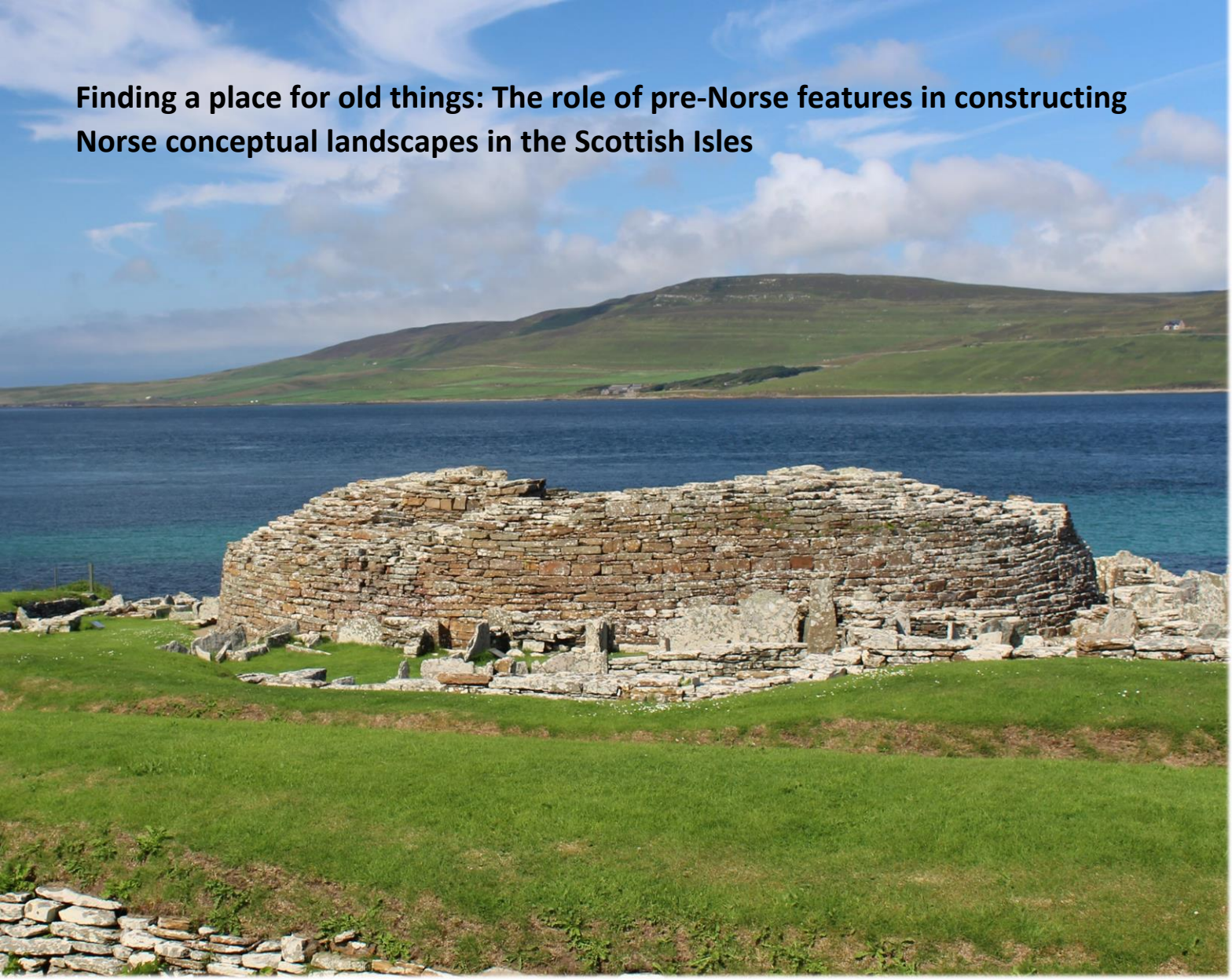
Finding a place for old things: The role of pre-Norse features in constructing Norse conceptual landscapes in the Scottish Isles



LUND UNIVERSITY

Jake Clarke
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Supervisor: Fredrik Ekengren
Department of Archaeology and Ancient History

Abstract

The Viking Age saw the colonisation of most of the isles of Scotland by settlers from Norway. These newcomers brought their own customs, practices and perceptions to the Isles, maintaining close links with the Scandinavian world. However, these islands had already experienced millennia of anthropogenic change by the time of Norse settlement, and generations of previous inhabitants had populated their landscapes with impressive monuments. This thesis examines how the intersection of Norse practices and perceptions with the physical agency of the remains of the past influenced the shaping of the Norse landscape in Scotland. It emphasises the role of perception and memory in influencing landscape use, as well as exploring the agency of landscape features in prompting interaction and conceptualisation through monumentality. Two study areas are used to provide contrasting examples of Norse reuse – the islands and eastern coastline of Loch Ròg, Lewis, in the Western Isles, and the Isle of Rousay and its associated area in the Orkney Isles. A holistic approach is used in the investigation of both study areas, using a combination of historical, archaeological, geographical and toponymic evidence to create a broad picture of the prehistoric landscape and Norse interactions within that landscape. A corpus of relevant sites in both study areas was produced, and topographic maps of both regions were populated with points representing these sites; these maps were used to conduct large scale spatial analysis to investigate broad settlement trends, as well as forming the backdrop for local analysis. The results from these analyses are discussed in regards to previous work done on reuse in the past. Overall, it is demonstrated that direct Norse interaction with pre-Norse landscape features was selective and largely focused on Iron Age settlement remains, with older features being avoided for reuse but becoming important conceptual parts of the landscape. These patterns are interpreted as stemming from an interplay of functionalistic concerns with Norse perceptions and beliefs and the need to conceptualise the landscape within the Norse worldview. The specific reuse of Iron Age settlements is linked to similar practices in Norway, adapted to deal with the differing historical and cultural contexts of the colonised areas. Evidence for differing patterns of reuse between the study areas is linked to the different landscape histories of the Western and Northern Isles.

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Contents

Introduction

Humans are, and always have been, inseparably linked to the landscapes we dwell in. The features of our environments dictate and shape the ways in which we live, work and travel within them. Many of these features were formed by eternally long geographical and biological processes, but many others were created by human hands. Indeed, humans, exceeding all other animals on the planet, have steadily become major forces of landscape and environmental change (Lewis and Maslin, 2015). While the modern era has certainly seen a fever pitch of such activity, we have been modifying our environments for almost as long as we have existed as humans. The creation of houses, monuments, walls, fields and other structures transform our contemporary landscapes and these modifications persist in many different ways – from crumbling ruins to overgrown mounds to changes in soil micromorphology. At the same time, humans are very skilled at pattern recognition, and the remnants of human activity often catch our eyes and our attention (Bell, 2012). With these past remains having been recognised, we begin to conceptualise them, to bring them into our wider worldviews. Human-built features become established elements of the perceptual landscape – garnering significance due to their artificial nature. A burial mound becomes the tomb of a great hero, a megalith becomes a petrified troll. Keeping this perceptual landscape in mind, it is worth considering the importance of perceptions of the past in affecting and directing social processes. Ancestor worship, hero cults, origin myths – all are common aspects of human society, and all have bearing on social practices.
Of course, some effects are more subtle than the mythologization and conceptualisation of the landscape. The shepherd might have chosen a different place for her hut if not for the readily available stone of the nearby cairn. The farmer chooses a different field for her crops because the rubble of the fort means that ploughing is difficult and yields are paltry. The fisherman does not know who built the mounds on the cliffs, but he uses them to navigate anyway. Even without being directly acknowledged, the remains of the past guide the ongoing processes of landscape development.

In examining the ways in which human-built features can affect the use and perceptions of the landscape, the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland provide a valuable study area. Both areas were part of striking traditions of monumentality within the Neolithic and Iron Age periods, the remains of which are still conspicuous within these landscapes to this day. Both areas were also part of historically attested colonisation by predominantly Norwegian settlers during the Viking Age, with seemingly limited integration with the people that previously inhabited the isles (Jennings and Kruse, 2005). In the centuries prior to this colonisation, a similar migration of Germanic peoples to southern Britain had had a profound effect on its socio-cultural make-up. The incoming Anglo-Saxons had also entered a previously occupied landscape, and developed their own systems of monument reuse (Semple, 2013) – this situation provides comparative evidence through which the Norse reuse of monuments can be better understood. Investigation of these processes may also provide some insight into landscapes of survival in these areas; while both the Western and Northern Isles were eventually formally annexed by the Kingdom of Scotland in 1266 and 1472 respectively (MacDonald, 2004, pp.28-29; Smith, 2010, p.48), Norse customs, culture and language made an indelible mark on the cultural fabric of the Isles (Barrett, 2008, p.411; Jesch, 2015, pp.3, 24-26). The Orkney and Shetland Isles have in particular maintained a long history of superstition regarding the monuments of the past, in many cases lasting up to the twentieth century (Scholma-Mason, 2020). In some cases, this superstition has meant that monuments that might otherwise have been damaged or destroyed were instead maintained (*ibid*, p.180). In investigating how the Norse perceived the remains of the ancient past, we may be able to begin reconstructing how these cultural attitudes arose.

This thesis aims to demonstrate that the cultural negotiation of past monument and structural remains was an important part of the Norse colonisation process in the Scottish Isles, using a variety of historical, archaeological, and toponymic evidence to understand and interpret the palimpsestic landscapes of the area. It is hoped that this work will illustrate the importance of fully considering the effects of time depth for understanding the morphology of

modern archaeological landscapes, as well as the significance of perceptions in shaping land use strategies in the past.

Research History

Despite the importance of perceptions of the past being readily recognised in historical studies, the archaeological analysis of the phenomenon – especially in terms of landscape use – is relatively recent. Much of the earliest such discussion was largely theoretical in nature, and it is only over the past few decades that it has seen widespread interpretive use (Thäte, 2007, pp.27-45; Semple,2013, pp.2-3).

Richard Bradley notes a number of important case studies for understanding perceptions of the past in prehistory. For example, he describes the interesting relationship between the characteristic longhouses of the Linearbandkeramik culture and the succeeding occurrence of long barrows (Bradley, 2002, pp.20-48). These long barrows, which crop up across Europe, are similar in form to the longhouses and in some few cases are placed directly on top of the remains of an older longhouse. Aside from these limited exceptions, however, they are most common in areas of Europe which never saw the construction of longhouses, and in periods long after the Linearbandkeramik culture dissolved (Bradley, 2002, pp.30-31). Bradley believes that there is a multi-faceted explanation for this, in that the structures were at-one-and-the-same-time envisioned as 'houses of the dead/ancestors' and referencing the design of the 'ancestral house' maintained within the cultural memories of the people that built them (Bradley, 2002, pp.31-34). Through more functionalist eyes, this could also have been seen as a retroactive legitimation of land claims – the barrows acting as 'evidence' that their ancestors had lived in the area. This is not to disparage the importance of spirituality in the creation of these monuments – such considerations were likely all part-and-parcel of their construction and ritual use.

In terms of early medieval history, first discussions of 'the past in the past' were led by Anglo-Saxon specialists in the 1990s. The development of this trend stems from broader movements within archaeological theory, combined with the improved ability to conduct multi-scalar and multi-temporal analysis with the advent of developer-led excavation (Moore, 2006). As discussed by Sarah Semple in her own analysis of Anglo-Saxon perceptions of the past, the first inroads towards investigating such phenomena were made by Lucy (1992) and Williams (1997). This understanding of 'past-in-the-past' in Anglo-Saxon contexts was built upon by Semple herself, who claims her 1998 paper was the first such detailed investigation into how the emotions and perceptions of the Anglo-Saxons were affected by the palimpsestic nature of the landscapes they were moving into (Semple, 2013, pp.2-3). Williams later furthered this perceptual focus on Early Medieval perceptions of the past in his book *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain* (2010); as the title suggests, this largely dealt with the interconnectedness of mortuary practice and social memory – however, perceptions of the past were also earmarked, as reuse of prehistoric monuments was a common aspect of mortuary practice in these times (Williams, 2010, pp.145-178). In terms of Anglo-Saxon perceptions, this culminated in Semple's *Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England*; the book uses a holistic approach to examining the concept of the past within Anglo-Saxon society and how this changed over time (Semple, 2013, p.3).

Due to the proto-historical nature of the time period in question, it is in Anglo-Saxon studies where the use of toponymic evidence in understanding cultural perceptions of past monuments has its beginnings. Through examining the elements of many place names in conjunction with early tax and land records, it is possible to at least approach an understanding of the ways in which the Anglo-Saxons named the features of the landscape. In many cases, this is limited to basic topographic descriptions of the area, but there appears to be a certain trend for the naming of prehistoric features in association with myth and legend. Examples such as Wodensbeorg, Wiltshire; Wodeslawe, Bedfordshire; and Thunreslau, Essex (Dunn, 2010, pp.92-93)[1], all attest to association of theophoric names with ancient monuments. Grinsell wrote extensively on this matter, noting many sites across England with such associations (Grinsell, 1991; cited in Williams, 2010, p.207). This incidence suggests that these features were

[1] These translate roughly to 'Woden's Barrow', 'Woden's Mound' and 'Thunor's Mound' respectively, Woden and Thunor being important deities in the Germanic pantheon and essentially equivalent to Odin and Thor.

important aspects of religions and story-telling during this period (Grinsell, 1976; cited in Semple, 2013, p.5), which illustrates the ways in which these features were conceptualised within wider society.

As an example of this, there is an account in the Anglo-Saxon chronicles that details the encampment of raiding Danes atop *Cwicchelmes hlæwe*, a prehistoric burial mound in Oxfordshire later reused as a meeting place by the Anglo-Saxons[2]. It is recorded that the Danes specifically chose this place to camp to belie local belief that if raiders ever sought out the mound, they would never return to the sea (Semple, 2013, p.1). Whether this belief reflected actual superstition or an assumption that the Danes could be cut off if they came so far inland is unclear. However, that the mound itself was used as the boundary marker for this belief shows that it was an important landmark within the landscape. Returning to etymological matters, the name of the mound translates to 'Cwichelm's mound', with the eponymous Cwichelm having been an important Anglo-Saxon leader mentioned by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Williams, 2010, pp.298-209). While archaeological investigation has failed to show any evidence of secondary burial (Williams, 2010, pp.209-210), it appears that the mound was at least regarded as his tomb. This suggests a redefinition of the site from a prehistoric feature to an important Anglo-Saxon cultural monument.

This indirect interaction was not the limit of Anglo-Saxon reuse of the monuments of the past – the pre-Christian period saw extensive physical interaction with older remains, particularly association of mortuary practices with Neolithic and Bronze Age field monuments (Semple, 2010, pp.13-16). The phenomenon of Anglo-Saxon burials being inserted into older barrows and cairns was common and widespread enough that it was recognised by antiquarians (Williams, 2006, p.181). Indeed, even after the Christianisation of England brought pagan burial practices to an end, it is notable that there are multiple examples of Anglo-Saxon churches and graveyards having been built associated with older monuments (Semple, 1020, pp.108-142).

While the Anglo-Saxons often dominate this concept in discussion of the Early Medieval world, the past was clearly an important concept across Early Medieval Europe. Even beyond the manipulation of cultural history discussed above, there is archaeological evidence suggesting a close association with the remains of the past in multiple societies throughout this period. One such example is the co-option of prehistoric ritual landscapes as part of political manoeuvring in Ireland; places like the Hill of Tara and the Boyne Valley were resettled as 'the ancient seats of the High Kings', boasting links to (fictitious) figures epitomised as great rulers in order to provide legitimacy to claims to power (Bhreathnach, 1995; McDonald, 2012). Similarly, Dunadd, a major settlement in the kingdom of Dál Riata, was set within a complex prehistoric environment. Much of this ritual landscape was clearly visible from the ritual 'stage' used in the royal coronations for which the settlement was renowned – the implications here linking the power of contemporary kings with the rulers of the past (Driscoll, 1998, pp.149-151).

More relevantly to the focus areas of this thesis, Richard Hingley has demonstrated that the Early Iron Age saw frequent reuse of Neolithic chambered tombs in Orkney[3] (1996) – some were merely reopened, while other were incorporated into new settlements. He notes that there is evidence to suggest that the bodies interred within these tombs were often taken out and passed around the local community. Artefactual evidence from several reopened tombs was taken by Hingley to suggest curation of these spaces – an active reinvention of the monuments by the Iron Age peoples of the Isles. He argues that this behaviour was, similarly to that seen in Ireland and suggested in Anglo-Saxon England, part of legitimation strategies that actively linked lineage identity to 'the ancestors' (Hingley, 1996, p.241), presumably in an attempt to justify social position and power structures. Indeed, this behaviour is similar to that discussed below in the context of later Neolithic intensification of 'ancestor rituals' as opposed to funerary rites (Barrett, 1988, p.31; cited in Bradley, 1998, p.54). This distinction is particularly stark in the case of Iron Age Orkney, as funerary evidence across Scotland in this period is rare and usually limited to domestic contexts, to the point that it seems that bodies were excarnated and fragments maintained within the community instead of

[2] The mound is today known as Scutchamer Knob

[3] Hingley also indicates that similar patterns of reuse was seen in North Uist in the Outer Hebrides, but there is no indication that this was practiced elsewhere in Scotland (1996, p.233), possibly indicating regional practice of this behaviour.

being formally interred (Armit and Ginn, 2007); that at the same time there was intensive interaction with Neolithic monuments and human remains indicates that it was truly the 'ancestors' that were the focus of these particular practices.

This broader work paints the picture of a North-Western Europe which saw widespread and frequent recontextualization of the landscape for contemporary ends. Rather than a continuation of millennia-long practices, the evidence suggests more of a reinvention of the monuments and remains of old as part of wider social processes. This is most clear in examining the Anglo-Saxon evidence due to the known population disjuncture, but it is almost certainly the case for the Irish and Orcadian examples as well. However, where it is clear that power and/or claim legitimation were the major driving forces behind the Irish reuse of ancient sites and a major contributory factor behind the Iron Age investment in Neolithic remains in Orkney, it is believed that this was only part of the reason as to why similar practices were employed by the Anglo-Saxons. The Anglo-Saxons were moving into new landscapes occupied by people and manmade features with different cultural backgrounds, and the demonstration of their own cultural affiliations would have been an important aspect of the colonisation process. This can be observed with the deliberate inclusion of regional jewellery in Anglo-Saxon graves across England (Suzuki, 2000, p.7).
Thus, the reuse of native monuments can be seen as an active redefinition of the landscape to better fit the cultural values and beliefs of the incoming settlers. Consider the above discussion of 'Cwichelm's mound' – regardless of if 'Cwichelm' was actually buried there or not, the particular naming of this landscape monument shows that it was transformed from a monument built by an unfamiliar culture to the resting place of a known, local figure. A similar strategy can be seen with the insertion of Anglo-Saxon graves into tumuli – rather than perhaps being perceived as 'mysterious' aspects of the landscape, they were transfigured into active parts of the mortuary process and associated with members of the community.

As a whole, it seems that the redefinition of past remains for contemporary purposes was a common practice within Europe throughout much of the Iron Age/early Medieval period. With that being the case, and despite the focus on Norse cultural attitudes to landscape monuments, the Anglo-Saxons remain an important parallel to the Norse migrants settling in the British Isles. Additionally, the body of work previously assembled to investigate patterns of reuse elsewhere in Europe serves to demonstrate the character of evidence useful for understanding these trends.

Vikings and the Past

With the variety of Late Iron Age/Early Medieval Period monument reuse discussed, it is worth examining some of the more recent works that have examined the concept within Viking Age Scandinavia and its associated diaspora. One of the most important of these is Eva S. Thäte's *Monuments and Minds*, which investigates the Viking Age reuse of past remains across Sweden, Denmark and Rogaland in Norway. This forms an excellent overview of the Nordic cultural attitudes to past monuments during this period. Her findings for Norway in particular were that the reuse of earlier houses and barrows for Viking Age burials was a fairly common mortuary practice across the region of Rogaland (Thäte, 2007, pp.101-107). A major case study here is the farmstead at Ullandhaug, which saw the placement of multiple graves associated with the burnt-down remains of Migration period houses while the Bronze Age burial mound at the centre of the settlement was largely ignored (*ibid*, pp.101-103). Indeed, Thäte found that while burial mound reuse was also practiced during the Viking Age, it typically focused only on Migration period tumuli. Her interpretation of this evidence was that these practices were linked to concepts of legitimation and legislation, particularly in regards to the *odal* system of inheritance. This essentially concerned the passage of land down family lines; a major part of this system was the *odal* mound, the barrow of an ancestor which acted as a physical manifestation of the history of the claim (Zachrisson, 1994, pp.219-220). Zachrisson and Thäte have thus both interpreted the reuse of older barrows for burials as a legitimating technique meant to appeal to this *odal* system (Zachrisson, 1994, pp.229-230; Thäte, 2007, p.118). Similarly, spatial associations of inserted graves within older houses may be linked to concepts of 'judicial sanctity' and the Norwegian practice of *duradómr*/*dyradómr*, wherein legal matters were often settled in front of the 'men's-door' – the 'main' door of the house. This was usually placed on the west side of the building, and Thäte found that a relatively large proportion of graves inserted into

houses were placed around the west wall. Thus, Thäte believes that this reuse was an appeal to the judicial sanctity associated with that specific part of the house – legitimation of land claims being seen as stronger due to the graves' links to a domestic aspect of legislation (Thäte, 2007, p.113). Thäte notes that the reuse of houses for burials may also indicate spiritual and ritual influences on the choice of grave sites. She discusses other evidence suggesting that the mortuary and domestic spheres were interlinked concepts in pre-Christian Scandinavian society (*ibid*, pp.112-115), including the house-shaped designs of many 'hogback' grave markers in Scandinavian England (*ibid*, p.112), as well as the Islamic traveller Ibn Fadlan's tenth century account of the funeral of a Scandinavian chieftain in Russia. The account records a rite in which a slave was lifted above a door frame to 'look into the other world' (Foote and Wilson, 1970, pp.408-411; referenced in Thäte, 2007, p.114) before she was sacrificed, which Thäte associates with a belief that the entrance to a house represented a transitional space between the mortal realm and the underworld (Thäte, 2007, p.114).

Additionally, the exclusive reuse of landscape features from a certain age suggests that the creation/previous use of those features had survived in communal memory, and that features without these links were avoided (*ibid*, p.127). Thäte makes a point of discussing the spiritual beliefs of the Viking Age Scandinavians, as observed through the stories maintained in the Sagas, as well as some historic accounts (*ibid*, pp.114, 158-159). She claims that the culturally widespread belief in the spirits of the dead constrained and guided Viking interaction with the remains of the past – whether by associating the spirit of a family member with a newly claimed property in order to claim it as their own, or avoiding disturbing the grave of a stranger for fear of their wrath (*ibid*, pp.112-113, 126).

As part of this analysis, Thäte points to similar evidence from Buckquoy, Orkney, where multiple Viking burials have been discovered associated with Pictish settlements, and Viking houses have been found overlying earlier settlements (Thäte, 2007, pp.120-127). She makes the important observation that only a single grave was found inserted directly into the mounded ruins of a Viking Age farmstead at Buckquoy (*ibid*, p.123), which may be linked to the concept of the *odal* mound mentioned above. Thäte also notes the placing of a Viking Age inhumation overlying a cairn containing an inhumation of Pictish date, though she notes that it is unclear if the inserted grave belonged to somebody of Norse descent or to a Pictish individual as it lacked any grave goods (*ibid*, p.123-124).

She observes that the practice of reusing settlements for later houses is unlike the 'house/grave' and 'grave/grave' evidence seen in Norway, but still links the practice to concepts of land claim legitimation, as well as a demonstration of power to any remnant Pictish population. However, she claims that this house/house reuse would have been less effective for legitimation, as she views the grave element as the embodiment of the land claim history (Thäte, 2007, p.126).

Thäte's use of the Orcadian evidence is, however, somewhat flawed due to her assumption that the Viking reuse of 'Pictish burial mounds' was rare because of sociocultural reasons *(ibid*, p.127*).* 'Pictish burial mounds' were rarely reused because funerary evidence from Northern Scotland as a whole is strikingly uncommon throughout the Iron Age until the adoption of Christianity (Armit and Ginn, 2007); the mounds simply do not exist to be reused. As shall be discussed in the historical background, the tradition of funerary monumentality that was so striking during the Neolithic and Bronze Age was all but absent during the Iron Age. With this observed, that a Viking Age grave was found associated with one of the few exceptions to this trend in the Northern Isles may be significant to understanding the perceptions of such monuments by the Norse.

Regardless, Thäte's observations on Norwegian reuse of historical remains continue to be valid, and an important comparative background to how those attitudes and practices manifested in the Scottish Isles.

Another work exploring similar topics in a Scandinavian context is Ann-Mari Hållans Stenholm's *Fornminnen*, which is a comprehensive investigation of the role of memory in monument and farm reuse within the Mälaren region in central Sweden through the late Iron Age to the advent of Christianity. Her analysis is broad, examining a mix of historical, archaeological, toponymic and narrative evidence. As part of her approach, Hållans Stenholm emphasises the theory that oral tradition was an important facet of society across Viking Age Scandinavia and the Viking Diaspora (Hållans Stenholm, 2012, pp.21, 239); she notes that examination of the form and function of runic inscriptions, as well as the rarity of written Latin in Scandinavia until the end of the twelfth century lend credence to

these ideas *(ibid*, p.21*).* She observes that the control and manipulation of memory is often a fundamental aspect of modern oral societies, and that associated practices are often formalised and subject to structuration (ibid, pp.21, 240). Narrative sources such as the Icelandic Sagas and the Poetic Edda were major parts in Hållans Stenholm's investigation of this concept. However, due to the multiple issues involved with treating the sagas as historical sources[4], she is careful to note that her examination of these narratives does not use them as direct sources for the Viking Age societies depicted, but instead focuses on the insights the texts can impart about 'saga society' (Hållans Stenholm, 2012, p.241). In effect, through applying the context of archaeological evidence, Hållans Stenholm has used the attitudes of the saga writers and the implicit assumptions of the text and narrative to shed light on Viking Age society. Reinforcing her statements on the importance of memory to oral societies, one of the findings from this study indicated that memory practices were an important part of Viking social dynamics. She observes that inter-generational dialogue was a major factor in the creation and contextualisation of memory, with clear implications for the meanings and perceptions surrounding reuse (Hållans Stenholm, 2012, p.241). However, echoing Thäte's discussion of Viking superstition, Hållans Stenholm observes that this process was also often explicitly part of dialogues between the living and the dead (*ibid*, p.69-72, 241).

In terms of the archaeological evidence for these practices, Hållans Stenholm describes a few general trends observable in the Mälaren valley. The practice of superimposing later burials on earlier graves was relatively rare in this area, but seemingly undertaken with intent; where this practice occurs, the care in which the mounds were selected and the new graves placed indicates a deliberate, measured appeal to the past (*ibid*, p.242). The practice of house-on-house superimposition was often more complex; the sites of main residences were rarely reused for other residential buildings, but were regularly 'closed' by superimposition of outbuildings. At the same time, 'hall' buildings were frequently superimposed by newer halls, and many halls saw frequent repairs (*ibid*, pp.242-243). Hållans Stenholm suggests that this is indicative of the different social meanings and associations afforded to specific building types within the settlement. As part of this discussion, she also illustrates that the farmstead was a fundamental part of individual and societal perceptions of the world, setting the stage for many of the memory practices mentioned above and forming the 'norm' from which other aspects of the landscape could be contextualised and contrasted. These observations, while discussed largely in the context of the Swedish Viking Age, form valuable context for interpreting the landscape practices of the Norse colonists in the Scottish Isles – particularly because the farmstead appears to have been the predominant settlement type within the Viking diaspora throughout the Viking Age (Kaldal Mikkelsen, 2000).

One of the works most important to the wider aims of this thesis is Alison Leonard's investigation of very similar questions in two study areas on the Orkney Mainland (2011). In particular, Leonard's study aimed to directly compare evidence of reuse between the Birsay Bay area and the area around the Brodgar peninsula. Birsay Bay is associated with a relatively large number of known Iron Age and Viking Age settlements whereas the Brodgar Peninsula is at the centre of a complex Neolithic/Bronze Age ritual landscape (also referred to as 'the Heart of Neolithic Orkney'), providing contrast in both the nature of the sites present and the ways in which they were reused. Leonard's analysis takes a holistic approach similar to those employed by Thäte and Hållans Stenholm, examining a variety of excavation, geographic and toponymic evidence in order to investigate landscape use by the colonising Norse (Leonard, 2011, pp.45-46). Her findings were similar to those mentioned by Thäte – multiple Iron Age settlement sites in the Birsay Bay study area had seen superimposition of Viking Age farmsteads, and inhumations had been inserted into similar sites which had not been resettled. Continuing the theme of site age being an important consideration for reuse (as observed by both Thäte and Hållans Stenholm), almost no pre-Iron Age sites had seen Viking reuse. Beyond the re-use of Iron Age settlement sites, the Norse farmsteads also saw a significant degree of continuity and building reuse throughout the Norse period – the farm at Saevar Howe saw a sequence of three hall houses built overlying each other within the Viking Age, and the settlement at Marwick saw

[4] Much of the material was written in 12th century Iceland, centuries after the events 'recorded' in the sagas, and in a different geographical, political and religious context (Hållans Stenholm, 2012, pp.63-64).

enough continuity that a settlement mound developed at the site of the original farm. Leonard interprets these results as being indicative of a strong desire to legitimise land ownership and maintain a Norse cultural identity (*ibid*, pp.47-51).

Contrasted against the clear Norse settlement activity within Birsay, Leonard observes that the Viking Age evidence from Brodgar is of an almost entirely different character – known settlement sites are very limited, and while local farm names may suggest some surrounding settlement presence (Leonard, 2011, pp.54,56), these farms have not been investigated. Instead, evidence is largely restricted to hoard depositions, runic inscriptions and burials. One hoard was associated directly with Salt Knowe, a prehistoric burial cairn, while the other was found by chance in a field adjoining the Loch of Stenness. The inscriptions are largely isolated examples – notably, one of the stones of the Ring of Brodgar was inscribed with what appears to have been a man's name and a cross (*ibid*, pp.53-54). The exception to this are the multiple runic inscriptions that cover the main chamber walls of Maeshowe, testament to several visitations during the Norse period (Cooijmans, 2012). The burials seem to fit the trend seen in Birsay – both examples within the Brodgar area were inserted into the ruins of an older structure, at the Howe broch settlement and into an indeterminate structure within the Upper Twatt area. Notably, both burials were found outside of the main Neolithic ritual landscape centred on the Ness of Brodgar (Leonard, 2011, pp.54-57). Leonard highlights the hoard depositions and the majority of the episodes of inscription as testament to the action of individuals within the landscape, as opposed to the largely communal nature of the Birsay evidence. Of course, the specific placement of the burials as well as the large collection of runic inscriptions at Maeshowe show that communal interactions with the landscape were not unheard of.

Overall, Leonard believes that the evidence from Brodgar shows that the Vikings were aware and conscious of the ancient monuments of the area, and that in some ways they acted in ways belying an 'intimacy with Orkney's prehistoric features that is not evidenced in Norse Birsay' by selecting the monuments as the sites for hoards and personal inscriptions (Leonard, 2012, p.54). Here it should be emphasised that this interpretation is largely based on a single hoard deposition associated with a monument and a single runic inscription at the Ring of Brodgar – while this certainly shows a certain degree of knowledge and acknowledgement of these features, the evidence speaks more to the attitudes of isolate individuals. However, Leonard also observes that the relative lack of reuse evidence seen within the Brodgar area speaks to a deliberate avoidance of these ancient monuments in terms of landscape practice. Altogether, Leonard's analysis makes it clear that reuse of the remains of Iron Age settlement within the Orkney landscape, be it for mortuary or domestic purposes, was an important aspect of the Viking colonisation of Orkney. However, the general avoidance of older monuments and features shows that this reuse was not guided by ideas of legitimising new settlement through association with the ancient past, as observed in Anglo-Saxon England. Instead, settlement largely followed similar patterns to those described by Thäte in Norway, modified somewhat by the pressures of colonising a novel landscape populated by non-Scandinavian features and settlements.

Theoretical Background – History, Memory and the Landscape

Having discussed the role of previous research in illustrating the role of perceptions in guiding the reuse of landscape features, it is worth exploring those concepts in more detail. The following sections shall discuss these ideas in broader terms, creating a backdrop of theory that informs the approach taken towards the aims of the thesis.

Perception of times immemorial in Late Iron Age/Early Medieval Europe

As has been demonstrated by the above section, the importance of perceptions of the past in shaping social practices and ideology is clearly evident in historical studies. From origin myths to hagiographies to the Renaissance, ideas about the half-remembered past have long guided cultural developments and the development of identity. This phenomenon has been readily recognised as an important aspect of historiography; particularly within the study of Classical and Early Medieval history due to concerns about the historicity of the sources from these periods (McKitterick, 2006, pp.1-5). Scholars such as Pohl (2000), McKiterrick (2000), and Fraser (2011) have discussed how the construction of quasi-mythological origin myths was a common tactic used to legitimise existing power

structures and to form a sense of communal identity. Examples of this are well attested to from the Early Medieval period. To give a regionally appropriate example, the Pictish origin myth as recorded by Bede claims that the people that came to inhabit Pictland originated in Scythia and travelled first to Ireland, where they met the local 'Scots'. The myth claims that the Picts, being without wives of their own, were given wives by the 'Scots' on the condition that they practiced matrilineal succession when solving issues of rulership. With this settled, the 'Scots' aided the Pictish people in colonising Northern Britain.

