> century saw a new, more enlightened laird fully engage with the prehistory of the island, including the Bronze Age barrows in Quandale. The landscape was then romanticised from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps as the memory of the clearances faded, and the croft houses weathered sufficiently. These shifts in the notion of landscape form the basis of our perception of Quandale today, and represent a 'top down' approach to landscape. Let us now turn to the inhabited landscape, and take the discussion from the bottom up.

# 5) The materiality of the earlier landscape

The materiality of the landscape will be explored by focusing on a *selection* of the monuments, features and boundaries of the earlier landscape of Quandale (Fig. 17). The emphasis is on the tangible aspects of their basic materiality, such as earth, turf, peat and stone, and how this physicality is bound up in practice and landscape. The scale of analysis has thus moved from broad notions of landscape as discussed previously, to how places were created through practice. Materiality is defined here as the basic elemental components of monuments and features (see Bender 1998, 46-55; Tilley 2004;) and the temporality and social significance of these in the landscape (Tilley 2007, 18; cf. Ingold 2007), rather than the traditional focus on the materiality and temporality of artefacts and objects (see Thomas 1996, Ch 3; Meskell 2005; Hurcombe 2007). The theme of materiality will be brought through into the discussion of the later phases of the landscape in Chapter 6, along with a consideration of how the earlier landscape was lived through.

This discussion will focus primarily on the burnt mounds and barrows, as these are prominent monuments in the Quandale landscape and the former are rarely considered in archaeological discourse or landscape studies. These will be contextualized with a consideration of a selection of earlier boundaries and features. It is argued that burnt mounds and barrows operate at different temporal scales during their construction and use. Burnt mounds are distinctive as a process of *becoming*, creating a certain sense of place through ongoing monumentalization; this contrasts with the funerary monuments which can be characterised as an *event*, commemorating the dead in terms of more discrete episodes of construction bound up in mortuary practice. But, as we shall see, this distinction is often blurred and burnt mounds can be associated with funerary monuments. These monuments and their location in the landscape formed part of the dynamic and ongoing strategies of the community in the creation and continuation of their world (Barrett 1990). The materiality of these monuments is significant during their construction and use, but also in shaping their life history in the landscape.

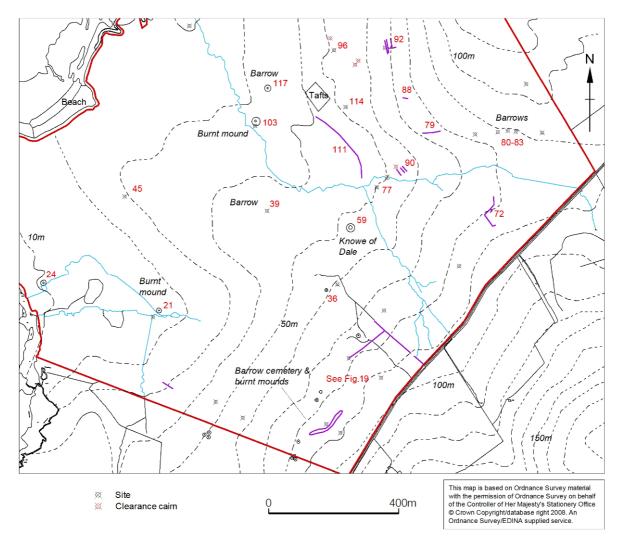


Fig. 17. Monuments and potential prehistoric features of the earlier landscape.

#### **Burnt Mounds**

Traditionally, the study of burnt mounds has been focused on form, function and distribution (Buckley 1990) with little consideration of recent theoretical approaches to landscape. These characteristic mounds are typically crescent-shaped, comprising middens of burnt stone and fuel ash often surrounding a central trough or pit (Russell-White 1990, 88). The general consensus is that stones were heated, typically by burning peat fuel, to produce hot water (ibid. 87). Radiocarbon and thermoluminescence dates suggest a range from the early Neolithic to the Middle Ages (Anthony 2003, 331; Card 2005b). Some burnt mounds are associated with external structures (Moore and Wilson 1999; Armit and Brady 2002); they are generally located adjacent to a water course (Buckley 1990). The theme common to most examples is the accumulated mass of burnt material.

Wide ranging debate has interpreted burnt mounds as cooking facilities (Hedges 1975; Hunter 1996, 57), sweat lodges (Barfield and Hodder 1987), for boiling water (Russell-White 1990; Moore and Wilson 1999), used in the process of fulling (Downes pers comm.), or a combination of these. In broader terms, they have been suggested to be indicators of settlement (Hunter 1996), thus 'filling in a gap in the settlement record' (Cowie and Shepherd 2003, 159). Recently the individual variability and specialist function of burnt mounds has been highlighted (Moore and Wilson 1999; Armit and Brady 2002). It is not necessary to further rehearse these arguments here, but a few basic points can be made:

Firstly, the variability in date, form and possible function, implies that our classifications are too simplistic. This variability is underplayed and it seems problematic to group mounds with only one common material theme. Variability may also be demonstrated by considering their location in the landscape and association with other monuments. Secondly, the *mounds* are never really considered in their own right and are always viewed as a by-product of the associated activities. They are usually sample excavated and perceived as mundane and lacking artefacts (Hedges 1975, 51). The construction of a mound of burnt material through the repeated deposition of stones and ash, however, may appear mundane, but could be as significant, if not more so, than the activities inside. The mounds both monumentalise themselves and the range of activities associated with them. These include the various tasks involved in constructing the mound, the activities of stone and fuel collection, heating stones, repeated use, and eventual abandonment. It is probable that certain activities were undertaken at burnt mounds on a seasonal basis, perhaps explaining the variation often found upon excavation. Thus the construction process creates a sense of place which operates at various scales and temporalities in the landscape. The monumentalisation of burnt mounds is a process of becoming, bound up in the temporality of practices that are embodied in its construction. This sense of place then endures in various ways in landscape and memory. The discussion will now consider these points in relation to the burnt mounds in Quandale.

## Burnt mounds and barrows in the landscape

Four burnt mounds have previously been identified in Quandale (21, 24, 59, 103) and these represent the largest examples located in the valley bases. The Knowe of Dale (59) is truly monumental in scale (c.21m by 18m by 2.3m), and is visible from much of the surrounding area (Fig. 18). Unfortunately, little is known about their structure from Grant's partial excavations in the 1930s, other than that they comprised burnt material and some structural elements (RCHAMS 1946, 225). These mounds form significant foci in the landscape and are visible when moving along the valleys or viewed from above. The exception is **Site 103** which is more subtly located in a small valley and only visible when encountered locally. This mound may have been associated with Tafts barrow (117) and a large dyke (111), but the authenticity of the latter is unclear. According to the survey, these examples appear to be isolated monuments, although associated structures may have been removed through clearance. They form a loose 'group' of prominent mounds located in valley bases, and are not generally associated with funerary monuments.



Fig. 18. The Knowe of Dale burnt mound (59), looking north-west towards Tafts barrow (117).

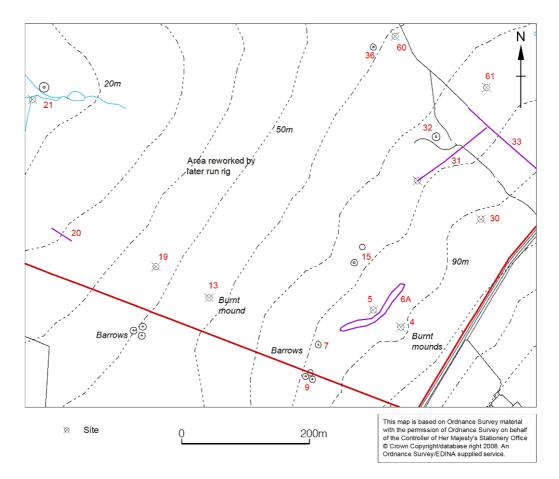


Fig. 19. Barrow cemetery and burnt mounds in the southern area of Quandale.

A cluster of three smaller burnt mounds was identified during the walkover survey in the south of the area (4, 5, 13, Fig. 19). These are located at a much higher elevation (c.75m OD) on a north-west facing slope and are associated with a barrow cemetery (7, 9, 15). The burnt mounds are similar in size (7-13m in length and 1-1.3m high) and form. The authenticity and date of these monuments remains uncertain without geophysical survey or excavation. However, Sites 4 and 5 are bisected by a large curvilinear dyke (6A) of treb-like proportions which may be later Bronze Age in date (Lamb 1983; Fig. 20). The dyke could have formed part of the same monument as the burnt mounds, or perhaps was constructed to partition the area after the mounds were no longer used. The dyke certainly blocks the former stream channels associated with the mounds, suggesting a later date. The burnt mounds could also postdate the cemetery, and so represent a change in the association of place from that of the ancestors to one of feasting and life. This may have been a deliberate strategy in the appropriation of the cemetery for changing political needs. However, the burnt mounds perhaps played a part in the mortuary rituals associated with the barrows,

such as feasting, cleansing or embalming, bound up in association with death and the ancestors.



Fig. 20. Dyke 6A appears to respect the small burnt mound (5), looking south-west towards barrow (7).

A parallel to this arrangement of monuments can be found at Five Hillocks, East Mainland Orkney, where an unexcavated series of eight mounds are enclosed by a substantial earth dyke (RCHAMS 1946, 105). It is plausible that these represent both burnt mounds and ceremonial monuments. Similarly at Holland, St. Ola, at least one burnt mound (D) is associated with a barrow cemetery, which the excavator suggests is contemporary (Neil 1981). On a more basic level, the variability of burnt mounds as a class of monument has been demonstrated by considering their landscape location and association with other monuments.



Fig. 21. Tafts barrow (117) situated on the summit of a natural hillock, looking south-west.

Other barrows in Quandale show a different landscape distribution (Fig. 17). The survey identified a line of five mounds orientated east to west on the edge of a series of glacial terraces above the eastern valley (80, 81, 82, 83, 98). Three (80, 81, 98) are more substantial (3.25-5.5m diameter) and probably represent authentic barrows. All these mounds are within an area of peat which may have formed around the monuments obscuring part of them. The smaller mounds could represent clearance cairns. A sub-peat dyke (79) is located to the west, and could be Bronze Age or earlier in date as peat formation occurred towards the end of that period (Davidson and Jones 1990, 32-5). The line of barrows continues around the south-west facing slope (114, 96A, 122), and may even continue to the north (124, 130). Apart from Tafts barrow (117), where a natural hillock was used to accentuate its size (Fig. 21), and Site 39, which appears isolated within an area of peat, the barrows and mounds are located on the south to south-west slope and are not associated with burnt mounds in the north of the study area.

## **Temporality of construction: burnt mounds**

It may be worth considering the formation of the burnt mounds as *construction* rather than in terms of simple cause and effect. The construction process, or the *becoming* of burnt mounds, may provide insights into their temporality in the landscape. In general,

burnt mounds consist of varied deposits suggesting episodic and prolonged use over time. The frequency of use has been equated in functionalist terms with the quantities of stone required in experimental boilings (Russell-White 1990, 88). Excavation has revealed distinct layers, dumps and lenses of burnt material within the mounds interpreted as successive episodes of use separated by a short time span (Hedges 1975, 41-2; Lehane 1990, 81). Stratigraphy is sometimes not discernable within the mass of burnt material (see Lehane 1990, 78), but this is likely to indicate repeated construction rather than a single phase. The complexity in structure of the mounds, combined with a general trend of regular form, suggest that it is over simplistic to state that 'the crescent shape might be interpreted as the discard pattern of spent material' (Hunter 1996, 57).

The deposits indicate a complex temporality of place where certain tasks were undertaken over a certain timescale. Rather than one fixed function (which archaeologists tend to prefer) there could have been a range of activities undertaken on a seasonal basis. This may be hinted at by discrete but significant artefact assemblages, such as shells, pottery, flint and stone objects, in certain layers (Hedges 1975, 67; Lehane 1990, 81; Moore and Wilson 1999, 218; cf. Barber 1990). Burnt mounds may have also been used in the production of salt from sea water (Balfour 2000). The duration of use may range from a few years or a generation for the smaller examples (5), to several generations for the larger mounds (59).

The gathering of the stone itself involved a specific set of tasks. Hard sandstone was preferred and there is evidence to suggest the deliberate selection of material, especially for harder rock (Russell-White 1990, 87). The local thinly banded Rousay Flags sandstone (Mykura 1976) may disintegrate rapidly when heated, and certainly if newly quarried. The collection of stone is likely to have involved beachcombing to find suitable cobbles. Excavations have suggested that stone was acquired from nearby storm beaches or field clearance (Hedges 1975, 41; Moore and Wilson 1999, 211). Was stone gathered for prolonged periods by a select few and stored, or was there a more community based effort to gather larger quantities of stone in immediate preparation? Carrying the stone from its source to the mound could have been an arduous task over a distance of several kilometres. Was this a familiar regular occurrence, or did the others have to explain what was to be done to complete an

unfamiliar task? Was there seasonality to these tasks with certain activities at the mounds requiring stone at various times in the year? A similar temporality of tasks could be suggested for the collection of peat fuel. The undertaking of these tasks, and the subsequent heating of the stones, gave the burnt mound an identity in the landscape. This may have shifted with different phases of use evidenced in the excavated examples (e.g. Moore and Wilson 1999). It is the resultant mound which endures in the landscape when the heating activity has finished, and continues to mark and identify that place, which may then take on new meaning.

### **Temporality of construction: barrows**

Recent excavations in Orkney have highlighted the complex materiality of barrows where various deposits were often carefully placed around a central cist. Clay appears to be particularly important and is often used to pack around the cist and abutting external kerbing (Ritchie and Ritchie 1974), and is sometimes used as capping for the covering cist slab (Ashmore 1974). Small clay knobs were used at Quoyscottie to support the cist sides (Hedges 1977, 35) and at Corquoy, Rousay, the cist was 'cemented with tempered red clay' (McCrie 1881, 71). Orkney barrows are typically constructed from earth and clay, however variation does occur (Barber et al. 1996). The excavation of a kerbed barrow at Mousland, Stromness, revealed that 'different coloured clays and organic material were laid in concentric circles, producing striking contrasts across the surface of the mound' (Downes 1994, 147). Unfortunately, the excavation of the Quandale barrows targeted only the central cists and the mounds were ignored (Grant 1936). It was noted, however, that the cist base of Mound 10 consisted of carefully compacted clay, rather than the usual stone slab (ibid. 80). A mound, it seems, is not just a mound; many embody a deliberate and considered use of materials with a range different colours and textures.

Typically excavators suggest that these materials are acquired within a short distance of the mound (e.g. Downes 1994, 147), perhaps bound up in the other mortuary practices and sequence of events surrounding the funeral. However, this range of specific materials may have been obtained from elsewhere and brought to the chosen barrow location. This enters a temporality to the construction of the mounds which may, as has been argued for burnt mounds, involve a series of tasks across the

landscape. The significance of using materials from elsewhere is perhaps suggested by the placement of a flattened unfired clay object below the basal cist slab of Knowe 1, Quoyscottie (Hedges 1977, 131), and a steatite urn *filled* with clay, ashes and fragments of bone at Corquoy (McCrie 1881, 71-2). The clay within this urn was apparently local (ibid. 72), but could equally have been imported from further afield considering the portable nature of its container. The use of clay within the structure of barrow mounds, especially around the cist, seems to represent structured deposition.