At the time that Bede was writing, the kingdoms of Pictland and Dál Riata had been united under the rulership of Cináed mac Ailpin, a ruler with ties to both kingdoms. This fact has significant bearing on the actual purpose of this so-called 'origin myth'. Firstly, Cináed mac Ailpin's claim to the Pictish throne came through the patrimony of his mother – thus, through the invention of a historic precedent for following matrilineal succession, his claim would have been retroactively legitimised (Fraser, 2009, pp.238-239). The myth also emphasises the idea of the Picts as having been a united group, inventing a common ancestry that would have helped foster unity among the disparate polities of the kingdom. Accompanying the Pictish origin myth in Bede's writings is a description of the founding of the kingdom of Dál Riata, through which Irish migrants secured land among the Picts through 'fair means, or by force of arms' (Bede, OE, pp.7-8). As discussed by Campbell, it is now believed that this was also an invention, aimed at unifying the kingdom of Dál Raita through ideas of common origin, and to legitimise existing power structures (2001, pp.288-289). That the Picts are held as being aided by an Irish tribe is also significant; as the Dál Riata were believed to be Irish themselves, this 'historic example' of the two peoples having worked together would have helped foster a sense of communal identity between cultures that were previously recognised as distinct, particularly behind a king with links to both kingdoms.

The idea of the Picts as having originated in Scythia is likely an earlier element of the myth, dating from the period in which the area known as 'Pictland' was formally unified. This notion appears to have stemmed from (possibly wilful) misinterpretation of Virgil's Aenid, in which the author referred to the Scythians as '*picti Agathyrsi*'. Fraser believes that the concept of the Picts as 'barbarians' was specifically cultivated by Pictish leadership to be a symbol of ethnic unity, with the Scythian association only serving to bolster 'Pictish' identity as 'enemies of Rome' (Fraser, 2011, p.26-31).

From the construction of this origin myth, we see elements of power legitimation, social control, and the construction of a united ethnic identity. In a connected sense, medieval writers often made appeals to the past in illustrating their views on the ills of society – here the past is again mythologised to depict a 'moral ideal' from which contemporary society was seen to have slipped. To return to the writings of the Venerable Bede, Cubitt (2000) convincingly argues that the historian essentially reinvented the important Northumbrian ecclesiastical figure, Saint Cuthbert. She also observes that Bede's version of Cuthbert's hagiography has a distinct narrative flow lacking in the previous account of Cuthbert's life; she believes this narrativization was intended to influence popular memory. Part of the impetus for this reinvention came from the popularity of the cult that formed around the life of the saint and his links to Irish Christianity as a response to the adoption of Roman tradition for the celebration of Easter (*ibid*, p.30). As such, Cubitt notes that Bede's writings on the matter are strongly ideological and designed to paint Cuthbert as adhering to Roman Catholic ideals and beliefs. This would have essentially redefined the saint from a figure of resistance to a legitimising agent of change.

Through examining the writings of Bede, well recognised in his time and since as an influential historian, it is clear that history and, by extension, the past, were particularly fluid concepts during this period, and that they were ever intertwined with the concept of memory. It is also clear that this fluidity was readily capitalised upon by many figures across Early Medieval Europe and used to influence the actions and behaviours of people through the changing of their perceptions (McKitterick, 2000; Pohl, 2000). The importance of history as a pliable tool for political means was not lost on the people of the time, and as discussed by Cubitt, the manipulation of memory was an integral aspect of this practice.

Memory and the Past

Before examining memory theory in its association with perception of the past, it is worth noting that the discourse of memory theory within the discipline of history is lengthy and complex. A truly nuanced discussion of the concept is somewhat outside the bounds of this thesis – interested readers are thus directed to Halbwachs' *On Collective Memory* for a discussion about the importance of social relations in creating memory (1992); and Ann-Mari Hållans Stenholm's *Fornminnen* for a discussion of memory theory discourse and its relation to archaeological theory and practice (in Swedish; 2012, pp.37-60).

At the very least, Hållans Stenholm makes it clear that the use of memory theory within archaeology is a relatively recent development and has largely followed the wake of investigations into reuse due to its implicit associations with memory (2012, pp.46-47). Given memory's integral role in both informing one's perceptions of the past and as an important aspect of one's identity, this may seem like an odd delay for a field so invested in the human past. Much of the reason for this lag likely stems from memory's stigma of being seen as 'unreliable' or 'unscientific' due to its fundamental subjectivity. Against the focus on objectivity of the processual movement, the unquantifiable and unverifiable nature of memory would have made memory theory a taboo subject for archaeologists, and its eventual adoption appears to have been a result of the wider focus on subjectivity in the archaeological record brought by the post-processual movement.

Despite its late adoption into archaeological theory, it is difficult to separate the concept of history from memory – collective, individual or otherwise. This is true today, and the two concepts were ever more intertwined in the past. Much of the fluidity of Early Medieval history discussed above came from its association with memory and the dynamics through which perceptions change (McKitterick, 2006)**.** Beyond its associations with history, more explicit manipulations of memory itself are also historically attested to. For example, the concept of *damnatio memoriae*, in which the identity of a person was deliberately and conspicuously removed from popular consciousness through destruction of iconography and written records (Omissi, 2016)[5]. This practice was often used in Ancient Egypt, particularly due to the religious significance of the deceased being remembered after their death (Meskell, 2001, pp.35-36). This fixation on memory in turn influenced political practice, as seen when Hatshepsut's name was defaced and removed from many inscriptions following her death and deposition as pharaoh (Wilson, 2016). This act of *damnatio memoriae* constituted a demonstration of power, symbolic as it may have been, against Hatshepsut by her political enemies, as well as a conscious erasure of her role in the history of the kingdom (*ibid*, p.130).
Of course, memory also has much subtler social implications. As noted by Pohl, "Social memory not only consists of narratives, but also, for instance, of implicit or explicit knowledge of how to act under certain circumstances" (2000, p.11). Historical narratives – embellished, remembered, performed or written – form and inform social and cultural identity and practice through their links to memory. In many societies, history, memory, and social relationships are imparted and redefined through rituals – one particularly salient example of this is mortuary practices (Chesson, 2001). Even today, many funerals are accompanied by a recounting of the deceased's life (Walter, 1996), and there is reason to believe that this was practiced by various cultures in the past as well. While it is much more difficult to establish the practice of oral biographies, the presences of biographical material in funerary art such as Roman scarcophagi (Kampen, 1981) and Eastern Han dynasty tomb murals (Hsu, 2004) indicate that funerary rituals were often used as stages for the definition of the deceased's social memory, deeds, and relationships.

Rituals are frequently intrinsically linked with location, and this can be linked to the practices involved with the creation, modification and association of memory. A useful concept for understanding the importance of location for memory is that of the method of loci, whereby a person imagines the confines and structure of a familiar place and associates particular memories with particular parts of this place. Part of the reason that this works is because the perception and mapping of space is an important part of how the hippocampus deals with and stores information – the association of the memory one wants to memorise with a particular place strengthens recall as the brain has

[5] Omissi notes that these processes were not exclusively destructive, pointing to monuments and practices built to memorialise victory over conspicuously unnamed enemies.

more reference to call on (Schiller *et al*, 2015). Returning to the concept of memory in historical thought, it is clear from discussions on the method of loci by the Greek philosopher Aristotle and, later, the Roman statesman and philosopher Cicero (Mortensen, 2008) that the power of place in maintaining and strengthening recall of memory was already being readily discussed by the academics of the day. Of course, it is probable that an unconscious recognition of the effects of place on memory guided the selection and creation of places within the landscape for ritual purposes long before the pontificating of Classical philosophers.

Monumentality

Of course, one cannot adequately discuss the association of ritual, place and memory without reference to the role of monumentality in this process. Multiple authors have linked monumentality and ritual – a useful example here is Bradley's discussion of the mortuary monuments built throughout the Neolithic period along the western European seaboard, and how ritual focus changed over time (Bradley, 1998, pp.36-67). In most cases, the very first monumental tombs built in the Neolithic were closed inhumations of single articulated individuals, placed in specific places within the landscape. Bradley highlights Barrett's distinction between funerary rituals and 'ancestor rituals' here – in short, 'funerary rituals' are those various practices that constitute the process of inhuming the deceased, wherein the social role of the deceased individual is the focus of ritual activity. Whereas 'ancestor rituals' are practices that construct and emphasise a link to the ancestors; these often incorporate the remains of the dead and/or the architecture of the funerary monument in rites in which the social relations of the living are the main focus (Barrett, 1988, p.31; cited in Bradley, 1998, p.54). These early, closed tombs would have most likely been the end products of funerary rituals and likely represented the separation of the deceased from the world of the living – certainly, they were not designed with the possibility of later interaction with the body in mind. However, as the Neolithic progressed, the design of monumental tombs began to change in most of the very same areas that saw early closed tombs – they began to see the inclusion of internal chambers reached through open passageways from the outside (Bradley 1998, p.52). The nature of the remains found within also changed with this shift; instead of the single, complete bodies of the earlier tombs, many chambered tombs have been found with the remains of multiple different individuals represented, frequently in arrangements and conditions denoting disarticulation and later sorting of the bones (*ibid*, p.53).

With these elements in conjunction, it seems that mortuary monuments began to be designed to fit to changing mortuary practices, or 'ancestor rituals', involving the circulation of human remains within the community; the accessible plan of the tombs meant that the remains within could be continually revisited, and multiple tombs also saw elaboration of the façade and passage that reflected increased use of the monuments as ritual 'theatres' (*ibid*, p.53). In some cases, the sites of early closed tombs were specifically revisited for the construction of these communal mortuary monuments *(ibid*, p.55-58*).* This sequence of design is a valuable example demonstrating the importance of how changing ideology and perceptions can fundamentally change the role and design of monuments within the landscape – at the same time, while locationality sees more emphasis with the chambered tombs, landscape placement was clearly an important consideration from the earliest tombs. Even beyond the associations that monumentality has with ritual behaviour and ideology, it also has a distinct effect on perceptions of landscape. The placement and design of a monument within its landscape context can serve to redefine the entire area. For example, the Uffington White Horse in Oxfordshire was designed in such a way by its Iron Age creators that the geoglyph itself, along with the other natural and human-built features that surround it, were knitted together into a complex astronomical scene involving the passage of the sun (Pollard, 2017).

Postmodernism

Much of this discussion is shown in a different light when viewed from a post-modernist perspective. As a continuation of the introspection evident in post-processual thought, the reflexive nature of this movement has brought increased scrutiny towards previously unquestioned beliefs prevalent in scientific thought (Hviding, 1996; Haila, 2000). One of these previously common assumptions is the so-called 'nature/culture' dichotomy, in which the

development of human society is seen as diametrically opposed to the environment (Haila, 2000). As discussed by Descola, this perception is by no means universal – for example, many hunter-gatherer societies across Asia and the Americas are known to have held a variety of differing cosmologies where there are few distinctions made between 'people' and the entities of the 'natural' environment (Descola, 2013, pp.3-42). While it may be tempting to assume that this is a cosmology endemic to non-agrarian societies, it should be noted that the Japanese do not hold that human culture and the natural world are implicitly separate concepts, with the integration of what Westerners would call 'natural' elements being seen as an important aspect of a balanced lifestyle (Descola, 2013, pp.29-30).
If, as may be observed from these different examples, this nature/culture dichotomy is not a constant of the human experience in modern times, it thus belies the previously unquestioned assumption that the different cultures of the European past held similar beliefs. Indeed, Descola has illustrated that the modern conception of an implicit dichotomy is the product of a myriad different influences stretching back to the Neolithic at the very least; the cobbled-together framework of a European cosmology that has been dynamic throughout period and place. From the beginnings of agriculture, wherein humans began to modify their surrounding ecosystems in earnest, through the Roman period, where distinctions between the cultivated, ordered, 'civilised' reaches of the Empire were opposed in ideology to the 'savage', natural expanses of 'barbaric' Europe, and to the abstraction, compartmentalisation and exploitation of the Renaissance and European colonialism (Descola, 2013; Bradley, 2000, p.34), it may seem as though the concept went through a linear development alongside the elaboration of civilisation. However, Descola points to how the 'Romanisation' of the Germanic people throughout the late Iron Age and early Medieval period, led to an intensification of the use of the woods and a blurring of the distinctions between the 'domesticated' and the 'wild' (Descola, 2013, p.55). With this in mind, there is no reason to presuppose that the Roman concept of dichotomy was seen as some form of self-evident 'fact' among the other cultures of Europe. Indeed, consider the zoomorphism of Type I Pictish symbols, produced across Pictish Scotland prior to Christian conversion(McHardy, 2012). While we have but little information to understand the full cultural context of this symbology, the association of naturalistic elements with objects and inscriptions believed to have been at least partly linked with ideas of identity (Thomas, 1963; Driscoll, 1988) is not so far divorced from the totemism of cultures known not to distinguish between culture and nature.
Hedeager takes this concept further in linking the advent of Christianity to the disappearance of Animal Style art in the areas it was produced, noting that the zoomorphic art tradition persisted in Scandinavia into the 12th century and associating this with local elites resisting conversion. She suggests that the abandonment of these traditions reflects irreconcilable differences in worldviews between Christianity and Germanic paganism (Hedeager, 2008). Hedeager claims that some insight into these worldviews can be glimpsed through study of the Old Norse texts – while they were written after Christianisation, she notes that concepts of social representation in oral and written tradition tend to be both stable and resistant to change, and can be used to infer aspects of cultural worldviews (*ibid*, p.11; see also Hållans Stenholm's use of this concept to investigate memory practice in Viking Scandinavia, discussed below). The stories recorded in the texts exhibit a variety of animal motifs, and indicate a dualistic view of humanity and the creatures of the natural world; concepts such as the *fylgja* – a person's own protective spirit often described in animalistic terms – show that reference to the natural world was an important aspect of identity (Hedeager, 2008, p.13; Raudvere, 2008, p.239). Indeed, spirituality and rituality associated with the natural world is evident throughout Norse mythology, history, and archaeological evidence (Hultgård, 2008, p.217; Gräslund, 2008, p.253; Moen, 2010, pp.25-28). At the same time, a similar attitude appears to have concerned the artifices of the domestic sphere[6] (Eriksen, 2013; Jónsson, 2014). This evidence illustrates that not only did the Norse not hold modern conceptions of nature/culture, they readily granted agency to the environments and entities they lived within and alongside.
Of course, even if we can elicit certain beliefs from the cultural material from the period, there is still much that is

[6] Hedeager observes that even tools and weapons appear to have been imbued with agency, pointing to examples such as the hammer Mjolnir, the spear Gungnir, and the ring Druipnir as having been considered integral to the power of the gods and acting as the mythological embodiments of the import of their earthly counterparts (2011, pp.11-13)

unknown. Indeed, while we may one day be able to reconstruct broader cultural perspectives, it is possible that these ideas maintained a significant degree of regionalisation – contrast the attitude of the farmer to the moor with the attitude of the fisherman to the sea.

Posthumanism

As implied by the preceding paragraph, as the Western concept of nature is now seeing increased scrutiny, so too is the idea that humans are the sole drivers of change within their attached ecosystems under investigation. An important aspect of posthumanism in archaeology is the recognition that agency can manifest in other entities within the ecosphere (Harrison-Buck and Hendon, 2018). Of course, it must be clarified that this 'agency' does not necessarily have any consciousness behind it – more it is the cyclical interaction of natural elements in conjunction with each other and human elements that embody change within these systems. One useful example with relevance to the study regions is the interplay of perceptions and materiality evident in the Orcadian Neolithic. There is reason to believe that the Middle Neolithic shift from wood to stone as the principle material used for dwellings was at least partly influenced by the use of stone in building the chambered tombs seen throughout the period (Richards and Jones, 2016). This suggests a certain sequence in the way in which stone was conceptualised as a material. Stone was likely first chosen as the building material for the cairns due to certain physical aspects of its materiality – it is abundant throughout the Isles, can be roughly chipped into shape, can be formed into relatively stable structures, and, importantly, is much more resistant to weathering and decay than wood. The tomb builders would have seen stone as the perfect material for making a highly visible, long-lasting mark on the landscape – and considering the sheer length of time many of these tombs saw continual use (discussed further below), this use was well founded. However, in using stone so conspicuously as the building material for these mortuary structures, the builders may have, perhaps inadvertently, created a new, culturally-connected attribute of stone – association with the ancestors. With this association, the selection of stone instead of wood for one's homestead may well have been a direct statement of legitimation of power through referencing the venerated dead. Thus we can see through this example how the realities and concepts of the natural environment change and are changed by human perceptions and actions. Of course, to delve too deep into these concepts begs difficult questions about the nature of 'consciousness' and 'free will'. Suffice it to say that human-environment interaction is complex, and not simply a matter of people imposing their wills on a passive landscape. Following the de-emphasis of human behaviour as the primary source of agency in driving change in the landscape, questions began to be asked about the role of the environment in influencing human behaviour beyond ideas of economic determinism.

Shaw *et al* provide a useful example of this concept in their discussion of the formation of 'persistent places' by Neanderthals, using the ravine site of La Cotte de Saint Brelade on the island of Jersey. They define 'persistent places' in the Palaeolithic era as being those sites that see multiple, discontinuous visitations by hominins over long time scales and despite environmental change – La Cotte sees deposits ranging from 240,000 to >40,000 BP (Bates *et al*, 2013, cited in Shaw *et al*, 2016, p.1448), and geological evidence of different environmental contexts for each revisitation deposit (Shaw *et al*, 2016, pp.1442-1448). Shaw *et al* note how specific features within the landscape likely influenced Neanderthal decisions as to where to site their temporary camps, choosing specific areas based on aspects such as access to water, shelter from the elements and ease of travel. Of course, this concept is fairly standard in understanding settlement practices – where Shaw *et al* take the discussion further is in discussing how hominins make their own marks on the landscape through their lifestyles, and how those modifications in turn become part of the landscape. They believe that La Cotte became a 'persistent place' because the traces of hominin activity from its first visitation influenced later groups of Neanderthals to reuse the site for their own purposes (Shaw *et al*, 2016, pp.1448-1451). In essence, their analysis of the emergence of the phenomenon of persistent places within the Palaeolithic forms an excellent demonstration of the cyclically reinforcing nature of human-landscape interaction and how it relates to archaeological evidence.

All this is to say that, just as modern archaeologists are reassessing the role of the natural landscape and environment in influencing human behaviour, so too must we consider the role of the remains of the human past in

guiding and shaping our actions. With the developments and movements outlined above as background – the importance of the past within past cultures, the role of monuments in society, and the role of environment (natural or artificial) as driver of human behaviour – the theoretical thrust of this approach is that the presence of pre-existing monuments within the landscape has the potential to noticeably affect subsequent landscape use, with implications for aspects of social behaviour and the construction of identity. This perspective has been used together with the research background, which provides a picture of Norse attitudes and practices regarding reuse of ancient monuments within and outside of Norway, in order to understand how those attitudes and practices would have acted alongside functional and social considerations during the colonisation process of the Scottish Isles by Norse settlers.

This background will be used to form and inform interpretation of the evidence from both study areas, with the concepts introduced above being used to develop the methodological approach and the interpretation of results.

Methodology

By this point, the above chapters should have adequately demonstrated the importance of natural and built features in influencing the behaviour and perceptions of people in the landscape, as well as having established that consciousness of and interaction with the past was an important part of Norse society. As such, the physicality of Norse settlement remains should be approached from a variety of perspectives, with the elements of the surrounding landscape being carefully evaluated to understand the impetus behind the siting and design of Norse features. With this noted, it should be clear that this is not a subject that can be understood through archaeological evidence alone – instead, a broad, interdisciplinary approach is required. This is particularly important here, because as noted by Leonard in her own analysis of Norse reuse of the Orcadian landscape, there are a number of roadblocks in the way of creating a comparative analysis of Viking settlement in Scotland (Leonard, 2011, pp.45-46).

One of the principal issues is that many of the areas of initial Norse settlement continue to see intensive land usage to this day, making investigations of settlements of interest difficult. It is likely that many of the villages and towns of the Scottish Isles directly overlie Viking settlement (Armit, 1996, p.188). Additionally, material from this period occurring outside of still extant settlement appears to have had a low rate of survival, with only a few sites across Scotland having been definitively confirmed as being from the Viking period (ScARF, 2020). The regions in question are relatively fertile islands, meaning that both coastal and agricultural erosion have been major drivers of site destruction. It is likely that the dominance of pastoralism over agrarian farming (as discussed below) in these areas meant that inland sites were not subjected to the same levels of erosion as seen in regularly ploughed areas, but the passage of stock animals can still cause issues in itself (Darvill, 1987, p.23). Multiple monuments have also been destroyed, damaged or removed from their original contexts by farmers wishing to clear their fields – the Odin Stone from the monumental landscape surrounding the Ness of Brodgar is an important and relatively recent example (Towrie, 2020).

Of course, this dearth of Viking sites might also be linked to methodological issues as well – it is important to note that the Orkney Isles and, to a lesser extent, the Hebrides, were the foci of much antiquarian interest from the 19th century on to the onset of modern archaeology; the investigations and excavations done in these regions were major factors in shaping the idiosyncrasies of modern British archaeology (Wickham-Jones, 2019). However, these excavators lacked the modern focus on thoroughness in recording and technique and would have approached the material with their own biases – many of these assumptions are only recently being challenged. As such, the archaeological records of Orkney and the Hebrides have been at one and the same time both incredibly detailed and woefully lacking. This situation is gradually being redressed by modern fieldwork and survey, but gaps still remain, which in places necessitate using other lines of evidence as a proxy for the lacking archaeological information. Naturally these alternative perspectives also come with their own issues, and it unlikely that we will ever have a complete picture of the realities of life in Norse Scotland. However, using a broad variety of evidence remains valuable for providing much needed context absent from archaeological sources on their own.

Materials and Methods

Below is an overview of the different materials used in the synthesis of information used for the holistic approach taken in this thesis. This will begin with discussing the impetus behind the selection of the study areas. It will also

discuss the archaeological and geographical sources used, and then move onto discussion of the historical and toponymic sources.

The Study Areas

The isle of Rousay was selected as the study area in Orkney due to its small size in relation to the degree of archaeological investigation it has seen, resulting in a relatively well-understood landscape. Rousay has seen investigation of sites from the Neolithic to the Modern period and sports a variety of different monument types useful for evaluating Viking engagement with these features. Several important Viking Age sites have been discovered around the island, providing useful material for the aims of the thesis. The isles surrounding Rousay, as well as the stretch of Orkney Mainland closest to the island, have also been included in this study area, as it is highly likely that these areas were important in understanding the settlement dynamics of Rousay itself.

The study area in Lewis is centred on the islands of Beàrnaraigh Mòr and Beàrnaraigh Beag, in the middle of Loch Ròg, a sea loch on the north-east coast of Lewis. Similarly to Rousay, the isles and coast of Loch Ròg have seen a relatively large amount of archaeological investigation compared to the rest of Lewis, again providing a relatively well-understood landscape. In particular, the Bhaltos peninsula has seen detailed landscape survey (Armit, 1994), and multiple important Viking Age sites have been discovered on the peninsula, which is also dotted with several settlements and monuments from the Bronze Age and the Iron Age. Additionally, the site of Bostadh, on the northern tip of Beàrnaraigh Mòr, is the site of one of the few Viking Age settlements excavated in Lewis, providing a useful case study for settlement in the area. The study area was extended to the south east extent of Loch Ròg's coastline in order to include the monumental complex of Callanish – this was aimed at evaluating Viking interaction with this monumental landscape.

Archaeology and Geography

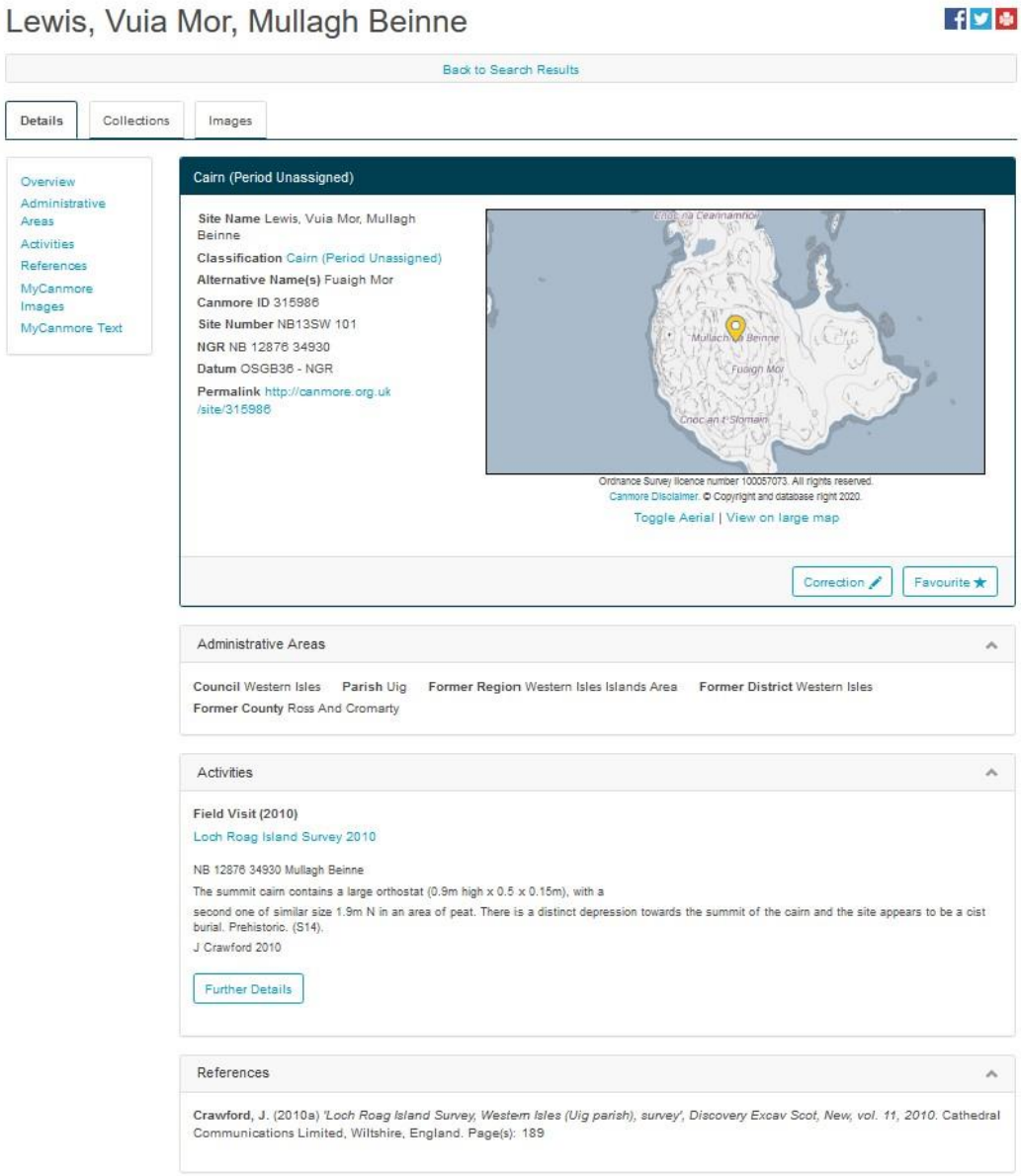

Figure 1: Section of a Canmore database entry, showing the variety of information contained in each entry.

The main source of site data used in this analysis is Historic Environment Scotland's Canmore database, available at https://canmore.org.uk/. It is a freely accessible collection of site records, archaeological materials and heritage imagery that is continually updated from a variety of sources and activities (Canmore, 2020a). In order to evaluate the suitability of this data for landscape analysis, the sites were navigated using Canmore's map search functionality. Each recorded site point was investigated, and the associated data was evaluated. If it was deemed relevant to the main thesis aims, site point data and associated information was added to Google Earth Pro.

Typically, Canmore assigns each site point a classification, which consists of the type of feature and the time period it is associated with. Some points have multiple classifications, representing either multiple features at that site, or differing interpretations of the feature. Each site is also associated with coordinate data in several formats, an ID within the database, its official site number and the administrative areas that the site belongs to. Sites typically have some form of descriptive content, and references associated with this content and the site in general are listed in each entry (see Figure 1). While there is a certain degree of standardisation for each site entry, the descriptive content associated with the entry is rarely standardised – while this allows the database to contain records for an extremely wide variety of archaeological and heritage features, it also means that there is little consistency in the types of information represented. This is compounded by the use of a wide variety of sources of differing ages. As

such, entries for identical site types may feature measurements according to the metric system, whereas another may feature imperial measurements, and still others feature no measurements whatsoever. This situation is expected to improve as areas are reassessed using modern standardised survey techniques, but current inconsistencies can complicate the parsing of site data.

This is not to disparage the inclusion of such diverse sources – the addition of this data allows for a fuller picture of the archaeological landscape, and can provide insight into how the perceptions of certain sites have changed over the years. The population of these maps allowed a visual representation of known prehistoric and Viking/Norse sites within the landscape, allowing for identification of clustering and other patterns. Each corresponding point placed on the map was associated with particular data, including the estimated period of the site, its number within the Canmore database, and brief notes detailing finds and circumstances of note. The attachment of this information to each point created a synthesis of geographical and investigatory data to streamline and aid analysis.

The aforementioned archaeological focus on these regions has produced a wide variety of sources, many of which were also integral to the methodology, such as research papers, regional overviews, site reports and blog/website content after evaluation of content. These were used variously for enhanced detail on certain sites, synthesis of regional trends and enhancement of corpus entries. Regional overviews, particularly Ian Armit's *Archaeology of Skye and the Western Isles* were particularly important for the historical survey, which is part of the wider contextual background required to fully appreciate the character of pre-Norse landscape features and how that character relates to Norse reuse – as well as the character of the Norse evidence itself and how it relates to the prehistoric landscape.

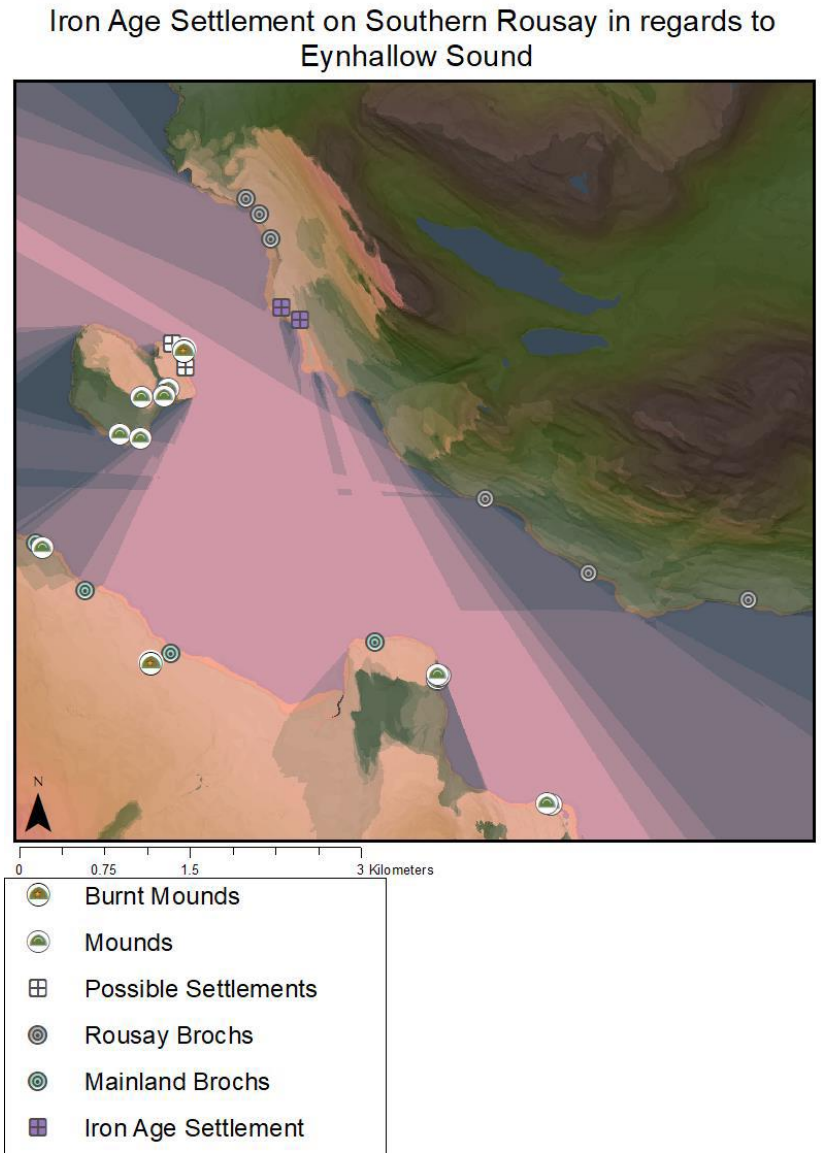

Figure 2: Viewshed performed using 5m DTM (Clarke, 2018, p.29). The effect of the viewshed being modelled using a finer resolution can best be seen on the right side of the map, where the impact on visibility by the natural terraces of the hillside has been accurately modelled

Broad geographical data was retrieved from a variety of sources, most of which pertaining to archaeological studies of the regions in question. Kupiec's analysis of shieling practice in the Viking diaspora was important for understanding the ways in which the Norse may have interacted with the upland parts of the study areas, while Love's discussion of the machair landform was vital for considering the mechanisms of agriculture in the Isles. Geological and soil surveys were used to augment understanding of the natural landscapes of both areas, and the ways in which this may have affected settlement.

An important aspect of any modern landscape analysis is the topographic digital terrain model (DTM) of the region under study. Imagery for both study areas exists in 5m resolution – sourced by Ordnance Survey and distributed via the Edina Digimaps service – but this was unavailable for use in this thesis. As such an alternative source of topographic information was sourced from the datasets associated with the Shuttle Radar Topography Mission (SRTM). The DTM datasets sourced from the SRTM are derived from radar scanning of the world's surface done following the launch of the Space Shuttle Endeavour in 2000 (NASA, 2020). The highest resolution available from this

mission is 1 arc-second, or around 30 metres – a much coarser resolution than that sourced by Ordnance Survey from dedicated regional aerial survey (Ordnance Survey, 2017). It was elected to use this opportunity to assess the applicability of this dataset for understanding complex landscape practices. As part of this evaluation, the results of a viewshed performed on Rousay using a 5m resolution DTM as part of a previous investigation of the island were compared against the results of a similar viewshed performed using the SRTM dataset.

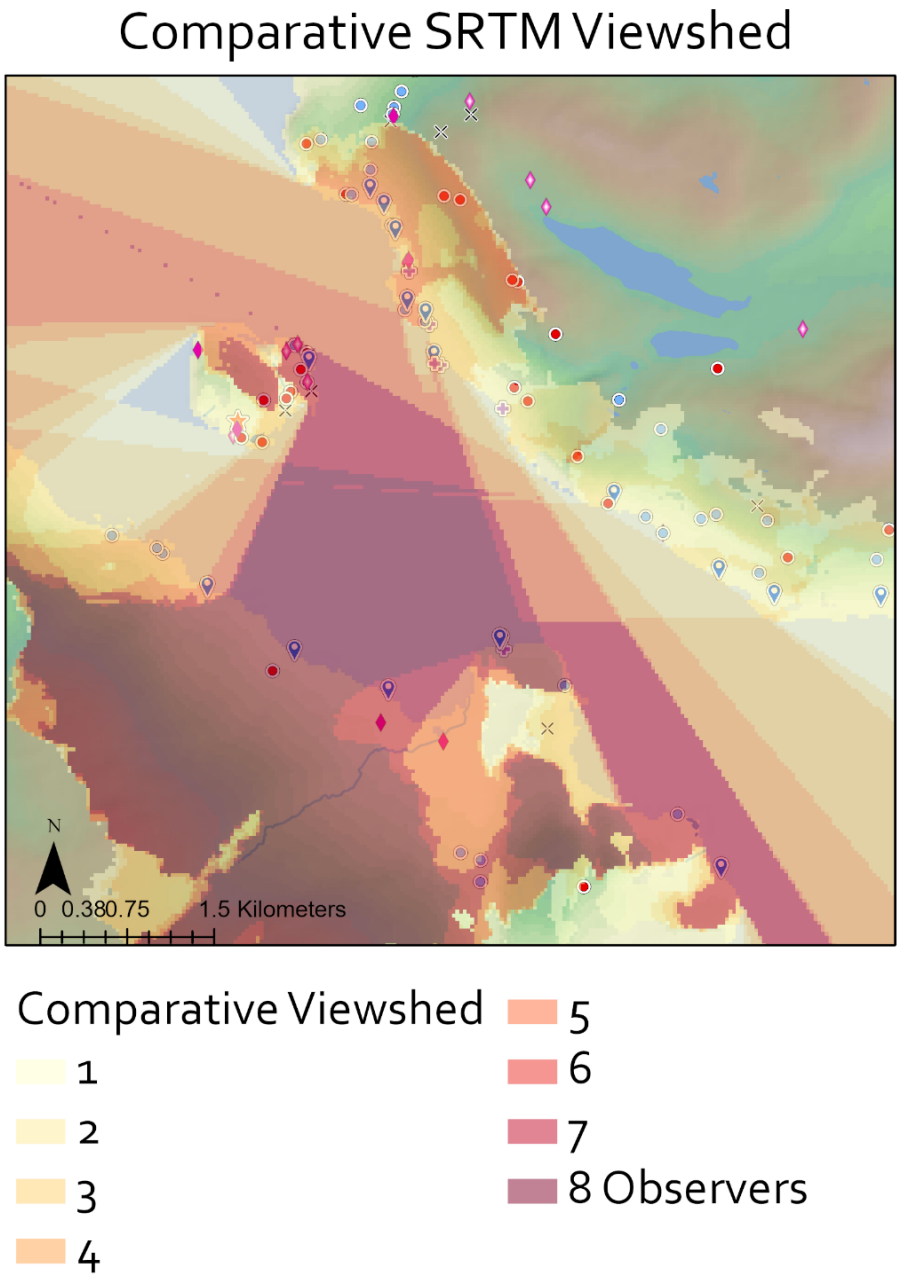

Figure 3: Viewshed performed using 30m SRTM DEM. Compared to the 1m DTM, a loss in resolution is clearly visible. The subtle effects of the hill terraces are lost in this analysis, but the general trends are all but identical to the 1m DTM

As can be observed from this comparison (Figures 2 and 3), it is clear that the coarse resolution of the SRTM DTM leads to a loss of specificity in the results, but that those results are similar enough to allow useful conclusions to be drawn from the data. Specifically, it is clear that the 30m DTM is sufficient for performing wider landscape analyses but should not be used for modelling on a local scale. Overall, the loss of specificity merits caution in the treatment of these results – they should be understood as rough guidelines for interpretation, rather than concrete observations.

This geographic evidence has been used to form the natural 'backdrop' against which the information from the other

lines of data has been contextualised – literally so in the case of the topographic maps. The realities of the natural environments in either study area have been used to understand the functionalistic considerations of settlement in the Isles – both for Norse settlement itself and the earlier settlements and features that underlie it.

History and Toponymy

If the archaeological record of the Viking Age in either region can be said to be lacking, the contemporary historical record is even more so. Much of the issues involved with studying the Viking diaspora is that these areas were essentially protohistoric until the traditional end of the Viking Age, with only scant references being made to the isles in the monastic chronicles of the day (Markús, 2017)[7]. This is largely because, as mentioned above (Page 9), the Iron Age/Early Medieval Scandinavians maintained a largely oral tradition as opposed to the written records being developed and practiced across Christian Europe. The obvious exception to this is the runic alphabet, which largely occupied the domain of inscription – particularly of the memorial stones that became widespread across Denmark and Sweden in the Viking Age (Thäte, 2007, p.169) However, very few runic inscriptions within either study area can be described as 'Viking' in date, with the majority of inscriptions being from the later 'Norse period' (Liestøl, 1984, p.225). Some Viking Age examples from Birsay, on Orkney Mainland, point to erection of memorial stones similar to those seen in Scandinavia (*ibid*, pp.225-227), while inscriptions from the mainland and Western Isles point to the early adoption of Christianity; such as inscribed stone crosses found at Thurso and on the Isle of Barra (*ibid*, p.228). Otherwise, Viking Age runic inscriptions in Scotland are rare and often generic in form; this, combined with a general lack of understanding as to the social and cultural context of rune-writing (Henrik Williams, 2008, pp.287-288), means that there is little that they can contribute to understanding of Viking Scotland. As such, it is the twelfth century inscriptions from the interior chamber of Maeshowe that are the main runic source used in this thesis. While they stem from a later period than the one in focus, they remain useful for understanding Norse attitudes to the monument.

Most of the main historical sources usually used in discussion of the Viking Age are the Old Norse canon of sagas and poems such as Orkneyinga Saga or the Poetic Edda, presumed to have largely stemmed from transcription of the oral traditions mentioned above. The issue here is that much of this transcription appears to have occurred in Iceland and Norway from the 12th century, driven by Christian scholars. The transcription of these texts would have thus occurred in very socially, politically and temporally different contexts to the *milieus* of the Viking Age (which would in turn have been very different from the *milieus* in which some of the earlier stories originated). Even if the written transcriptions could be proven to have seen very little deviation from the oral accounts (which, alas, cannot be claimed), there is no way to examine how those oral accounts may themselves have changed as the political and religious backgrounds of society shifted. As such, scholars using these sources to understand the Viking Age must often focus on the structure and artifices of the texts, while treating the actual content of the stories with caution (Hållans Stenholm, 2012, p.241).

In terms of the regions in question, the most important Old Norse text for understanding Norse colonisation of Scotland is *Orkneyinga Saga*, otherwise known as *The History of the Earls of Orkney*. This is an account of the history of Norse settlement in the Northern Isles, from Landnám to the twelth century, when the account was penned. The identity of the author remains anonymous, but it is known that the saga was written in Iceland at the beginning of the thirteenth century. At the same time, Jesch has noted that the text follows distinctly Orcadian traditions, indicating that the author may have been from the Isles (Jesch, 2005, pp.13-16). The saga records several events of note for the aims of this thesis, including the incident in which the Neolithic tomb of Maeshowe was entered by a group of men during a blizzard. The beginning of the saga mentions only that Vikings used the Northern Isles as home bases for their raids before the reign of Harald Fairhair, with no mention of the initial Pictish/Viking interface (Anon, 1873, Chapter I). As such, what little the saga lends to understanding the mechanisms of Viking settlement in the Isles comes from analysis of the cultural assumptions embodied in the text.

The historical sources have largely been used to understand the sociocultural dynamics of the Norse, as settlers from Scandinavia and as colonisers of Scotland, and the ways in which those dynamics might have affected the ways in which they interacted with the features of the anthropogenic landscape. Monastic sources collated by Fraser (2009) and Markùs (2017) have also been used to provide a little bit of context to the social, cultural and political situations

[7] The main points of reference used here are the books by Fraser (2009) and Markús (2017), both of which take care to discuss the historiography of the monastic sources.

of the Scottish Isles prior to Viking colonisation, providing some insight into the landscapes encountered by Norse settlers.

Where available, toponymic data was added to the archaeological site corpus discussed above – as Leonard notes, topographic place names are often useful for understanding cultural perceptions of the landscape (2011, p.46). In-depth materials exist for both study regions, but these are difficult to access outside of the UK. Nonetheless, some useful sources were accessible – along these lines were Hugh Marwick's *Place Names of Rousay* and Iain Mac an Tàilleir's collection of placenames for the Scottish Parliament. There are, of course, a number of methodological issues in using toponymic evidence for detailed analysis. Perhaps the most pressing is that placenames for areas established prior to the standardisation of written records are often very difficult to firmly date. Some of the major settlements of the Norse period are mentioned in *Orkneyinga Saga*, but as mentioned above, this was compiled towards the end of the 12th century (Grieve and Gibbon, 2005) – three centuries after the initial colonisation of the Isles. It is not known if the names used in the text were used in the Viking Age or if they were taken from contemporary understanding of settlement in the isles. In some cases, breakdown of the toponym's etymology can indicate the rough period in which it was introduced. For example, MacGregor suggests that settlement toponyms referring to coastal topography likely indicate primary settlement in the Faroe and Shetland Isles, while placenames bearing elements such as *staðr* (place/town), *bør* (farm/town) or *bólstaðr* (dwelling place/farm and associated land) indicate secondary settlement in Shetland (Macgregor, 1987, p.28). However, it should be noted here that one of the earliest known Viking settlements in Lewis occurs at Bostadh, which stems directly from the Old Norse *bólstaðr* – a clear indication that topographic toponyms are not a definite proxy for indicating the age of a settlement.
Indeed, many of these supposedly diagnostic elements should be treated with caution, as they may have been borrowed for the names of later settlements. Linked to this issue, there is no guarantee that the name of a settlement observed in modern sources was the name it was given in the past. Placenames can change pronunciation and spelling, obscuring the original etymology, or they may change entirely. As an illustration of this, there are very few clearly pre-Norse placenames in any part of Viking Scotland; those that have been identified are limited to broader names such as Lewis or Uist – names possibly encountered by Norse explorers and traders long before colonisation started (Jennings and Kruse, 2001, p.251).
Finally, in areas that have seen multiple different languages used in the landscape, it can be very difficult to accurately deduce the etymology of a given placename if there are elements within that name that could plausibly belong to more than one of the languages in the area. To give an example within the study areas, the etymology of Egilsay is unclear due to confusion as to whether the 'Egils' element is sourced from the Gaelic *eaglais* (church) or the Norse given name of 'Egil' (Towrie, 2020b). With these issues illustrated, it may seem as though the methodological issues inherent in using toponymic evidence renders it entirely unsuitable for landscape analysis, and it certainly should not be treated as concrete evidence. However, in lieu of physical evidence and written history, toponyms can work well for guiding interpretations. In the case of this thesis, toponyms have been used as a rough proxy in modelling Norse settlement, in order to balance the uneven distribution of archaeologically investigated sites. They have also been used to provide insight into the landscape perspectives of the Norse settlers, with the place names of settlements and natural and prehistoric features illuminating the ways in which the landscape was conceptualised.

Summary

The combination of a variety of different sources – archaeological, historical, geographical and linguistic – was used to create the maps and database at the heart of the analysis. These represent a comprehensive synthesis of holistic sources and have been considered against a broad backdrop of theory, history and archaeological work. These syntheses form the basis for the below sections.

Analysis

As noted by the methodology, the crux of this analysis requires a broad understanding of the social and environmental context of the study areas in addition to the archaeological evidence at the heart of interpretation. As such, it was necessary to examine both the geographical and historical contexts of both regions, creating a nuanced understanding of how these factors affected Norse settlement and land use in these areas; this also serves to create

a general background of both areas useful for appreciating the socio-environmental *milieu* encountered by the Norse during the colonisation.

Geographical Survey

Having established the need for examining the landscape context of Viking Age settlement to fully understand the mechanics of site selection and landscape use, it is worth exploring the geographical make-up of the areas in focus. Fitting in with the approach outlined in the methodology, this represents a synthesis of standard background information combined with a focus on aspects of the environment deemed important for influencing landscape use and perceptions by the Norse.

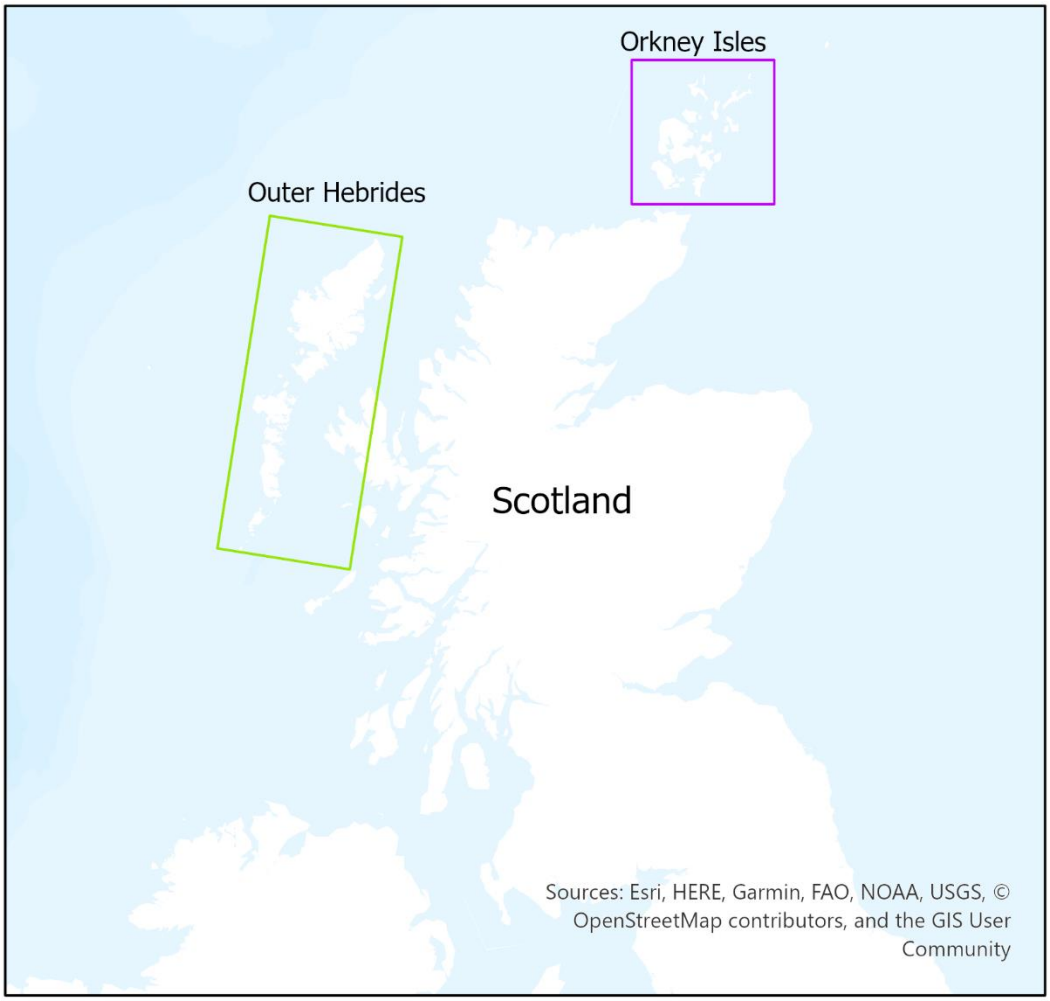

Figure 4: Map showing the two regions of interest in relation to Scotland

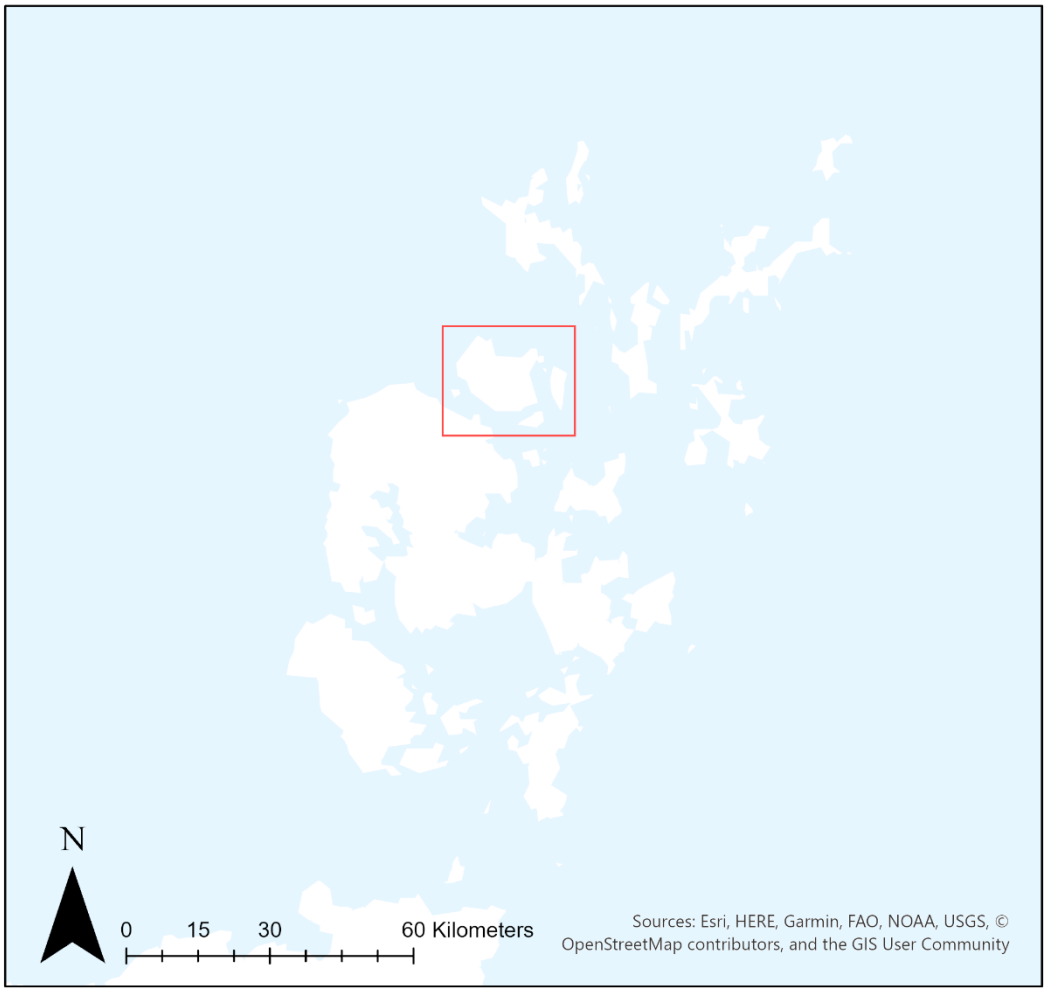

Figure 5: Map showing the area covered by the Rousay study area, including the islands of Rousay, Eynhallow, Wyre and Egilsay, and a section of Orkney Mainland

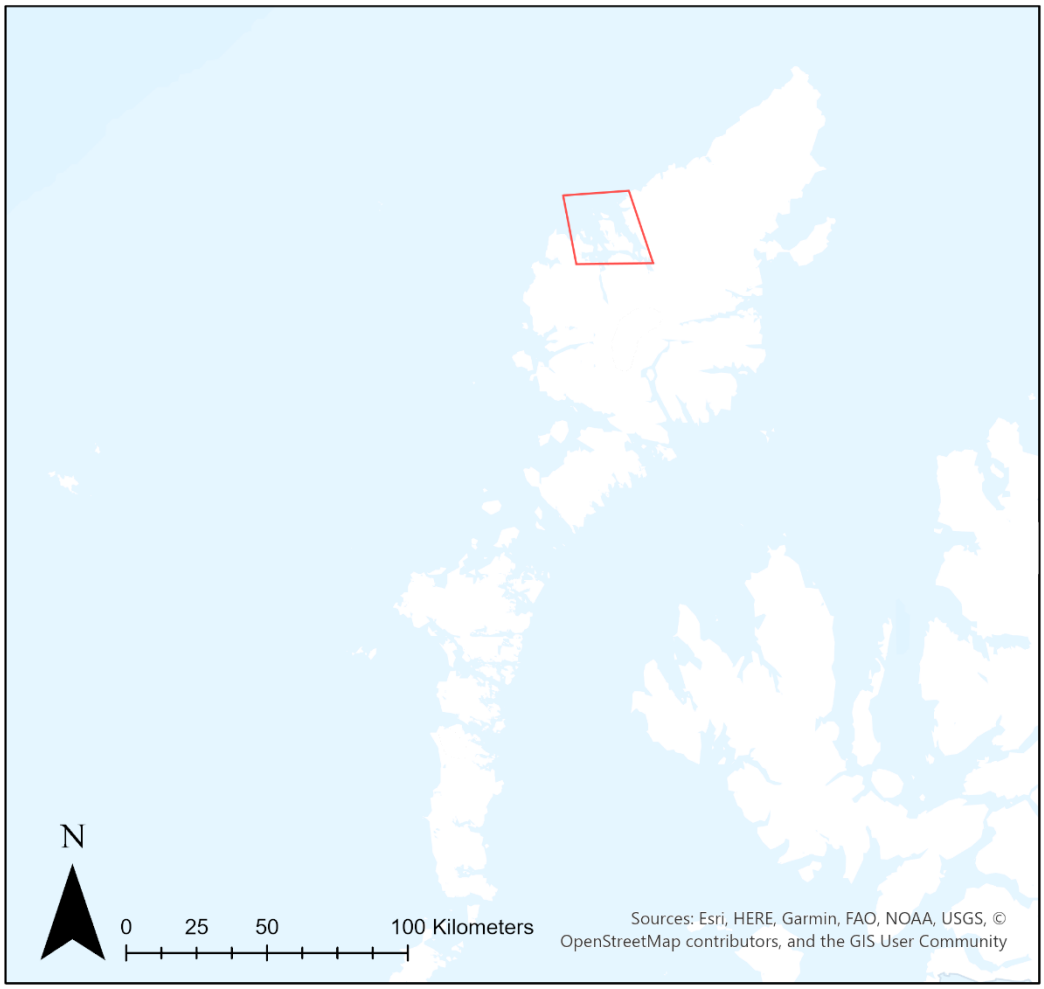

Figure 6: Map showing the area covered by the Loch Ròg study area, containing the islands of Beàrnaraigh Mòr and Beàrnariagh Beag, the Bhaltos Peninsula, and the eastern extent of the Loch Ròg coastline, including the monumental landscape at Callanish

The Orkney Isles are a series of islands a few kilometres north of the north-eastern point of mainland Scotland (see Figure 4) They are set upon Old Red Sandstone, a sedimentary rock form that is vulnerable to erosion, leading to the ubiquitous skerries and stacks of the archipelago (Mykura, 1976). The islands are typically low-lying with gentle hills, with the exceptions of Rousay, parts of Westray and the western part of Hoy. Rousay and Westray feature relatively tall hills with slight terracing caused by the erosion of alternating hard and soft layers in the Rousay Flagstones, with hills dominating the interior of Rousay (Mykura, 1976). The alternation of geological layers in the sandstones of the archipelago means that the rock is easily split into slabs suitable for building (Davidson and Henshall, 1989, p.3). The Isle of Rousay is part of the Northern Isles of Orkney, being north of the main island of Mainland (see Figure 5). It is associated with several other islands – Eynhallow, Wyre and Egilsay. The interior of the island is dominated by steep hills and peatland – the vast majority of agriculturally productive land occurs along the coast.

The Outer Hebrides are a chain of islands off the west coast of Scotland (see Figure 4) with a backbone of Lewisian Gneiss, believed to be some of the oldest geological strata on the planet[8] (Barber and Magee, 1985, p.4). Compared to the sandstone soils of the Orkney Isles, the gneiss elicits sediment of poor agricultural suitability (Armit, 1996, p.22). The largest and northernmost island in the Outer Hebrides is that of Lewis and Harris – while they both form one island, Lewis is distinguished as the relatively low-lying area to the north, while Harris an area of extreme hills and cliffs to the south. They have been marked by varied sources of erosion over the past millennia, the most dramatic of which being the passage of glaciers during the Tertiary period. As a result of the movement of the ice sheets, the interiors of Lewis and many other isles of the archipelago frequently bear a distinctive 'knock-and-lochan' landscape, a mix of numerous small lakes (lochans) surrounded by hills (cnocs) (Barber and Magee, 1985, p.7). Loch Ròg is a sea loch associated with the isle of Beàrnaraigh Mòr, the Bhaltos peninsula and many other smaller islands

[8] Armit notes that Lewisian gneiss is not particularly suited for building, but stone architecture dominates the Western Isles nonetheless.

and islets on the north-western coast of Lewis (see Figure 6). The current landform was created after a number of valleys were drowned during the Neolithic (Armit, 1996, p.24)

Both archipelagos saw relatively little permanent ice cover during the last Ice Age. This has had implications for sea level changes in both areas – where much of mainland Scotland has seen land rise following the melting of the glaciers due to no longer being pressed down by the weight of the ice, the Western and Northern Isles have been subject to the same sea level rises as other areas that did not seen significant glaciation (Armit, 1996, pp.27-28; Wickham-Jones *et al*, 2009). As a result, the landscapes of the isles have changed dramatically throughout their history of human occupation. As noted above, Armit observes that the area of Loch Ròg and its associated islands existed as a series of valleys into the Neolithic, and there is reason to believe that the island of Beàrnaraigh Beag was further separated from what is now known as Cealasaigh during the Norse occupation of the Isles (MacIver, 1934, p.31). In Orkney, work by Wickham-Jones *et al* revealed numerous submerged sites dotted across the seabed at the Bay of Firth, some of which appear to have been Neolithic in origin (2009). It is therefore important to understand that the landscapes visible to the Norse colonists were quite different to those experienced by earlier peoples, and also would have been quite different to those observed today.

The climate in both the Western and Northern Isles is comparatively mild for their latitudes due to the warming effect of the Gulf Stream. However, both island groups are exposed to the full force of the North Atlantic, and storms are relatively frequent. High relative humidity contributes to frequent fog and mist cover, and cloud cover is also common.

An important factor for agriculture in the Outer Hebrides and many other parts of Scotland is the incidence of shell-based sand sourced from offshore molluscs. Shell sand blown inland by the sea enriches land due to its high calcium content, and the biodiverse landforms created through this process are known as 'machair', sourced from the Gaelic word for 'plain' (Love, 2009). Such landforms are most common in the islands south of Harris, though machair also occurs in patches across Lewis and Harris, often forming the most agriculturally viable parts of the landscape. Large patches are evident on the Bhaltos Peninsula and northern extent of Beàrnaraigh Mòr (Scottish Natural Heritage, 2016). It also appears in patches across the Orkney Isles, and is widespread on the Isles of Sanday and North Ronaldsay (Dry, 2016). On Rousay, pockets of shell sand occur at Scockness and Saviskaill, and much occurs on the east side of Egilsay (Scottish Natural Heritage, 2016). The potential fertility of these soils was readily recognised by early farmers in the Neolithic, and manuring of these soils with settlement waste and seaweed appears to have been in common practice from an early date (Edwards, Whittington and Ritchie, 2005). Machair soils do have their disadvantages; they are often deficient in important nutrients, with impacts upon livestock. It is likely that the tradition of summer pasture (discussed below) would have helped deal with the dietary deficiencies – Love notes that modern livestock which graze exclusively in machair areas must be given supplements (2009, p.7).

While crop farming has been practiced in both regions from the Neolithic, it is pastoralism that has dominated the economy of the isles. Sheep have historically been most common, but cattle and swine were also present. Kupiec has observed that an important aspect of pastoral economies across north-western Europe was the transhumance practice of pasturing livestock in the 'outfield' during the summer months to preserve closer land for grazing during autumn and winter. Members of the farming communities – typically women – would move with their herds/flocks into the 'outfield', which typically consisted of the largely unmanaged upland areas of the landscape – unsuitable for the arable agriculture practiced within the 'infield' areas associated with permanent farms, but ripe for grazing by cattle and sheep (Kupiec, 2016, pp.1-9). The shepherds and cowherds typically stayed in impermanent structures known as 'shielings' in Scotland, typically small drystone dwelling huts with outbuildings for agricultural industries such as dairy processing and hay-making.

Notably, there are multiple folkloric traditions associated with 'summer pasture' and shielings across the regions that practice this type of transhumance – this has been linked with ideas of liminality due to the marginal position of most shieling huts in comparison to the settlements (*ibid*, pp.359-406). Kupiec has argued that, despite the peripheral location of the practice, it was a major cornerstone of Norse agricultural society (*ibid*, pp.415-418). With that said, it seems that transhumance pastoralism was not a particularly common practice in Orkney or Shetland – Kupiec puts this down to the fact that the Northern Isles are comparatively less extreme in topography than these other regions (2016, pp.31-32). This is reinforced by the occurrence of shielings amid the hills of Rousay and Hoy, though notably still occurring in far fewer numbers than seen elsewhere in the Norse Atlantic.

Both the Northern Isles and the Outer Hebrides have very little tree cover, and for many years it was suggested that, due to their extreme locations in relation to the rest of Scotland, this had always been the case (Keatinge and Dickson, 1979). Certainly, pollen records retrieved from Little Loch Ròg, which is a few kilometres inland of the Loch Ròg study area, suggested a mostly open landscape with only limited stands of birch and hazel (Tipping, 1994, p.11,

referencing Birks and Madsen, 1979). However, Tipping notes that work done by Wilkins has demonstrated that mixed pine and willow woodland was common across the Lewis interior, and suggests that it was only in the most exposed areas of Lewis that this forest gave way to open woodland of birch and hazel (1994, p.11, referencing Wilkins, 1984). Similarly, despite prior theories to the contrary, Orkney appears to have supported a forest of hazel, birch, and willow, though there is little evidence to suggest that pine or oak were ever present beyond a few individuals. Woodland decline began in both regions following the advent of agriculture in the Neolithic, and it was long believed that this period saw the complete deforestation of the Orkney Isles (Bunting, 1994). More recent palynological investigation has instead demonstrated that the loss of woodland cover was gradual, and there is reason to believe that stands of woodland lasted into the Bronze Age (Farrell *et al*, 2014).

With this noted, it is clear that deforestation in both areas contributed to windblown sand movements (Love, 2009) similar to the catastrophic erosion seen in Iceland subsequent to land clearing in the Viking period (Edwards *et al*, 2004) – such occurrences have been linked to crop failure and settlement abandonment in Orkney during the Bronze Age and Iron Age (Tisdall *et al*, 2013). To return to the discussion of the machair plains of the Western Isles, the sandy content of the arable soil near the coast means that it is light and vulnerable to wind erosion – an 1811 cessation of a land management technique involving the covering of fields with seaweed led to many fields becoming barren (Love, 2009, p.7). It is likely that similar practices were an important part of maintaining arable land from the beginnings of agriculture in the area. Armit also emphasises that due to the changeable nature of this landform, there is no guarantee that modern distributions of machair match those that occurred in the past – he points to the multiple Bronze Age and Iron Age settlements that have been discovered eroding out of the dunes in the Western Isles, which would have initially been placed outside of the fertile areas (Armit, 1996, p.28-30).

As noted in the above discussion of machair, shellfish are plentiful in the coastal and oceanic waters of Scotland and formed a major source of sustenance for the Mesolithic peoples that occupied the area (Blake, Church and Nesbitt, 2011). Exploitation of shellfish is known in both the Western and Northern Isles even after the introduction of agriculture, particularly with the Norse transition (Jesch, 2012, p.33). Despite forming a large part of the pre-agricultural resource base, fishing appears to have been largely neglected in both study areas from the Neolithic until being reintroduced by the Norse (Cramp *et al*, 2014). The Norse also appear to have introduced widespread practice of open water fishing, to the extent that a shift in fishbone content in settlement middens has been used to understand demographic change in both areas (Barrett and Richards, 2004).

Norway

As this thesis concerns the landscape behaviour of Norse colonists, it was deemed helpful to briefly discuss the general geographic conditions of Western Norway. Western Norway consists of a principally upland landscape, indented by glaciated valleys and fjords. Settlement and most agricultural activity mostly conforms to the sides of these fjords and the lower, seaward sides of the river valleys. Due to this coastal focus, most travel was done via boat and ship, especially as terrain outside of these areas is extremely mountainous, this also limited occupational activity. Pastoral agriculture was historically most common, with transhuman pastoralism taking place during summers to preserve closer land for use during spring and autumn, whereas livestock is typically overwintered indoors due to frequent sub-zero temperatures.

With this said, the winters are typically less harsh than would be expected at this latitude due to the effects of the Gulf Stream. Overall, there is little variation in temperature between summer and winter, averaging at about 14° C. Coastal Norway sees increased cloud cover relative to the inland part of the country due to marine influence – rainfall is frequent and intense in autumn and winter, and an average of 1000mm of precipitation falls annually.

In terms of tree cover, pine forest is predominant outside of settlement/pasture, with some deciduous trees such as oak, elm and ash occurring on south-facing slopes (MacGregor, 1987, p.11-12, referencing John, 1984, pp.74-76). Overall, the climate and topography of the Western and Northern Isles would have been sufficiently similar to that seen in Norway to allow relatively easy transferal of Norse agricultural practices, with some local adaptation needed to properly manage machair-based farming. The lack of substantial tree cover meant that timber was usually shipped from Norway and the Scottish Mainland – indeed, in Shetland and the Faroe Isles this eventually led to the practice of shipping pre-built timber houses (Stoklund, 1984). The coastal nature of much land in the Isles was ideally suited to the marine focus of Norse settlement; this and the above factors may go some way to explaining why Viking colonisation of Scotland was predominantly driven by the Norse.