Significantly, several barrows have considerable quantities of burnt material incorporated within their structure. In the majority of cases this appears to be derived from pyre material which has either been brought to the barrow site en masse (e.g. Mousland, Downes 1994), or that the pyre site later formed the location for the barrow (Downes 2005, Linga Fold Mound 7). There are several barrows, however, which contain significant quantities of burnt material that the excavators suggest were not derived from a pyre. For example, burnt material was found below the basal cist slabs at Queenjafold (Ritchie and Ritchie 1974), Bu Farm (Barber 1996) and Mounds 5 and 6 at Linga Fold (Downes 2005). Significant quantities of burnt material, including stones, was found around and below the cist at Quoyscottie (Hedges 1977, 131). At Holland, St. Ola, the primary barrow mound consisted of burnt mound material, leading the excavator to describe it as a 're-deposited burnt mound' (Neil 1981, 33). If we accept that the material within barrows was structurally deposited, and that this material may have a spatial association with the landscape, it is not inconceivable that burnt mound material was deliberately deposited in barrows during their construction, perhaps as part of funerary practices. The activities bound up in the burnt mound with its possible association with funerary practice may have been embodied within the barrow. The blurring of what is perceived as a barrow is also highlighted by at least one example in Orkney lacking a primary burial (Hedges 1977; see also Barber 1996).

If burnt mound material was often deliberately incorporated into some barrows elsewhere in Orkney, it is not inconceivable that the burnt mounds and barrows in the southern area of Quandale are contemporary with one another. Grant (1936) makes no reference to burnt material, but the barrow mounds were not fully investigated or the cists removed. He distinguishes between mounds of 'heaps of yellowish clay with its

natural admixture of small stones' (9, 15A) and those formed of 'earth and stones' (7, 15B, 12; ibid. 74).

In summary, the association of burnt mounds and barrows in the southern area may indicate that these monuments were woven into in funerary practice; a ceremonial area which was later divided with a large dyke, perhaps in the later Bronze Age. In contrast, the large burnt mounds in the valleys (21, 24, 59, 103) appear isolated, and may have been involved in a whole range of other activities, perhaps on a seasonal basis. These tasks become embodied in the monumentalisation of these places over time; a *becoming* in the landscape. This contrasts with the *event*-like nature of the barrows, bound up in funerary practice, where artificial mounds consisting of highly structured material, perhaps obtained from other places in the landscape, were constructed to house the dead at specific locations. Smaller burnt mounds could have been associated with this practice, but they would have served to monumentalise the funeral activities of the mourners rather than the dead, whilst still forming part of a ceremonial landscape. The complexity of this relationship is highlighted when burnt mound material has been 'embodied' within barrows. Let us now consider how these monuments and boundaries were lived through in the later phase of the landscape.

# 6) Living among the mounds

'In those days superstition prevailed among the people to a great extent. But when the home brewn ale was less used, their superstition died away' (Marwick undated, b.1801, Rousay).

The intention here is not to present a linear description of time, from the earliest monuments to the most recent. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, there are several local histories that are enmeshed in materiality, temporality and landscape. The earlier monuments and boundaries endure and take on new meaning as they continue to form an active part of the later landscape. The activities of later communities, such as tending rig, building turf dykes and cutting peat, created a set of conditions through which the earlier landscape was encountered and referenced in subtle but real ways. These may be intangible, suffuse with memory, stories and suspicion, but the resulting narratives leave physical references in the landscape. This chapter will firstly discuss the practices and materiality through which this past was encountered and worked through; practices that formed part of the seasonal routine of farming and fishing dictated by a rhythmical task-orientated pattern of time (Symonds 2000, 205). The ways in which the later field dykes and crofts reference the earlier landscape will then be considered. It is argued that the materiality of the earlier features was known, but that this may have been part of a more mythical understanding of them (Gosden and Lock 1998). This is not to suggest some romantic continuity of life where all actions were symbolic, but that a series of deliberate and considered acts of construction that chose to reference what was already there in a certain way as a means of subtle appropriation.

#### Patterns of life

It is necessary to briefly consider the history of the later landscape and a selection of the activities that formed the patterns of life. The house of Tafts (112), situated in the centre of Quandale, serves as the most 'dateable' unintentional monument for the later history of the landscape. Clouston (1923b) suggests it represents the oldest two-storey house in Orkney and dates it to the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, although Lamb (1982, 12) suggests a slightly later date. The name *Tafts*, or *thopt* in Old Norse, commonly applies to houses found at the centre of a township or community (Thompson 1981, 44; Fig 22). Certainly, Tafts and its infield dyke (112, 115) form the centre of the later

landscape, with later crofts situated around and beyond the old hill dyke to the north. The more recent perception of Quandale as an exposed marginal area facing the sea (Chapter 4) may actually serve to illustrate Norse or perhaps earlier origins. Recent studies in Scandinavia have highlighted the importance of the outfield, or *utmark*, in Iron Age and Medieval settlement (Arge 2005; Bertelsen 2005; Diinhoff 2005). In Norway, the utmark encompasses the resources of the sea, and some settlements are situated facing the sea with little infield (*innmark*) and evidence of a large reliance on marine resources (Bertelsen 2005). Many of the place names in Quandale have Norse roots (Marwick 1947), and the origins of the township may relate to varied relationships with the infield and outfield in the later prehistoric and historic period.



Fig. 22. Tafts house (112) the heart of the later landscape, looking north.

The fragmentation of the infield landscape was common due to udal laws of tenure (Norse law), with rites of inheritance and kinship often sub-divided holdings (Fenton 1997, 22; Jones 1996, 189). Run rig, or *rig and rendal*, was increasingly divided between members of the township during the medieval and post-medieval periods, creating a 'maze-like landscape' (Fenton 1997, 41; Thomson 2001, 315; Fig. 23). After 1468 when the Scottish feudal system of land tenure was introduced, udal law continued in part, but more as a 'mental landscape' of past tenure and identity with

reduced legal standing (Jones, 2001, 4). Udal law formed a fragmentary pattern of tenure and working of the land, creating certain cycles of movement and practice that formed knowledge and engagement with the township as a whole. This pattern would change with inheritance and kinship to create a landscape in constant flux and change within the space of a generation. Set beside this sense of change were the more routine tasks of hill dyke maintenance and the rights to common grazing and fishing in the outfield including rights to the shore. The landscape may have been understood by this pattern of tenure and kinship.



Fig. 23. Run rig (18), later known as 'planking', formed the basis of cultivation and ordering of the landscape, looking south.

The construction and maintenance of dykes would have formed a routine but significant activity every year. The piecemeal growth of enclosures to the north and east of Tafts (112) represents encroachment into common hill grazing (89D, 97E, 118), a practice that had been common since the Middle Ages (Fenton 1997, 55). The enclosures represent complex narratives of dyke construction, reclamation, animal control and expansion of the infield due to changing concerns and requirements. Some are grouped around possible earlier boundaries or enclosures (72) and cultivation terraces (90, 92), whilst others tell a story of years of toil to manure the peat to make the land profitable ((89D, 118); Lee 2007). These boundaries stand as monuments to

the hard work and aspirations of the farmers; for them, the exposed hillside did have a future, but it was one that had to be worked for.

Feelie dykes vary locally in size and preservation, but all follow a similar tradition of materiality; earth, turf and stone, and were often railed with sticks sloping outwards to deter animals (Fenton 1997, 89). The varied preservation of dykes in Quandale is to some extent caused by differential weathering and erosion, but also hints at a segmented pattern of maintenance. Some sections, for example, are well-defined and survive up to one metre high with steep or vertical sides of turf, and the outer face reveted with large vertical slabs or lengths of neatly coursed stones (e.g. 65B, 66, 78, 87B, 89C, 101D, 123C; Fig. 24). Other sections in the same dyke are low and denuded (e.g. 37A, 100C, 115) or entirely replaced with roughly coursed low walls (e.g. 62, 70). The weathered stone would have been obtained from clearance or the beach, and seems to replace turf as the preferred material for later repairs. This variability suggests a piecemeal approach to maintenance and re-construction, perhaps over several years.

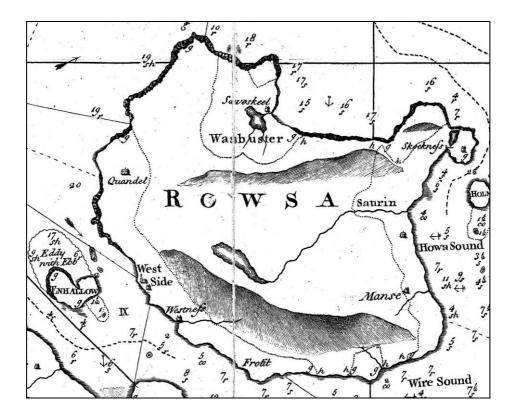


Fig. 24. Stone orthostat revetting (65B) and neat coursing (123C) used in the construction of feelie dykes. Stone was often used as a base for turf that has now weathered away.

The yearly maintenance of hill dykes, in contrast, occurred every spring and was a duty that was upheld by law (Birsay 1924, 79; Leith 1927; Fenton, 1997, 89; Thomson 2001, 322). This seasonal work was communal and brought people together for a period of two weeks or more (Birsay 1924, 79). There is evidence that the township of Quandale had more than one external boundary (2, 6), perhaps in use simultaneously, or representing a change in concerns (Fig. 25 and 26). It was often easier to build a new turf dyke than to repair a heavily weathered one (Fenton 1997). The hill and feelie dykes demanded a large quantity of turf that was sourced from the communal outfield rather than valuable infield land (Fenton 1997, 91; Thomson 2001, 323). Turf dykes may have been a source of pride among the community, and annoyance if poor maintenance resulted in loose animals. A parallel could be drawn with peat cutting in terms of temporality and cooperation. Peat was cut for fuel from the higher ground after the hill dykes were restored and the crops seeded (Fenton 1997).



Fig. 25. The hill dyke (2) constructed from turf is now weathered, but once would have stood to the required six feet high, looking north-east.



**Fig. 26.** Mackenzie's map of Rousay (1750) showing the various hill dykes on the island. Quandale's dyke (2) extended to the south to encompass Westness and Frotoft.

The variety of small enclosures, pens, plantiecrues and kailyards scattered across the landscape indicate a complex history of animal and plant husbandry during the post-medieval period (e.g. 26, 28, 57, 58, 73, 125; Fig. 27). Plantiecrues are small enclosures with turf or stone dykes, often only a few metres in diameter, where kail plants were raised to be transplanted into kailyards in the spring (ibid. 101-5). Plantiecrues could be freely located on the common land, resulting in concentrations near the shore to avoid frost or on the hill, but this distinction may have been blurred later on (e.g. 49, 84, 126). Kailyards tended to be adjacent to the crofts (e.g. 101B, 129, 108). The range of associated tasks, such as manuring with ash, seaweed or turf, planting, tending and replanting, varied temporally throughout the season and also spatially across the landscape.



Fig. 27. Small pens or plantiecrues (A= (28), B= (57), C= (126), D= (127)).

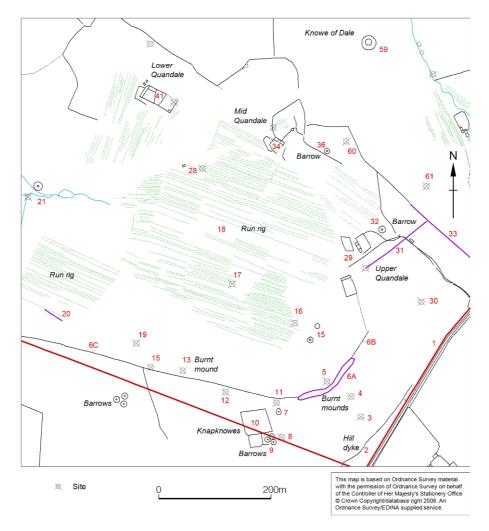
This discussion has highlighted how the landscape was ordered and understood through the pattern of seasonal activities. The routine nature of these tasks was set against the change created by the fragmentation of tenure by udal law. The identity drawn from udal tenure endured even though it was watered down by the feudal system during the post-medieval period. The pattern of life remained consistent even if the landscape was subtly restructured from above. At the same time, the nature of the fragmented landscape produced a 'sharing principle' within the community often out of necessity rather than simply goodwill (Thomson 2001, 329). The seasonal round created a cycle of movement and engagement with the landscape where certain places were visited at certain times. The more distant communal work of peat cutting contrasts with the repair of a small section of infield dyke. At whatever scale, these activities created and reinforced the knowledge and understanding of places, such as the sourcing of raw materials from well known locations or the creation of a new enclosure on the hill. It was a landscape that was understood and deeply familiar, with these patterns of life embodying the construction and maintenance of local allegiances and ties within the community, creating and reinforcing a sense of landscape, place and identity.

#### Inhabiting the past

These patterns of life were, however, not undertaken upon a blank canvas. The earlier landscape still formed an active and dynamic part of the concerns and strategies of the later communities. The past revealed itself in many ways: the mounds, dykes, and features were present not only in a physical sense, but also as a mythical landscape imbued with suspicion, tales and understanding. This past may have been familiar, such as the discovery of recognisable boundaries below the peat during cutting ((79); also see Nayling 1983), but were clearly constructed from different ideas of how things should be done; or less familiar with the common interpretation of flint arrowheads as elf arrows (Robertson 1924, 39). Perhaps mounds, such as the monumental Knowe of Dale, evoked a more cautious approach. As Barrett (1999b, 263) suggests, this is a process of individuals interpreting and rediscovering the past through the practices of their own lives, with the transformation of the landscape lying not so much in its physical modification as in its interpretation (ibid. 256). The later landscape of Quandale was thus an inhabitation of the earlier landscape, where the past and the present co-existed and earlier monuments become later monuments (ibid. 261). But as Bradley points out, 'people take what they need from the past, and every reading is selective' (1993, 97).

There appears to be a different treatment of older boundaries compared to mounds in the later landscape. Earlier boundaries tend to be incorporated into later enclosure schemes, such as the extension of **Site 6A** to the north-east and west (**6B&C**) to form a possible infield boundary. This is also seen with the expansion of the crofts up onto the hill to the north-east of Tafts where the hill dyke is breached. The unique double-ditch and bank boundary (**33**) and later addition to the south-west (**31**) appear more ancient, and the former is superseded by the hill dyke (**2**) to the south-east. This suggests a familiarity with boundaries and a willingness to incorporate them or replace them. Their materiality of earth, turf and stone would have been familiar to the ongoing concerns of dyke construction and maintenance. In contrast, mounds were treated in various ways including association, avoidance or used as markers. The materiality of the mounds was probably familiar, with a distinction between mounds of burnt stone or earth. Generally, burnt mounds were treated differently than barrows; the former were avoided and not tampered with (although this may in part be

due to their frequent location in boggy ground), and the latter were sometimes associated with but at a slight distance. On Fair Isle, Hunter suggests that the survival of burnt mounds within the improved areas in the south of the island is due to the high effort of removing a mound of 'valueless' stone (1996, 58-60). This functionalist explanation suggests on one hand that the materiality of burnt mounds *was known*, but ignores the possibility that mounds were retained for any other reasons. The burnt mounds in Quandale, it seems, were only invaded by archaeologists.

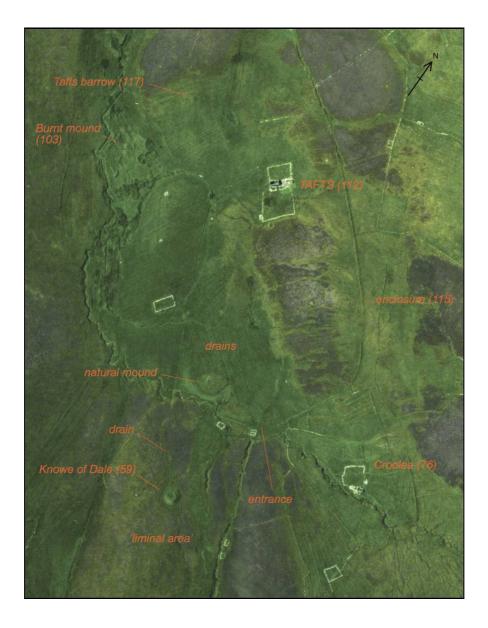


**Fig. 28.** Detail of the southern area of Quandale showing the association of crofts and barrows in the later landscape.

The crofts of Knapknowes, Upper Quandale and Mid Quandale (10, 29, 34) are located close to the barrow cemetery in the south of the study area (Fig. 28). It could be argued that this is more than coincidence. Knapknowes (10), as the name suggests, is located just to the west of three small but significant barrows (9), and the most prominent barrow in the area when viewed from the north (7). The barrows were

respected until the estate wall was built across them in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (1). Upper Quandale and Mid Quandale are also both situated close to distinctive barrows (32, 36), which blend into the surrounding topography when viewed from any distance, but are prominent locally when moving around the crofts. In each case, there is an association with the barrows, but a space or 'liminal' area has been left around them. There are several crofts in the area, however, that do *not* appear to be located next to barrows (22, 41, 51, 52; although there is an amorphous mound (42) at Lower Quandale). This is not to propose a universal law that states 'all crofts are located next to barrows'. It is to suggest that in some cases this mythical past seems to have been subtly appropriated for certain reasons, concerns or suspicions. The variability in these concerns is demonstrated by a possible barrow (122) which has been apparently deliberately *avoided* during the construction of the infield boundary for Hestivall croft (121C). A conscious decision appears to have been made to exclude the mound from the enclosure, a mound which may have been known for years, but only encountered in this way during the construction of the feelie dyke.

The Tafts enclosure (115) and the Knowe of Dale (59) provide another case study. The enclosure, assuming that it represents a single phase of construction, has enveloped three monuments. A small barrow (114) lies to the east of the house complex, and the substantial Tafts barrow (117) is situated on a natural hillock to the west. To the south, a large double peaked burnt mound (103) is located in a small localised valley next to the Burn of Tafts (Fig. 29). The choice was apparently to include these mounds within the enclosure, but there is no discernable reference to them within this, apart from the barrow being highly visible from the house. Merely because something is visible, however, does not lend it inherent significance. The most prominent mound in the area, the Knowe of Dale, lies to the south. In this direction the Tafts enclosure essentially consists of the burn along the southern section. The Knowe of Dale was not only excluded from the Tafts enclosure, but it is surrounded by an area of uncultivated peat, and apparently avoided by all the crofts and boundaries by at least 100m around. This liminal area is situated within the cultivated land which fringes the township, and it seems more than coincidence that this area was left to the mound. The area, however, would have to be crossed to reach the main entrance to the Tafts enclosure located on the south-east side. Anyone approaching from this direction would have to pass the mound (Fig. 30). Upon entering the enclosure, the Tafts barrow is highly visible on a natural hillock to the north-west, silhouetted against the sea with the house located to the north. Whether intentional or not, this experience may have originally played a part in the location of the centre of the township, and may represent a subtle appropriation of the earlier landscape.



**Fig. 29.** Air photo showing the Tafts enclosure (115) and house (112) with a possible 'liminal area' around the Knowe of Dale and the approach to the enclosure entrance (Scottish Natural Heritage, used with permission)



**Fig. 30.** Approach to the Tafts enclosure (115) passing the Knowe of Dale (59). The Tafts barrow (117) is visible against the sea to the left of the house and becomes more prominent as you enter the enclosure, looking north-west.

There is a folk tale relating specifically to the Knowe of Dale: 'Jock in the Knowe' (Robertson 1924; Muir and Wilson 1998, 28-29; Muir pers comm.). In short, two Rousay men on hearing noises inside the knowe investigated and found a door through which they entered. Inside were fairies dancing and singing. They told Jock to leave, who did so as he had a knife. The other man without steel was not so lucky. A year later, Jock passed the knowe and heard music. He rushed home to get two knives and returned and entered the door. They both escaped and the man thought he had only been trapped for a few minutes. Whilst this story could apply to any mound and is a recurring tale, it suggests a sense of danger associated with such a large mound. There is also a temporality to that danger, where it is only unstable at certain times. The influence of Norse mythology was significant and superstitions were common in Orkney, even in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Marwick 2000). Troll communities were thought to be common inhabitants of mounds, and had to be dealt with in certain ways. Most mounds in Orkney were thought to contain a 'mound dweller' (Old Norse hang-búi) embodying the spirits of dead family members. The mounds were consequently treated with respect and not crossed or tampered with, and often presented with offerings at certain times. The mound dweller would protect the property in return, but there would be consequences if these obligations were not met (ibid. 39-40). It is obviously problematic to apply these analogies directly to the mounds of Quandale, but they hint at the strong supernatural associations and temporalities such places may have had in the landscape. A choice to associate with or exclude such features may not have been taken lightly.

The seasonal task-related routines, including the cultivation of rig, maintenance and construction of dykes, and turf and peat cutting, created a certain engagement with the landscape to address the requirements of the individual and community. This was not, however, undertaken within an empty space. The landscape was already rich in monuments and features of an earlier time. Just as when interpretation during the walkover survey had to opt for a vague 'prehistoric to post-medieval' date for features, the monuments in the past may have been categorised in a similar blurred way. We cannot know, without intervention, how old things really are; does it actually matter? The monuments of the earlier landscape would have been encountered and dealt with during the pattern of life of the later communities. The way this was managed has been shown to be variable and could relate to a known materiality. Boundaries may have been more familiar, and incorporated into new schemes. Mounds were apparently treated in different ways, ranging from appropriation to avoidance. The monumental Knowe of Dale appears to have been left within a liminal area, but the superstitions embodied in the mound may have been more subtly appropriated for the approach to the Tafts enclosure. Some crofts were associated with barrows, but others were not. As we have seen, the later landscape was an inhabitation of the earlier landscape, but this was by no means straightforward.

# 7) Landscapes of politics and power

This chapter develops some of the previous arguments further. The earlier landscape is discussed in terms of broader themes of territoriality and societal change with a focus on the Bronze Age introduced in Chapter 5. The funerary context of some burnt mounds and their relationship to commemorating the dead and the living is highlighted. The larger burnt mounds are suggested to represent monuments to consumption and wealth, which may have acted as symbols of display to other communities at a time of apparent increased territoriality. Both these spheres played an important role in negotiating power. At a more subtle level, the later landscape is firstly discussed in terms of tenure, tasks and gender, extending the arguments posited in Chapter 6. The role of the infield and outfield is considered with reference to recent work in Scandinavia (Bertelsen 2005; Svensson 2005). This suggests that organisation and social stratification were negotiated through the structures of everyday life with various areas of the landscape and settlement forming important roles. Wider ideas of mythology and religion may also have been significant. The discussion of these patterns of life culminates with a comparison of estate and community. A contrast is drawn between the top down approach of the estate and the bottom up inhabitation of the crofting communities of Quandale.

## Territoriality, commemoration and display

Quandale seems to have formed a focus for activity in the Bronze Age. The general pattern of monuments demonstrates a desire to situate funerary architecture and burnt mounds away from Neolithic activity. This shift was not absolute, however, as early Bronze Age Beaker pottery has been found in a number of excavated Neolithic tombs, including the Knowe of Yarso in Rousay (Card 2005b, 56). The manipulation of the Neolithic landscape would have partly created the conditions for the Bronze Age in Rousay (Barrett 1990). The lower fringe of the island may have remained important for settlement and agriculture, with an increasing trend of expansion into the upland areas during the second millennium BC which is often linked to population pressure or increased territoriality (Cowie and Shepherd 1997). The subsequent abandonment of upland areas in the early first millennium BC was due to a number of causes, which are likely to have varied regionally, but generally rest on environmental deterioration

stimulating peat formation, and perhaps even greater territoriality (Davidson and Jones 1990; Cowie and Shepherd 1997). It is beyond the remit of this thesis to discuss whether this represents a true pattern of settlement or is the result of environmental determinism. Suffice to say, two possible prehistoric settlement sites were identified during the survey (25, 132) in 'lowland' and 'upland' locations in Quandale, highlighting this variability.

Lamb (1983, 179) has argued that treb dykes represent the remains of a land allotment system which broke down in the later Bronze Age. Treb dykes are substantial linear earthworks up to c.11m wide and 1.8m high with broad regular profiles, which form extensive land divisions across whole islands, for example North Ronaldsay and Sanday, or are associated with steep terrain or peninsulas as in Rousay (ibid. 176-8). The wide and broad dykes identified in Quandale (6A, 31, 111) and the unique double ditch and bank (33) may be associated with similar concerns of land division in a more 'lowland' area (Fig. 31). Site 6A is similar in character to known treb dykes and likely to be contemporary, but as argued in Chapter 5 it appears to provide a more specialised role dividing the burnt mound and barrow cemetery (4, 5, 7, 9, 15). These boundaries can only be dated at this stage by inference, but indicate some level of concern for land division and perhaps territoriality in the Bronze Age.



Fig. 31. Unique double ditch and bank (33) that is overlain by the hill dyke (2) to the southeast, looking south-east.

It was demonstrated in Chapter 5 that burnt mounds can be connected with a range of practices. The association of burnt mounds with barrows indicates that these monuments may have been contemporary, and the mounds of burnt stone appear to have formed part of funerary practices. This role may have been in the preparation of a corpse for cremation, such as cleaning or embalming, or a focus for feasting or other activities associated with the mourners. Whereas the barrows served to commemorate the dead in the landscape, the burnt mounds may have monumentalised the activities of the living during the funerary process. The *event*-like construction of the barrows can be contrasted with the repeated use of the burnt mounds which formed part of the same complex; a process of *becoming* in the landscape. These roles indicate a complex history of place created through the playing out of political concerns of the living. In this case, this complex of monuments appears to have culminated with the division of the burnt mounds with a large dyke (6A).

The larger burnt mounds in the valleys of Quandale were monumentalised by repeated use, perhaps over several generations, and do not appear to have been concerned with funerary practice and the commemoration of the dead. Nor do they appear to represent settlement. The construction of these mounds embodied the range of activities which were varied and perhaps undertaken on a seasonal basis. This range of tasks may have been 'mundane', such as salt production, bathing, food preparation, or the fulling of wool. The product of these activities, however, may have been highly significant to the communities bound up in systems of trade and kinship. In monumentalising these activities, burnt mounds may also have embodied these wider spheres at specific places within the landscape.

In a broad sense, it could be argued that burnt mounds represented wealth, consumption and display. Their construction may have been deliberately repeated at various places within the area, or mounds could have been in use at the same time. Large mounds, such as the Knowe of Dale, may have acted as a *symbol* of consumption and wealth, a reminder of the success and power of the community and intention for the future. In this way they acted as a display to other communities signifying success; a statement in the landscape (Fig. 32). That burnt mounds were used for a wide range of tasks throughout the year would have been known to other

communities who were also involved in such activities, and their becoming in the landscape, perhaps at several locations, may have been a conspicuous act. This process was undoubtedly open to intra- and inter-community manipulation and negotiations of power. These places are displayed in the landscape for the community and beyond and became places which endure. At a time of increased territoriality and societal change (Champion 1999; Parker Pearson 1999), burnt mounds may have played a significant role in power relations during the Bronze Age. As recent dating evidence suggests (Anthony 2003) these concerns may have continued well into the Iron Age.



Fig. 32. A statement of conspicuous display in the landscape? The Quoynalonga Ness burnt mound (24), looking south-east.

# Tenure, gender and religion

The fragmentation of land tenure under the udal system and the varied patterns of movement and working the land were discussed in Chapter 6. Recent work in Scandinavia has highlighted the importance of the infield and outfield within these agricultural and settlement regimes, and is an area of study which has introduced concepts of gender, agency and practice, unlike in Britain. Diinhoff (2005) argues that the outfield cannot be understood without the infield, and the two are inextricably linked as a *cultural* rather than geographical concept. The development of complex

social structures from the later Bronze Age to medieval period is commonly linked to the importance of the outfield (*utmark*) which consists of cultural and natural resources of the mountains and sea (Bertelsen 2005; Diinhoff 2005). Studies of early modern agrarian society suggest that this ordering of the landscape provided the basis for social structure. As Svensson suggests, gender patterns, household organisation and social stratification were formed and negotiated through the structures of everyday life' (2005, 158). A fisher-farmer, for example, was in fact two people, with a division of labour between men and the sea (house, shore, sea), and women and the farm (house, infield, outfield; Bertelsen 2005, 26).

Svensson, (2005, 158) argues that 'work' and 'production' were not purely functional, and that gendered labour divisions were significant principles which structured daily routine behaviour. From the spatial distribution of artefacts she has suggested that women's tasks were more varied but repetitive and generally restricted to the home and farmstead. The public space of the house, especially the kitchen, situated women at the heart of the arena for decision making and planning (Fig. 33). Women undertook a greater variety of tasks at a greater distance into the outfield. Male tasks were more commercially orientated, and focused upon cattle breeding and the outhouses (ibid. 160-4). Whilst we cannot transpose the organisation of these Scandinavian forest dwellers onto the households of Quandale, it does indicate the potential social stratification and areas of the landscape that may have been created out of gender roles relating to everyday routines.

Fenton's (1997) remarkable book, 'The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland' has long been recognised as 'the bible' for ethnology and provides a major resource for post-medieval archaeology in the islands. It describes in great detail the buildings, dykes, resources, techniques and animals of the period; a task orientated account that 'is not about work, but about people' (ibid. 623). Whilst clearly ahead of its time (originally published in 1978), the relation of tasks to gender is not considered, apart from documentary sources or photographs which generally depict men. This is clearly an area that requires more detailed study, but the examples from Scandinavia may hint at important gendered tasks and areas of the landscape which may have been central to the social organisation of crofting communities during the historic period.



**Fig. 33.** The remains of Breck croft (**89A**)- the central place of the infield and at the heart of planning, negotiation and social stratification at the level of the household. Many features that were central to everyday routines, such as corn driers, byres, and goose nests, as well as highly personal spaces such as bed neuks and shelves survive, looking south-west.

Christianity has been suggested by Steinsland (2005) to have nullified the traditional perception of the infield and its relationship to Viking mythology, which describes the cosmos as a sort of infield (home/farm of the gods: Midgard) and outfield (dangerous place of giants and spirits: *Utgard*). The Christian church demonised and then euhemerised the gods which were perceived as the greater threat, and the giants and land spirits of the outfield survived (ibid. 144). This pattern is reflected in Norwegian and Orcadian folk traditions where the outfield is considered dangerous (Marwick 2000; Steinsland 2005). Unlike the periphery in the Christian cosmology, the *Utgard* and the outfield were not emptied of holiness, but 'loaded with power and energy' (Steinsland 2005, 145). Perceptions of the infield and outfield of Quandale may have followed similar lines, but the complexity of this relationship is highlighted by the treatment of the earlier mounds of the infield in the post-medieval period. There was apparently never a church in the Quandale township, although services may have been held outside (Downes pers. comm.) and to visit a church the inhabitants of Quandale would have to make the journey to Wasbister or Westness (Marwick 1947). But as we have seen, this commitment to the Christian church was interwoven with local traditions and superstitions which together structured the pattern of life.