Historical Survey

Before discussing the historical backgrounds of both study areas, it should be noted that the Orkney Isles have seen a great deal more archaeological attention than the Outer Hebrides – indeed, some would claim that it is one of the most archaeologically investigated places in North Western Europe, and it was certainly one of the first parts of the British Isles to see protracted antiquarian interest (Armit, 1996, p.7). Armit notes that this relative lack of interest, as well as due to some quirks of how archaeological investigation in the Western Isles, meant that there has been little theoretical consideration of the evidence from the Outer Hebrides (*ibid*, pp.6-16). As such, discussion of the two study areas will tend more towards discussion of evidence from the Orkney Isles, simply because more is known and has been written about that region. Where applicable, the equivalent periods in Norway will be briefly summarised in order to both contextualise the Norse milieu and to illustrate the archaeological evidence from the Norse homeland for comparative discussion.

Post-glacial Pioneers – The Palaeolithic and Mesolithic Periods

While it can be stated that settlement in Northern Scotland occurred following the advance of the forests after glacial retreat, the timeframe of this settlement remains unclear. The Upper Palaeolithic in the Scottish Isles is poorly understood and scarcely represented. A total of three artefacts indicating Upper Palaeolithic human activity have been discovered in Orkney – all of them tanged-point arrowheads with links to the Ahrensburgian and Fosna-Hensbacka cultures, known to have operated in northern Germany and Scandinavia respectively from 11,000 – 7,000 BCE (Woodward, 2008; Ballin, 2016). No Upper Palaeolithic artefacts have been discovered in the Outer Hebrides, though tanged points similar to those of the Ahrensburgian culture have been recovered from Tiree in the Inner Hebrides, and from the west mainland of Scotland at Wester Ross (Ballin and Saville, 2003). That the current known evidence for Upper Palaeolithic activity in Northern Scotland is entirely artefactual is significant, and the possibility that their occurrence in these areas actually represents Mesolithic reuse of older lithics or continuity of lithic technology should not be discounted.

In contrast, Mesolithic activity is represented by settlement evidence in the Northern Isles, and traces of subsistence strategies in the Western Isles; a number of shell middens in the Outer Hebrides having been reliably dated to the Mesolithic period (Blake, Church and Nesbitt, 2011). These characteristic features are strangely absent in the Northern Isles – it is possible that this indicates differing subsistence strategies in this area, though Farrell suggests that any possible shell middens may have been obscured by sea-level rise (2009, p.26) Work done by Wickham-Jones *et al* suggests that the latter may be the case, as they have demonstrated that modern sea levels in Orkney were only reached in approximately 2,000 CE – well into the Neolithic period. They have identified large sections of submerged land surrounding the Isles, as well as several submerged stone-built structures. Given that Mesolithic settlement tends to have focused on the coastlines, it seems likely that much of it has been submerged (Wickham-Jones *et* al, 2009). Similarly, the absence of Mesolithic settlement sites in the Western Isles is almost certainly due to the submersion of the coastline, rather than any lack of settlement in these areas (Armit, 1996, p.34). Indeed, it may be that this submersion has also obscured much possible evidence for Palaeolithic settlement, though Armit suggests that part of this absence might also stem from limited excavation of caves and other areas that may have seen activity during this period (*ibid*, p.33).

With this noted, evidence of Mesolithic settlement has been recovered from the Isle of Stronsay in the Orkney Isles, where fieldwalking and a subsequent excavation near Links House resulted in the discovery of a large collection of Mesolithic stone tools associated with post holes (Woodward, 2008; Lee and Woodward, 2009). There is also some evidence to suggest continuity of settlement throughout the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition - several lithics recovered from the early Neolithic house site at the Knap of Howar (discussed below) were found to be Mesolithic in origin (Wickham-Jones, 1990). This has specific implications for understanding the ways in which the agricultural transition occurred in the Isles.

The Neolithic – Monuments and Monoliths

Regardless of its inception, the Neolithic in Northern Scotland was a period in which the landscape was transformed, both agriculturally and perceptually. People began to construct permanent settlements and modified the land around them to accommodate new practices. The adoption of a more sedentary lifestyle prompted changes in the use of dwelling materials, and a corresponding change in architecture. The Knap of Howar, on Papa Westray in the Orkney Isles, features such impressive preservation that it was believed to be an Iron Age dwelling when it was first excavated in 1937 (RCAHMS, 1946). Re-excavation in the 1970s showed it to be a Neolithic stone-built house built directly overlying earlier midden deposits (Ritchie, 1984). Radiocarbon dating showed that the stone house had been inhabited for several centuries from approximately 3700 BCE, but that it overlaid deposits up to a millennia older (Canmore, 2020b). This, in addition to the previously discussed identification of Mesolithic lithics among those found at the site, may suggest a significant level of continuity.

In the Hebrides, the site of Eilean Domhnuil on North Uist provides a valuable comparison to the Orcadian evidence for Neolithic settlement. Unlike the Knap of Howar, situated on coastal land, the settlement at Eilean Domhnuil encompassed a loch islet in the interior of the island. Other Neolithic settlements have been discovered on loch islets within the Outer Hebrides, suggesting that this was a common aspect of Neolithic settlement in the area. Armit suggests that the inconvenient and labour-intensive placement of the settlement on the islet, with its myriad challenges and seemingly limited benefits, was more of an ideological decision than a practical one. He believes that a change in world views, which was caused by the shift in human/nature agency brought by agricultural practices, led many Neolithic settlers to emphasise this separation by distinguishing their settlements by placing them separately from the 'realm of nature' (Armit, 1996, pp.53-54). If this interpretation is accurate, it would certainly lend credence to the importance of landscape perceptions in guiding the vagaries of settlement.
What should be noted when discussing the domestic structures of this period, from both study areas, is that while they featured often very impressive architectural forms and techniques in their construction, they would not have been particularly 'monumental' as such (Armit, 1996, pp.56-57). Compared to the landscape-dominating chambered tombs of the period, the settlements of the Neolithic did not stand tall against their surroundings. Even the islet settlements of the Outer Hebrides, while symbolically and physically separated from the mainland, were not particularly monumental in construction. Landscape monumentality appears to have been largely absent from the domestic sphere, instead being reserved for mortuary rituality and, later, cosmologically significant structures.

Indeed, the Neolithic period also saw major changes in the treatment of the dead as the landscape began to be defined by mortuary monuments. Chambered cairns were built across Northern Scotland in the Neolithic, either circular or rectilinear in shape and featuring large subdivided internal spaces accessed from the outside via narrow passageways (Henshall, 1963; 1972). These tombs frequently remained open and in use for periods of hundreds of years, and it is believed that they would have been used by entire communities (Henshall, 1972). In the Orkney Isles it is believed that monumental chambered cairns predate the first stone-built houses – indeed, as discussed in the theoretical background, architectural evidence from Neolithic settlement at Wideford Hill on Mainland suggests that it was the tombs that prompted the later adoption of stone for use in dwellings (Richards and Jones, 2016). Orkney boasts a mix of round and long cairns, while round cairns are predominant in the Hebrides (Armit, 1996, pp.69-71). Many of these monuments were built quite deliberately to maximise their visibility within the landscape – this, along with the resource, effort and logistical costs of constructing these structures, would seem to indicate that the dead - and by extension, the ancestors – were an extremely important part of Neolithic society.

As with many other Neolithic cultures seen elsewhere in north-western Europe, it was not only mortuary practices that were treated with a degree of monumentality - the people of the Western and Northern Isles erected many standing stones across the landscapes they lived and worked in. Many of these monuments are, similarly to the chambered tombs, placed in highly visible parts of the landscape, as well as often featuring a high degree of intervisibility (Woodman, 2000). Despite the effort required to construct them, the purposes of these monuments

are not always particularly obvious. A specific monolith may have had specific ritual associations or it might have been erected as a navigational marker – and it is not necessarily the case that one use would exclude the other. However, the megalithic complexes at Callanish and Brodgar were clearly important ritual centres that saw a variety of uses as important locations within the Neolithic landscape. Certainly, there is indication that these monuments were important enough that they were still being built and modified into the Bronze Age (Armit, 1996).

The Bronze Age – Barrows and Burnt Mounds

Compared to the Neolithic, the Bronze Age in Orkney is poorly understood. Few settlements are known from the period, which lead some scholars to suggest a decline in population brought about by climate deterioration (Farrell, 2009, p.7, referencing Øvrevik, 1985; and Ritchie, 1995). However, Downes (2005) and Farrell (2009) have noted that evidence for catastrophic climate change in the Orkney Isles is flimsy, and that there is much evidence for continuity of Neolithic settlement into the Bronze Age. For example, the settlement at Tofts Ness, Sanday, appears to have seen continual occupation from the Early Neolithic through to the Bronze Age (Dockrill *et al*, 2007). This is backed up by Tisdall *et al*'s findings that while storminess appears to have increased in the Bronze Age and Iron Age, it does not appear to have had a major effect on settlement practices (2013). As Farrell observes, it is likely that while climate change appears to have had little direct effect on settlement patterns, certain practices changed due to shifts in social structure and economic factors (2007, pp.76-78); the belief in a 'catastrophic decline' reflects the fact that the Bronze Age has been oft neglected compared to the preceding and following periods of the Neolithic and Iron Age, likely due to the lapse in truly monumental landscape practices in this period (Downes, 2005, pp.22-23). An unfortunate consequence of this lack of attention is that little is known of how settlement was structured in this period. This is largely because Bronze Age dwellings are rarely observed, having been typically discovered as part of excavations of other sites (Downes, 2005, p.25). In the Western Isles, some Bronze Age settlements have been found beneath Iron Age structures, such as at Rosinish, Benbacula (Armit, 1996, pp.92-93), which may suggest that Bronze Age settlement in Orkney is similarly obscured by later structures. However, that Bronze Age houses have so rarely been recognised – whether at a site or landscape level – indicates that they were neither distinctive or substantial structures compared to other prehistoric features.

While Bronze Age settlements do not appear to have been particularly monumental, the Bronze Age inhabitants of the Isles still made their own marks on the landscape. While the use of the massive communal chambered cairns appears to have fallen out of fashion during this period[9] (Armit, 1996, p.107; Downes, 2005, p.32-33**)**, Bronze Age mortuary practices maintained a certain degree of monumentality. Similarly to practice across the British Isles at this time (Downes, 2005, p.32), the Bronze Age funerary process appears to have often involved the cremation of the deceased and the placing of the remains into a container of some kind (usually an urn or cist, or both). This container was then often covered with a large mound of earth or stone, though recessed cists also occur (Moore and Wilson, 1995). In Orkney, inclusion of 'cramp', a glassy slag-like material formed by the burning of dry seaweed fused to sand, is a common feature in many Bronze Age burials (Photos-Jones et al, 2007), indicating that cremations may have occurred on the beach[10]. Bradley and Armit have both suggested that such shifts may reflect changes in social structures and attitudes to the dead – indeed, this process would appear to be somewhat of a reverse of the process observed by Bradley in the early Neolithic as discussed in the theoretical background (Page 14).

The Bronze Age also saw proliferation of a new monument type within the landscape – heaps of heat-cracked rocks and associated burnt material known as 'burnt mounds'. These features have attracted a wide range of interpretations – some have claimed that they are ritual/spiritual in nature (Barfield and Hodder, 1987; referenced in Doughton, 2013, p.37), though most theorists believe that they were associated with domestic activity (Downes, 2005, pp.28-29). Despite these domestic associations, the monumentality of these features should not be

[9] Both study areas see deliberate sealing of tombs in the Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age. In the Western Isles, these sealings were often accompanied by single inhumations associated with Beaker pottery (Armit, 1996, pp.94-95).
[10] Armit observes that mortuary evidence from the Western Isles was varied during this period – inhumations appear alongside cremations and graves were associated with multiple types of goods (Armit, 1996, p.107).

understated – many burnt mounds are quite substantial, and their visibility within the landscape is attested to by the fact that they often garnered names (see for example the Bleaching Knowe (Corpus ID: RR61) and the Fairy Knowe (Corpus ID: RR100)). If burnt mounds really are the remains of domestic/industrial activities, it is difficult to determine why those activities appear to have been deliberately monumentalised (Doughton, 2013, p.42) – it is possible that the importance of mound building in Bronze Age mortuary practices influenced this practice in some way, and both Downes and Doughton make the point that they may represent ritualization of domesticity and industry (Downes, 2005, p.29; Doughton, 2013, p.39-40).

Armit does not mention burnt mounds in his comprehensive breakdown of Hebridean archaeology, and other site types common to both isles have been readily identified. Instead, it seems that the social practices behind the construction of this monument type did not particularly spread to the Hebrides despite being commonplace in the Northern Isles and present within the wider British Isles (Doughton, 2013). As an aside, incidence of steatite vessels in Bronze Age graves in Orkney indicates connections with Shetland during this period (Ritchie, 1995, p.92; referenced in Doughton, 2013, p.35). However, few metal objects dating to the Bronze Age have been found in Orkney (Farrell, 2009, pp.75-76; Doughton, 2013, p.35), and metals were rare in the Western Isles until the latter part of the period (Armit, 1996, p.101), indicating that trade during this period was largely regional and that the Isles were late stops on the pan-European trade routes that were fundamental to the adoption of metal during this period (Roberts and Frieman, 2012).

Overall, no matter the causes behind these shifts, the Bronze Age in both study areas represents a lull in the striking monumentality that otherwise defines the prehistoric period. This would, however, see a swift return in the Iron Age.

The Early to Middle Iron Age – the shadows of the brochs

Counter to the all-but-invisible settlements of the Bronze Age, the earlier Iron Age in both study areas saw widespread proliferation of monumental architecture. Seemingly beginning in the Northern Isles as ‘simple Atlantic roundhouses’ (Armit, 2002, p.17), increasingly complex substantial drystone structures became the focus of settlement across Northern Scotland. This resulted in a range of different types of structure, which Armit has conceptualised as fitting into the broader category of ‘complex Atlantic roundhouses’ (*ibid*, p.109-135) – the largest of these buildings were the double-walled broch towers, which featured intermural galleries and multiple storeys. One of the best preserved examples, the broch of Mousa, Shetland, has maintained a height of 13m to this day (Historic Environment Scotland, 2020); this should demonstrate the architectural and engineering skill evident in their construction. In the Western Isles most known brochs remained as lone towers, whereas multiple brochs in the Orkney and Shetland Isles saw the eventual formation of nucleated ‘broch villages’ surrounding the towers (Armit, 2002, p.17). The function of these monumental settlements has been questioned, with theories discussing concepts such as defence, territory, resource management, and social identity (Fojut, 1982; Armit, 2002, pp.24-25). As Armit argues in his discussion of brochs in Atlantic Scotland, it is likely that, while the architectural form was widespread, there was regional variation in the social role of brochs (Armit, 2002, pp.24-26).

In the Western Isles and in Shetland, though not in the Inner Hebrides or Orkney (Armit, 1996, p.136), the complex Atlantic roundhouse culture developed another form used alongside the brochs – the internally subdivided ‘wheelhouses’. These buildings were wide circular structures featuring radiating ‘piers’ or ‘aisles’ around an internal central space. Unlike the towering brochs, the wheelhouses would have been much less visible within the landscape (*ibid*, p.143) – most were semi-subterranean, with only the roof sitting above the pit-built structure. In the Hebrides, many were dug into the sandy machair dunes or into the ruins of earlier roundhouses (*ibid*, pp.137-143); Armit suggests that this design was at least partly intended to maximise shelter from the elements – an important consideration for an area frequently buffeted by Atlantic storms (*ibid*, p.143). At the same time, the architectural complexity of these structures is considered to be on a par with that seen in the brochs, and both Armit and Crawford maintain that these structures – while largely hidden within the landscape – remained examples of the domestic monumentality seen earlier in the period (Armit, 1996, p.143; Crawford, 2002, p.127). The general view of

these monuments is that they were the product of an intensive ritualization of domestic life – functioning simultaneously as homes and as spiritual centres (Armit, 1996, p.153; Crawford, 2002, p.127).
Having discussed both broch and wheelhouses as examples of Iron Age domestic monumentality, it is worth addressing monument visibility in the Viking Age. At the time of colonisation, the wheelhouses would rarely have been noticed after falling into ruin due to their semi-subterranean design, while even those brochs that have collapsed are still highly visible due to the mound formed. As such, there are likely to be distinct differences between the recognition and reuse of these structures by the Norse.

As discussed above in the research background, the Iron Age in Orkney also saw widespread and intense interaction with the mortuary monuments of the Neolithic – a large proportion of the chambered tombs were opened during this time. Hingley has convincingly argued that this was largely in order to grant access to the skeletal remains entombed within, and there is good evidence to suggest that the chambers were often reused for other purposes (Hingley, 1996, pp.233-236). Perhaps the most dramatic demonstration of these practices can be found in the siting of Iron Age settlements on top of, and often incorporating, these chambered cairns. This is known to have occurred at the Broch of Howe on Orkney Mainland (Hingley, 1996, 236-238), and at the Knowe of Swandro in Rousay (Dockrill and Bond, 2018; Corpus ID: RR8). This intensive reuse of the monuments of the past does not appear to have occurred in the Hebrides, though many of the loch islets selected and enhanced for settlement during the Neolithic were reused for fortified settlements during this period[11] (Armit, 1996, pp.117-118). This may suggest that the superimposition of Iron Age duns on Neolithic settlements was important, especially in light of the deliberate reuse of Neolithic materials in Orkney. However, it may be that this association was incidental, and that it was the islet position that was important to the Iron Age builders (*ibid*, p.113).

With the importance of Iron Age practice in shaping the landscape demonstrated, it is perhaps surprising to note that the monumentality of mortuary practices seen in the Neolithic and Bronze Age is entirely absent in the Iron Age. Indeed, Early and Middle Iron Age mortuary evidence in Northern Scotland is scarce, similarly to much of the rest of the British Isles at this time (Armit and Ginn, 2007). It is likely that mortuary practices such as excarnation or dispersal of cremated remains became common during this period, though it is not clear why these changes occurred. In Orkney, those human remains that have been found in relation to the Early and Middle Iron Age are usually fragmentary and associated with domestic structures, with most seemingly having been deliberately deposited as part of the building or modification process (Hingley, 1992, p.16). This discontinuity of inhumation may indicate a shift in attitudes to death occurring as part of wider political changes in the Iron Age.

The earlier Iron Age in Norway is separated into three different periods – the pre-Roman Iron Age, the Roman Iron Age, and the Migration period. Up until the Roman Iron Age, mortuary monumentality in Norway had been largely understated compared to examples from Denmark or Sweden, consisting mostly of small barrows, low cairns and stone settings. In the Roman Iron Age, funerary structures became much more diverse and elaborate, including forms such as *domarringar* (stone circles surrounding graves), memorial stones, long cairns, triangular cairns and round cairns. In the Migration Period, round and long cairns and barrows were in fashion, alongside memorial stones and large cists. In this period, graves are rare in the eastern, interior parts of Norway, but are common along the western coast. Unlike the British evidence, the dead remain a very visible presence throughout the Norwegian Iron Age, at least in coastal areas (Thäte, 2007, p.169).

The Late Iron Age/Early Medieval Period – Picts and Merovingians

The transition from the earlier Iron Age to the Late Iron Age/Pictish period in the Western and Northern Isles is largely associated with the advent of written history associated with Christian monastic institutions across the British Isles. Certain parts of Scotland can be treated as fully 'historic' due to early chronicles written at the monastery at Iona, in the Inner Hebrides (Fraser, 2009, pp.94-95), but most parts of Scotland, including the focus areas, are only

[11] The aforementioned Eilean Domhnuil was left untouched, but this is likely because it was submerged at this point – another islet in Loch Olabhat was selected for Iron Age settlement instead.

mentioned in passing throughout this period. The Late Iron Age/Early Medieval period in the Scottish Islands and Highlands is typically known as the 'Pictish' period, so named for the kingdom that claimed dominion over northern and eastern mainland Scotland during the Early Medieval Period. The 'Picts' appear to have begun as a confederation of affiliated tribes that formed in response to Roman incursions into Scotland; these tribes appear to have developed into burgeoning kingdoms which eventually coalesced into the kingdom of Pictland (Fraser, 2009). It cannot be said for certain if the pre-Norse Hebrideans or Orcadians would have called themselves Picts, even if it is clear that cultural elements recognised as 'Pictish' made their way to the Isles (described below). With this established, the term 'Pictish' will still be used as a useful marker of the time period in question, and to maintain consistency with other sources. The actual extent of 'Pictish' power remain poorly understood, and almost certainly saw significant shifts throughout the period as inter-polity relations changed. Some of this instability can be observed through the scant few references to the Orkney Isles that occur in the monastic annals of the period. For example, the Annals of Ulster record that Áedán mac Gabráin of Dál Riata raided the Orkney Isles in 580 CE, at which time they were ruled by a king in fealty to a king of the Picts (Markús, 2017, p.89). However, in 682 CE, the Annals of Ulster record that 'the Orkneys were destroyed by Bridei', a king of Pictland (Markús, 2017, p.96). Clearly Pictish rule was not necessarily set in stone. All this is to say that the cultural affiliations of the inhabitants of the Outer Hebrides and Northern Isles are unclear.

Unfortunately, archaeological evidence from the Pictish period in both regions remains almost as scarce as the historical evidence, a matter that may have something to do with the period's relative lack of archaeological visibility. In contrast to the substantial settlements of the earlier Iron Age, Pictish structures appear to have been fairly ephemeral. It is clear that settlement practice had changed from the monumental architecture of the pre-Pictish Iron Age; many roundhouse and broch sites saw continuity of settlement into this period, but the monumental structures themselves often appear to have fallen into disrepair (such as at the Broch of Gurness – Corpus ID: RM12). Meanwhile the Pictish inhabitants inserted their own buildings into and around the decaying roundhouses, making little effort to repair or reinforce the earlier Iron Age structures (Armit, 1996, p.167, 170-171). Most of these Pictish buildings were cellular in design, frequently developing 'figure-of-eight' forms featuring a pair of conjoined cells. Striking similarities have been observed in the layout of these structures in both the Western and Northern Isles, as well as examples in Ulster, Ireland (Armit, 1996, p.172), suggesting possible cultural links across the Irish Sea.

Much like the Neolithic-Bronze Age transition, decline in the use of monumental settlements should not necessarily be taken to indicate that there was a corresponding collapse of society, population or architectural knowledge. Armit observes that while the Pictish buildings of the Hebrides were not monumental, they were still well-built and adapted to local environmental conditions (*ibid*, p.171). It seems much more likely that these changes came from shifts in wider society, away from the ritualization of the domestic sphere seen in the Hebrides and the socially stratified ancestor worship of the Orkneys. Armit has suggested that shifting of power from local families and regional elites to the rulers of the Pictish state may also have been a factor in the decline in monumental settlements (*ibid,* p.185). This suggestion is reinforced by evidence that the manufacture of personal jewellery intensified during this period – not only are more such items recovered in Pictish contexts (Armit, 1996, p.180), multiple Pictish sites have seen finds of moulds used in the manufacture of brooches and similar objects (Curle, 1982; Campbell and Heald, 2007). As another indication of social change during this period, Late Iron Age saw the return of inhumation in mortuary practice, though the graves themselves lacked the monumentality of the Neolithic and Bronze Age. Most Pictish graves in the Orkney Isles were inhumation burials in cists, occasionally covered by low cairns, such as at Hermisgarth, Sanday (Downes *et al*, 1997). The Pictish burials found alongside later Viking burials at the Moaness cemetery on Rousay (Corpus ID: RR21, RR22) were found unaccompanied by grave goods, in narrow slab-lined graves (Kaland, 1993). However, it is likely that these graves originally bore markers, as the later Viking inhumations do not appear to have disturbed any of the Pictish graves (*ibid*).

While the cultural affiliations of the later Iron Age Orcadians remain unclear, some level of mainland Pictish influence is clear from the relatively large number of Class I Pictish symbol stones having been found across the

archipelago (Fraser, 2008). These can specifically be distinguished from simple carved stones due to the distinctive 'mirror' symbols common to many symbol stones on the mainland. These monuments have been linked to questions of territoriality, clan identity and memorialisation (Forsyth, 1995a, pp.85,87). No true 'stones' have been discovered in Lewis, but a few have been found elsewhere in the Outer Hebrides; these all sport the same 'crescent and v-rod design' (Armit, 1996, pp.180-182), while what appears to be a Pictish mirror symbol has been found associated with Neolithic cup and ring marks on Beàrnaraigh Mòr (Corpus ID: LBM3). In other parts of Scotland, Class I symbol stones gave way to Class II symbol stones sporting Christian iconography as the Irish Church became a more powerful religious and political entity in Northern Britain – this does not appear to have occurred in the Outer Hebrides or Northern Isles before the Vikings arrived (Fraser, 2008). Both the Western and Northern Isles saw eventual introduction of the Ogham writing system, again suggesting possible links with Ireland – an ogham-inscribed spindle-whorl from Buckquoy was found to be written in Old Irish (Forsyth, 1995b) as opposed to the Pictish seen elsewhere in Scotland (Forsyth, 1996). Interestingly, the Shetland Isles saw a regional idiosyncrasy in the form of these inscriptions, wherein two dots were used to mark the end of sentences. This form is not found elsewhere in the Ogham corpus of the British Isles, but is almost identical to a similar form used for runic inscriptions seen in Scandinavia (Jennings, 2016, p.52). This suggests a significant level of pre-colonisation contact with Scandinavian traders.

The aforementioned monastery at Iona was a major centre of Christianity in Northern Britain and Ireland, and there are records of daughter monasteries having been founded by monks from Iona across the Hebrides (Fraser, 2009, p.77). The status of Christianity in the Orkney Isles is less clear. Placename evidence from islands such as Papa Westray, Eynhallow and Egilsay has been suggested to be linked to Viking encounters with monks in these areas (Thomson, 2007). The placename element 'papa' occurs elsewhere in areas of Norse settlement [12] and is believed to be related to the incidence of monasteries in these areas – the Norse referred to the monks as 'papar' (*ibid*). However, it should be noted that these placenames may also indicate areas which saw Christian populations settle there after the Norse colonisation. As a corollary to this, the uptake of Christianity prior to Norse colonisation of the Shetland Isles is in question; this is because all of the earliest examples of Christian stone carving known from the archipelago is from the Viking period (Jennings, 2016). This may suggest that Christianity had not yet established a foothold in the communities of Shetland prior to the Viking colonisation. However, the evidence also suggests relatively early penetration of Christianity into Viking period communities, which may suggest a surviving Christian population or indicate continued missions from the Irish Church. With this in mind, it is worth considering if the occurrence of 'papar' place names may be due to the Vikings granting of land to Christian monastic missions.

Unfortunately, much remains unclear about the period immediately predating the Norse colonisation of the Isles. The post-broch settlement at Loch na Berie (Corpus ID: LV13) may have been occupied up to immediately before the Norse colonisation on the dating basis of a brooch found in the last occupation level (Armit, 1996, pp.170), but the lack of Norse materials at the site would seem to rule out any possibility that it saw continued occupation into the Norse period.

In Norway, the Pictish period is roughly equivalent with what has been termed the 'Merovingian period'[13], which is defined as being from 550 to 750 CE (Vea, 2020). Similarly to the Pictish period in the Isles, the Merovingian period saw a departure from the monumentality of the preceding Migration period – in this case with the simplification of mortuary structures. Unlike in Scotland, where the creation of personal objects and adornments appears to have intensified, manufacture of jewellery using precious metals also declined, perhaps indicating different social dynamics at play here. At Avaldsnes, the settlement was fortified during this time, perhaps suggesting an increased level of societal conflict (*ibid*). In terms of mortuary traditions, there is less of a focus on the monumentality evident in the earlier Iron Age – low cairns and barrows are most common along the west coast of Norway, while the

[12] As an example, it occurs at the isles of Pabaigh Mòr and Pabaigh Beag in the Loch Ròg study area.
[13] This era is so named for the Frankish ruling dynasty, which had far-reaching influence within Europe during this time.

eastern, inland areas see mostly flat graves (Thäte, 2007, p.169). Might this indicate a collapse in the power necessary in marshalling people to create the large monuments?

The Colonisation of the Isles – a depopulated landscape?

Aside from the indications of increased conflict during the Merovingian period mentioned above, the social dynamics behind the start of Scandinavian raids of coastal Europe, and thus the beginnings of the Viking Age, remain unclear. However, the raids themselves were likely spearheaded by social elites – those figures in Norse society with access to boats and people to man them (Williams, G., 2008). At the same time, there appears to have been a greater investment in long-distance trade (Sindbæk, 2008). One possible cause for these trends might lie in the development of shallow-hulled ships, which allowed travel via boat to areas previously inaccessible from the sea. This would have both facilitated raids on unprepared locations, and allowed greater trade links inland through the navigation of rivers (Bill, 2008).

The first recorded Viking raid of the British Isles occurred at some point between 786-802 CE at Portland, Wessex, by raiders believed to have come from Norway (Williams, G., 2008, p194-195).. This marked the start of centuries of attacks on coastal settlements by raiders from Scandinavia, though the Norse themselves appear to have moved their attention to Northern Britain and the Irish Sea. Multiple battles are recorded between powers in Scotland and the Vikings during this time, and it was likely the Norse that sacked the monastery at Iona. The pressure of Viking attacks on Dál Riata, Pictland and Strathclyde is believed to have had some influence behind the coalescing of these polities into the united kingdom of Alba, and thus the eventual formation of the Kingdom of Scotland (Márkus, 2017, pp.228-252). The beginning of Norse colonisation of the Scottish Isles is believed to have occurred at around this time, somewhere in the vicinity of 800 CE.

Beyond the events in Norway, the dynamics of the Viking colonisation of the Scottish Isles are unclear due to the paucity of historical information from this period. However, there are a few isolated references to the Norse colonisation of Scotland in the monastic annals mentioned above. For example, the Annals of St. Bertin in France recorded in 847 that '*the Scotti, who for several years had been attacked by the Northmen, were made into tribute-payers. And [the Northmen] also took possession of* ***the surrounding islands*** (my emphasis) *and dwelt there, with no one offering resistance*'. (Márkus, 2017, p.232-234). Márkus believes that this passage was specifically referring to the Hebrides, with the *Scotti* in question either being the Irish or the Scottish Gaels. Working from the language used in the record, he suggests that this annal marks a formal agreement made between the Norse and the Picts in which the Isles were ceded to the Norse settlers. This is supported by the Scots Gaelic names for the Hebrides – *Innsi Gall*, translating to 'Isles of the Foreigners' – and what is now Argyll – *Airer Gáidel*, translating to 'Coastland of the Gaels' (Márkus, 2017, p.234). The Hebrides specifically having been named for the Norse occupation suggests a formal recognition of the Norse dominion over the Isles. Of course, this does little to answer the question of what happened to the original inhabitants.

Archaeological investigation has fared somewhat better at answering this question. There are some indications towards a gap in settlement continuity in this period: evidence from the excavation of the Viking farmstead at Bostadh, Beàrnaraigh Mòr (Corpus ID: LBM12), showed that the Pictish settlement it was set upon (Corpus ID: LBM11) had been abandoned for enough time that substantial windblown sediments had begun to build up in the remains of the structure (Neighbour and Burgess, 1996). Similarly, no artefactual evidence has been found suggesting continued occupation of Pictish buildings after the colonisation. All of the structures built and inhabited during this period were of distinctly Scandinavian design, and Jennings and Kruse observes that the preceding architectural styles of the Outer Hebrides and Northern Isles appear to have had no influence on those employed after colonisation (2001, pp.254-255). This physical evidence is not the only indication that the Vikings were entering a largely emptied landscape. Both the Western Isles and the Northern Isles are all but entirely devoid of pre-conquest Gaelic or Pictish toponyms, with Gaelic names only re-entering the Western Isles after they were annexed by Scotland (Jennings and Kruse, 2001). This does not extend merely to the settlements, but to geographical features as well. If, as has been suggested by Lamb (1995), the Norse conquest was largely a shifting of elites, it seems odd

that the terminology for the agricultural landscape was entirely replaced. To address the idea of an 'emptied landscape', it should be cautioned that this does not necessarily indicate that this loss of population was due to Norse genocide or slave-taking of the native inhabitants. At the very least there has been very little archaeological evidence of conflict (such as destruction layers at settlement sites or skeletal trauma associated with violence) discovered in either the Western or Northern Isles dating from this period (Bäcklund, 2001, p.33).
To suggest another explanation for this loss of population, events from elsewhere in the British Isles indicate that major changes in settlement occurred due to the pressures of Viking raiding. One of the chief examples here are the *wics* that became common in England in the centuries following the withdrawal of the Roman Empire. Largely commercial/industrial centres, the vast majority were placed on rivers or next to the coast (Clarke and Ambrosiani, 1995, p.15). With the advent of the Viking raids and their utilisation of shallow-hulled longboats, these *wics* became extremely vulnerable to the 'hit and run' tactics employed by the Vikings (Sindbaek, 2008, p.151, Williams, G., 2008, p.197). As a result, many settlements adapted – the populace withdrew inland and newly fortified settlements known as *burh*s arose as the principal trading centres (Sindbaek, 2008, p.152). Similarly, large numbers of the monks from Iona are recorded as having left to serve at other monasteries following the frequent raids (Markús, 2017, p.244)[14]. Thus it should be clear that the Vikings were a powerful force for causing changes in settlement practice. With this in mind, the vulnerability of the coastline would have been much more extreme in the Scottish archipelagos, with there being little truly inland areas to shelter from raiders and slavers. It is possible that this pressure prompted most of the population of the Isles to retreat to the mainland following the initial raids. In the case of the Orkney Isles, the events preceding the Viking Age should also be considered – as mentioned above, several attacks on the isles are recorded in the monastic annals, including the 682 CE raid by the Kingdom of Pictland in which the Isles were 'destroyed' (Page 39). It may be that centuries of warfare and changing political environments associated with power struggles in Scotland had destabilised the Orkney Isles to the point that the arrival of the first Vikings was the last straw for most people left living in the isles[15]. As such, it may be that only a few people were present across the archipelagos when colonisation began. This thesis is basing its assumptions on the idea that the Norse were entering landscapes which were largely, but not entirely, devoid of their preceding occupants, significantly dulling the amount of cultural transmission from the native inhabitants.