#### Earldom, Estate and community

Conflicts of power and politics are most vividly played out through the relationship between estate and community. This relationship culminated in the total displacement of people from Quandale when the area was cleared in the mid 19th century. In the Norse period, it was likely that all or part of Quandale fell within Sigurd of Westness' 12<sup>th</sup>-century estate, and udal farmers could claim outright ownership of their land by paying skat: rent to the earl not the crown as in the feudal system (Thomson 1981, 21). Thomson suggests that the acquisition of udal land by Earl William (1434-71) was due to economic decline resulting in the confiscation of land following the nonpayment of skat (ibid. 24). Most of these so called conquest lands were acquired in small scattered units, but Quandale was rare and was acquired as a whole district. The ownership of land in Rousay in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries was a complex mosaic of earldom and bishopric estates and udal land that survived in some areas into the 19<sup>th</sup> century (ibid. 25). Quandale was owned by successive proprietors until it was purchased by George William Traill in 1841. The inhabitants would have experienced this change in estate ownership over the generations, but as Thomson points out the later lairds, even though they were responsible for eviction and rent extortion, may not have been as systematically ruthless as their predecessors (ibid. 17). The drive for improvement in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the need for capital gain essentially ended the traditional crofting way of life on the island.

Within this history of change, the traditional ways may have endured. Perhaps the perception of an udal landscape with roots in a distant past was just as significant as the actual rights themselves. The essence of udal land holding lay in kinship, where land was held in trust for the family (Jones 2001, 8). The division of land between eligible heirs (including females) and the resulting fragmentation of holdings may have been perceived by the proprietors of the feudal system as a *problem* of udal law and traditional tenure. For the udallers, however, the landscape represented a *history* of kinship and allegiances. Fragmented holdings across the landscape may have signified a rooted sense of kinship to place and the past. This history may have endured as a 'mental landscape' (ibid. 4) for the crofters of the later estates, especially if other parts of the island were still under udal tenure. Udal Law came to symbolise the freedoms which were under threat by the Scottish legal system and its pressure to

rent rather than 'own' land in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Thomson 2001). The udal landscape was modified rather than replaced in the early improvements of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and run-rig was converted into 'planking' convenient to each house (ibid. 333-4). This retained the pattern of the landscape but not the pattern of working the land and kinship.

The dichotomy of the estate as capitalism, and the community as tradition, is best documented in the clearance of Quandale by Traill and the later rent extortion by Burroughs. The financial problems of the estate were essentially passed on to the community in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with increased rent. The traditional system of run-rig was incomprehensible to improvements, and the way of life bound up in the various tasks and temporalities of traditional farming were perceived as idle (Thomson 1981, 2001). The contested landscapes of Rousay borne out of the conflicts between estate and community in the later 19<sup>th</sup> century would be remembered in the physical remains of that past, and in the memory of the community.

#### The contemporary landscape

Most people's encounter with Quandale today is a brief glimpse from the car window when driving around Rousay's circular road (Fig. 9). The road symbolises the division between lowland cultivation and inhabitation, and the central dead 'hill' area (see Lee 2007). The road dominates how the island is experienced by travel: journeys are part of a circle, but do you go round by the west or east? The road was constructed as part of the improvements in the 1840s, by-passing Quandale; to venture in you have to get over the gate and walk.

The remains of the crofts and boundaries, the 'unintentional monuments' to the clearance (Basu 2000), are set beside a more distant past. However, we should not define Quandale as a 'relict' landscape following the tradition in archaeology, because this implies the area is dead and static, and assigned to the past. Importantly, the unintentional monuments provide a sense of identity to the island within an Orcadian context and beyond. The eviction of a whole landscape was unprecedented in the county, and the reminders are there to see. These are encountered when residents and visitors use Quandale for walking, photography, archaeological interests, bird

watching, beach combing, and quad or trial biking. The landscape of Quandale is dynamic and changing, albeit in subtle ways. The slow encroachment of heather and peat from the hill into the reclaimed fields, the waterlogging of the valleys as the 19<sup>th</sup>-century drains become blocked, and the accumulation of wind blown jetsam represent gradual change. The main inhabitants of the area today are sheep, with cattle to accompany them during the summer months with their own patterns of movement and fluctuating paths. Quandale was recently under the Rural Stewardship Scheme as coastal heath, and the discovery of the rare *primula scotica* that is endemic to the far north of Scotland highlights the potential for agri-environment schemes. The future of the landscape lies in its identity, agricultural grants and archaeology.

# 8) Conclusions

This thesis has attempted to give an interpretative account of the landscape of Quandale, Rousay, using the results of a walkover survey as the basis for discussion. Considering the wealth of archaeology in Orkney it is surprising how little attention the landscape has received. The recent interpretative agenda in archaeology has set landscape at the heart of investigation (Barrett 1997; Tilley 1994). However, the Orcadian landscape is difficult to classify, operating as complex blend of sea, land and sky, and for some it seems as if Orkney has *no landscape*. This is reflected in archaeological field surveys which have yet to acknowledge more recent approaches to landscape, and have tended to be objective, methodological and description laden, and in some cases environmentally deterministic reinforcing ideas of marginality. This thesis has moved away from this paradigm by investigating a remarkable area of Rousay using a reflexive walkover survey as the central means of engaging with the landscape. The 'experience' of the walkover forms situated observation, interpretation and knowledge.

The different phases of engagement and investigation in Quandale have been discussed using a 'top down' approach to landscape which demonstrates the formation of our understanding and perception of the area. The contested landscape of Quandale was framed by the mid 19<sup>th</sup>-century clearance and conflicts on the estate. The history of cartography between estate and the Ordnance Survey demonstrates how the cleared area was excluded and then authorised. The conflict between estate and community also shaped the history of antiquarian and archaeological interest; Quandale was contested, inventoried, excavated and then Romanticised.

The 'bottom up' approach to landscape facilitated by the walkover survey has been central to this account. This has allowed the interpretative discussion of *selected* sites at a range of different scales. Themes of materiality, place and temporality have been used to consider both the prehistoric *and* historic landscape. The focus for the earlier landscape has been the barrows and burnt mounds as these form significant monuments in the landscape, which endure and take on new meaning and reference in the later landscape. It is suggested that the current functional and descriptive accounts

of burnt mounds are unsatisfactory. The materiality of the barrows and burnt mounds has been considered and shown to have been bound up in a range of spatial and temporal tasks during construction, including a careful selection of materials. Several burnt mounds in the south of the study area are associated with a ceremonial landscape, and may have served to monumentalise the activities of the living during funerary practice. The *event*-like characteristics of barrows can be compared to the *becoming* of burnt mounds where the processes of varied, and perhaps seasonal, activities are embodied within the mound. The process of construction and the resulting mound may have symbolised wealth, consumption and display.

The themes of materiality, place and temporality are also significant in the later landscape where the patterns of life such as constructing dykes, cutting peat and turf, created a certain engagement with the past. At the same time, traditional forms of tenure such as udal law, created their own cycles of practice and identity. Udal law, through rights of inheritance, divided land holdings and created a fragmented pattern of tenure. It is argued that this created a perception of the landscape based on kinship, which may have endured following the introduction of the Scottish feudal system. Social stratification and organisation within these traditional patterns of agriculture were negotiated through gender relations bound up in routine tasks in the landscape (Bertelsen 2005; Svensson 2005). The mythical legacy of the Norse may in some ways explain the treatment of earlier landscape features which were encountered and dealt with through these patterns. The varied and subtle appropriation or avoidance of earlier mounds suggests a landscape still imbued with meaning and superstition in the post-medieval period. The later landscape was certainly an inhabitation of the earlier landscape. The evictions in the 19<sup>th</sup> century ended the traditional way of life and framed the landscape of Quandale within a sheep dyke. The landscape, however, is by no means static; it still forms a sense of interest and identity to the island today. Quandale is not a relict landscape of the past, but a landscape with a future.

#### **Future Work**

The walkover survey is intended to form the first stage in an ongoing project. In terms of survey, it would be beneficial to investigate the areas to the north and south of the study area to characterize the archaeological remains over a wider area of unimproved land. Measured survey and targeted geophysics would be useful around some of the sites, such as the Knowe of Dale to investigate the surrounding 'liminal' area. The hill land to the east, that would have formed part of the outfield for the township, could also be investigated with a broad walkover to redress the balance of investigation between lowland/infield and upland/outfield. Local involvement and awareness will be key to future work in order to engage and empower the local community with their past.

## **Acknowledgements:**

Many thanks to the landowners Russell and Kathy Marwick for allowing me to conduct the survey. Paul Sharman for putting me up in San Tropez during the fieldwork and Nick Card for lending me the equipment. Jackie Marwick for her advice and local knowledge, and also for allowing me to access the REWCCHP project archive and use the maps. The Firth family for allowing me to reproduce the estate maps. Jane Downes my supervisor for discussions, advice and encouragement. Julie Gibson for helpful contacts and discussions in the SMR. Tom Muir for discussions on Orcadian folklore. Mike Jones and Margaret Flaws for information about udal law. The staff at Orkney Archives for help and photocopying during my frequent visits. Scottish Natural Heritage Kirkwall office for access to their air photos and permission to reproduce them. Antonia for introducing me to Orkney and Rousay, and for her support, patience and conversations.

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- Digital map data is based on Ordnance Survey material with the permission of Ordnance Survey on Behalf of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationary Office © Crown Copyright/database right 2008. Supplied by an Ordnance Survey/EDINA service.

#### Air photo:

Scottish Natural Heritage, air photos: Rousay Box HY4030, sortie CUCAP in 2004 (1:10,000), Frame 82. Used with permission.

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#### **Appendix I:** Archive figures

Fig. 2. Archive: Inset location for Figures 3-5.

Fig. 3. Archive: Site location, southern area

Fig. 4. Archive: Site location, central area

Fig. 5. Archive: Site location, northern area

Fig. 11. Archive: Extract from Ordnance Survey second edition map (1903)

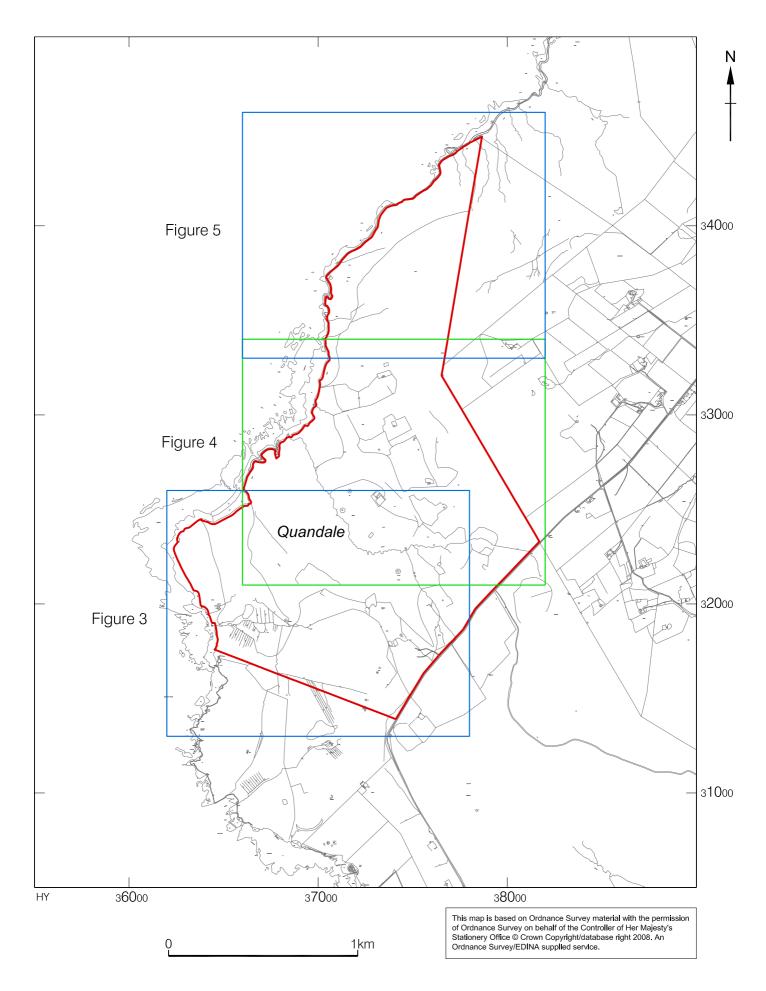


Fig. 2. Archive: Inset location for Figures 3-5 (Scale 1:20,000)