Norse Scotland – the *Norðreyjar* and *Suðreyjar*

The initial colonisation of the Isles appears to have been almost akin to the establishment of pirate headquarters – it seems that many of the subsequent raids on Britain, Ireland, the Isle of Man and northern France took place from the Northern Isles and Hebrides (Márkus, 2017, pp.230-231). These inhabitants likely spent most of the year farming, with raiding occurring during the summer (*ibid*, p.235). Barrett *et al* have suggested that the incidence of hoards across Orkney indicate that the Isles were split into multiple chiefdoms, suggesting that the silver seen in those hoards would have been used by various elites to maintain their retinues (2000, p.4). At the beginning of the Viking Age, Norway appears to have been mix of small kingdoms, statelets and individual farmsteads (Hedegear, 2008, p.16). However, in 866, Harald Fairhair (*Haraldr inn hárfagri*), a ruler of several petty kingdoms in what today is known as Vestfold, began his conquest of Norway, eventually 'unifying' the country in 872. The conflicts and social changes surrounding this campaign may well have prompted Norse families to settle elsewhere. After a while, the Vikings of the Hebrides and Northern Isles began to turn their attention back towards Norway; the Orkneyinga Saga claims that, prompted by a series of raids on coastal communities, Harald Fairhair sailed to Scotland to bring these areas under control (Barrett, 2008, p.412). This brought the Isles firmly under the Norwegian Crown, though the actual specifics of the administration of these areas immediately after annexation by Norway are not known – it is, however, clear that earldoms had been established in the colonies by the 12th century (Barrett *et al*, 2000, p.4) Under Norse control, the archipelagos of Shetland and Orkney were called the '*Norðreyjar*' (North Isles), and the

[14] That being said, the monastery at Iona continued to be occupied even under Norse control, indicating some level of religious flexibility.
[15] However, it should be noted that the same lack of archaeological evidence for conflict during the Pictish/Norse interface also applies to the centuries before colonisation – thus, it is unclear as to what extent the Orkney Isles were 'destroyed'.

Hebrides and the Isle of Man were called the *'Suðreyjar*' (South Isles). It is likely that the Norse colonies in Scotland began aiding colonisation efforts in the North Sea soon after being settled themselves. Even after the end of this period of colonisation, the *Norðreyjar* continued to act as important stopping points on journeys further north and west, while the *Suðreyjar* formed part of trade routes into the Irish Sea.

In terms of mortuary practices, Thäte records that most grave monuments in Viking Age Norway occur either as barrows or cairns (which were either round, oval or long in form) or small stone settings (Thäte, 2007, p.169). Multiple ship burials are attested to in Norway, usually associated with barrows or cairns, and the presence of similar burials in Orkney show that Norse colonists transferred these practices to the new lands. The most impressive of these graves in Orkney was the Scar boat burial (Halstad-Mcguire, 2010, pp.170-171), but two boat burials were also recorded from the cemetery site of Moa Ness in the Rousay study area (Corpus ID: RR22), alongside a variety of other Norse grave types. With this said, few Viking Age burial monuments have been readily identified outside of these examples in Orkney.

The timeline for the adoption of Christianity in Norse Scotland remains a matter of debate. There were almost certainly regional differences in the spread and uptake of the religion within the different island groups, dictated by the trade and social networks available to each region.
The Orkneyinga Saga claims that that in 995 CE, the Earl of Orkney and his subjects were converted to Christianity under pressure from Olaf Tryggvason, then king of Norway, but this may very well be apocryphal (Orkneyinga Saga, Chapter I). It seems likely that Christianity already had a presence in the isles by this time, introduced through a combination of individual worship and missions sent from the Irish and Roman churches. It is also possible that a monastery remained on Papa Westray through the Norse colonisation, with corresponding effects on the uptake of Christianity in the area (Papar Project, 2005a). Similarly, it is more than possible that Christianity saw continuity of practice from the Pictish period in the Western Isles, with multiple possible pre-Norse ecclesiastical sites having been identified in the Loch Ròg study area (see below). The adoption of Christianity brought with it changes in social practices, beliefs and worldviews. As discussed above (Page 16), the change in worldviews from pagan Norse to Christian may well have had a profound effect on the ways in which the monumental landscape was perceived.
The introduction of Christianity into the Isles is often seen as the end of the Viking Age in Norse Scotland, transitioning into the 'Norse period'. While the history of the Isles after the Viking Age is eventful and interesting, there is little that can be discussed that is of relevance to this thesis.

The Isles after the Norse – a brief summary

Norwegian rule of the Western Isles of Scotland ended when they were sold by King Magnus VI of Norway to the Scottish Crown in 1266 with the Treaty of Perth.
The Northern Isles were given over to Scotland in 1472 by Christian I of Denmark after his failure to pay the dowry of his daughter, Princess Margaret, who perished in a shipwreck while sailing to Scotland for her marriage to King James III (Smith, 2010).
Cultural influences from the Scottish mainland gradually began to erode elements of Norwegian influence in the Isles – Norn, a variant of Norse spoken in the Northern Isles was gradually replaced by Scots English in a process beginning even before annexation in 1472, and eventually dying out by the nineteenth century (Heddle, 2010).
Finally, it should be noted that the Western Isles saw extensive depopulation of the landscape during the Highland Clearances of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which saw the eviction of tenant farmers from their land to clear it for the grazing of sheep. This removal of the populace may well have contributed to the survival of archaeological materials in these areas, but it had profound effects on the society of the Isles, with local traditions being disrupted and local knowledge being lost (Armit, 1996, pp.207-208). Rousay was one of the few islands that

was extensively cleared in the Orkney Isles, with similar effects on the culture of the island (Thomson, 2000).

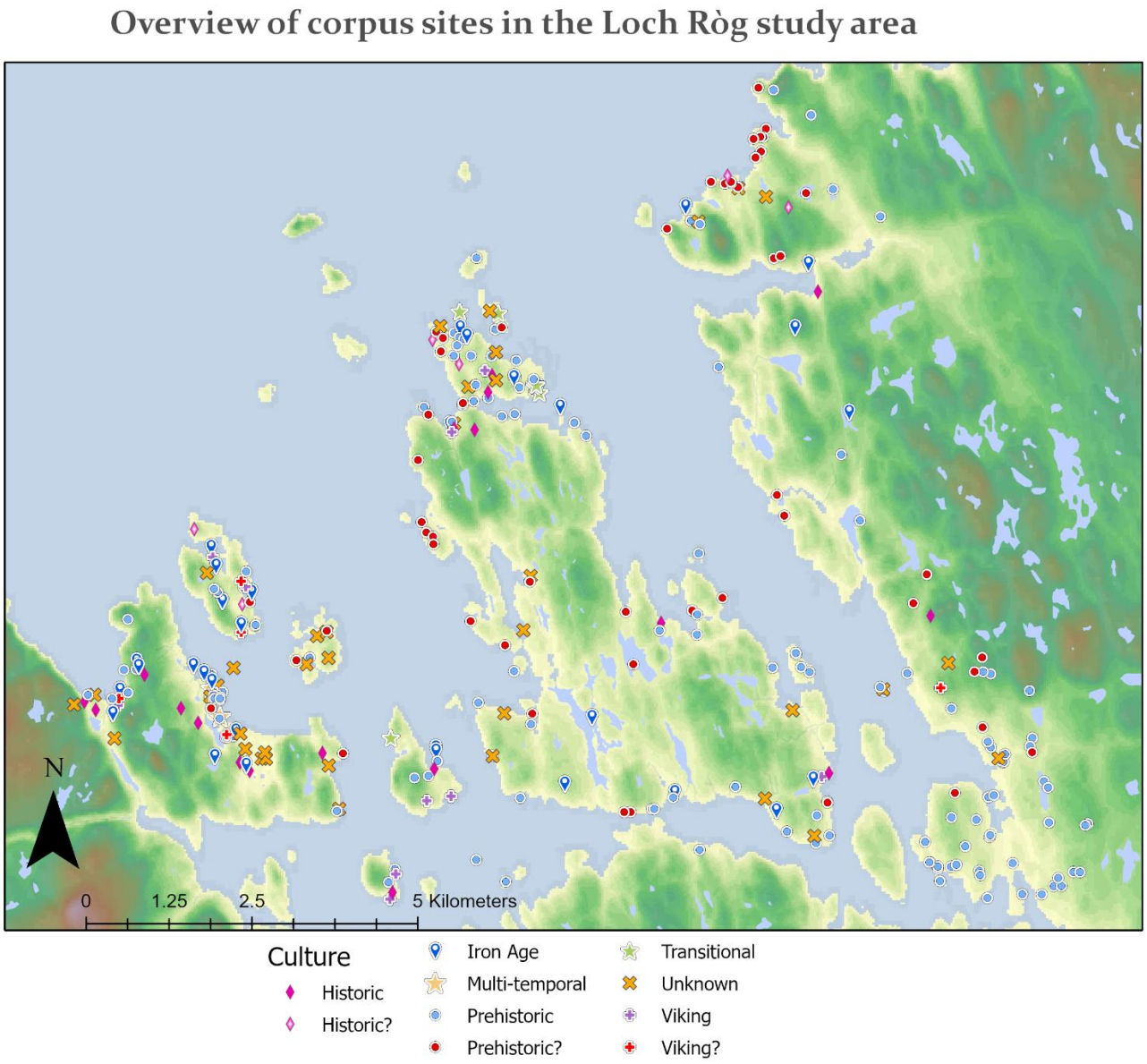

Figure 7: Map showing the distribution of corpus sites in the Loch Ròg study area. Viking sites are seen associated with Iron Age sites around the Bhaltos Peninsula (left section of map) and the northern tip of Beàrnaraigh Mór (top middle of map)

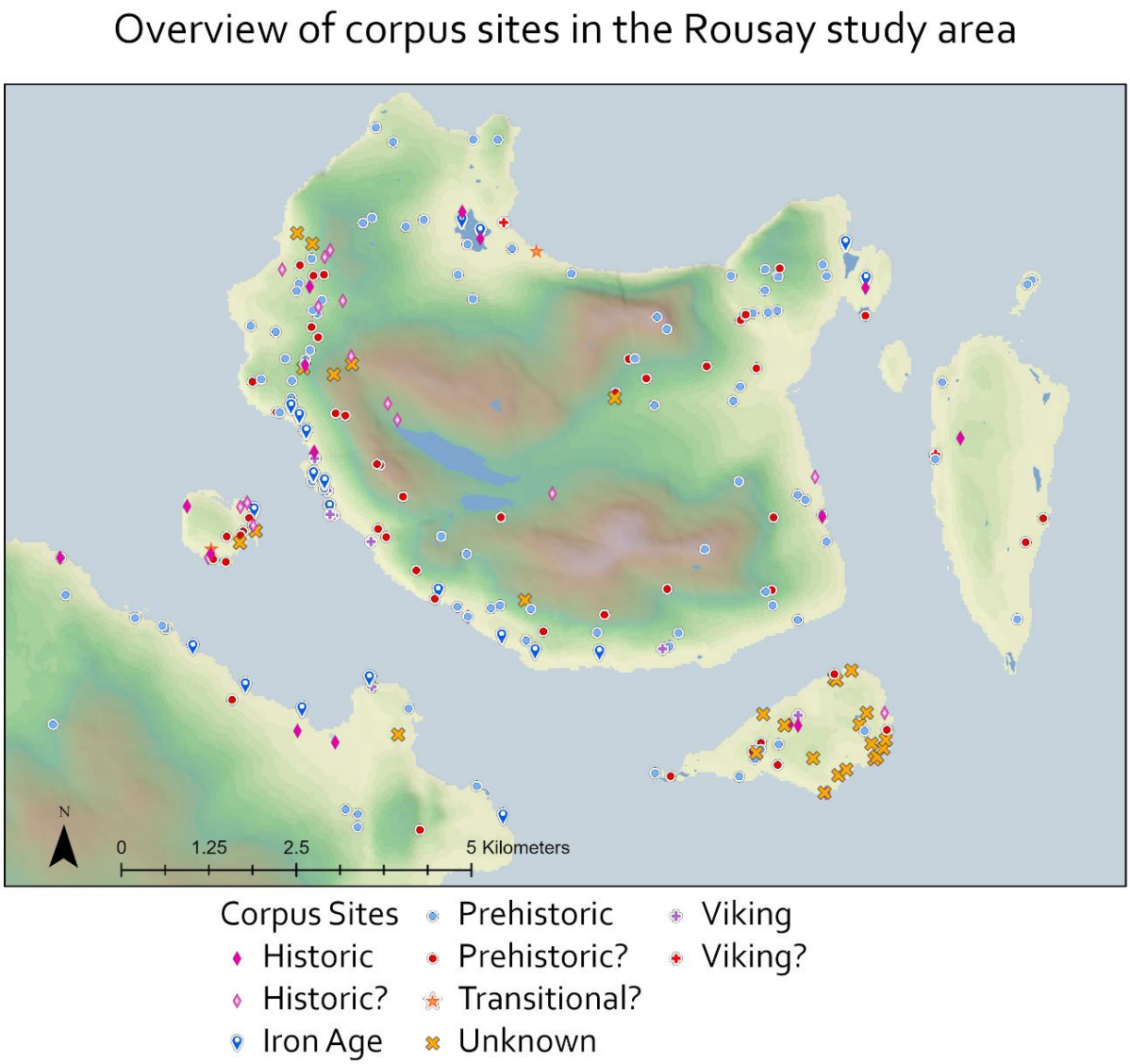

Figure 8: Map showing the distribution of corpus sites in the Rousay study area. Viking sites are seen associated with Iron Age and multi-temporal sites at Westness (left side of main island).

Site Corpus and GIS Analysis

Site point data was collected through the Canmore database and projected onto DEMs of the two study areas, sourced from the Shuttle Radar Topography Mission data mentioned above. Each site point was associated with various information about the corresponding feature. Fields were as follows:

Name: the name or designation of the site

Canmore ID: the identifying number used for the site within the Canmore database

Site type: organised by landscape form

Monument – Used for mortuary structures, standing stones

Settlement – Used for permanent dwellings and settlements, as well as middens.

Monumental Settlement – Used predominantly to describe Iron Age broch towers and duns, though some Viking 'castles' are identified with this as well.

Ecclesiastical – Used for features associated with Christianity – either those established prior to Norse colonisation, or those established after the reintroduction of Christianity in the Norse Medieval period.

Agricultural – Used for most enclosures, as well as agricultural terraces and shielings

Land Division – Used for various linear and curvilinear earthworks, walls and dykes.

Industrial – Used for sites of non-agricultural resource exploitation and processing.

Souterrain – Used for subterranean features

Findspot – Used for chance finds deemed relevant to the thesis

Period: the archaeological period the site was deemed to best fit into – ranges from Mesolithic to the 19th century.

Culture: the broader periods of interest within the study. For reference, features pre-dating the Iron Age have been sorted into the 'Prehistoric' category, and features post-dating the Viking period belong to the 'Historic' category. Sites belonging to the Iron Age or Viking period are labelled as such. The 'Transitional' category typically refers to possible pre-Viking ecclesiastical sites that were later readopted by the Norse, and the 'Multi-Temporal' category is used for sites with lengthy periods of continuity.

Reuse?: a two-character indication denoting if there is evidence for later reuse at the site. For reference, 'Y' indicates direct interaction, 'I' indicates indirect evidence, 'A' indicates ambiguity in the evidence, '-' indicates that no evidence has been found, and 'N' indicates areas in which it is clear that reuse did not take place. A question mark indicates that while evidence might suggest one such status, it is currently unclear.

Description: provides descriptive information about the site

Attaching this information to the site points enabled them to be selected via search query language (SQL), allowing analysis of particular groups of sites based on particular research questions. For instance, SQL was used to source data for graph analysis. Prehistoric sites were sorted by the parameters 'Reuse?' and 'Culture', and sorted into graphs showing the proportion of different statuses of reuse for each culture:

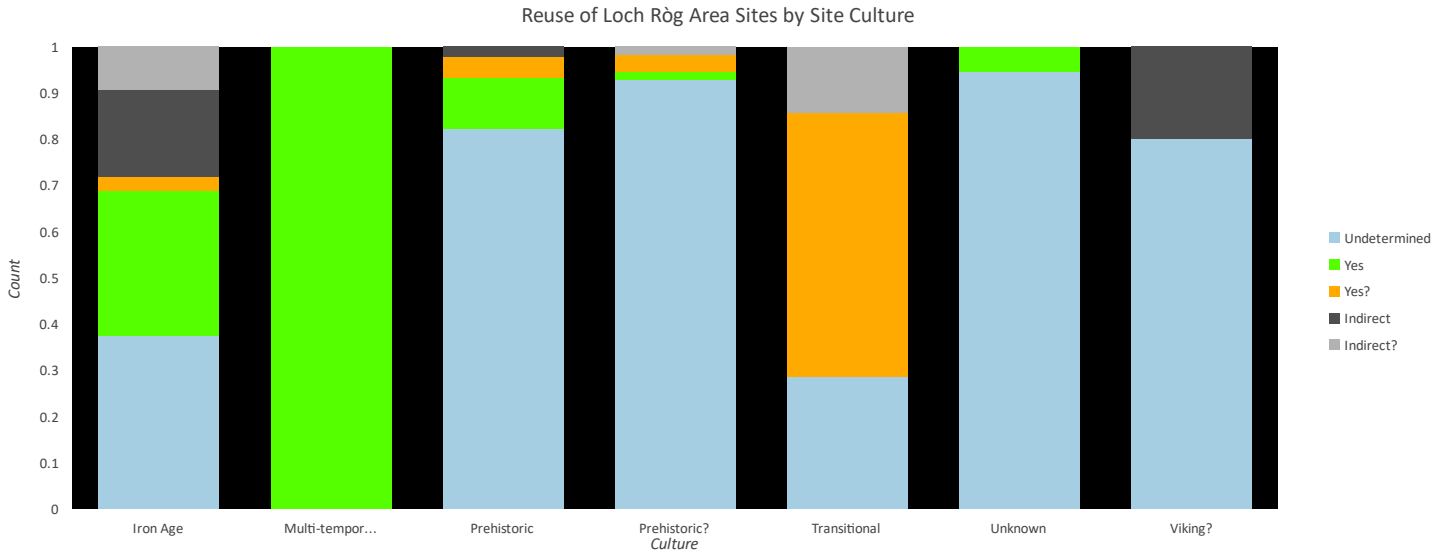

Figure 9: Table showing the percentage of different types of reuse in sites of different ages.

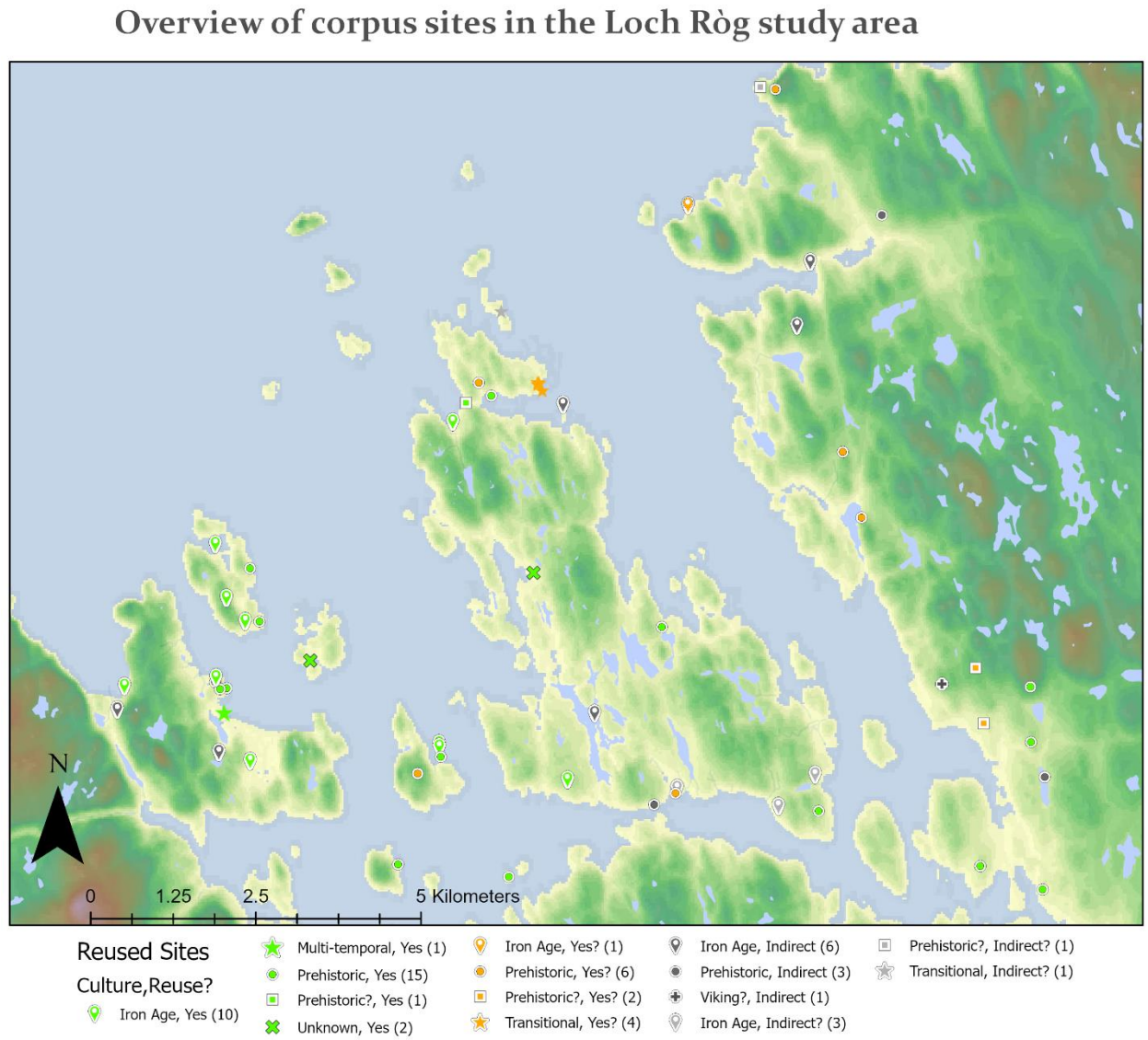

Figure 10: Map of reused sites in the Loch Ròg study area.

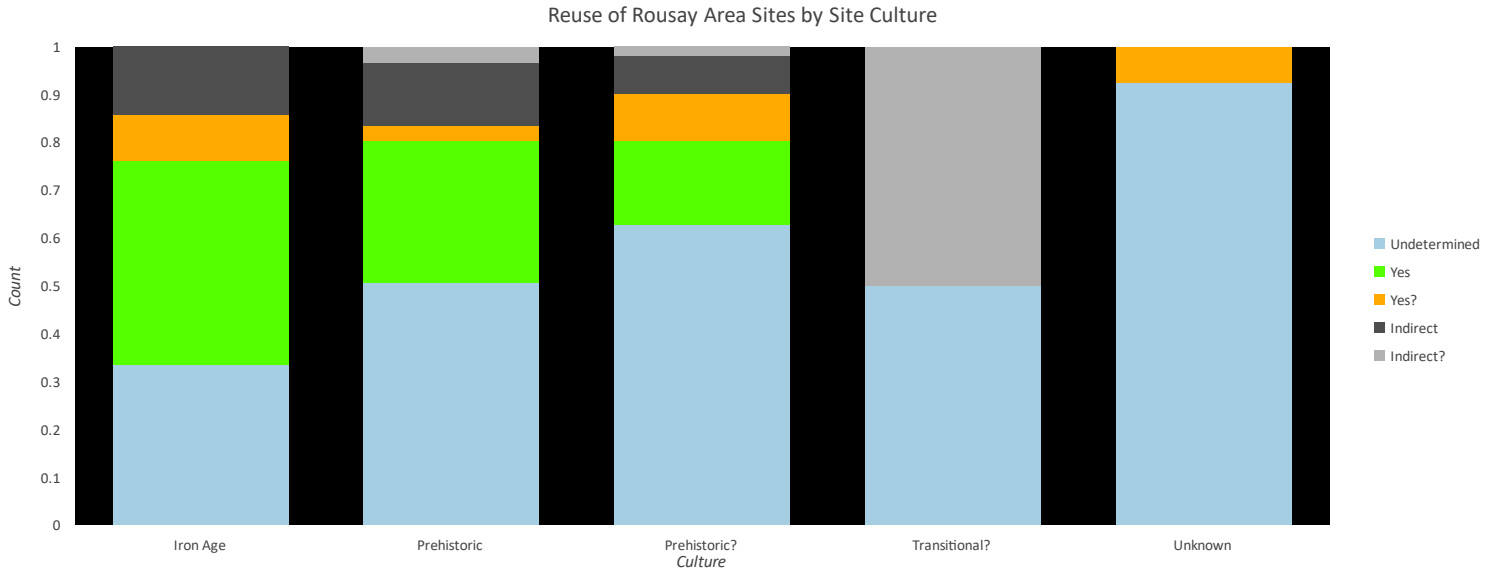

Figure 11: Table showing reuse of sites around Rousay, showing percentage of types of reuse by site type.

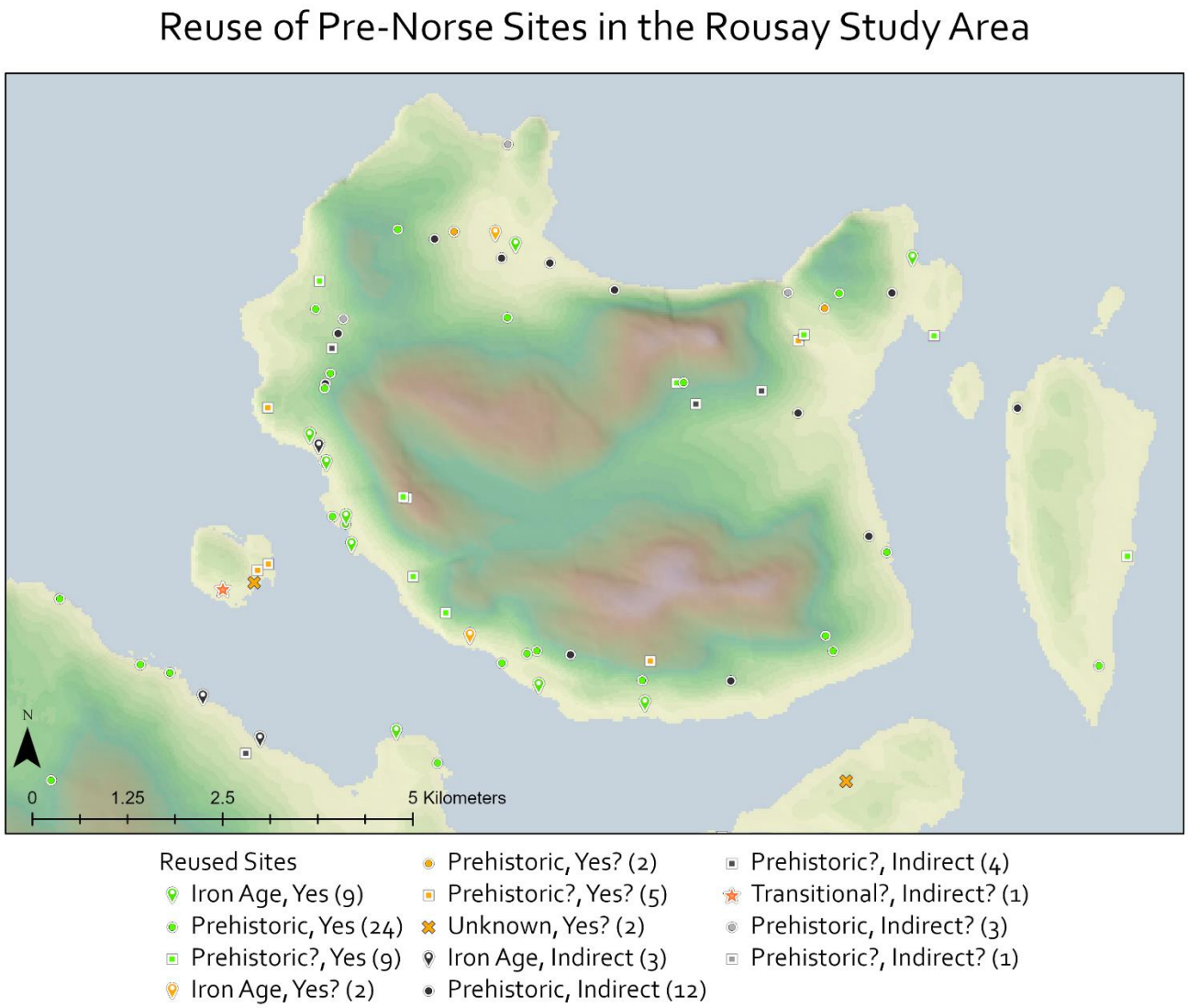

Figure 12: Map showing the distribution of reused sites in the Rousay study area

The DEM data sourced from the SRTM was clipped to fit the study areas and used for various topographic analyses. In order to investigate overall landscape monument impact, prehistoric monuments in both the Loch Ròg and Rousay study areas were isolated and subjected to visibility analysis. Where available, monument height data was used for observer offset - due to inconsistent reporting of feature measurements, it was elected to use a default value of 1m for sites without this data. This value was chosen to be an acceptable balance of over- and underestimation, and to fit within the limitations imposed by the DTM. A value of 1.65m was used for the surface offset, representing an approximation of the height of the average Scandinavian person in the Early Medieval Period (Steckel, 2001, p.36). Precise values were deemed unimportant for the purposes of this analysis (results on next page).

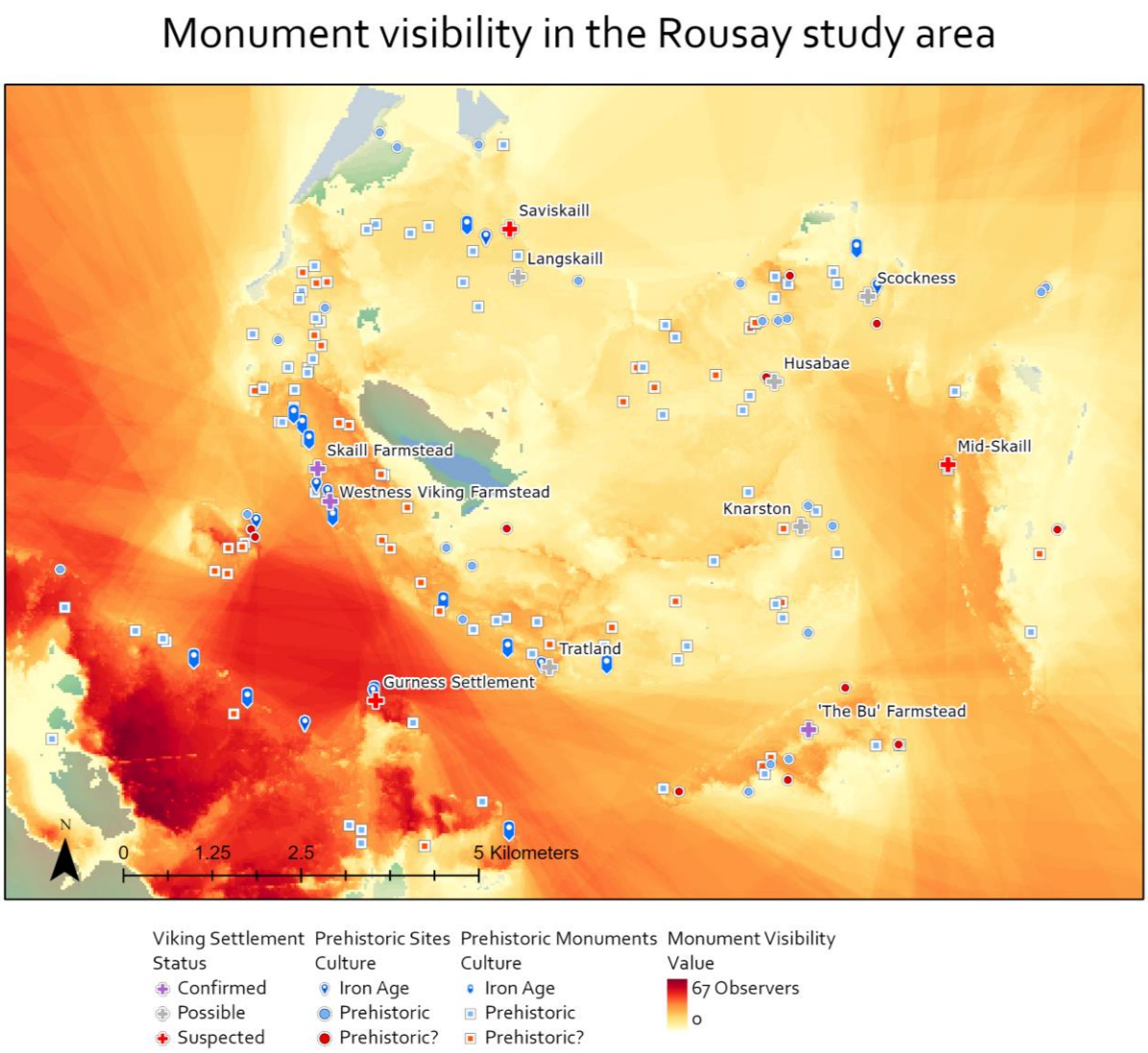

Figure 13: Map showing the visibility of pre-Norse monuments in the Rousay study area. Note that most of the landscape sees intervisibility with at least one monument, and that monuments are visible from all of the possible Viking settlement sites. However, the interior of Rousay around the loch, and the northern extent of the island, are not overlooked by monuments.

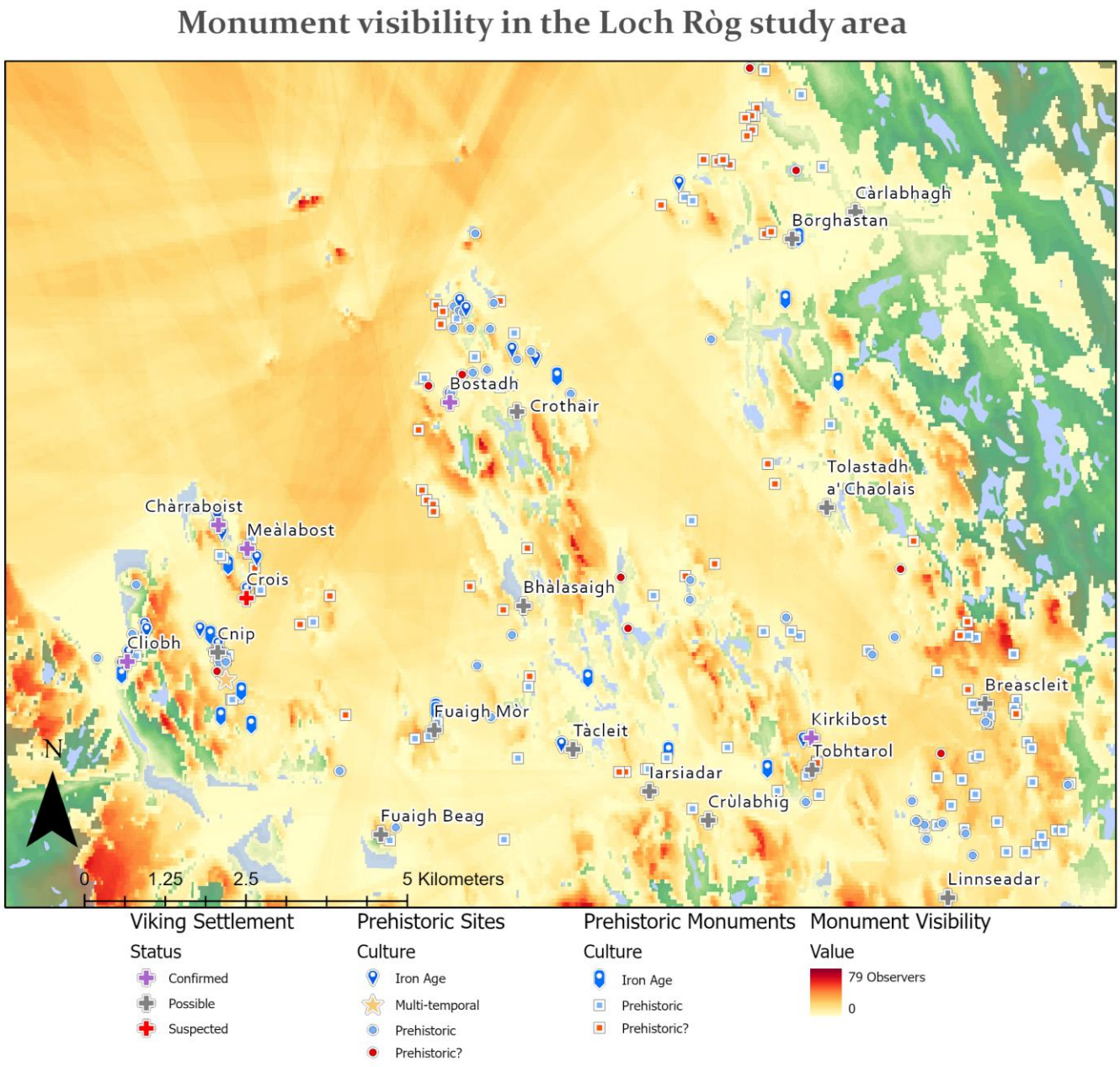

Figure 14: Map showing the visibility of monuments in the Loch Ròg study area. Similarly to the results from Rousay, most of the landscape is intervisible with at least one monument, and all areas of Viking settlement are overlooked by monuments. However, monuments are not visible throughout much of the interior of the area.

As only few Viking settlements have been formally identified in both study areas, toponymic evidence was used as a proxy source of points at each site. In the Rousay study area, Hugh Marwick's map of potential Viking hall sites was used as a proxy (Figure 15). In the Loch Ròg study area, settlements featuring toponymic elements denoting settlement or agricultural activity were identified and used as proxies. These Viking settlement points were mapped against an effort raster to produce a network of 'least-cost-paths', examining the ways in which the Vikings may have moved from settlement to settlement. This was planned to be performed twice for each study area – one iteration allowing travel over water, and one focusing on land movement. Unfortunately, the coarse resolution of the SRTM DEM invalidated the results of the land-based travel analysis, as it does not accurately represent extreme topography, such as the cliffs around Rousay (results on next page).

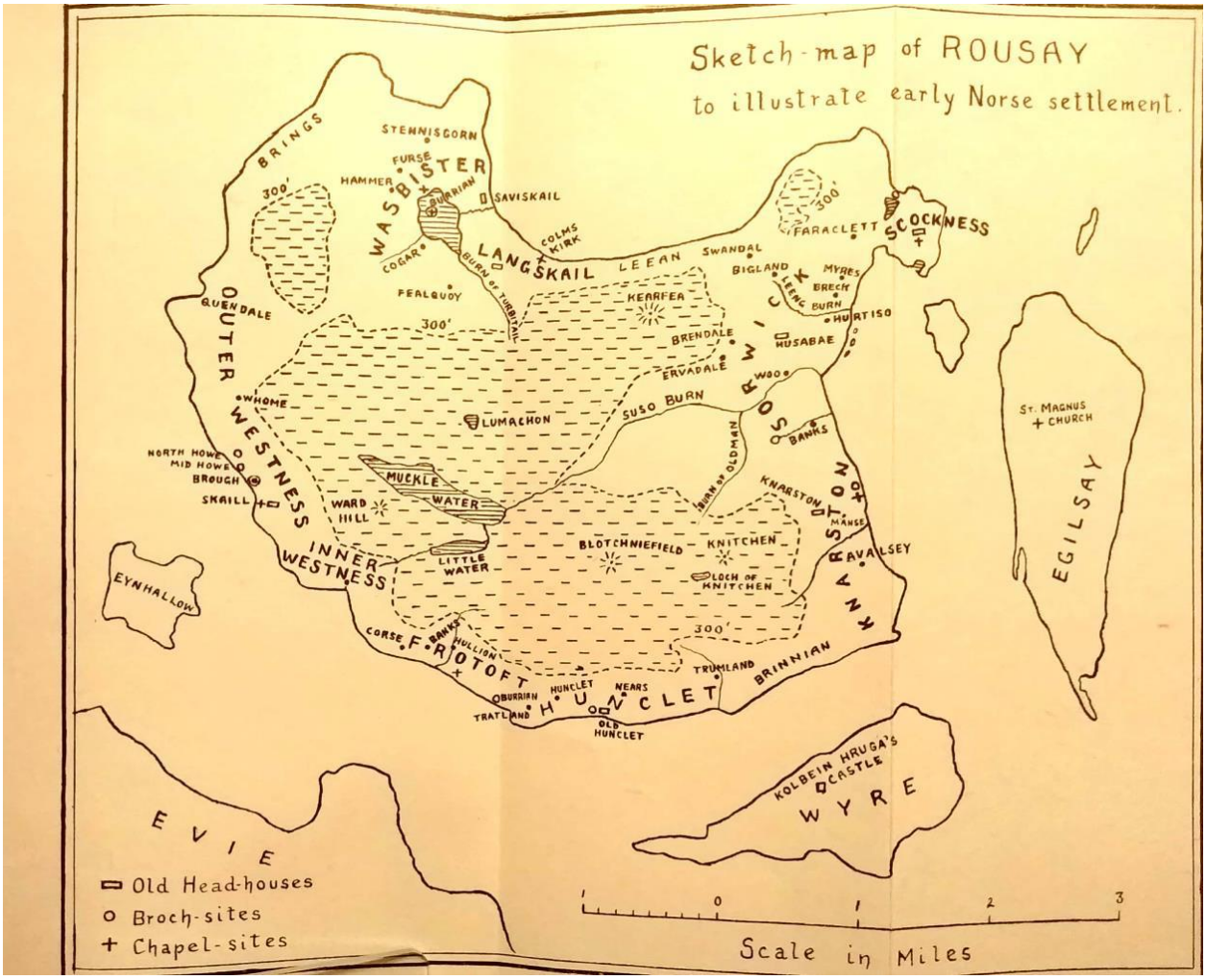

Figure 15: Hugh Marwick's map of early Norse settlement based on etymological evidence. Note that the hall at Westness is not represented on this map, showing that etymological evidence alone is limited for use in interpretation. (Marwick, 1947, facing p.24)

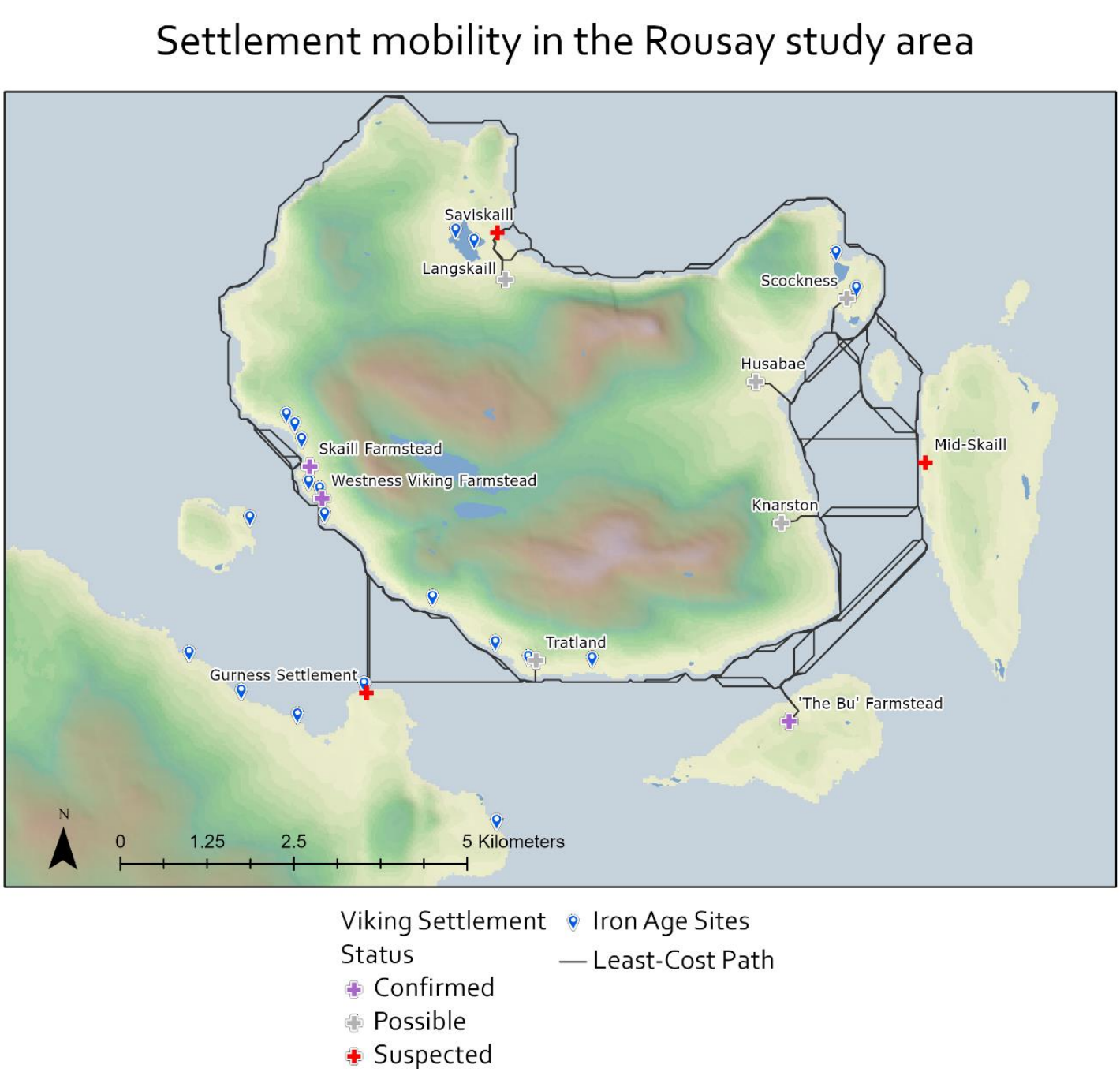

Figure 16: Map showing the cumulative least-cost paths between Viking settlements in the Rousay Study area. Results suggest that sea-based travel was the principal form of movement between settlements.

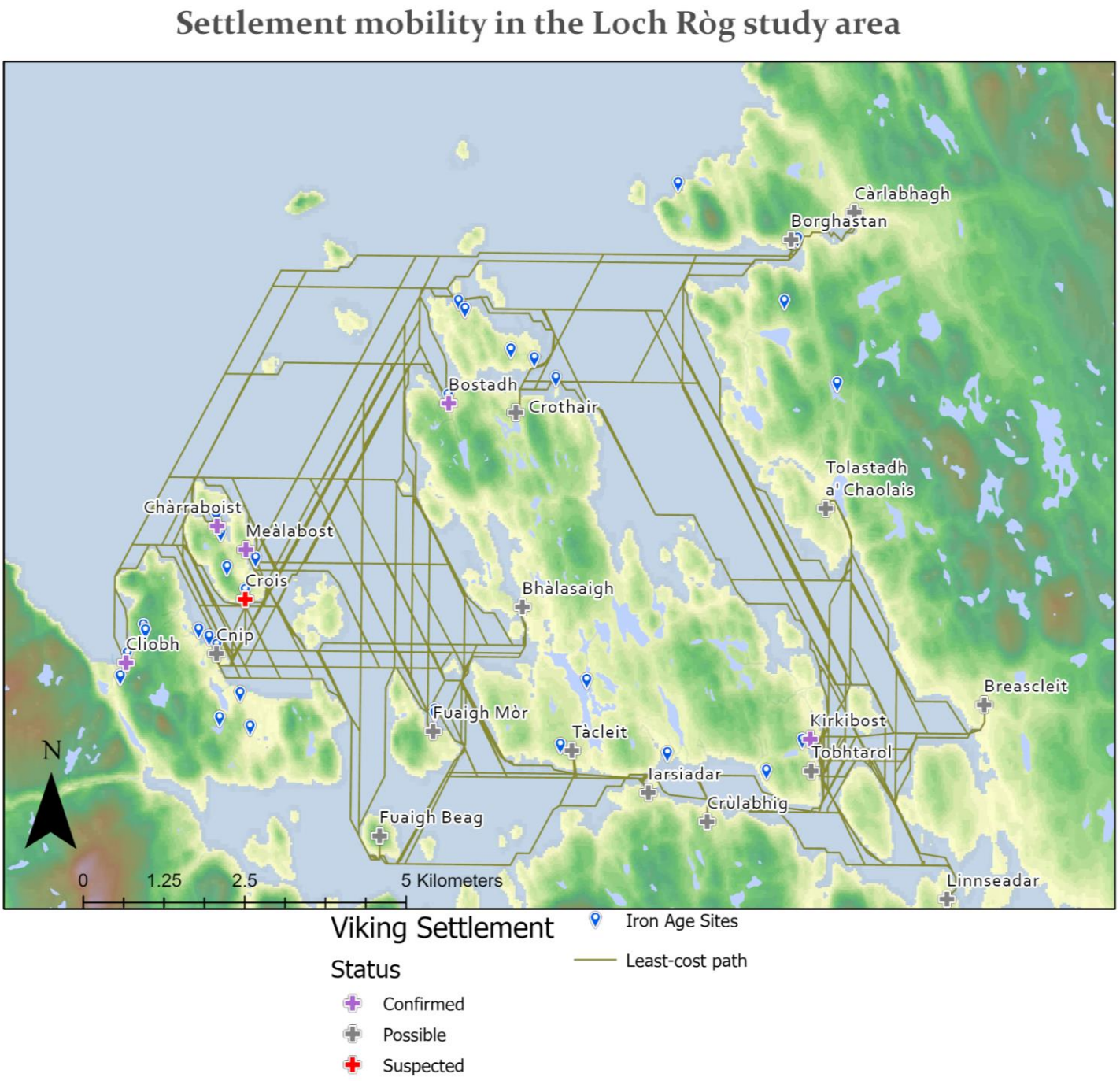

Figure 17: Map showing the cumulative least-cost paths between Viking settlements in the Loch Ròg study area. Similar to the results from Rousay, travel between settlements was primarily via the sea.

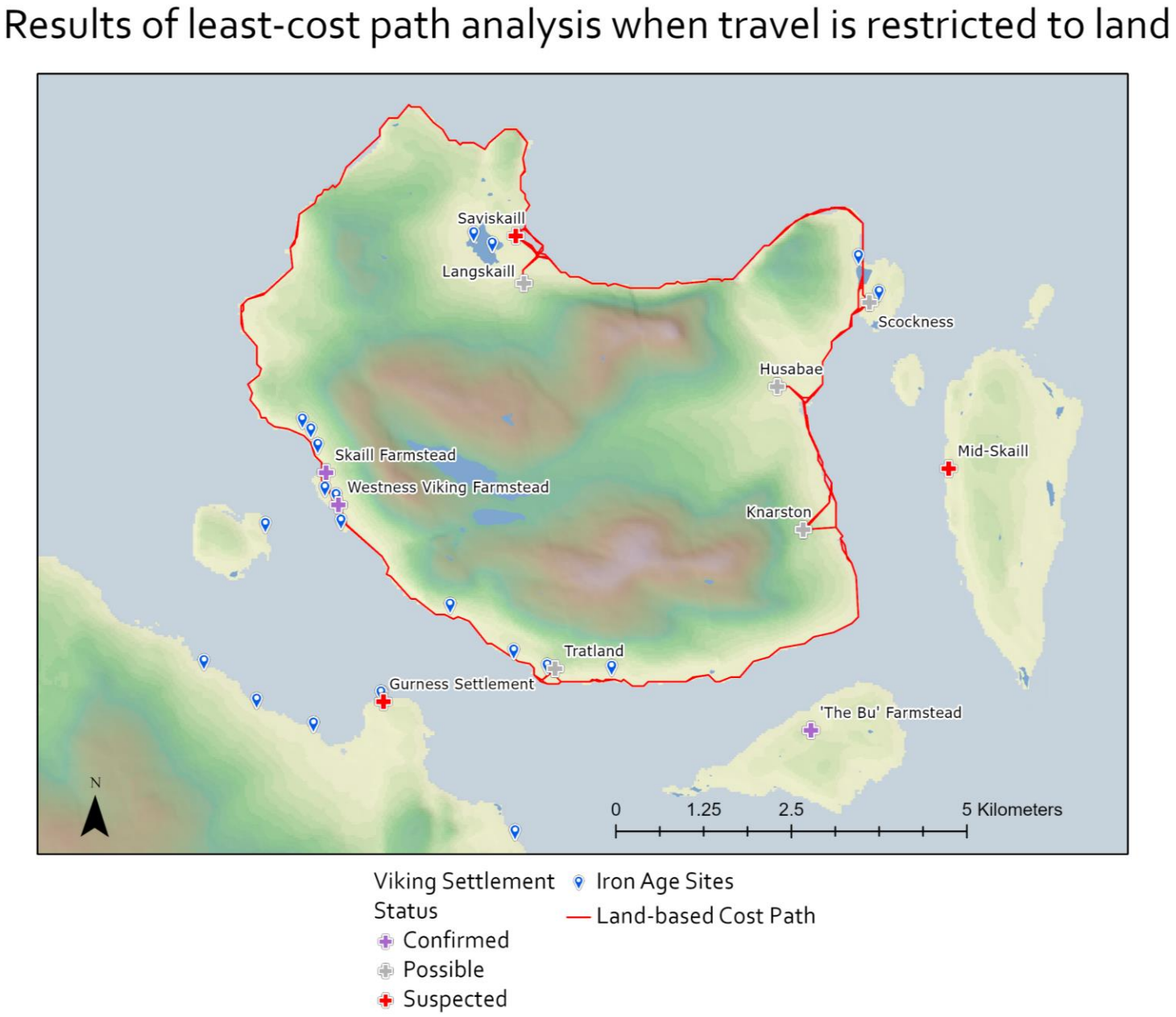

Figure 18: Map showing the results of least-cost path analysis when the analysis is told to ignore 'zero-cost' areas. Due to the coarse nature of the DEM used in the analysis, the cells close to the sea have been averaged to the point that they register as low inclines – as such, the coastline of the island is seen as an area of low cost movement, warping the results.

However, the sea-based least-cost-path networks were deemed viable, and useful for demonstrating the importance of marine travel in the Isles. Those networks were combined with the monument viewshed rasters to model visibility along sea travel routes in both study areas (results on next page).

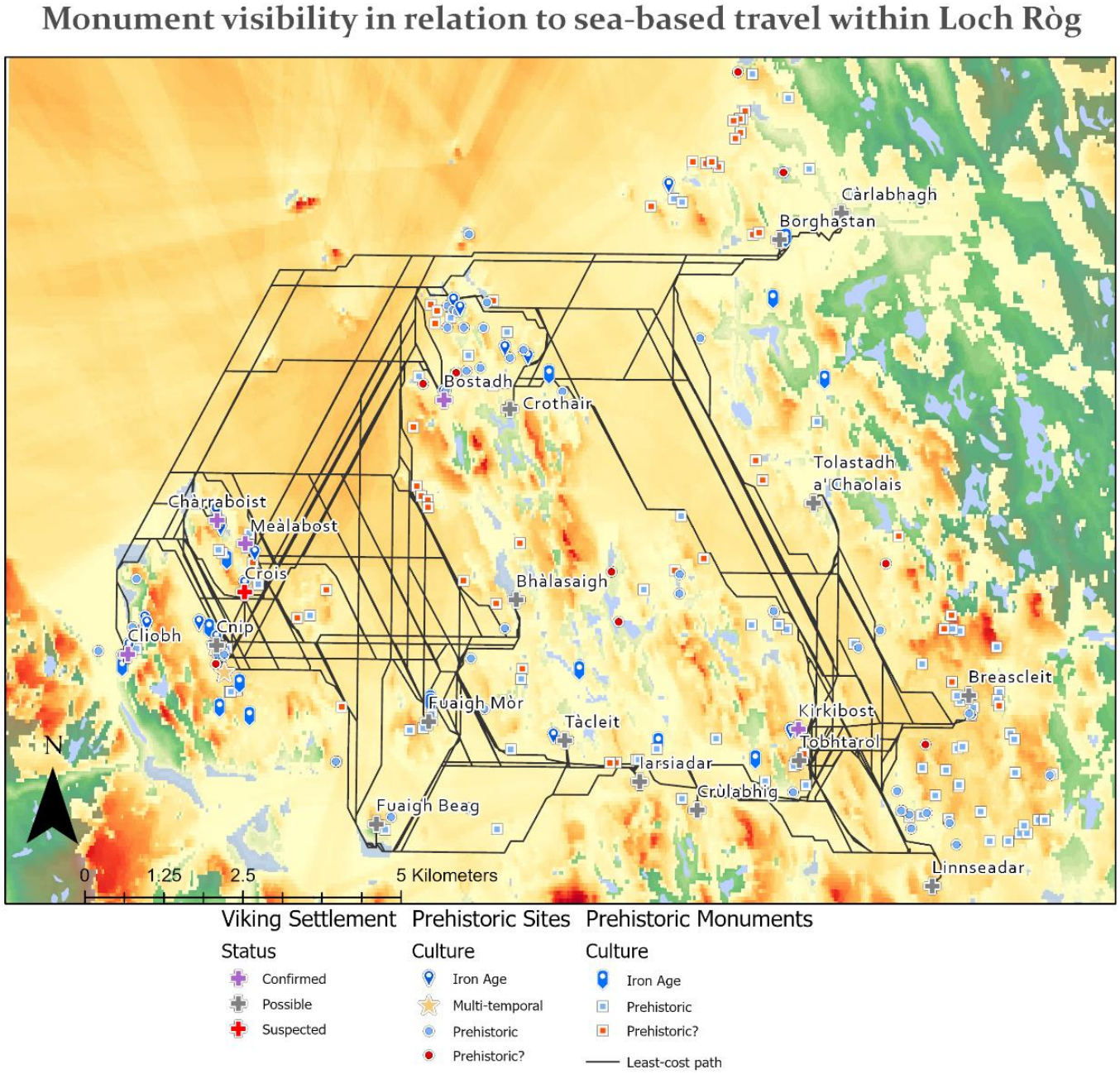

Figure 19: Combined map showing sea-based routes within Loch Ròg in relation to monument viewsheds. Most travel throughout the Loch Ròg area would have proceeded within view of one or more monuments, with only isolated parts of the landscape not demonstrating intervisibility with a monument.

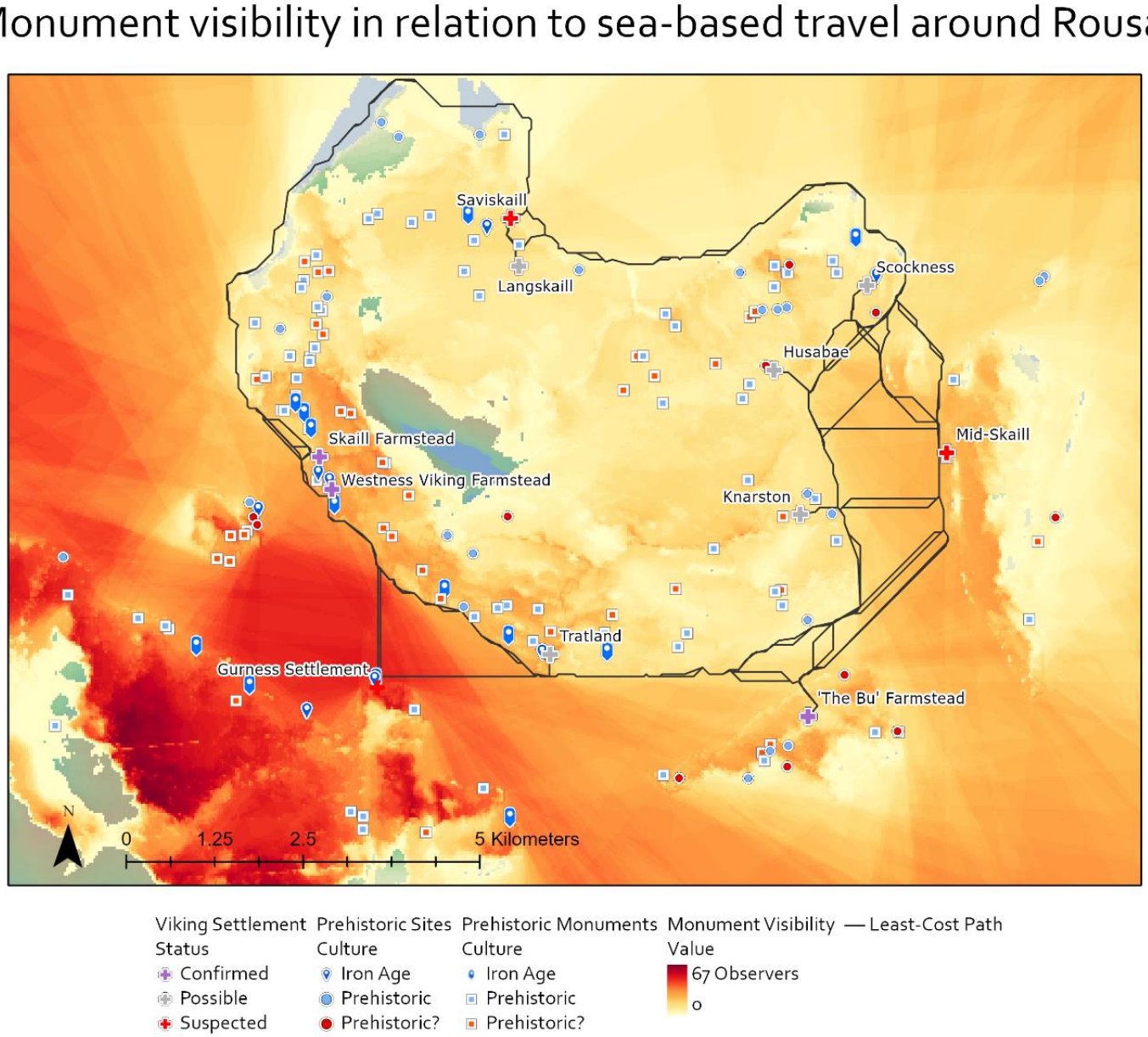

Figure 20: Combined map showing sea-based routes around the island of Rousay in relation to monument viewshed. Note that many of these routes see visibility coverage by multiple monuments, with the exception of the northern extent of the island.

Finally, in order to more clearly demonstrate the relationship between Viking settlements and Iron Age and prehistoric sites, 800 metre Euclidean distance buffers were generated around each of the possible Viking settlements in both study areas. 800 metres was chosen as the value for this buffer as it is roughly equivalent with the average distance walked in ten minutes. It had been hoped to create cost-distance buffers to more accurately represent the realities of travel within the hilly terrain of both study areas, but the aforementioned issues with the SRTM dataset invalidated these results.

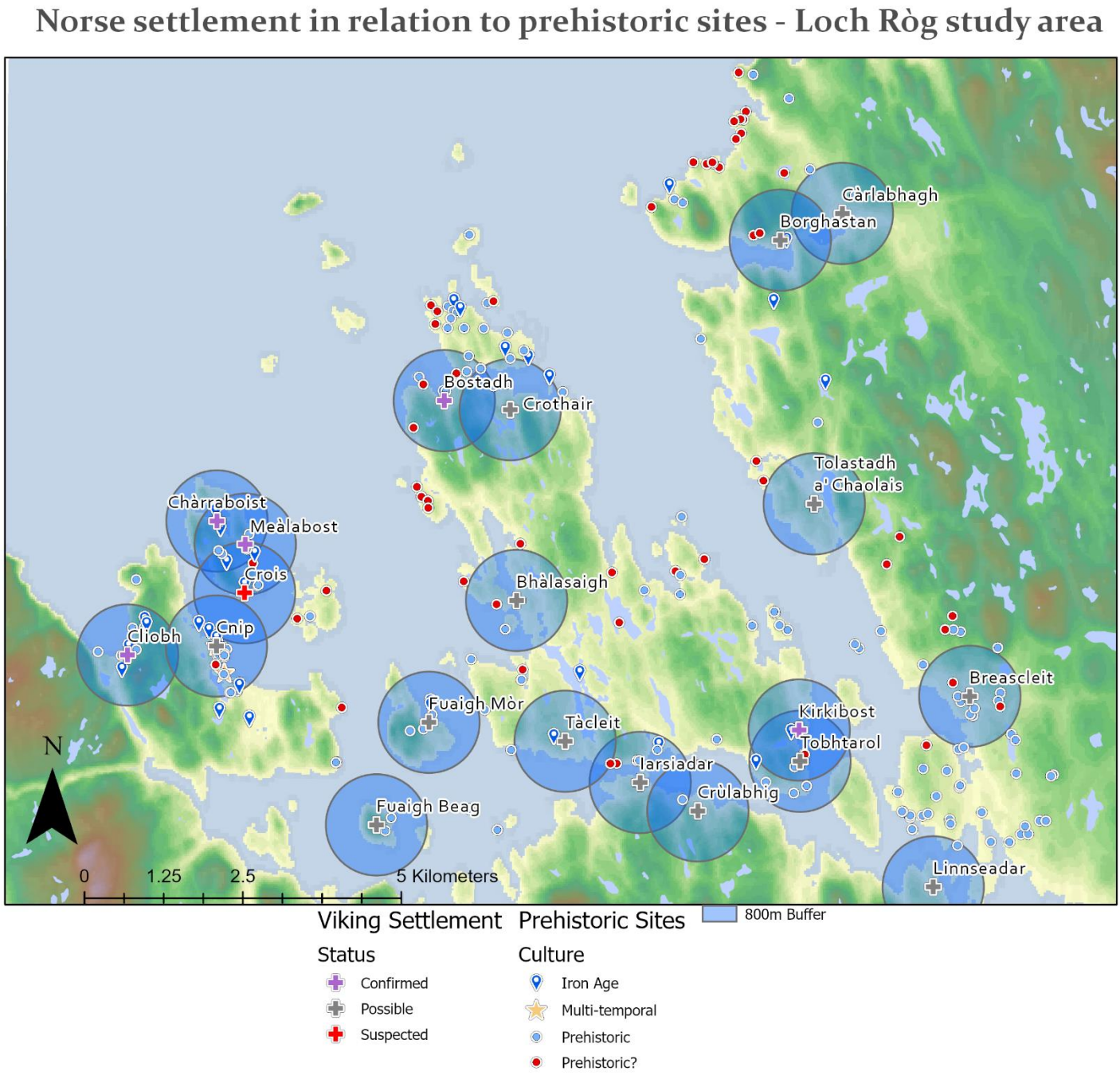

Figure 21: Map showing the pre-Norse sites roughly within ten minute's walking distance from possible Norse settlement within the Loch Ròg study area.