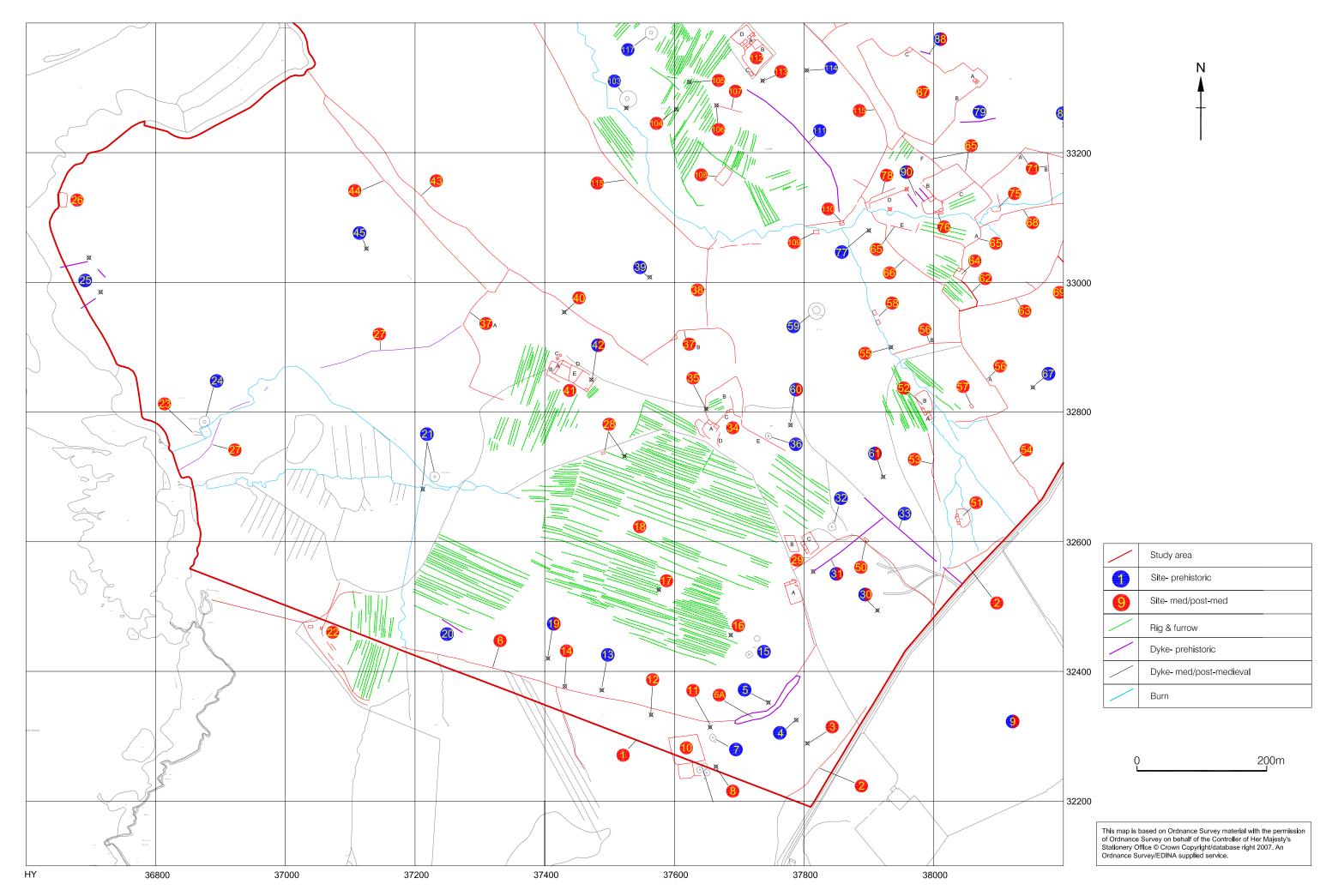
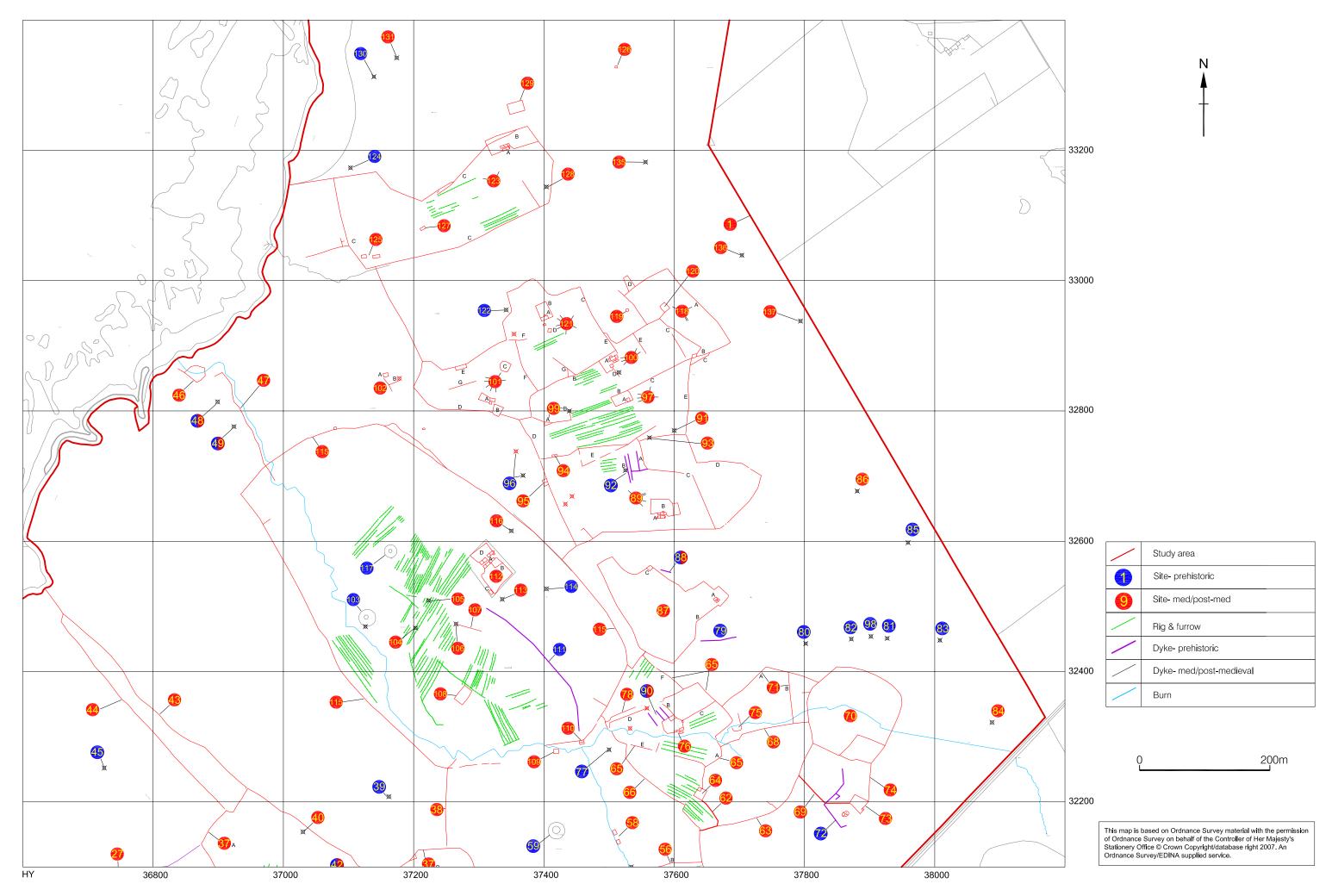


Fig. 3. Site location, southern area (1:5000)



**Fig. 4.** Site location, central area (1:5000)

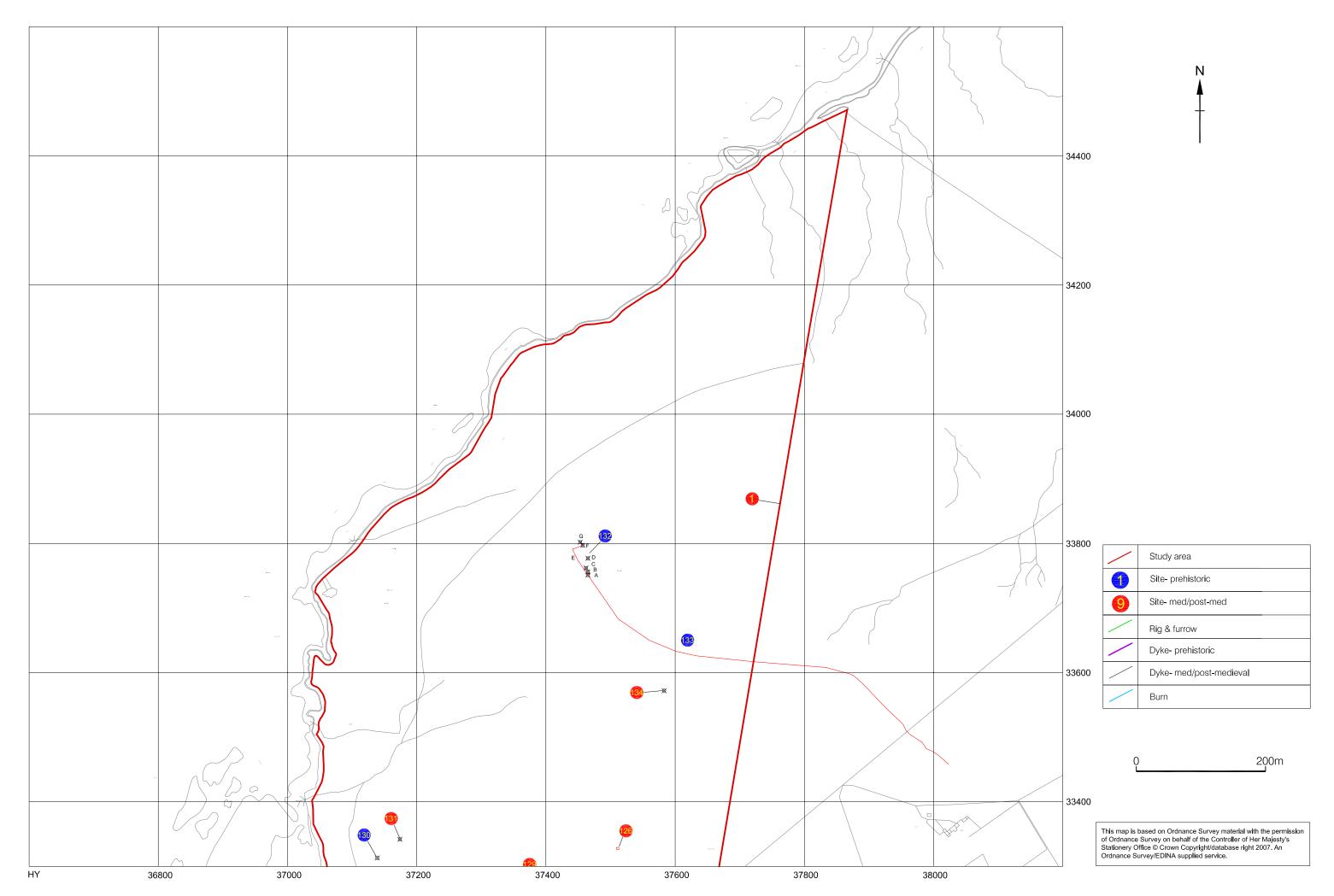


Fig. 5. Site location, northern area (1:5000)

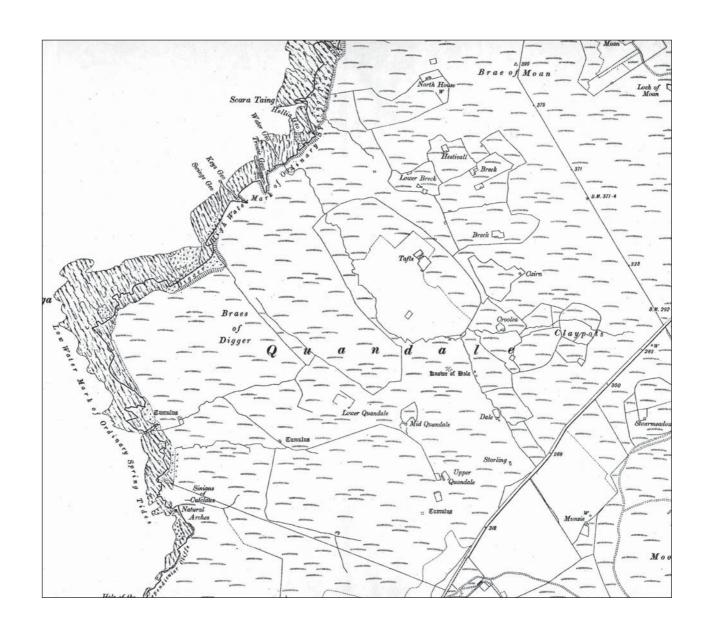


Fig. 11. Extract from the Ordnance Survey second edition map (1903), not to scale.

### **Appendix II:** Archive- Site summary

Туре	Site No's	No.	Description	Date
Barrow	7, 9, 15 (A&B), 32, 36, 39, 117 (known) 80, 81, 96A, 98, 114, 122, (new)	13	Previously recorded barrows, with several new potential examples located mainly on the NE side of the study area.	BA
Burnt mound	4, 5, 13 (new) 21, 24, 59, 103 (known)	7	Previously recorded burnt mounds with 3 new potential examples located on the SE slope adjacent to small stream channels associated with barrows	BA-IA
Mound	30, 35, 40, 42, 45, 49, 61, 82, 83, 85, 124, 130	12	Possible barrows, burnt mounds, cairns or natural features. Mostly previously unrecorded/noted	Preh- PM/Nat
Ancient dykes?	2 (hill dyke), 6A (treb-like), 6B&C, 31 (bank & mound), 33 (double ditch & bank), 111	5	Potential earlier major boundary dykes, especially 6A & 33 as they are quite distinctive in form.	Preh- med?
Sub-peat dykes	72 ( rectilinear enclosure?), 79, 88, 133	4	Prehistoric sub-peat dykes representing earlier landscape divisions. 133 is associated with other features (Site 132)	Neo- BA?
Settlement	132	1	Series of mounds, hollows & enclosure which appear to have structural remains internally. Possible settlement site. Associated with Site 133.	Neo- IA?
Platform/ terrace	60, 90, 92, 120	4	Cultivation terraces (possible lynchets?) or platforms, often aligned parallel to slope, some of which may represent earlier activity.	Preh- PM
Stone	77, 134	2	Possible standing/marker stone stumps	Preh- PM
Croft	10 (Knap Knowes), 22 (Cutlaw), 29 (Upper Quandale), 34 (Mid Quandale), 41 (Lower Quandale), 51 (Starling), 52 (Dale), 76 (Croolea), 87 (Cairn), 89 (Breck), 97 (Breek [S]), 100 (Breek), 101 (Lower Breek), 112 (Tafts), 121 (Hestivall), 123 (North House)	16	Croft houses, infield enclosures & associated features.	PM
Dyke	1, 20, 27, 37, 38, 43, 44, 47, 63, 65, 66, 68, 69, 71, 74, 78, 107, 115	18	Site 1 is the main stone sheep dyke enclosing the study area. Others are typically feelie dykes of earth & stone.	Med- PM
Ditch	53, 54, 138	3	Ditches were often flanked dykes & were recorded with them. Most singular ditches were for drainage in the mid 19 <sup>th</sup> C	PM
Enclosure	25, 26, 46, 56, 62, 64, 70, 73, 108, 118, 129	11	Various sized enclosures with stone or earth dykes. Cultivation or stock management. Possible Kail yards?	PM
Plantie- crue/ Kail yard/ pen	28, 50, 55, 57, 58, 75, 84, 94, 95, 99, 104, 109, 110, 119, 125, 126, 127	17	Small rectangular structures with stone, or occasionally earth dykes, sometimes with internal division. Plantiecrues, Kail yards or animal pens.	PM
Quarry	3, 8, 11, 12, 14, 16, 86, 136, 137	9	Small sandstone quarries, mostly excavated for construction of Site 1.	PM
Structure	17, 23, 48, 67, 93, 102, 105, 116, 131, 135	10	Remains of possible structures, including two circular. Unclear function	Preh- PM
Rig & furrow	18	1	Large area of rig & furrow recorded separately as a site.	PM
Clearance cairn	19, 106	2	Two clearance cairns recorded separately. Others recorded as part of larger composite sites.	Preh- PM
Hollow	91, 113, 128	3	Uniform circular or oval cut hollows with possible structural elements & entranceways. Underground store or 'tattie-hoose'. Possible well?	PM

SITE NO.	TYPE	NGR (HY)	DESCRIPTION / INTERPRETATION*	DATE	INV.
1	Wall	38169/ 32329	Main stone boundary wall constructed from quarried stone (sheep-dyke) of 'Quandale Park' (delimits study area). SE and N flank constructed first (depicted on OS 1 <sup>st</sup> edition map of 1882, Fig. 10), S flank a later addition (depicted on OS 2 <sup>nd</sup> edition map 1903, Fig. 11).	Mid 19 <sup>th</sup> C	-
2	Dyke	37374/ 31407	Hill dyke. Substantial weathered earth bank (3.25x1m) running along south-east area adjacent to road. Well defined in sections with steeper side to NW. In turn to NW at entrance to Quandale, still used today with modern gate. May have superseded Site 6 as hill dyke?	Med- PM	-
3	Quarry	37405/ 31489	Small sandstone quarry cut into natural steep slope with spoil to west. Possible cut for Site 1?	?PM	-
4	Burnt Mound	37388/ 31525	Possible burnt mound. Circular (10x1.3m) with two distinct peaks. Adjacent to dry stream channel. Associated with Site 5.	?BA	?
5	Burnt Mound	37345/ 31552	Possible burnt mound. Regular crescent shaped mound (7x5x1m) adjacent to a dry stream channel. Respected by Site 6A and associated with Site 4.	?BA	?
6	Dyke	37252/ 31525	A) Very large curvilinear earth bank (>10mx1m) with some stone protruding. Treb-like in proportions. Turns around Site 5. Possibly prehistoric?  B) Substantial earth bank (1.5x0.5m) which clearly overlays (A) to the NE.  C) Substantial earth bank (2x0.5m) which turns NW from (A), (relationship unclear) with ditch to S (3x1m) in part. Major boundary from east slopes down to Sinians of Cutlaw cave. Truncated by Site 22. Possible former hill dyke, earlier than Site 2?	BA – PM?	-
7	Barrow	37259/ 31498	Large highly visible barrow (9x8x1m) located on promontory. Visible on the skyline from most areas to the N & NE. Excavated (Grant 1936). Associated with Site 9.	BA	SMR 624 NMR ?
8	Quarry	37264/ 31453	Small sandstone quarry (11x8x2.5m) adjacent to Site 1, and probably excavated for its construction	Mid 19 <sup>th</sup> C	-
9	Barrow group	37247/ 31435	Group of 3 small barrows (max 7x0.75m), with a 4 <sup>th</sup> small mound to the SE. N barrow is traversed by Site 1. Excavated (Grant 1936). Associated with Site 7.	BA	SMR 625 NMR - HY33SE21 BP 133-5
10	Croft- Knap- knowes	37233/ 31447	Former croft (Knapknowes) surviving as a series of low feelie dykes and terrace. A shallow rectangular stone revetted cut feature (A) in north of main enclosure. Traversed by Site 1.	PM	-
11	Quarry	37255/ 31514	Small sandstone quarry (6.5x4.5x1m) cut into ditch of Site 6. Probably excavated for Site 1. Secondary rectangular ?sheep clamp built into side.	Mid 19 <sup>th</sup> C	-
12	Quarry	37164/ 31533	Small sandstone quarry (14x8x1.25m) cut into ditch of Site 6. Probably excavated for Site 1.	Mid 19 <sup>th</sup> C	-
13	Burnt Mound	37088/ 31571	Possible burnt mound. Regular sub-oval mound (13x10x1m) with two distinctive peaks. Adjacent to dry stream channel.	?BA	-
14	Quarry	37031/ 31577	Small sandstone quarry (13x6x1.5m) cut into ditch of Site 6. Probably excavated for Site 1.	Mid 19 <sup>th</sup> C	-
15	Barrow group	37315/ 31626	A) Small circular barrow (3.5x0.4m) with central hollow from excavation (Grant 1936).     B) Disturbed barrow. Central cist orthostats exposed and spoil cast to sides (15x12m). Destroyed by excavation before Grant.	BA	SMR 626 NMR – HY33SE26
16	Quarry	37287/ 31656	Weathered rectangular sandstone quarry (16x6x2m) cut into steep natural slope.	PM	-
17	Structure	37176/ 31726	Pile of stones (7.5x5x0.3m). Remains of possible plantiecrue/pen reduced to rubble.	PM	-
18	Rig & Furrow	37100/ 31760	Area of well preserved rig & furrow (3.5-4.5m wide, 0.2m high) to the SW of Mid Quandale (Site 34)	Med - PM	-
19	Cairn	37005/ 31620	Probable clearance cairn. Small oval stony mound (4x2.5x0.3m). Possible collapsed structure.	BA - PM	-

SITE NO.	TYPE	NGR (HY)	DESCRIPTION / INTERPRETATION*	DATE	INV.
20	Dyke	36873/ 31660	Low weathered curvilinear earth bank (3x0.4m) which may define the edge of Site 18 to the SW, or represent an earlier boundary.	Preh – PM?	-
21	Burnt Mound	36830/ 31900	Lower Quandale Burnt Mound. Large crescentic mound (15x1m) with rectangular central setting with coursed stonework exposed, opening to the SW. Waterlogged central area (trough?) with stream to SW. Associated small mound (9x4.5x0.5m) 20m to SW. Excavated by Grant but not fully published (RCHAMS 1946, 226).	BA	SMR 465 NMR – HY33SE7 SAM
22	Croft- Cutlaw	36720/ 31660	Cutlaw croft (out of area) and infield enclosure of earth banks surrounding rig. Later than Site 6C (possible former hill dyke). May represent expansion of township outside of first hill dyke.	PM	-
23	Structure	36467/ 31965	Sheep dip. Narrowing stone walled channel (15x4x1.25m) with flagged and cobbled floor to direct sheep into a pond to the SE created by a stone and earth dam (now breached) across a burn. Dam cuts Site 24.	Late 19 <sup>th</sup> C	1
24	Burnt Mound	36475/ 31985	Quoynalonga Ness Burnt Mound. Large burnt mound (16x11x1.75m) located adjacent to a stream and the sea. Sub-circular in shape with two peaks. Cut by Site 23 to S. Very visible within local valley, especially from SE. Sky-lined against sea from lower levels.	BA	SMR 464 NMR – HY33SE5 SAM
25	Enclosure	36315/ 32185	Two possible low weathered banks (>4x0.3m) with orthostats protruding, running up from the beach cliff to low mounds (>8x0.35m). Inconclusive line of stones visible between the mounds. Function unclear. May represent settlement activity.	Preh?	-
26	Enclosure	36257/ 32327	Small rectangular animal enclosure (25x12x1.10m) with stone walls (>0.8m wide) of large quarried (beach?) & weathered stones. 3 entrances. Sheep pen.	PM	1
27	Dyke	36545/ 32016	Curvilinear feelie dyke of earth construction (>2x0.3m) which runs from the Lower Quandale enclosure (Site 37A), crossing a burn several times before running around Site 24 to the shore.	?PM	1
28	Structures	37090/ 31936	A) Remains of rectangular structure (5x3.75x0.3m) with a spread of stones and an orthostat visible     B) Small pile of stones (2x0.3m) (HY37123/31932) which may represent a collapsed structure.	?PM	-
29	Crofts- Upper Quandale	37380/ 31779	A) Remains of croft house with corn drier & rectangular earth feelie dyke enclosure to S.     B) Sub-rectangular walled enclosure forming terrace to N.     C) Remains of croft house and rectangular walled enclosure to east	PM	NMR – HY33SE64
30	Mound	37513/ 31694	Small low mound (4x0.3m) on a slight plateau below a steep natural slope. Possible barrow or natural.	?BA	-
31	Bank / Mound	37414/ 31754	Substantial curvilinear earth bank (>5mx0.5m) which peters out & ends at small low mound (4x3.5x0.3m) in W. Appears to turn and continue NW where joined by Site 33, but intersection is disturbed.	?Preh. - med	-
32	Barrow	37443/ 31823	Well preserved mound (8x0.6m) on a plateau adjacent to stream. Only locally visible but other monuments prominent to N & S. Central depression from excavation (Grant 1936).	ВА	SMR 630 NMR – HY33SE31 BP 147?
33	Dyke	37493/ 31868	Unique double ditch (2x0.5m) and central bank (2.5x0.6m) boundary. Appears to continue SE of hill dyke (Site 2), and turn to join corner of Site 31, although intersection is disturbed.	?Preh. - med	-

SITE NO.	TYPE	NGR (HY)	DESCRIPTION / INTERPRETATION*	DATE	INV.
34	Croft- Mid Quandale	37263/ 31974	A) Remains of croft house later converted to sheep shelters with walled enclosures to NW. Quarried stone with some weathered blocks.  B) Walled irregular shaped enclosure to NE of (A) surviving to 0.5m high and mostly grass covered C&D) Substantial sheep dyke walls (1.6m high) maintained for sheep shelter  E) Deep steep sided cutting which curves around Site 36 (5x1m). possible boundary, holloway or linear quarry.	РМ	NMR – HY33SE65
35	Mound	37249/ 32005	Irregular mound (10x5x0.5m), possible midden or eroded barrow. Appears disturbed. Located to N of Site 34B.	BA - PM	-
36	Barrow	37345/ 31963	Well defined circular barrow mound (4.5x0.5m) with central depression visible from excavation (Grant 1936). Only locally visible but other monuments prominent to N & S.	BA	SMR 630 BP 146
37	Dyke (Lower Quandale)	37149/ 32079	A) Earth feelie dyke (>2.5x0.7m) with stone revetment on the outer face in places forming the enclosure for Site 41. Possibly later than Site 44. Joined by Sites 27 and 37B. The NE flank may have been part of an earlier boundary with Site 43. Segmented by erosion.  B) Low earth feelie dyke (2.5x0.5m) forming an extension to Site 37A to E. Peters out to SE. Joined by Site 38.	PM	NMR – HY33SE66
38	Dyke	37250/ 32119	Well defined but segmented earth feelie dyke (2x0.5m) joining Sites 37B & 115.	PM	-
39	Mound	37162/ 32208	Possible barrow. Low well defined sub-circular mound (5x4x0.5m) within gently sloping area of peat. Apparently undisturbed. Site 59 prominent to E. Locally visible from E, & Sites 59 & 117 prominent.	?BA	NMR – HY33SE32
40	Mound	37030/ 32154	Distinctive small oval earth mound (5x3.5x0.4m) incorporated within Site 37A. Possible earlier feature or variation within the bank.	?PM	-
41	Croft- Lower Quandale	37021/ 32054	A) House platform reduced to lowest courses. Defined by high wall (1.8m) to NW maintained as a sheep shelter. Quarried & some weathered stone.  B) Walled enclosure to NW of (A) forming a slight terrace.  C) 2 tumbled structures (max 5x4x1m) one of which may represent a corn drier.  D) Deep steep sided cutting (6x1.5m) defining E of area. Possible Holloway or drain.  E) Main inner enclosures of collapsed walling (0.3m high). Small stone structure (6x4.5x0.65m) in S corner.  F) Possible house platform or enclosure. Reduced to lower courses.	PM	NMR – HY33SE66
42	Mound	37072/ 32050	Substantial oval earth mound (9x7.5x0.75m) with large off centre depression in top (2.5m diam.). Stones visible in make-up. Cutting 41B appears to respect it. Possible barrow or disturbed structure.	?Preh. -PM	-
43	Dyke	36811/ 32331	Weathered linear earth feelie dyke (>3x0.5m) which runs from Site 37 to Digger beach. Peters out in NW in boggy area. Replaced by Site 44?	PM?	-
44	Dyke	36789/ 32319	Substantial steep sided earth feelie dyke (>6x0.75m) which appears to replace Site 43 as it turns to join the line of 43 near Digger. May have been part of earlier boundary system (but maintained) as there is a suggestion that it may have continued SE towards Site 41D.	PM?	-
45	Mound	36725/ 32252	Small low oval mound (4.5x4x0.3m) within area of peat. Situated near top of gentle NW slope. Within undulating area and could be natural rather than prehistoric.	?BA- Nat.	-

SITE NO.	TYPE	NGR (HY)	DESCRIPTION / INTERPRETATION*	DATE	INV.
46	Enclosure	36848/ 32859	Collapsed oval stone walled enclosure (A) situated over the mouth of the Burn of Tafts. Walling of large slabs and blocks survives in places to 0.8m high with buttresses which may have formed internal structures. Low curvilinear earth bank with stone revetting runs from S of enclosure to low sea cliff (B). Structure spanning the burn to N may be the remains of a click mill. Generally all in poor condition.	PM	-
47	Dyke	36906/ 32859	Remains of a stone dyke which flanks the SW side of the Burn of Tafts channel from Site 46 to 115. Some coursing survives (0.75m high) but mostly collapsed.	PM	-
48	Structure	36899/ 32814	Remains of a rectangular structure (9x7x0.5) situated on a spur near the mouth of the Burn of Tafts. Survives as low grassy banks on a plateau with some orthostats visible & a small stony mound (3m diam.) to the W.	?Preh. -PM	-
49	Mound	36924/ 32776	Large irregular grassy oval mound (10x9x0.75m) on the edge of a stream channel near the mouth of the Burn of Tafts. A small stony mound (3.5m diam.) is adjacent to the NE and the remains of a small square stone structure (3x3m; plantiecrue?) have been constructed into the E side.	?Preh. -PM	-
50	Structure	37493/ 31787	Rectangular stone structure (9.5x4x0.4m) adjacent to stream channel. Reduced to lowest courses with an internal division visible. Possible dwelling, pen or double plantiecrue.	PM	NMR – HY33SE59
51	Croft- Starling	37632/ 31824	Remains of small croft house (B) reduced to 0.55m high (quarried stone), with out buildings (A & C) and walled enclosure to NE reduced to a stony bank (2x0.4m). Located between 2 stream channels.	PM	- NMR - HY33SE58
52	Croft- Dale	37589/ 31983	A) Croft house with adjacent barn with possible corn drier. Stone walls survive well to 1.45m high. Quarried stone. Central hearth.      B) Small enclosure to N of house of stony banks (2.5x0.4m) of weathered former wall. Orthostats used as revetment.	PM	-
53	Ditch	37597/ 31907	Drainage ditch with a 'V' shaped profile (2x0.5m) which joins stream adjacent to Site 52A. Possible drain relating to improvement.	19 <sup>th</sup> C	-
54	Dyke & Ditch	37677/ 31974	Substantial steep sided ditch (2.5x0.6m) with weathered earth and stone dyke (1.5x0.3m) flanking SW side. Stone walling & orthostat revetting on NE side in places. Joins hill dyke to SE but intersection badly rutted. Terminates at entrance in Site 56 to NW.	?PM	-
55	Structure	37534/ 32100	Remains of small rectangular structure (7x4x0.45m) reduced grassy stony banks with some orthostat revetment visible. Probable pen or Kail yard.	PM	-
56	Enclosure (Dale)	37639/ 32091	A) Main infield enclosure dyke to N of Site 53 (Dale). Substantial but weathered banks, walling and internal & external orthostat revetment. Continues N. Joined by Site 54 at entrance. B) Substantial stone wall (0.85x0.5m) forming NW of enclosure. Few orthostats used. Rebuilt or a later phase?	PM	-
57	Structure	37658/ 32009	Remains of small rectangular structure (6x4.25x0.5m) reduced to a stony bank with some coursing visible. Within Site 56. Probable pen or Kail yard.	PM	-
58	Structures	37509/ 32152	Remains of two rectangular structures (max 7.5x5x0.8m) 9m apart adjacent to stream channel. SE example has a low internal central dividing bank. Walls of large blocks survive well in places to 0.8m high. Possible pens, buildings or Kail yards.	PM	-
59	Burnt Mound	37419/ 32157	Knowe of Dale. Large prominent crescentic burnt mound (21x18x2.3m) located at the head of a small valley. A very prominent landscape feature. SW & Central area has been excavated and the central box is still partly exposed (RCAHMS 1946). Highly visible from all directions.	BA	SMR 469 NMR HY- 33SE15 SAM