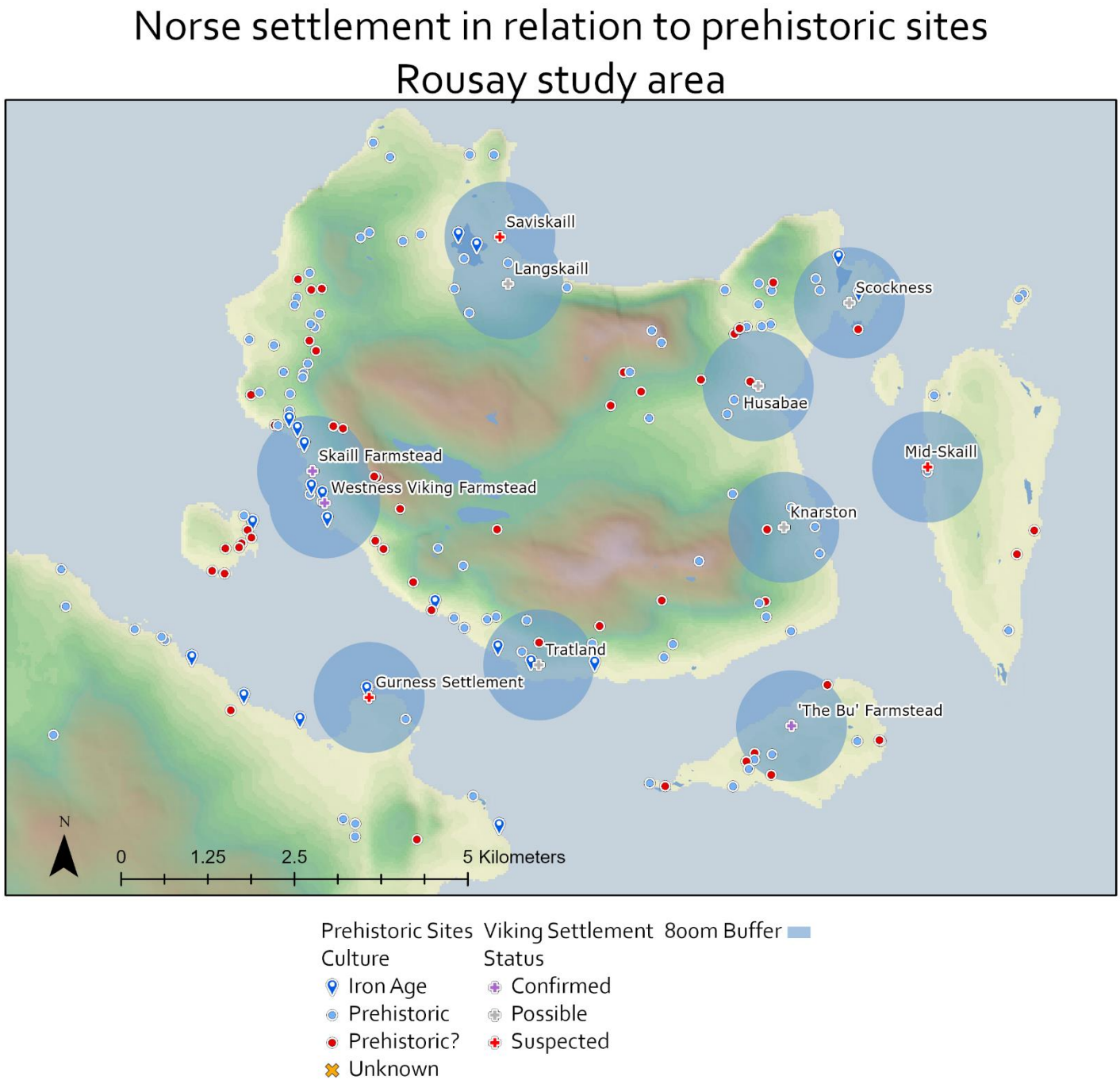

Figure 22: Map showing the pre-Norse sites roughly within ten minute's walking distance from possible Norse settlement within the Rousay study area.

Further analysis was discontinued due to the issues encountered with using the SRTM data – this would have involved examination of land-distance routes and local-scale analysis of settlement viewshed.

Data Evaluation

Having populated the Loch Ròg and Rousay regions with all archaeologically recognised features from the Mesolithic to the Viking Age, it is clear that there are major gaps in both study areas. In the Loch Ròg study area there is a clear imbalance in archaeological resolution between the smaller isles, larger isles and mainland of Lewis: many of the smaller isles within Loch Ròg, as well as the Bhaltos peninsula and the area around Callanish, have clearly seen extensive landscape survey spanning the past few decades. This is in contrast to much of the Lewis mainland, as well as the isle of Beàrnaraigh Mòr, in which archaeological features are scarcely described apart from an assessment of their vulnerability to erosion. Similarly, it is clear that, in contrast to the other isles in the Rousay study area, the Isle of Egilsay has seen very little landscape survey. Only a handful of sites are recorded for the entire island.

Additionally, despite both study areas being known to have been colonised by the Vikings, and to have operated as Norse colonies into the Medieval Period, few sites have been archaeologically described as Viking in either study area. There are a number of different possible reasons as to why this is the case, most of which have already been discussed in the methodology. To add to this discussion, Armit has observed that, due to their rectilinear designs, Viking Age buildings are much more likely to be confused for later, medieval/post-medieval, structures than the distinctively 'prehistoric' designs of pre-Viking periods (1996, p.188). The introduction of this ambiguity may lead surveyors to use broader categories or to refrain from venturing an age entirely. Contrasted with the relative ease of identifying if sites are at least 'prehistoric', this situation has led to the creation of maps widely populated with prehistoric sites and largely lacking in Viking/Norse sites. As such, much of the following discussion must by necessity focus on specific study areas, rather than examining Viking settlement and landscape practice at a regional scale. This unfortunately limits the usefulness of topographic analysis using the SRTM data – as noted in the analysis, the DEM's coarse resolution is unsuitable for local-scale analyses. This precludes detailed investigation of settlements in relation to neighbouring monuments using viewshed and least-cost-path analysis. However, the data is suitable for regional level analysis, allowing insight into broader trends within the landscapes in focus.

A note on shielings:

It had been hoped to use shieling evidence to bolster investigation in landscape practices and the ways in which people would have moved through the landscape. The effects of transhumance pastoralism on the perceptions and treatment of upland monuments would also be interesting to consider – alas, it is clear that shielings have been neglected in both study areas. In the Western Isles, examination of the Canmore database found a large number of the structures dotted across the upland regions of the study area. However, very few of these appear to have seen detailed investigation, and many are labelled as being 'post-medieval' in date due to their appearance in the first edition 6 inch OS map (see Figure 20). They were thus largely omitted from the corpus. There are very few known shielings within the Rousay study area – again, none have been investigated in detail, though they have been retained in the corpus due to their rarity. Not one of the structures within either study area has been reliably dated to before the post-medieval period – this is believed to be a problem of recognition and investigation rather than absence or survival, as Kupiec has demonstrated that the practice was an important aspect of the Norse Viking diaspora (2016).

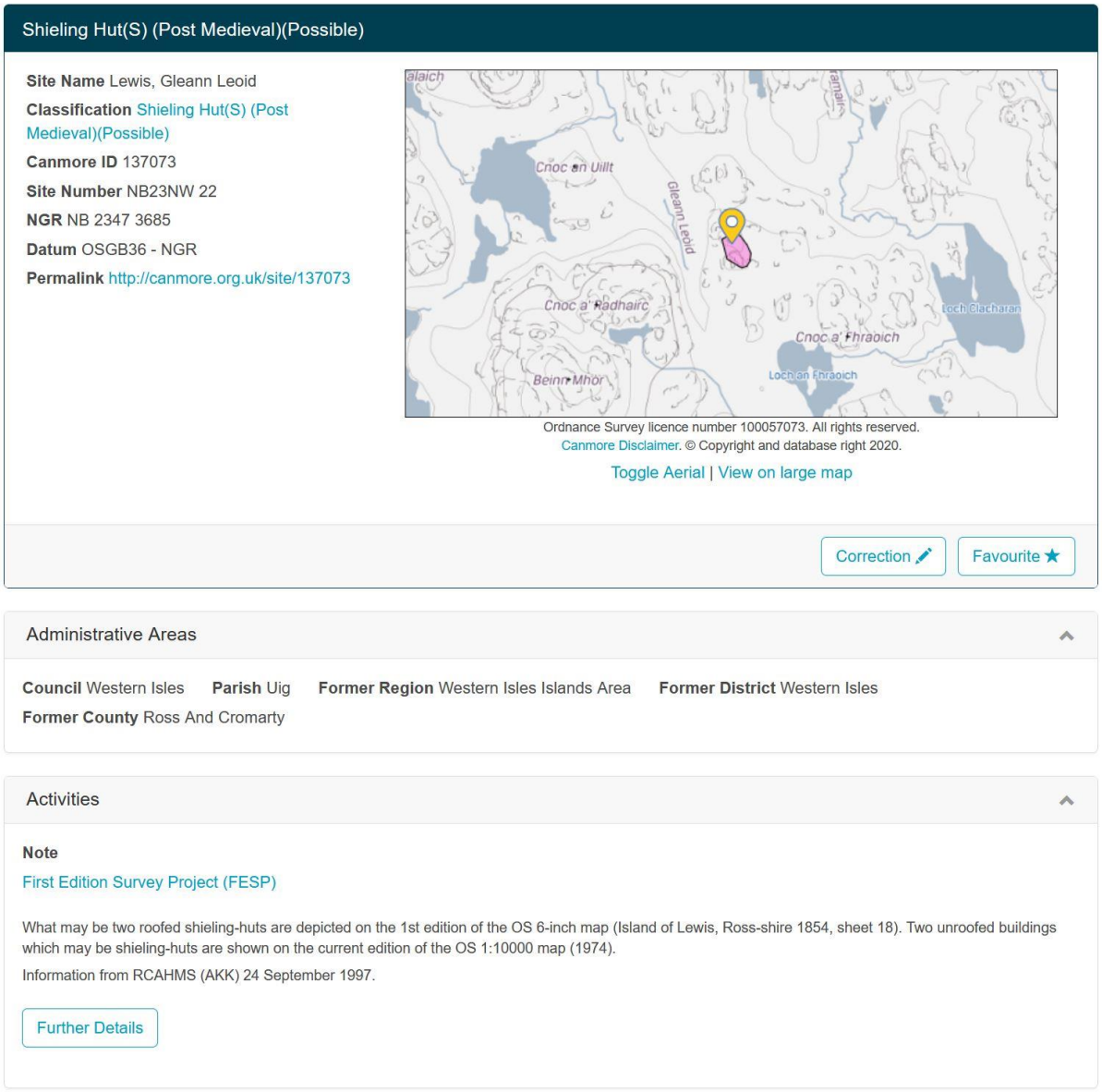

Figure 23: Standard Canmore entry discussing shieling huts on Lewis. Note the reference to the 1st edition OS 6-inch map.

Transhumance pastoralism was also almost certainly practiced in these areas prior to Norse colonisation (Kupiec, 2016, p.419), with implications for Norse placement of shielings. Indeed, this might possibly be represented at the Styes of Steenie-Iron[16], in the interior of Rousay. Hugh Marwick argued that the element 'Iron' in the toponym has its roots in an Old Norse borrow-word '*ærgin*' (neuter plural) from the Old Irish '*airge*', meaning 'shieling' or 'hill pasture' (Marwick, 1947). This element also occurs elsewhere in Orkney alongside instances of toponyms containing elements with roots in the Old Norse word '*setr*', also meaning 'shieling'. That this non-Norse element was preserved despite an equivalent word existing in Old Norse might suggest some degree of contact with the native agriculturalists of the area.

Overall, it is recommended that shielings see increased attention – while these structures may not have been permanently settled, they were still significant aspects of the landscape. As such, it is just as worth examining the mechanisms behind shieling construction as it is to examine those behind the construction of major farmsteads and cemeteries.

With some gaps in the data having been recognised, there are still a number of useful conclusions that can be made from what is currently accessible.

[16] The element 'Steenie' is believed to have originally referred to a nearby standing stone, no longer extant (Marwick, 1947).

Results and Discussion

Before discussing each area in detail, it is worth considering some of the trends evident in both study regions. To begin with very basic observations, identified and suspected Viking settlement in both study areas is uniformly coastal in nature, occurring within short distance of beaches suitable for landing boats. This fits patterns seen across the Norse world, from western Norway to the Faroe Isles and Iceland (MacGregor, 1976) – access to the sea or similar broad water course was a common concern throughout Norwegian history, and the importance of marine industry and travel is well attested to within Scandinavia (Bill, 2008, p.170).

At the same time, examination of the overview maps (Figures 7 and 8, above) and buffer maps (Figures 21 and 22) for both study areas shows that, as with Leonard's results from Birsay, Mainland Orkney (2011, p.47-51), a large proportion of Viking settlement is either closely associated with or built directly on top of Iron Age settlements. This is not a one-to-one relationship – there are several Iron Age sites that did not see resettlement after colonisation – particularly the loch islet dun sites in Lewis (See Corpus IDs: LV9, LBM1, LEC39). Similarly, there are possible Viking settlements without associated Iron Age sites, such as Langskaill (Corpus ID: ORT5), Tolastadh a' Chaolais (LRT20) and the Bu farmstead (RW30). Examination of the site reuse tables (Figures 9 and 11) shows that despite having been constructed more recently than other prehistoric sites, sites identified as Iron Age saw a greater proportion of direct and indirect reuse than other sites. This fits in with the trends observed by Thäte and Leonard as discussed above.

The results of the monument viewshed (Figures 13 and 14, above) show that it would have been difficult for the incoming settlers to ignore the remains of the past. In both study areas, multiple monuments are visible throughout the majority of the landscape. This is particularly clear in the results for Rousay, where there are only two major areas from which one would not be able to see at least one or two prehistoric monuments, but this is largely true for the Beàrnaraigh study area as well. In both studies, it is usually only the upland, interior parts of the landscape that do not see visibility coverage. Adding to the results from this viewshed, the results of the least-cost path analyses in both the Rousay and the Loch Róg areas found that most travel between Viking settlements would have almost certainly been conducted via the sea (Figures 16 and 17, above). Additionally, multiple authors have written on the importance of a sea-based economy for the Norse, noting their reliance on coastal and open water fishing (Bill, 2008). With the importance of sea-based travel during the Norse period having been established, combining the results of the analyses shows that not only are the monuments of both landscapes widely visible from the land, they are also clearly visible from the sea (Figures 19 and 20). Phillips has discussed how many of the prehistoric monuments of the Orkney Isles may have been placed specifically to be visible from the sea, discussing a range of impetuses from spiritual associations to use as navigational markers to maximising visibility through association of travel routes (2003). Whatever the case, it is likely that, consciously or not, the monuments of both areas became an important part of the ways in which people moved within the landscape, garnering significance as waymarkers and landmarks.

With these widespread trends having been established, the regional evidence from each study region shall be discussed.

The Rousay study area

Before discussing Rousay in detail, it is worth stepping outside of the bounds of the study area for discussion of an extremely important example of Norse reuse of past remains. Tingwall, on Orkney Mainland, today serves as the ferry terminal for travel to Rousay and its associated islands from the mainland. However, the etymology of its name shows that it had another significance for the Norse. Tingwall is directly rooted in the Old Norse '*þingvellir*', meaning 'field of the assembly' (Fellows-Jensen, 1996), indicating the area's use as a Þing site[17]. Þings were areas of the landscape used for legislative purposes – trials, land disputes, etc. They were generally held in central areas featuring surrounding land sufficient to support the encampments and horses of attendees, and a focal area to act as the 'stage' for legislative proceedings (*ibid*, p.22). Some Þings (such as the Alþingi in Iceland, or the Þing site at Gamla

[17] Fellows-Jensen also notes a Þing toponym occurring within the Loch Ròg study area – Cnoc an Tiongalairidh, supposedly a hillock near Tolastadh a' Chaolais (1996, p.23). However, I could not find the hill mentioned, nor any record of a Þing site within the Canmore database.

Uppsala, Sweden (Bell, 2010; Sanmark, 2013, p.98) dealt with matters on a national or regional level, but the majority were created to mediate local disputes. People would congregate from the surrounding areas to attend these assemblies, which Brink believes were most likely hosted by local elites, and both the assemblies themselves and the deliberations that took place within them appear to have been both formalised and ritualised (Brink, 2008a, pp.23-27).

It should thus be clear that Þing sites would have been places that were very important for the social structure and dynamics of local Norse communities. Thus, the siting of a Þing would have been an important consideration. Across Scandinavia, while the aforementioned prerequisites of centrality and space were of principal consideration in the regional siting of a Þing, the actual focal areas were often associated with grave mounds and other places of ritual or social significance (Brink, 2008a, p.24). With this in mind, the specifics of the Þing site at Tingwall are of significant import for the aims of this thesis – while the placename itself refers to the flat land used for assembly at the area, the Þing itself was almost certainly held atop the ruins of the Iron Age broch village that overlooks the modern farmstead and pier (Fellows-Jensen, 1996, p.22). As the site has never been formally excavated it is currently impossible to say what state the broch would have been at the time it was in use by the Norse, or to evaluate to what extent the ruins saw interaction and/or augmentation during this period of use. However, the area was long held in local memory as the old site of law-making, and Fellows-Jensen has established that toponymic evidence is usually a reliable indicator when it comes to Þing sites (1996).

A similar situation is seen at Dingieshowe, east Mainland. A Þing was probably established next to the isthmus that links the rest of Mainland to the Deerness peninsula, likely using the eponymous 'Dingie's Howe' – another broch site – as the 'stage' for legislative practice. The site was excavated in 1860 by James Farrer and George Petrie, who were similarly responsible for other early excavations of brochs in the Orkney Isles. It is unclear if Viking evidence was even considered, let alone recorded; certainly it seems as if no Viking Age materials were recovered during this excavation. However, even if actual investigation of these sites is largely lacking, the very selection of these brochs for the hosting of Þings indicates that they were regarded with some importance in the local area. Similarly to the resettlement of Iron Age sites described by Leonard, it is likely that these associations acted to both legitimise ownership of the land and to redefine the area as culturally Norse – though unlike the resettlement, there appear to have been few structural changes to these locations. It is possible that similar mechanisms were in practice with the siting of the seats of legislation. Through this practice, the cultural perception of broch mounds as 'the remains of native places of power' would be shifted to 'landscape embodiments of Norse law'. It is also possible that, similarly to the aforementioned association of seats of power with prehistoric landscapes seen elsewhere in Scotland, such as at Dunadd, this was a deliberate appeal to the power structures of the past in justifying the legislative powers of the Þing. Finally, the monumental and historical aspects of the places chosen for reuse as Þing sites would have lent themselves to the ritualization of law embodied in the Þing, and thus the social memory of legislation in the communities party to such gatherings. Notably, and perhaps also linked to concepts of the social value of 'the past', there are also indications that the Neolithic tomb of Maeshowe was used as the site of a Þing in the Norse period.

Maeshowe

Maeshowe serves as the one major exception to the absence of Viking reuse of pre-Iron Age monuments in the Orkney Isles. Occasional similar sites saw evidence of isolated visits (such as those sites mentioned by Leonard), were defined within the landscape through reference and naming, or even saw direct interaction due to their association with Iron Age settlements (such as at the Knowe of Swandro – see below), but Maeshowe appears to have attracted uniquely intense attention from the Norse community. As noted on Page 10, the chamber was broken into and graffitied during the Norse period. The mound is mentioned in *Orkneyinga Saga*, with Earl Harald and his men using the chamber as shelter from a blizzard. The saga records that two of the men went mad from the experience, possibly indicating superstitious associations with the monument (Cooijmans, 2012, p.21-22). Some of the graffiti within has been linked to this episode, but it appears that the chamber was revisited several times throughout the Norse period; much of the graffiti having been inscribed by Earl Rognvald and his men prior to their journey to join the Crusades (ibid, p.20). Other inscriptions indicate that visits to the mound were not out of the ordinary – one notes that 'Many a woman has come stooping in here' (*ibid*, p.13), indicating continued interaction with the monument after it was opened during the 12th century.

However, prior to this 'mound-breaking', there are indications that the mound saw renewed activity during the Viking Age – excavations in the 1970s found that the bank that surrounds the monument had been rebuilt during the early medieval period (Canmore, 2020c). Ritchie believes that this may have been part of an augmentation of the mound as the burial chamber for a Viking chieftain, as some of the graffitied messages within mention that a treasure had been removed from the monument some time prior to its use as a shelter (1996)[18]. It is unlikely that the Norse would have seen much value in Neolithic artefacts or human remains, so it is believed that this 'treasure' consisted of grave goods associated with the putative secondary burial.

This possible Viking reuse of a chambered tomb for a secondary burial is seemingly unique within both the Northern and Western Isles – certainly no other chambered tomb within either study area appears to have been used in this way. The practice is also unusual in terms of wider Norse traditions – as discussed above, Thäte has established that Viking Age reuse of pre-Iron Age monuments is rare within Norway, indicating that the Norse were extremely selective in their reuse strategies (Thäte, 2007, p.127). Within Orkney, the few sites reused for Norse burials were also Iron Age in nature (discussed further below), again reinforcing the idea that only certain features were seen as acceptable for reuse as funerary sites.

Of course, it is possible that the stolen treasure mentioned in the graffiti was an invention to explain why the mound was empty of valuable grave goods, and that the embellishment of the bank around the cairn was due to its use as a Þing site. This certainly has parallels with established Þing practice in Scandinavia, in which the central 'stage' of the Þing was often enclosed within a marked area (Brink, 2008, p.26). With that said, the reuse of the cairn as a tomb and its reuse as a Þing site are not mutually exclusive, and it may have been that the reuse of the cairn as a Þing site legitimised it for use as a grave, or vice-versa.

One possible clue that might shed some light as to why Maeshowe was reused while other chambered tombs were left undisturbed can be found in the Norse name for the monument: *Orkhaugr* (graffitied within the chamber of the monument itself)*/Orkahaugr* (written as the name of the monument in *Orkneyinga Saga*). As discussed by Ljosland, it is likely that this name originally referred to the original inhabitants of the isles rather than the isles themselves. The archipelago was referred to as the *Orcades* in Latin sources written in the first century CE, and was known in Old Irish as '*Innsi Orc*', translating roughly to the 'Isle of the Boar (People)' (Ljosland, 2018, p.201). While it is difficult to determine if this was necessarily the autonym used by the inhabitants of the isles, it is probable that they were identified by other cultures as the 'Ork'. However, after colonisation, the name used by the Norse for the archipelago was '*Orkneyjar*'. At first glance, the '*ork*' element seems to have been maintained – however, it was replaced with, and likely would have been understood as, the phonologically similar Old Norse '*orkn*' meaning 'seal' (Ljosland, 2018, p.202). That the Norse name of Maeshowe is recorded as 'Orkahaugr'/'Orkhaugr' in two sources, both lacking the '*orkn*' element, suggests that, at least to begin with, the mound was specifically associated with Iron Age people ousted by the Vikings. The reasons as to why this is the case are unclear, but the history of reuse at this specific monument are testament to the effects of that perception. Similarly to the preceding settlements, the Pictish associations of the tomb may have required the cultural negotiation and suppression of the site as a place of native power.

Mainland, Eynhallow, Wyre and Egilsay

The coastal region of Orkney Mainland included in the study area contains one site of major interest – the broch village of Gurness, on the Aikerness headland, which looks out towards Westness on Rousay. While the broch tower appears to have fallen into disrepair during the Iron Age, the mound formed by the collapsed structure was reused for the site of a cellular Pictish structure (Corpus ID RM12). The mound was also reused by a rectangular structure of later date – this is believed to have been Viking in date, though no diagnostic materials were recovered during excavation of the site (RM11). However, the grave of a Viking woman was discovered inserted into the outer ramparts of the broch, similar to the grave described by Thäte and Leonard at Buckquoy and a grave inserted into the remains of a prehistoric dwelling noted by Leonard at Upper Twatt near Brodgar (Leonard, 2011, p.57).

[18] Ritchie records the relevant graffiti as such: one sentence reading 'Hakon alone bore the treasure out of this mound', and a claim by another hand - 'It is certain and true as I say, that the treasure has been moved from here. The treasure was taken away three nights before they broke into this mound' (Ritche, 1996, pp.144-146)

The isle of Eynhallow, lying in the Eynhallow Sound that separates Rousay and Mainland, is somewhat of an enigma in terms of understanding early Christianity in the study area. There are suggestions that it was named for its associations with religion[19], and the 12th century monastery ruins that sit at the centre of the island likely overlie much earlier remains (Corpus ID: REY3). However, in the absence of excavation, much of this discussion must by necessity remain speculative.

Despite an intensive and systemic landscape survey of Wyre performed by Antonia Thomas, little can currently be discussed in regards to Viking Age interaction with past remains on the island. The main site of importance on Wyre is Cubbie Roo's Castle, the fortified tower associated with the farmstead of Bu. Neither of these sites have been investigated, but it is believed that Cubbie Roo's Castle, associated with the figure 'Kolbein Hruga' mentioned in Orkneyinga Saga, was likely a Norse period construction and is thus of only limited use to the thesis topic (Corpus ID: RW8). The farmstead of Bu was of high status and likely established in the Viking Age (Corpus ID: RW30), but its relation to other sites on Wyre cannot be established without greater investigation into the farmstead itself and the sites it shares the island with.

As noted above, the Isle of Egilsay has seen very little archaeological investigation at all – a situation that contrasts the promising nature of those few sites that have been discovered on the island, as well as its integral role to the history of the Isles as the site of St. Magnus' martyrdom. Interestingly, the etymology of the island's name may point to it having had associations with Christianity prior to the arrival of the Norse – the 'egils' element of the name has been suggested to be linked to the Old Irish '*eaglis*', meaning 'church', perhaps indicating survival of a pre-Norse place name. However, it should be noted that 'egil' may denote a personal name, with the Egilsay having perhaps been 'Egil's Island'. Linked to this debate, the islet off the northern tip of Egilsay – Kili Holm – has also been linked to Christianity, with the 'Kili' element having been suggested to stem from the Old Norse for 'cell', as in 'monastic cell' (Marwick, 1922, p.256). Notably, the islet sports two ruins believed to have once been settlement structures (Corpus ID: REG9 & REG10)
Sherds possibly indicating Viking settlement were discovered out of eroding contexts at Midskaill[20], with a possible prehistoric cremation cist having later been excavated nearby (Corpus ID: REG6). However, it is unlikely that the presence of this cist was known as it was of a type that typically lacks associated mounds (Moore and Wilson, 1995, p.247). Howan House, an important residence and at one point a bishop's palace (Corpus ID: REG1), was built nearby to a possible settlement mound (REG2). However, this mound has not been investigated and trial excavations around the bounds of the house itself found no evidence of note. At the northern extent of Egilsay are two mounds known as the Knowes of Howe, named for the local farmstead, Howe. However, it is likely that the farm itself was originally named for the mounds, which may indicate an association between the farm and these prehistoric features (Corpus ID: REG7).

Rousay

On the north coast of the island, there are two possible Viking sites placed in relatively close proximity to each other, nearby to two major Iron Age/Pictish settlements at the Loch of Wasbister (Corpus ID: RR26 and RR28). Midden and ceramic sherds have been observed eroding out of the shoreline at Saviskaill – this has been tentatively dated to the Norse period, but may date back to the Viking Age (Corpus ID: RR104). Canmore records no sites of archaeological interest directly associated with the farm at Langskaill, but the place name suggests that it was once the site of a Viking hall (Corpus ID: ORT5). Bretta Ness, an artificial promontory that hosted one of the Iron Age settlements at the Loch of Wasbister (Corpus ID: RR26) may have been reused for the site of a Norse chapel after conversion – excavations of the promontory revealed structural remains reminiscent of a religious building (Corpus ID: RR27). At Scock Ness, a promontory on the east side of Rousay, Marwick identified the associated farmstead as a likely candidate for having been settled in the Viking Age. The chapel and cemetery associated with the farm (Corpus ID: RR92) is associated with a settlement mound (Corpus ID: RR129), and is also nearby to the ruins of Scockness Broch

[19] Eynhallow is purported to derive from Old Norse '*Eyin Helga*', meaning 'Holy Island' (Towrie, 2020b)
[20] Though Lamb believes that this identification may have been influenced by pre-existing Viking associations with Midskaill due to the occurrence of the '*skaill*' element in the toponym.

(Corpus ID: RR119). Across the Loch of Scockness sits the Yetnasteen, a standing stone associated with a legend that purports that the stone is a petrified giant that awakens from its slumber every New Year's Day just after midnight to take a drink from the loch (Corpus ID: RR93). This conceptualisation of a prehistoric monument seems linked to the Norse association of agency with landscape features, and has parallels with evidence from the Loch Róg study area (see below).

Despite occurring in sizeable numbers across Rousay, burnt mounds see as little direct interaction as other prehistoric field monuments. It is likely that, despite the different archaeological character of these mounds compared to other tumuli on Rousay, the Norse did not perceive them separately from other monuments. Indeed, one burnt mound (Corpus ID: RR100) was known locally as the 'Fairy Knowe', with clear supernatural associations – though, owing to the unreliable nature of toponymic evidence, it is unknown as to when this feature was named.

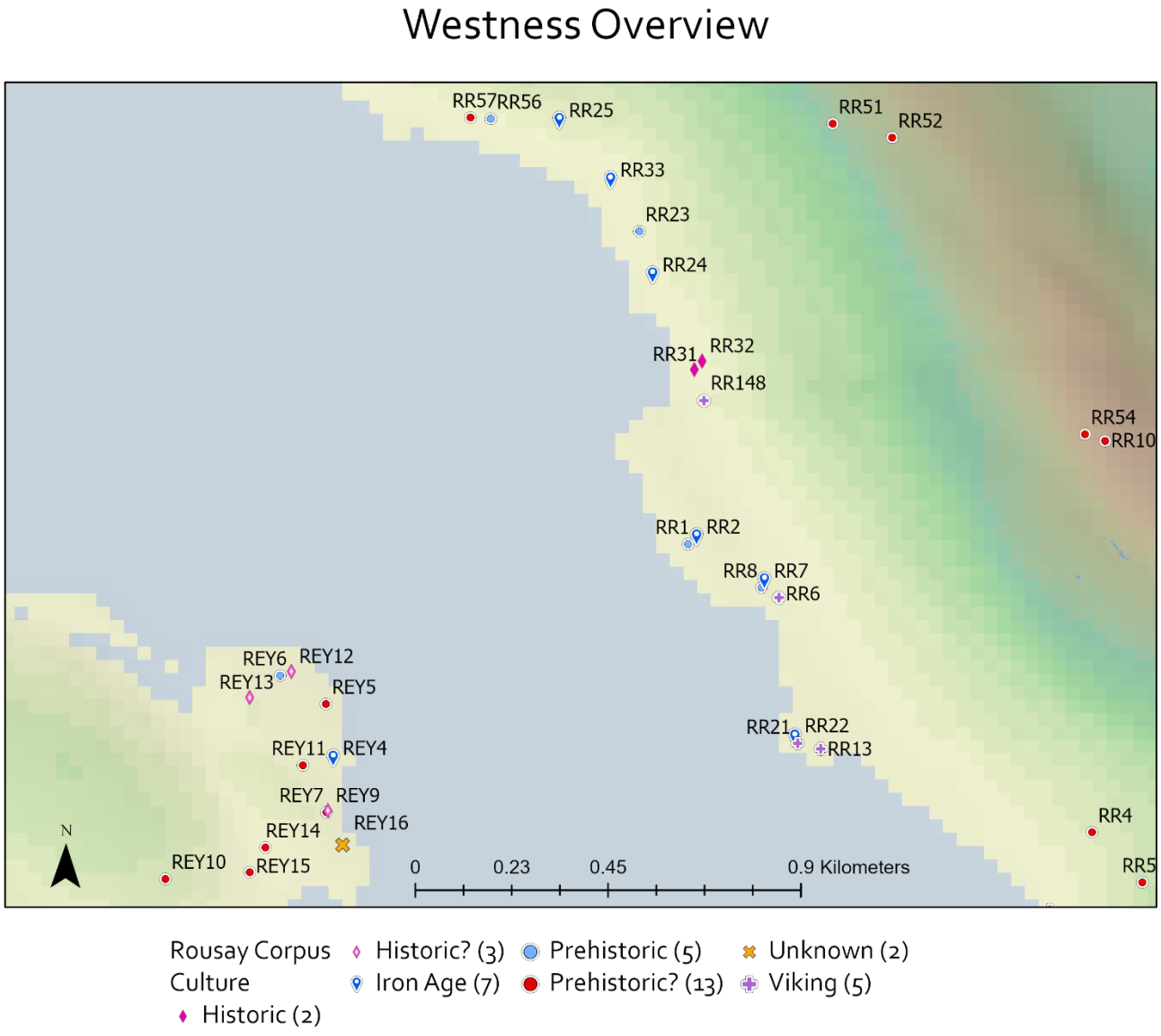

Figure 24: Overview map of the district of Westness, showing important sites, labelled with their corresponding corpus ID.

Westness

The district of Westness, on the west coast of Rousay, is notable for its density of archaeologically significant sites. Within a relatively short stretch of coastline lie a couple of Neolithic chambered tombs, several Iron Age brochs and settlements, and a collection of high status Norse settlements. Likely because of this density of impressive sites, though also in part due to the intensity of coastal erosion in this area, Westness has seen the most intensive recent archaeological investigation of all parts of Rousay and its associated islands. This has uncovered several sites of

significant importance for understanding dynamics of Viking Age reuse, as well as providing useful context for understanding Norse settlement practice. Two of the major Viking farmsteads of Westness have been excavated over the past few decades. Excavations at Westness farmstead itself (Corpus ID: RR6), known to have been an important settlement from references in Orkneyinga Saga (Chapter XLVIII), showed that paving had been placed leading from the farmstead towards the remains of the Iron Age settlement at the Knowe of Swandro (Corpus ID: RR7) Kaland, 1993, pp.308-309). This reflects domestic reuse of the ruins – most likely in the form of stone-robbing and dumping of refuse (Dockrill, Bond and Gibson, 2018).
It was also discovered that the main dwelling of the farmstead, which consisted of two large halls separated by a smaller central room, had been rebuilt on top of its original position during its use life. Similarly, the settlement at Skaill (Corpus ID: RR148) seems to have seen extensive superimposition of structures into the modern period, with a 2019 excavation uncovering walls belonging to what is believed to be a Norse period hall (Lisle, 2019). Leonard observes that many Viking settlement sites within her Birsay study area saw superimposition of newer structures throughout the Norse period. While this is of course a facet of continuity of settlement, the reuse of these sites was often extremely precise and intensive enough to leave so-called 'farm mounds' through the build-up of structural materials and settlement middens. This process is evident elsewhere in the Viking diaspora (Harrison, 2013), and it is likely that these practices continued into the modern period – as has been established, it is believed that many modern settlements in both study areas are built directly overlying the initial settlements of the Viking colonists. Linked to the superimposition of halls seen at Skaill and Westness, the boat naust on the opposite end of the Moa Ness peninsula saw incorporation of the earliest structure into the fabric of newer iterations (Corpus ID: RR13)– this is not something universally practiced even across Rousay, with another naust on the east side of the island seeing newer buildings placed adjacent to the ruins of the older structure (Corpus ID: RR88). It is possible that the special treatment afforded to the naust at Moa Ness is due to its association with the settlements at Westness, which are believed to have been high status throughout the Norse period. Consideration should be given to Hållans Stenholm's theory that high status settlements would have been particularly important as memory practice centres (Hållans Stenholm, 2012, p.241).