SITE NO.	TYPE	NGR (HY)	DESCRIPTION / INTERPRETATION*	DATE	INV.
60	Platform	37379/ 31980	Sub-rectangular grass covered platform of earth (15x11.5x0.4m) with slight mounds at either end. Possible small enclosure or structure remains.	Preh. -PM	-
61	Mound	37522/ 31900	Small low grass covered mound (3.5x0.3m) located at the top of a natural slope. Possible clearance cairn or barrow. Could be natural.	?Preh. -PM	-
62	Enclosure	37862/ 32151	Stone section of additional enclosure S of Site 75 (Croolea). Well preserved irregularly coursed wall surviving to 0.55m high. Possible re-built section. Forms S addition to enclosure to the N with Site 66. Appears to have been constructed around SW end of Site 63. May be same phase as Site 64.	PM	-
63	Dyke	37762/ 32192	Curvilinear feelie dyke (1.25x0.5m) of earth construction with steep sides & flat top in places. Large stone slabs across width of dyke in places. Forms enclosure along with Site 68 between Sites 62/65 and Site 70, and is likely to be later. May have continued SW before construction of Site 62?	PM	-
64	Enclosure	37641/ 32199	Rectangular enclosure (18x15x0.6m) with walls of various sized slabs and 2 entrances. Small subenclosure in N corner. Animal pen to control stock from common grazing to infield. May have been a later addition to the enclosure system (with Site 62?) as the line of Site 65 seems to continue S inside, or this could be a terrace.	PM	-
65	Dyke- Croolea	37666/ 32293	Series of feelie dykes which forms the infield enclosure for Site 76 (Croolea). There are suggestions of several phases of expansion or rebuilding. (A) Main outer boundary of earth and some stone (1.5x0.5m). (B & C) dividing bank (1.5x0.2m) of earth which may form part of an earlier or less maintained system with terraces Site 90. The original enclosure may have continued SW (D) as a low bank (but perhaps a furrow) and cross the burn (E) to (A). These relationships remain unclear. The enclosure croft house enclosure Site 76B (stone) certainly appears to be above bank 65B. The enclosure system appears to have expanded south and linked the Tafts enclosure (Site 115) to N (F). Generally the dykes probably represent several phases of construction and maintenance	PM	-
66	Dyke	37617/ 32181	Largely stone built dyke wall (1.5x0.5m) which may have been rebuilt to accommodate extensions to the in field to the S along with Site 62. Large orthostats used as external revetment in SE. Similar in form to Site 56. The marked kink at the NW end may represent different phases in relation to Site 65E?	PM	-
67	Structure	37753/ 32038	Sub-square earth bank feature (10x10x0.4m) with open side to NW (perhaps weathered) & orthostat revetment visible on the SE side. Grass covered & steep sections suggest largely turf construction. Two short curvilinear banks (16x1x0.3m) join the NE and SW corner, the SW of which is more convincing. May be prehistoric.	?Preh.	-
68	Dyke	37781/ 32305	Feelie dyke (1.25x0.5m) of earth with some stone and orthostat revetment forming part of an additional enclosure system between Site 70 (Claypots) and Site 65 (Croolea). May have first formed enclosure with Site 63 to S, but linear form suggests it probably formed the S boundary of an enclosure with Site 71 to the N.	PM	-
69	Dyke	37847/ 32187	Feelie dyke (1.25x0.5m) of turf with steep well defined sides forming an additional enclosure with Site 74 to the S of Site 70 (Claypots). Traverses Site 72, but respects with a change in direction, and is later. Joins Site 73, but hints that it once continued to join Site 74.	PM	-

SITE NO.	TYPE	NGR (HY)	DESCRIPTION / INTERPRETATION*	DATE	INV.
70	Enclosure -Claypots	37887/ 32329	Large sub-circular feelie dyke enclosure (Claypots) of broad low earth bank (1.35x0.4m) with some stones and orthostat revetment in places. A rectangular stone walled enclosure was seemingly added to the SE corner. Wall reduced mostly to a broad stony bank (1.5mx0.5m) but some structure survives capped with large slabs. Contains rig & furrow.	PM	NMR – HY33SE56
71	Dykes	37741/ 32394	Feelie dyke (1.5x0.6m) of earth & stone construction with large slabs, blocks & orthostats used for revetment. Forms enclosure with Site 68 between Site 65 (Croolea) and Site 70 (Claypots). This is internally divided by a similar form dyke.	PM	-
72	Sub-peat enclosure	37853/ 32179	Rectilinear apparently sub-peat enclosure. Low peat covered banks (max 1.75x0.3m) which are more distinctive in the SE, with a possible continuation into a marshy area to the NW. A possible internal sub-division (7x6x0.2m) is visible in the NW corner, and may represent internal features. This is perhaps disturbed by a small drain, but its authenticity appears good. Site 63 respects the SW flank in changing course when running above.	BA?	-
73	Enclosure	37880/ 32186	Rectangular enclosure with rough stone walls surviving to 0.75m high, but reduced to stony banks (1.75x0.4m) in most parts suggesting varied maintenance. Remains of a small stone structure (4x3x0.65m: plantiecrue?) are built into the SE wall, and may have originally formed the junction of Site 69 & 74 before the construction of Site 73? Three gullies within internal area may represent rig.	PM	-
74	Dyke	37899/ 32215	Feelie dyke (1.25x0.4m) of earth & some stone including orthostat revetment forming an enclosure with Site 69. Appears to have had Site 73 inserted into S corner and may form E boundary.	PM	-
75	Structure	37700/ 32302	Remains of oval structure (14x7x0.5m) of earth and some possible collapsed walling visible as orthostats. Forms a slight raised area with the burn as N boundary. Low earth bank extends 16m to N across burn. Possible plantiecrue or pen but unclear.	PM?	-
76	Croft- Croolea	37610/ 32299	A) Well preserved house with gable end still largely intact (1.95m high) with internal shelf. Two small outhouses attached to the SW side and additional structures now largely collapsed to the S. Quarried stone. Central hearth.  B) Croft sub-square enclosure with collapsed boundary wall which may have been constructed onto earlier bank (Site 65B) or more recently maintained.  C) Possible small feelie dyke sub-enclosure within (B) with well defined steep sided earth banks (1.5x0.3m).  D) Remains of a small stone roofed structure (roof slabs visible) to N of house reduced to 0.45m high. Possible animal house.	PM	NMR - HY33SE56
77	Stone	37500/ 32280	Large weathered earth-fast orthostat (1.05x0.27x0.4m) within heath area on a slight rise south of a burn at the base of the small Croolea valley. Possible standing stone stump or natural.	Neo- BA?	-
78	Dyke	37493/ 32310	Stone dyke (0.7x0.55m) largely collapsed but with large orthostats and large slabs used in construction. Appears to control movement around an entrance to Site 115 (Tafts enclosure), & may have formed a former NW boundary for Site 76 (Croolea). Is augmented by a short length of segmented earth feelie dyke (1.5x0.4m) between Site 115 forming a sub-enclosure.	PM	-

SITE NO.	TYPE	NGR (HY)	DESCRIPTION / INTERPRETATION*	DATE	INV.
79	Sub-peat dyke	37671/ 32448	Curvilinear dyke (1.5x0.35m) which emerges fragmentally for a short distance from below an area of peat to the S of Site 87 (Cairn). Runs along the top of a steeper natural slope to the S. Well defined in central section with a steeper southern side and visible stones (perhaps one orthostat). Peat may be thinner in this area, perhaps due to peat cutting.	Neo- BA?	-
80	Mound	37802/ 32443	Possible barrow. Small circular low mound (4mx0.4m) situated on a glacial plateau within an area of peat. Large stones visible in the top. Visible on skyline when approached from E. Not excavated.	BA?	-
81	Mound	37927/ 32451	Possible barrow. Small circular low mound (5.5mx0.5m) situated on a glacial plateau within an area of peat. Large stones visible in the top. Visible on skyline when approached from E. Not excavated.	BA?	-
82	Mound	37872/ 32450	Possible barrow but less convincing than Sites 80 & 81. Small circular low mound (3.5x3x0.3m) situated on a glacial plateau within an area of peat. Large stone visible in the top. Visible only in immediate local area. Could represent a larger sub-peat feature.	BA?	-
83	Mound	38008/ 32448	Possible barrow but less convincing than Sites 80 & 81. Small oval low mound (3.5x0.35m) situated on a glacial plateau within an area of peat. Large stones visible in the top. Visible only in immediate local area & from the SE. Could represent a larger subpeat feature.	BA?	-
84	Enclosure	38088/ 32322	Small sub-rectangular enclosure (7x5.5x0.3m) formed from low earth banks 1m wide. Within a marshy area and could be sub-peat. A small 2.5m wide mound is situated to the N. Likely to represent a turf constructed plantiecrue.	PM	-
85	Mound	37959/ 32598	Small low sub-circular peaty mound (4x0.25m) located within an area of peat within a natural amphitheatre with views to the E. Possible sub-peat mound but likely to be natural.	Preh or nat.	-
86	Quarry	37881/ 32677	Sandstone quarry (14x6x3.5m) cut into a steep rocky natural face with spoil to the south. A second smaller quarry was noted out of the survey area beyond boundary wall to the E (c.37970/32665). Both likely to have been excavated for the construction of Site 1.	Mid 19 <sup>th</sup> C	-
87	Croft -Cairn	37664/ 32498	A) Croft house and separate byre. Walls survive well to 1.05m high. Byre to the S consists of 2 rooms from different phases of construction. A short length of low wall is situated to the NE. Quarried stone. Central hearth.  B) Main irregularly shaped infield enclosure perhaps of earth foundations modified with stone walling (0.6x0.55m) surviving well in sections. Mostly collapsed with large boulders visible. Entrance in N corner by (C).  C) Small sub-enclosure of tumbled low grass covered walls located at an entrance in (B). Perhaps for stock management from common grazing.	PM	NMR – HY33SE55
88	Dyke Sub-peat?	37580/ 32543	Short length of slightly curvilinear dyke (c.17x0.65x0.2m) which appears to be sub-peat and may continue further at each visible end. Stone slabs & blocks visible, with 3 courses in places. Probing suggests a continuation down into peat. Appears not to be associated and follows a different E-W alignment to Site 87B, but this cannot be ruled out.	Preh- PM?	-

SITE NO.	TYPE	NGR (HY)	DESCRIPTION / INTERPRETATION*	DATE	INV.
89	Croft- Breck	37582/ 32627	A) Well preserved croft house, byre, outhouses and corn drier. Walls of the corn drier survive to up to 1.9m high with a slab constructed lean-to by the side. Additional rooms were added to the barn to the SW. The house to the N survives well with orthostat divisions, a corner shelf, four wall shelves, and a side bed neuk. An additional room was added to the SW. All quarried stone. Central hearth.  B) Inner enclosure consists of collapsed stone dykes with coursing surviving in places (0.6x0.4m) with a feelie dyke and ditch forming the boundary to the NE. This was apparently extended to the NW with a walled enclosure.  C) Main infield enclosure well defined earth feelie dyke (1.25x0.6m) with a slight ditch adjacent on the southern flank. Extended in several phases to E by (D).  D) Extension to (C) to E of main enclosure. Stone revetted feelie dykes. Suggests piecemeal extension & subdivision of enclosures.  E) North enclosure feelie dyke boundary which continues NE. Appears to be joined by (C).	PM	NMR - HY33SE54
90	Terraces	37575/ 32330	Series of 3 possible cultivation terraces (c. 13m, 7.5m & 3.5m wide) adjacent to Site 76 (Croolea) which are aligned parallel to the slope (instead of perpendicular as with rig). Associated with denuded banks (Site 65B) which appear to have predated the inner croft boundary. Clear edge of lower terrace to SW.	Preh- PM?	-
91	Hollow	37600/ 32761	Small oval steep sided hollow (6x4x1m) to the N of Site 89 cut into a slope with a possible spoil mound to SE and narrow entrance channel to W. Possible small quarry or more likely a formerly roofed tattie-hoose or underground store.	PM	-
92	Terrace & Bank	37542/ 32738	Terrace (30x7.5x0.4m) aligned parallel to slope (& respected by Site 89D to N) flanked by linear earth bank (1x0.2m) arrangement including a central square banked feature with box-like orthostat setting (0.8x0.7x0.3m). There are hints of other possible low flanking banks & a possible ditch. The terrace could have been used for cultivation but the function of the bank(s) & setting is unclear and enigmatic.	Preh- PM?	-
93	Structure	37562/ 32759	Pile of stones (4x3x0.5m) which may represent a collapsed structure, perhaps a plantiecrue, or a clearance cairn.	PM?	-
94	Structure	37419/ 32721	Rectangular structure including central division (8.5x3x0.7m) with roughly built stone walls of various sized slabs and boulders. Constructed into the side of Site 89E but unclear if contemporary. Possible dwelling house, but rough construction suggests an animal pen.	PM	-
95	Structure	37401/ 32681	Rectangular structure (9x6x0.4m) which appears to abut the SW side of Site 89C. Constructed from collapsed turf and stone with a central dividing wall. Probable animal pen.	PM	-
96	Mound	37368/ 32701	A) Possible barrow. Low roughly circular mound (4.5x0.5m) located to the S of a slight natural hillock. Small central depression visible from ?excavation.  B) Small probable stony clearance cairn (2x1.5x0.3m) to the NW of barrow (HY 37357/32738) within area of peat.	BA?	-

SITE NO.	TYPE	NGR (HY)	DESCRIPTION / INTERPRETATION*	DATE	INV.
97	Croft- Breek (S)	37530/ 32804	A) Rectangular ?dwelling structure (5.5x4.5x1.6m) with substantial supporting external wall on W side. Quarried stone. Central hearth.  B) Inner enclosure with a collapsed stone dyke (0.7x0.5m) forming a terrace to the W. Area of rig to S.  C) Earth feelie dyke (1x0.25m) flanking a natural channel to N.  D) Feelie dyke of earth and some stone. Continuation of Site 89C after entranceway at junction with Site 89E. Continues NW to Site 101 (Lower Breek).  E) Well defined W boundary of main enclosure. Earth feelie dyke (1x0.6m) with steep sides which joins boundary system to N.	PM	
98	Mound	37902/ 32454	Possible barrow (3.25x0.35m). Low mound with visible stones within an area of peat. More convincing than Site 82. Could be natural or perhaps sub-peat.	BA?	-
99	Structures	37442/ 32786	A) Irregular shaped low platform (9x6x0.35m) with external slab revetment. Low earth feelie dyke continues to N & S dividing an area of rig. Possible pen or Kail yard?      B) Small rectangular stone structure base (4.5x3.5x0.4m) with possible entrance to S. reduced to lower courses. Possible animal pen.	PM	-
100	Croft- Breek	37506/ 32869	A) Croft house, barn & corn drier, outbuilding. Substantial well preserved house to the N with additional rooms abutting to the E & W. Off-shot neuk bed to N. Barn & corn drier in building range to S with winnowing air holes in walls. Small outbuilding to SW. Quarried stone. Central hearth.  B) Main feelie dyke (1.25x0.45m) forming N boundary to infield with spurs enclosing croft house. Variable low earthwork in W including well defined vertically sided flat topped parts, and rough coursed stonework & clearance boulders in E. Area of rig to S.  C) Main NE infield boundary dyke (1.5x0.6m) of weathered earth. Substantial ditch (3x1m) along N flank from junction with Hestivall (???) enclosure. Curves out to E from Hestivall boundary as if a later addition. Well defined steep sided sections (1x0.8m) to SE with external orthostat revetment. Joins dyke intersection to S.  D) Uniform circular hollow (6x5.5x0.75m) to south of croft buildings. Steep regular sides with convex base and central circular rise. Possible entrance to NW. Possible underground store or tattie-hoose?	PM	NMR – HY33SE53

SITE NO.	TYPE	NGR (HY)	DESCRIPTION / INTERPRETATION*	DATE	INV.
101	Croft- Lower Breek	37317/ 32805	A) Croft house with single room and small outbuilding/byre to SW. NW gable end survives to 1.9m high with an internal shelf. Central hearth. Small terraced field (0.5m high) to NW with rich dark earth and weathered feelie boundary with stone. All quarried stone. Central hearth.  B) Small slightly terraced sub-rectangular of collapsed earth feelie dykes (1x0.3m) with some stone coursing visible. Inserted into main boundary dyke or as remains of Site D visible internally, or perhaps was extended to S.  C) Small sub-rectangular enclosure with heavily weathered earth feelie dykes (1x0.25m). Less cohesive in NW.  D) Main infield boundary of denuded earth feelie dykes (1.5x0.5m) with sections of rough stone walling (W corner), boulders, & orthostat revetment on both sides. Continues N, & E similar. Joined by Site 118.  E) Small rectangular enclosure (c.17x5.5x0.6m) of denuded earth and stone dykes & internal corner earth division. Possible large plantiecrue/pen.  F) Infield E boundary. Weathered feelie dyke (1x0.3m) of earth, & stone infilling/revetting in places. Joined by Site 100B.  G) Internal dividing low earth feelie dyke (1x0.3m), with small ditch (0.6x0.15m) along S side. Possible drain.	PM	NMR - HY33SE52
102	Structure & banks	37157/ 32855	A) Rectangular stone built structure (7.5x5.5x0.5m) with collapsed walls of large slabs, orthostats & boulders. Possible plantiecrue in slightly sheltered location or animal pen.  B) Irregular grass covered mound (4.5x3.5x0.6m) to SE of A. Some stones visible. Possible clearance cairn.  C) Low denuded earth banks (1x0.3x0.2m) forming a possible enclosure to SW of A&B.	PM	-
103	Burnt Mound	37127/ 32483	Tafts burnt mound. Large crescentic burnt mound (20x14x1.5m) with two discrete peaks giving the impression of 2 mounds. A second small mound (7x5x0.8m) is located c.4m to the S beyond a burn. Situated in the marshy base of a local valley the mound is not highly visible until in close proximity, but is visible from Site 117 & from the ridge to the SW.	ВА	SMR 589 NMR – HY33SE8
104	Structure	37203/ 32467	Small rectangular structure (4x3.5x0.3m) of tumbled walls of stone & some earth. Possible plantiecrue. Small sub-circular mound (3.5x0.4m) up slope to E. Possible clearance cairn.	PM	-
105	Structure	37223/ 32509	Remains of a possible former structure reduced to a pile of stones (4x2x0.25m) within a small terrace (8m long x 7m wide) cut into a steep natural slope. Possible spoil area to W. Possible pen.	PM?	-
106	Mound	37265/ 32473	Small stony mound (3x0.35m). Possible structure remains or clearance cairn. Associated with Site 107.	Preh- PM?	-
107	Bank	37304/ 32462	Low weathered linear earth bank (1.5x0.2m) which is cut by a later drain to the E, and runs up to Site 106 to the W.	Preh- PM?	-
108	Enclosure	37278/ 32351	Rectangular walled enclosure (c.25x13x1m) forming a slightly raised central area. Walls (>0.7m wide) of various sized slabs & some boulders survive well. Entrance unclear. Possible cultivation enclosure (Kail yard?) due to terracing.	PM	-
109	Structure	37422/ 32267	Rectangular walled enclosure (8.5x6x0.45m) with collapsed stone walls. Range of large blocks & slabs used, & orthostat revetment visible within outer face. Possible Kail yard or pen.	PM	-

SITE NO.	TYPE	NGR (HY)	DESCRIPTION / INTERPRETATION*	DATE	INV.
110	Structure	37461/ 32284	Roughly square walled double enclosure (7x6.5x0.6m) with collapsed stone walls of subangular slabs & blocks. Orthostats used mainly in central dividing wall which forms two equal internal areas. Entrance not visible. Possible pens or Kail yards. Constructed into the S side of Site 115 (Tafts main enclosure dyke).	PM	-
111	Bank	37441/ 32376	Substantial curvilinear possible bank (>7x0.75m) which runs from the S of the Tafts enclosure (Site 115), where it is cut by drains, turning NW at its most substantial & well defined part, into an area of peat margin towards Tafts house (Site 112). The NW flank forms more of a distinctive terrace which may be sub-peat. Could be associated with Site 112, but could be a much older boundary included in Site 115, the relationship to which is unclear in the S due to later drain cuts.	Preh.?	-
112	House & encl.s- Tafts	37310/ 32552	A) Large well preserved 2 storey house (16 <sup>th</sup> C?) with byres, corn drier, and out buildings. Previously recorded. All quarried stone. House could date to 16 <sup>th</sup> century (Clouston 1923, Lamb 1982). Centre of post-medieval township.  B) Inner SE sub-rectangular enclosure of low tumbled stone walls up to 0.6m high forming slight terraces to the SW. Small sub-enclosure of low earth feelie dykes (1x0.3m) in N corner.  C) Small outbuilding with well constructed stone walls surviving to 1.2m high. Apparently open to the SE side.  D) Inner NW enclosure of similar form to B, forming a slight terrace to SW. Large boulders & orthostats used to support face.	РМ	NMR – HY33SE44
113	Hollow	37336/ 32511	Oval cut hollow (5x3.5x0.75m) with regular steep sides, stones & a slab visible in the base, and a spoil heap (0.5m high) adjacent to the W. Possible entrance to north. Located to the S of Site 112. Possible small quarry (but too regular) or below ground storage structure (tattie-hoose) that may have been roofed. Possible well.	PM	-
114	Barrow	37404/ 32527	Small regular circular barrow (4x0.6m) situated on a broad peninsula orientated towards the sea. Central hollow (1.5x0.2m) in top from previous excavation? Other monuments highly visible (Sites 59, 103, 117) but only visible itself in the immediate local area.	BA	-
115	Dyke- enclosure	37260/ 32500	Large sub-oval infield enclosure dyke for Site 112 (Tafts). Weathered earth dyke (2.5x0.9m max) best preserved & more substantial on NE side. Appears to utilize large natural stream channels either side of N corner, although these could have been cut perhaps as a linear quarry. A weathered section reveals earth (turf) construction with few stones, & orthostats are used as revetting in places. SW side beyond the burn is considerably less substantial & segmented (1.25x0.2m in places) and may have been constructed from peat. Some sections appear to have been maintained more recently, but this could be due to differential weathering. Encloses large areas of rig & furrow (3.5-4m wide) but the SW, N & NE areas are marsh or peat.	Med- PM	NMR - HY33SE50
116	Structure	37350/ 32616	Circular stone walled structure (2.3x1.5x0.52m) located on a ridge to the N of Tafts (Site 112). Constructed from large sub-angular to sub-rounded slabs and boulders its circularity is more uniform on the outside. Appearance of a well head, but function remains unclear.	PM	-
117	Barrow (Tafts)	37164/ 32585	Barrow (7x0.75m) situated on the summit of a small hillock to the side of a small natural valley. Central hollow in the top (2x0.5m) from previous excavation (Grant 1936). Very prominent from the SE (from where it is sky lined against the sea), & locally from the NE & SW. Merges into the landscape from greater distances.	BA	SMR 629 NMR – HY33SE30 HY33SE76 BP 145

SITE NO.	TYPE	NGR (HY)	DESCRIPTION / INTERPRETATION*	DATE	INV.
118	Enclosures - Breek NE	376581/ 32934	Enclosure system to NE of Site 100 (Breek) apparently added upslope into hill ground.  A) Main enclosure dyke of earth & stone (1.25x0.5m) with steeper external side stone revetted including large orthostats. Marker stone in NE side. Apparently rebuilt stone section on N side deviates from original line (by E). Enclosure contains Site 120.  B) Intersection with Site 100 consisting of reworked raised area of earth & stone.  C) Additional dyke added to SE of B for stock management. Feelie dyke (0.75x0.4m) with central entrance.  D) Small rectangular side enclosure on NW side of A of weathered earth dykes (1x0.3m).	PM	-
119	Structure	37528/ 32955	Remains of oval structure (4.5x4x0.25m) reduced to lower levels. In poor condition but wall of earth & stone (c.0.6m wide) is likely. Probable plantiecrue. Located on slope to SW of Site 118.	PM	-
120	Terrace	37587/ 32951	Rectangular earth ?cultivation terrace (16x10x0.6m) located on a natural terrace below a scarp slope. Enclosed by low weathered remains of earth feelie dykes (1x0.2m) around edges. 2 <sup>nd</sup> possible terrace to N. Date unclear & could be older than PM?	?PM	-
121	Croft- Hestivall	37401/ 32929	A) Croft house, byre & outbuildings. Well preserved with walls up to 1.1m high. Main croft house room has a neuk bed to the N, internal shelf & additional rooms to the E & W. Separate small byre/outhouse to S. All quarried stone. Central hearth.  B) Inner enclosure to N of croft buildings. Roughly built stone wall (0.65x0.5m) of tumbled slabs & boulders forming a terrace on W side. Terrace & possible rig (N-S) suggest cultivation.  C) Main dyke enclosure of earth & roughly coursed stone slabs, boulders & orthostats. Wall (0.6x0.4m) is flanked by a steep sided ditch(4x1m) in N which may be a linear quarry for stone & boundary enhancement. NW side kinks to avoid barrow (Site 122) & joins Site 101D. Bounds croft, rig & clearance cairns.  D) Irregular stony mound (6x0.5m). Possible remains of structure.  E) Substantial earth bank (3x0.9m) below later stone dyke in N section of main dyke C. Earlier phase of boundary?  F) Earth feelie dyke (2x0.6m) that runs from the boundary to Site 101 & is weathered out to NE, perhaps by cultivation. Earlier internal dividing boundary?  G) Weathered remains of internal earth dyke.	PM	NMR- HY33SE51
122	Barrow	37345/ 32943	Regular roughly circular mound (5x4.5x0.6m) situated just back from the edge of a slight natural NW facing plateau. Tafts barrow (Site 117) prominent through interleaving slopes to SW. Apparently unexcavated.	ВА	-

SITE NO.	TYPE	NGR (HY)	DESCRIPTION / INTERPRETATION*	DATE	INV.
123	Croft- North House	37340/ 33196	A) Croft house, barn, byre and outhouses. Well preserved remains with the lintel still present in main croft house in E wall, & internal shelf. Rooms abutting to E & W, with west gable end 2.15m high externally. S building range includes barn and corn drier. Byre to W with large orthostat division visible. Gable end survives to 2m high externally. All quarried stone. Central hearth.  B) Inner enclosure of well preserved earth bank & external stone wall (1.5x0.5m) flanked by a small external ditch (1.5x0.4m). Appears to have been extended to N with previous course of C visible.  C) Main enclosure dyke (2x0.5m max) of earth and stone. Neat & distinctive sections of roughly coursed wall revetment. Continues W to sea often as low weathered earth banks. South part flanked by drainage ditch. Bounds area of rig.	PM	NMR- HY33SE49
124	Mound	37105/ 33161	Small low oval mound (3.5x3x0.5m) within area of peat situated on the edge of a slight NW facing plateau. Low visibility. Possible barrow, burnt mound or could be natural.	BA?	-
125	Structures	37169/ 33023	Two small sub-rectangular earth enclosures (11x5x0.4m max) with raised central areas. Enclosed by low weathered earth banks. Within Site 123. Plantiecrues or possible pens.	PM	-
126	Structure	37511/ 33328	Small rectangular structure base (3.7x3x0.4m) of large squared stone blocks quarried from rock face to E forming rough walls . Possible earth terrace to S. Located on natural glacial terrace upslope to NE of Site 123. Animal pen or plantiecrue.	PM	-
127	Structure	37214/ 33080	Small rectangular walled enclosure (8x3.75x0.55m) inside Site 123 with well preserved neatly constructed stones walls (> 0.75m wide) of weathered stone. Collapsed in parts. Large orthostats used as external revetment. Central area raised. Plantiecrue or Kail yard, possible pen.	PM	-
128	Hollow	37404/ 33144	Oval feature (4x3.5x1m) cut into natural slope. Steep sides & flat base with spoil to W side & narrow entrance to N. Level ledge around upper SE edge which may have supported a roof. Possible underground store (tattie-hoose) or well head.	PM	-
129	Enclosure	37359/ 33254	Rectangular walled enclosure (c.24x16x0.45m) to N of Site 123 within area of peat. Walls (>0.6m wide) of large slabs & external orthostat revetting survive well. Internal area raised suggesting cultivation: Kail yard?	PM	-
130	Mound	37139/ 33313	Small roughly circular mound (5x4.5x0.75m) with stones protruding situated on a gentle NW facing slope c.30m S of a small burn within a small valley. Only visible in local area. Possible barrow/burnt mound.	BA?	-
131	Structure	37174/ 33342	Remains of collapsed stone structure (3x2.5x0.2m) within some in-situ stonework suggesting a circular form. (similar to Site 119?). Possible pen or plantiecrue?	PM	-

SITE NO.	TYPE	NGR (HY)	DESCRIPTION / INTERPRETATION*	DATE	INV.
132	Settlement	37461/ 33761	Linear arrangement (N-S) of features comprising a large mound, six hollows (possible structures?), a weathered stony mound & curvilinear bank. Situated on a slight natural NW facing terrace within a broad slope. Possible settlement/quarrying.  A) Large irregular sub-oval mound (13x7x0.9m) more defined to the W. Central orthostat protruding. Joined by bank (Site 133) to S.  B) Well defined steep sided oval hollow (8x5x0.5m)?cut into side of (A) to N. Stones protruding from sides.  C) Regular oval hollow (8x3.5x0.6m) within steeper sides to E.  D) Series of 3 interlinking hollows (5x1m max) with possible stone lined/walled sides.  E) Remains of low curvilinear bank (2x0.2m) with several orthostats visible (parallel & perpendicular) which appears to join mound (A) & (F) to form an enclosure. Possible continuation between (F) & (D). May continue to SE as Site 133.  F) Small weathered possible mound (3.5x0.3m) with frequent stone blocks (one perhaps notched).  G) Regular steep sided hollow (4x0.5m) with possible coursed stone in E side & orthostats by ?entrance.	Preh.?	-
133	Dyke (Sub- peat?)	37601/ 33633	Curvilinear earth bank (3.5x0.5m max) which runs from area of peat to E to Site 132. Less well defined on scarp slopes & may dip below peat. Large orthostats common protruding from top. Possible prehistoric boundary associated with Site 132.	Preh.?	-
134	Stone	37583/ 33572	Large tilting earth fast orthostat (1.3x0.2x0.72m) located in a prominent position at the top of a steep W facing hill slope. Top may have been broken. Possible standing stone stump.	Preh.?	-
135	Structure	37556/ 33182	Remains of rectangular stone structure (0.85x0.75x0.22m). Faced coursed stone visible. Possible cairn located on break of steep SW facing hill slope. Possible animal pen or plantiecrue.	PM?	-
136	Quarry	37704/ 33039	Sandstone quarry (13x6x1.25m) near summit of Brae of Moan adjacent to boundary wall (Site 1), for which the stone was probably excavated.	Mid 19 <sup>th</sup> C	-
137	Quarry	37794/ 32938	Linear sandstone quarry (25x7x2m) adjacent to boundary wall (Site 1), for which the stone was probably excavated.	Mid 19 <sup>th</sup> C	-
138	Ditches	-	Linear drainage ditch system cut to drain the lower marshy areas of Quandale during the mid 19 <sup>th</sup> century. Represents the only major form of improvement within the study area.	Mid 19 <sup>th</sup> C	-

<sup>\*</sup>Basic description and interpretations from primary record sheets. All dimensions are maximum and in meters. When two dimensions given e.g. (1x0.5m) this relates to width (or diameter) and height, when three e.g. (7.5x5x0.5m) this relates to length, width and height.

PM = post-medieval, Med = medieval, BA = Bronze Age, Preh = prehistoric, BP = Barrows Project.