An example of cautious treatment of prehistoric monuments can be found represented in the evidence from the Knowe of Swandro (Corpus ID: RR7). Excavations of the Iron Age settlement found that the entrance passage to the Neolithic chambered cairn (RR8) had been repurposed and augmented in the Iron Age, but that it may well have continued to lead into the chamber throughout this period (Dockrill, Bond and Gibson, 2018). This changes after the establishment of settlement at Westness, neighbouring the settlement mound – at some point in the Viking period, the entrance passage was filled in with a mix of rubble and settlement waste. Importantly, the remains of several cats were also found associated with this blocking of the passage (*ibid*, p.17) – while bones from a single cat might easily be disregarded as a chance deposition following the death of the animal in the farmstead, the presence of bones from multiple cats suggests a deliberate deposition. Without this evidence, the blocking of the passage might have been understood solely as a measure of safety, reinforcing the ruins so that they would not pose a danger. The deposition of an animal frequently used as part of building rituals elsewhere in Europe (Hoggard,2015) suggests that this action was tempered with a certain level of spiritual practice.

The cemetery at Moaness, Rousay (Corpus ID: RR21 and RR22), provides valuable evidence for understanding questions of perceptions and landscape reuse in terms of mortuary activity in the Viking Age. Excavations uncovered a variety of Viking Age graves – most of which were either rectangular or oval in form. The oval graves featured slab lining and may well have originally been slab-covered as well. Each oval grave was associated with a taller slab placed on end close to the head, forming a sort of grave marker. Kaland does not describe the form of the rectangular graves. Judging from the variation of the grave goods, a variety of different people from different social classes were represented at the cemetery. Two boat graves, seemingly of high-status individuals, were recovered from the cemetery. Both bodies bore skeletal damage associated with trauma from conflict, and both graves were associated with tools and weapons. The use of the Moaness graveyard continued for a few centuries after the establishment of the settlement at Westness, but the distinctively Norwegian style of burial practice continued despite the reuse of a cemetery site bearing different grave styles. This demonstration of identity through mortuary rituals, particularly the Norse practice of boat burial, has been discussed by Halstad-McGuire, who suggests that these stereotypically 'Viking' burial practices may have been integral to the reconciliation of 'migrant' and 'Norse'

identities (2010). Notably, despite the differentiating implications of the burial practice at Moa Ness, the earlier Pictish burials were not damaged or disturbed by the Norse. This may reflect some level of respect given to the prior occupants of the landscape, or a fear of retribution from the spirits of the deceased.

Loch Ròg area

As with the Rousay study area, the settlement buffer analysis shows that the vast majority of settlements believed to date from the Viking Age are associated with Iron Age settlement remains, with the most striking association being at Bostadh. Of course, there is some ambiguity present – for example, at the settlement at Kirkibost (Corpus ID: LBM20). The only Iron Age site that falls into its catchment is a possible Pictish ecclesiastical settlement – this was noted by the Revered Macaulay, but its existence has not been attested to in archaeological investigation (Corpus ID: LBM60). With this noted, if such a settlement was indeed present, it may have bearing of the toponym 'Kirkibost', which is linked to the ON *Kirkjubostadr* for 'farmsteading at a church'. This is commonly assumed to refer to the now-disused chapel of St. Macra's (Corpus ID: LBM6), but it is possible that the toponym was actually referring to the ecclesiastical centre.

Toponymically, Lewis exhibits a greater number of Gaelic elements in place names than seen in the Orkney Isles – the vast majority of these are believed to have entered common usage after the annexation of the Western Isles by Scotland in 1266 – rather tellingly, there are a relatively large number of tautological toponyms across Lewis, likely caused by a loss of understanding of the Norse place names. For example, there are three Loch- and Dun Bharabhats across the study area alone (Corpus ID: LV9, LBM1, LEC39). Bharabhat stems from the Old Norse '*Borgvatn*', meaning 'lake of the fort' meaning that the Loch- and Dun names literally translate to 'lake (of the) lake of the fort' and 'fort (of the) lake of the fort' respectively.

Throughout the smaller islets of Loch Ròg, a small number of features were identified as possible Viking burial mounds by James Crawford, but the characteristics that led him to that conclusion are undescribed in his reporting of the monuments (Corpus ID: LI26, LI27, LBB28, LBB33). One feature of interest is what is recorded as the 'grave of a red-haired maiden' on Cnoc na h-Inghinn a' Ruaidha (Corpus ID: LEC32), which is noted as featuring stone settings again similar to those described by Thäte (2007) as well as being featured in local legend. However, this has similarly never been formally investigated.

Notably, while the monumental complex of Callanish and its associated monuments was included within the study area (Corpus IDs: LEC7 – LEC19, LEC33 – LEC37), no Viking/Norse evidence was noted within the complex. The toponym is Norse, but it refers to the headland that the main monument centre sits upon. All in all, this suggests a similar situation to that observed by Leonard at the Brodgar monumental complex in Orkney (Leonard, 2011, pp.51-59) – conspicuous avoidance of highly visible landscape features of pre-Iron Age date.

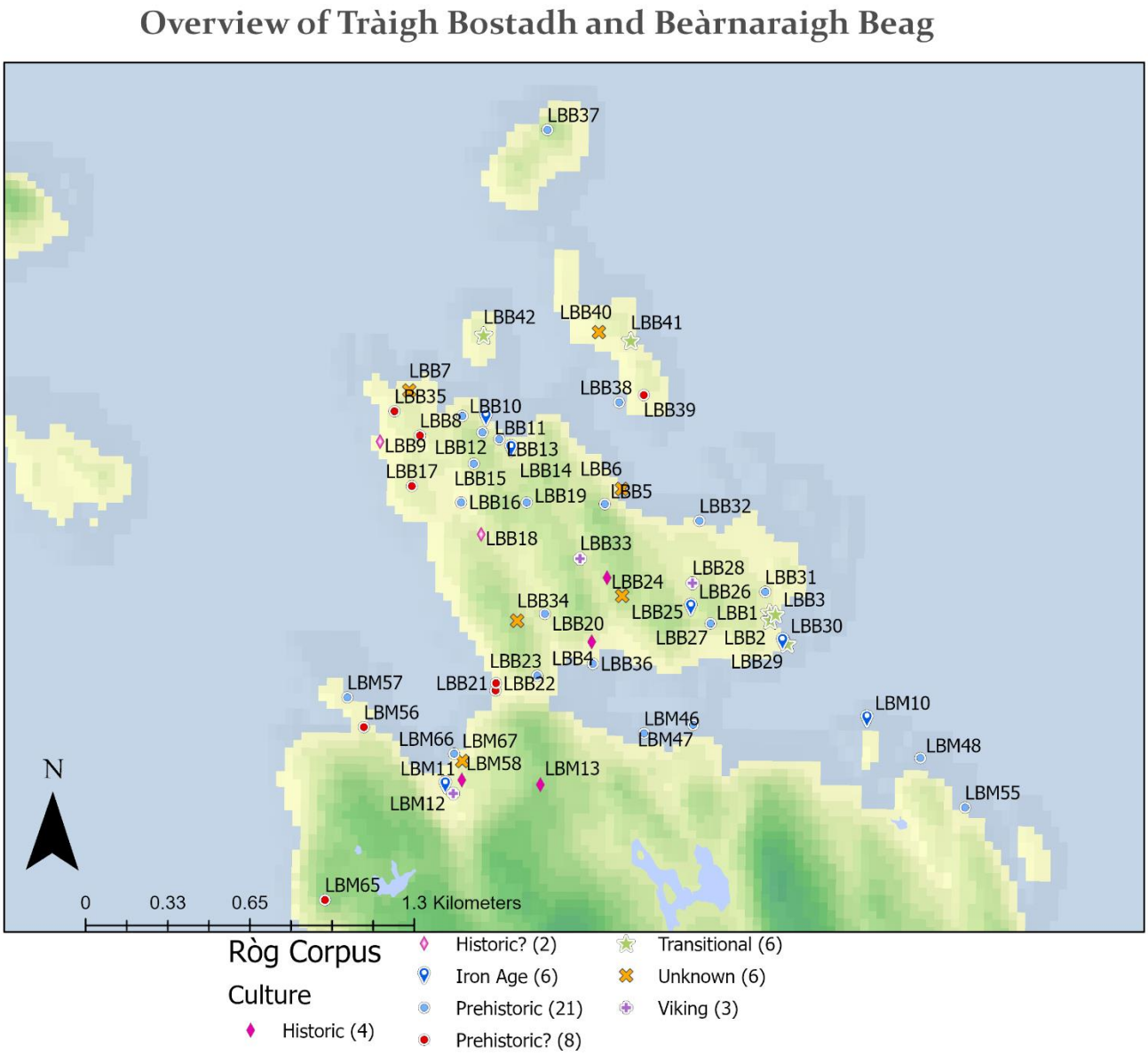

Figure 25: Map showing an overview of the area around Beàrnaraigh Beag. Sites are labelled with their corresponding corpus ID

Bostadh and Beàrnaraigh Beag

Within the Loch Ròg study area, only one Viking Age settlement has been excavated – other areas believed to have been the sites of Viking settlements have only been identified through chance finds of diagnostic materials and toponymic associations. The exception to this is at Bostadh, at the northern tip of Beàrnaraigh Mòr, discussed above in the evaluation of the Pictish/Norse interface (Page 42). The site first saw archaeological attention in the 60s after extensive Iron Age middens and structures began to erode out of the dunes at Traigh na Bostadh (Corpus IDs: LBM66, LBM67). Multiple finds associated with metal-working were recovered, suggesting that the settlement was of some importance. However, archaeological investigation of these areas was largely limited to occasional survey and notation of various finds recovered from eroding levels – by the 1990s, most of the structural remnants to be initially uncovered had been destroyed by the sea. The 1996 rescue excavation at Bostadh was prompted by further encroachment of the sea exposing more structural and midden material in 1993.

This uncovered a number of typically Pictish houses, one of which being a 'figure-of-eight' house and the others being cellular in plan, all associated with diagnostic material dating these structures to the Pictish period (Corpus ID: LBM11). However, covering this group of structures was an extensive midden associated with a rectangular building

that had been built overlying one of the cellular houses (Corpus ID: LBM12). This was initially associated with the Norse period due to recovery of fragments of a steatite bowl, then dated to the Viking period through carbon dating of charred grains found within the structure. Importantly, the sequence of building here suggests that the Pictish settlement had been abandoned for some time prior to the resettlement of the site in the Viking period – parts of the rectangular structure overlaid substantial sand deposits within the cellular building. Similarly, several of the other Pictish structures had seen use phases associated with 'squatting', again indicating that the settlement had mostly been abandoned prior to Norse reuse. This is an important piece of evidence to consider when discussing Native/Norse interaction in the Isles, as no evidence was found suggesting contacts with the Norse prior to abandonment of the settlement. This is also an example that shows that Norse presence at Iron Age settlements is not necessarily a matter of settlement continuity – it is clear that there was a break in occupation at Bostadh, with the new settlement not only coming later but also demonstrating different structural design and material culture. Returning to the discussion of Norse Christianity, the chapel and cemetery site on the south-west tip of Beàrnaraigh Beag are associated with the toponym 'Pabanish' (Corpus ID: LBB29). This has been identified by the Papar Project as likely being a '*papar*' place name – one of several such Norse placenames found across the Western and Northern Isles that is believed to indicate Christian presence at the time of Viking incursion (Papar Project, 2005). Notably, there is a major ecclesiastical site associated with the Pabanish place name – Teampuill Bhearnaraidh Bheag (Corpus ID: LBB1), which is itself associated with a cemetery and two chapels (Corpus IDs: LBB2, LBB3). It is possible that this site was a pre-Norse ecclesiastical centre that saw reuse as a place of worship after the reintroduction of Christianity into the isles.

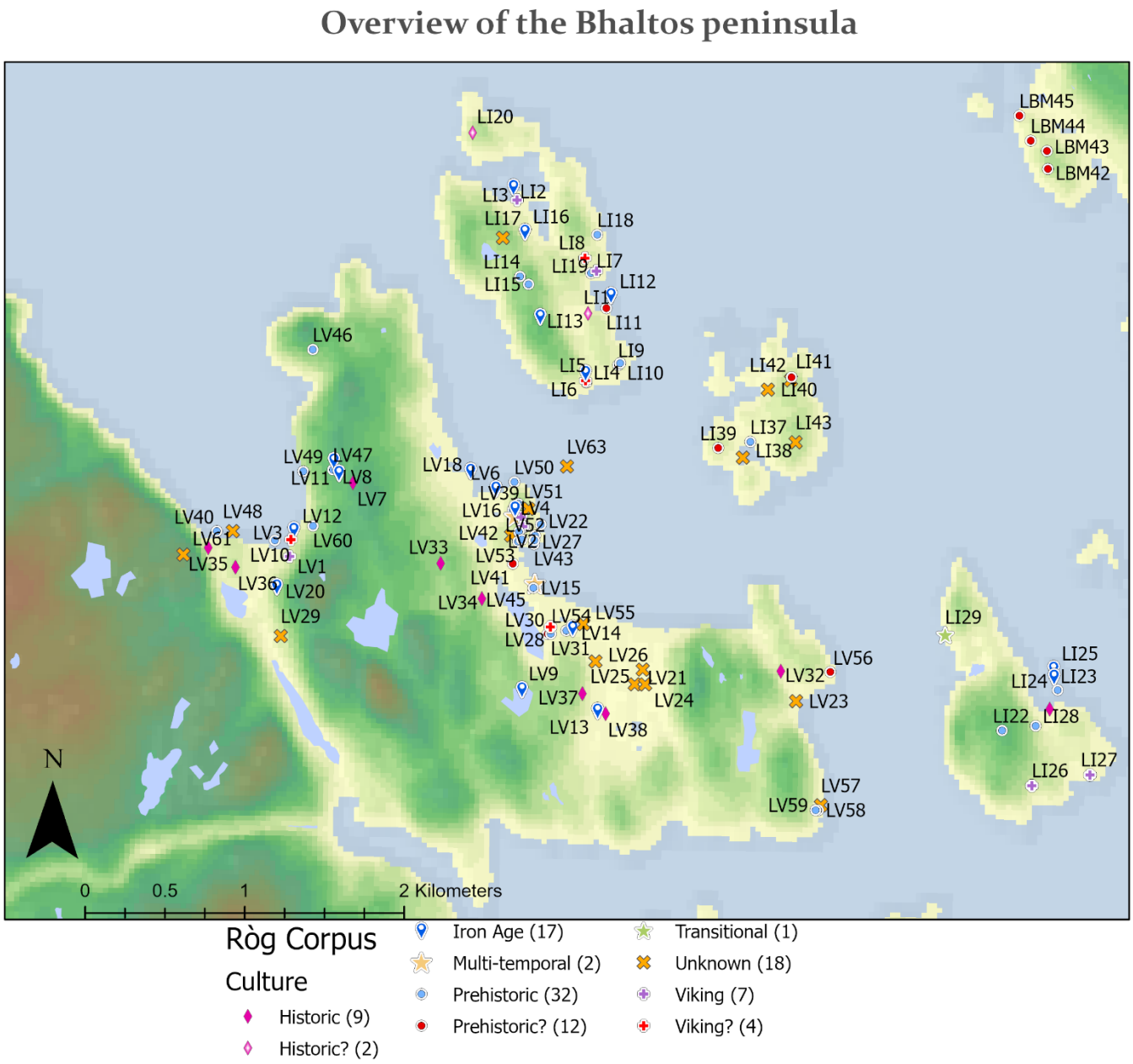

Figure 26: Map showing an overview of the Bhaltos Peninsula. Most sites are labelled with their corresponding corpus ID, but the density of sites associated with the Cnip headland meant that some labels were necessarily left out.

Bhaltos peninsula

As mentioned in the methodology section, the Bhaltos peninsula is one of the most archaeologically investigated areas of Lewis, having seen several excavations and an intensive landscape survey. While the disparity with the other parts of the study area causes issues in understanding wider settlement patterns, this attention has allowed for relatively better understanding of the sites of the peninsula itself. Similarly to Beàrnaraigh Beag, there is etymological evidence suggesting that the isle of Pabaigh Mòr may have been a centre for pre-Norse Christianity in the Loch Ròg region.

Two possible Viking settlements are known from the island, both mostly through etymological interpretation of surface remains – Charraboist and Mealaboist, both *bolstadr* placenames similar to Bostadh, appear at those sites without any indication of modern settlement (Corpus IDs: LI3, LI19). Despite the etymological implications of 'Pabaigh', the location of any pre-Norse Christian site is unknown.

At Cliobh, recovery of Viking Age ceramics from eroding middens in the area point to likely Viking settlement here (Corpus ID: LV3). This is associated with a possible Iron Age roundhouse in the area (LV12), and a Viking burial was recovered nearby (LV1, see below). This provides another example of seemingly deliberate association of Viking settlement with Iron Age settlement.
At Traigh na Berie, multiple eroding middens are located along the beach – finds recovered from these middens, as well as multiple excavated sites in this area, suggest that the area saw multiple settlements from the Bronze Age to the Viking Age, providing clear evidence for settlement reuse on the machair (Corpus ID: LV45).
It has been established that Viking reuse of and interaction with prehistoric monuments is rare in the Scottish Isles. However, there is a particularly important exception to this rule seen on the Bhaltos peninsula – the Viking Age cemetery that occurs near Cnip (Corpus ID: LV5). This cemetery shares its location with a number of Bronze Age mounds and cist burials (LV4), with seemingly no evidence of Iron Age interaction with the site. While the location of the corresponding settlement at Cnip has not been readily identified, it is likely that it underlies the modern village as Viking Age ceramics have been recovered from eroding contexts nearby (LV17) – Iron Age ceramics have also been recovered from this area, suggesting settlement reuse (LV16, LV19). Indeed, it is possible that it was the presence of this Iron Age settlement that influenced the reuse of a monument type that is otherwise untouched elsewhere. Lacking the cultural context necessary to distinguish the age of the mounds, the Norse may have believed that they were contemporary with the nearby Iron Age settlement, thus justifying their reuse for burials.
There are unfortunately few points of comparison for this site within the Loch Ròg study area – while possible Viking funerary monuments have been identified on several of the isles in this region, these have not been investigated and it is possible that they are in fact earlier monuments (Corpus IDs: LI26, LI27, LI30, LI33, LBB33). Other Viking Age mortuary evidence in this area is sporadic – an isolated inhumation was discovered in 1915 by schoolchildren from Valtos school, eroding out of a low sandy mound close to Tràigh na Clibhe (LV1). A selection of rich grave goods were recovered from the upper portion of the burial, after which it was covered over – thus, the form of the burial is unknown. However, the associated grave goods are important because they constitute a mix of Viking and Insular objects, indicating contacts beyond the Norse Diaspora. Armit has suggested that this may indicate that the interred individual had kinship links with the pre-Norse inhabitants of the isles (1996, p.201), though he does not discount the possibility that the artefacts may instead stem from local connections to trade within the Irish Sea. Until further graves are investigated, it is difficult to say how this mortuary evidence fits into wider funerary trends within Loch Ròg.

Summary

Across the evidence outlined above, it is most clear that Viking settlement largely resettled Iron Age sites. Much of this resettlement was likely guided by the agricultural potential seen at each site. Each of the sites is placed within areas of arable farmland – as noted earlier, it is likely that the reason Viking settlements have otherwise proven scarce is due to their association with modern farmsteads. It is easy to suggest that it was this same agricultural potential that guided settlement of these areas in the Iron Age – however, the reality is likely more complex. For one thing, as discussed in the historical survey, Iron Age settlements often overlie Bronze Age settlements, which may in turn overlie Neolithic settlement. Studies of Neolithic to Iron Age settlements across the Hebrides and Northern Isles have previously highlighted rigorous land enrichment strategies performed throughout occupation of these areas (Turner and Simpson, 2016). With this, it should be clear that to a certain extent the fertile lands of the study areas are as much a human creation as they are a natural one. This moves even beyond ideas of deliberate landscape management – settlement remains are well known to affect agricultural potential on a local basis, to the extent that the effects are often used to locate and identify archaeological features. For example, the major pre-Viking Age urban and ritual centre of Uppåkra in southern Sweden was identified following publication of phosphate maps produced in order to gauge land suitability for sugar beets (Stjernquist, 1996, p.104).
Similarly, the Iron Age settlements would have provided a readily available source of building stone, valuable for an incoming population without local sources of structural timbers or knowledge of appropriate quarry sites. That this stone had been used in earlier structures would have signalled its suitability for building, and it having already been quarried and cut into shape would have represented time and effort saved.

Having noted a number of functionalistic reasons as to why Viking farmsteads might have been placed *in the vicinity of* Iron Age settlements, it is worth considering that they were often very deliberately built *on top of* or *neighbouring*

earlier structures (See Bostadh and Westness, discussed in further detail below). This is a trend also recognised by Anna Ritchie across the Scottish Isles (Ritchie, 1993; referenced in Thäte, 2007, p.125), and by Leonard (2011) on mainland Orkney at Buckquoy and other settlements along Birsay Bay. The actual character of the thoughts and motivations behind Norse reuse of Iron Age settlements are difficult to guess at and would have almost certainly been subject to a great many different influences. However, both Hållans Stenholm (2012) and Thäte (2007) have discussed the importance of reuse in the legitimisation of land ownership in Scandinavian society, and Thäte has also implicated the concept of *odal* law and its role in shaping reuse practices in Norway (2007, p.118). Where the evidence from the Scottish Isles differs is that, in most cases, settlements are usually reused by new settlements, instead of the grave-on-house reuse seen in Norway (though there are examples of this practice within the Orkney Isles as well, as seen at Gurness). Regardless, Leonard has associated the reuse of house sites in Buckquoy with this concept of legitimation (2011, pp.47-51). As noted above, Thäte has established that the domestic sphere was an important part of Norse society and impinged on aspects such as rituality and mortuary practice. Additionally, Raudvere has written on the spiritual associations of the land and structures of the farmstead, with beings such as the *álfar* and the *landvættir* impinging upon settlement practice (Raudvere, 2008, p.237) As such, the reuse of the site of an older settlement would have been a deliberate decision with specific social and cultural connotations – not simply a matter of shrewd pragmatism.

Of course, this clear trend of settlement reuse cannot be discussed without at least exploring the dynamics between the colonising Norse and the native inhabitants of the Isles. As discussed in the historical survey, the nature of the colonisation of the Scottish Isles is ambiguous but there are toponymic indications that at least some integration of the two cultures occurred. However, this appears to have only occurred in very limited spheres – in the context of shieling practice, and possibly in regards to local religious practice. Without greater understanding of how exactly the colonisation progressed, it is difficult to understand why so few pre-Norse toponyms survived. For instance, it may have been that redefinition of the landscape was an explicit part of the Norse colonisation strategy[21]. However, it is also possible that simply too few people remained in these areas to inform the new settlers of the local names, and that those few pre-Norse toponyms that do survive are representative of those few people that remained in the isles at the time of colonisation. Tellingly, no site has yet been discovered in either area with evidence for structural continuity beyond the colonisation of the Isles, and indeed, many settlements appear to fall into disuse at around this time. At the same time, the mechanism through which the Norse colonists were able to specifically select Iron Age sites for reuse instead of reusing the site of a chambered tomb or a burnt mound is unclear. Unlike in Norway, where reuse is believed to have occurred through communal and kinship links, reuse in Scotland often occurs even at places that had been abandoned long before Viking settlers appeared. This may suggest a remnant native population remaining on the Isles at the time of colonisation.

As illustrated by the evidence from Moa Ness and Cnip, co-option of pre-Norse graveyards is present in both study areas – however, these manifest in different ways. In Rousay, the main known Viking cemetery is closely associated with a Pictish cemetery, with a wide range of grave types. In Lewis, the main known cemetery is associated with a Bronze Age mortuary complex. There are fewer graves known from the Bhaltos peninsula cemetery, so the range of Viking grave types is less clear. Norse mortuary monuments are scarcely known in either study area and none of them have been securely identified. An ambiguous structure on Rousay known as the Geord of Nears (Corpus ID: RR71) may have been a burial monument featuring stone settings similar to those described by Thäte in Scandinavia (2007), or those same stone 'settings' may have been the remains of the interior chamber of a prehistoric cairn. When excavated, a couple of steatite urns were discovered within, but steatite is a material known to have been used in the Bronze Age as well as having been imported by the Norse. Unfortunately, these materials do not appear to have been retained, so it is impossible to determine if this truly was a Viking burial mound or the damaged remains of a Bronze Age barrow. This is not to say that Viking mortuary monuments were absent from Orkney or Lewis – sites such as the Scar boat burial on Sanday, and the multiple possible Viking Age mortuary monuments

[21] Such practices have been employed by various colonial powers throughout the modern period as statements of power, control and ownership, from landscape features across Australia (Collingwood-Whittick, 2016) to settlements and street names in what is now Zimbabwe (Dube, 2018)

indicated by Crawford in the Loch Ròg area show that these traditions may well have been transferred over from Norway.

An interesting possibility here is that this often literal 'overlying' of Iron Age remnants by Norse cultural edifices is a form of *damnatio memoriae*, essentially removing any cultural memories associated with the native occupation of these sites through a campaign of redefinition while at the same time acting as a very physical representation of Norse power over the Isles. The concept is not unheard of in the context of monument reuse – Thäte describes how Kristiansen discussed *damnatio memoriae* in relation to the burial of a group of smaller barrows by a much larger 'princely' barrow at Voldtofte, Denmark, considering it a demonstration of power over those interred in the earlier barrows (Kristiansen, 1998, p.176; cited in Thäte, 2007, pp.80-81). Reuse as statement of dominion was also suggested by Thäte in her interpretation of Norse reuse of Pictish settlement on the point of Buckquoy alongside her links to legitimation (Thäte, 2007).
The current issue with such interpretations is that they imply the presence of a group that these statements were intended for – a remaining Pictish population that retained links to the lands now occupied by the Norse. As has been established, the existence of any such group remains ambiguous. However, one possible explanation for this behaviour is that the Norse were safeguarding against the possibility that the previous occupants of the colonised lands would return. By deliberately reusing these features, the Norse would have 'overwritten' the claims to the land. Altogether, the mortuary and domestic evidence from both study areas shows a deeply considered and consistent reuse of Iron Age settlement – while functionalistic concerns may have been the driving force of resettlement in these areas, the ways in which that resettlement manifested were constrained by the practices and beliefs of Norse culture. This can also be observed through the (lack of) reuse of pre-historic sites.

Despite the demonstrated landscape dominance of pre-Iron Age monuments in both areas, Viking Age reuse of these structures can perhaps be defined by its absence. In some instances, such as the Knowes of Howe on Egilsay (Corpus ID: REG7), and Mansie's Knowes on Rousay (Corpus ID: RR97), cairns appear to have been associated with farms and individuals– these may represent transposition of settlement practice from Norway, with those mounds being claimed as *odal* mounds for the nearby farms. However, despite the prominent nature of many such features, the vast majority of monuments saw little-to-no direct physical interaction throughout the entirety of Norse rule in either area. This should be contrasted with the multiple instances of Iron Age reuse of Neolithic monuments in Orkney, which was widespread and intensive (Hingley, 1996). In the Loch Róg area, it should be noted that a large number of the upland monuments saw some robbing for the construction of shielings – this may well have influenced the placement of some such structures, as many of these shielings have been found neighbouring or placed on top of monumental cairns (See Corpus IDs: LI10, LEC7, LEC22, LEC27). Of course, in the absence of investigation it is difficult to determine when this reuse occurred, and, in turn, discuss the implication of this evidence for understanding Norse attitudes to the monuments. However, the linking of certain place names with prehistoric features helps indicate local perceptions of features. This is most evident in the Loch Ròg study area, wherein the word *tursa* (plural *tursachan*) is the local word for 'standing stone' (See Corpus ID: LBM5). It has been suggested by Mac an Tàilleir that this word is rooted in the Old Norse word *þurs*, meaning 'giant' or 'troll' (2003)**.** Megaliths and other prominent rocks and stones within the landscape were often perceived by the Norse as being such creatures, petrified where they stood by the light of the sun (Hastrup, 2008), and these stories have similarities with the legend associated with the Yatenes standing stone of Rousay (Corpus ID: RR93); mentioned above)

Orcadian folklore also grants useful insight into pre-Christian perceptions of the ancient monuments of the islands. Across the archipelago, multiple features were associated with supernatural creatures known as either 'trows' or 'hogboys'. The names of these entities are important for understanding their origins – 'hogboy' is all but certainly descended from the Old Norse '*haugbui*', meaning 'mound dweller'; while 'trow' is believed to have its roots in the Old Norse '*draugr*', a term most linked to ideas of 'undeath'. Both of these terms occur in Old Norse texts in contexts discussing ancestral spirits (Hållans Stenholm, 2012, pp.69-72) – entities implicated by both Thäte and Hållans Stenholm to have had an active role in the settlement and spiritual practice of the Norse. However, both authors describe this relationship in regards to mortuary practice in Scandinavia, in which burial mounds were often associated with farmsteads in order to maintain the ancestors as a type of protective spirit (Thäte, 2007; Hållans Stenholm, 2012). This practice is less common in the Northern Isles –as Thäte notes, the Norse may well have been

in no hurry to link their settlements to burial mounds that were home to spirits angry that their descendants had been ousted from the area. Yet those beliefs persisted, so the majority of mounds within the landscape were populated with their own *draugr* or *haugbui*, each due similar levels of respect to those granted to the ancestral spirits of the farmstead. This would have limited most interaction with these monuments, for fear of rousing the ire of the associated spirit if any harm befell its home.

Aside from the etymological links between standing stones and trolls, Lewis is largely lacking in an equivalent folkloric canon associated with the ancient monuments of the landscape, so similar dynamics cannot be reliably reconstructed for this area. This absence can be explained through the widespread population changes caused by the Clearances, which likely removed many of the people responsible for the maintenance of local folklore and its links with the landscape. However the *tursa*/troll connection implies that, at least to begin with, the Norse settlers of Lewis may well have approached the ancient landscape with similarly spiritual associations. The association of specifically pre-Iron Age features with mythological creatures, and the taboo of disturbing these ancient remnants, perhaps suggests an 'othering' of these monuments. Rather than reclaiming or redefining these monuments and incorporating them into communal ritual practice (as may be seen with the Anglo-Saxon adoption of prehistoric monuments into mortuary practice), most pre-Iron Age mortuary monuments were seemingly left undisturbed. This may well be due to the animistic worldviews of the pagan Norse, with these enigmatic structures within the landscape being seen as having agency and the ability to affect goings-on in the community. As such, even without explicit associations with the spirits of the dead, these features appear to have been treated with respect.

While this thesis has predominantly worked to investigate the attitudes of Viking Age settlers in Scotland through examining roughly contemporary evidence, landscape practice in later periods can also grant insight into the perceptions of the Viking Age.

One such line of evidence concerns the placement of chapels in Rousay after the Christianisation of the Northern Isles around the 11th century. The chapel sites, often built on land associated with the head farm of each *urisland* of the island, are usually found associated with preceding settlement remains or monuments (Clarke, 2018; see Corpus ID: RR27, RR28, RR67, RR92, RM17).[22] However, this trend does not occur in the Loch Róg study area – instead, Norse period chapels are typically associated with areas associated with pre-Norse Christianity.

While, at least in Orkney, chapel construction occurred a few hundred years after initial colonisation, this indicates that these locations had become important to the local populace prior to conversion. It is, of course, possible that these associations are based in pure pragmatism – as discussed above, the drystone architecture of the prehistoric features would have been a plentiful source of building material; perfect for the construction of a chapel. Indeed, it is clear that stone robbing did occur at many sites - however, Gibbon has suggested that the construction of chapels was seen as a status symbol within Norse Orkney, hence their association with the head farms (2007). If this is the case, it seems counterintuitive that their locations would be guided solely by material pragmatism. Within the Orkney Isles, there are some similarities between the selection of Þing sites and the placement of chapels. As mentioned above, all three of the mentioned Þings in Orkney are associated with prehistoric features, seemingly by design. With this association drawn, it is perhaps worth considering if the settings for what would later become the chapels on Rousay were, if not minor Þing sites, at least local meeting places. The chapels would have served as gathering places for the local community after their construction, so what better place to site them than somewhere that was already used for that purpose? It is likely that the reason this pattern is not seen in the Loch Ròg area is that areas associated with Christianity already existed within the landscape, so there was little need to reuse other sites to build chapels. Perhaps backing this up is the fact that the two areas associated with pre-Norse Christianity in the Rousay study area – Eynhallow and Egilsay – both feature ecclesiastical sites not associated with earlier features.

As observed above, both of the Norse farmsteads excavated on Rousay exhibited intensive levels of structural continuity, similar to the situation observed at Birsay by Leonard. Leonard's interpretation of this evidence is that the Norse were both attempting to maintain a 'connection to the homeland' and were invested in maintaining a clear and incontestable link to the first settlement of the area due to the *odal* system (Leonard, 2011, p.58).

[22] St. Mary's Chapel (Corpus ID: RR11) is not directly associated with a prehistoric mound, but was placed on a natural hummock seemingly mistaken for a barrow in the Bronze Age (Corpus ID: RR12). It seems likely that the chapel was placed due to similar mistaken beliefs.

However, as Thäte notes, house-house reuse was relatively rare in Norway (2007, p.125-126). She considers the idea that the practice may be an example of a second form of legitimation - where instead of staking a claim on land through a mortuary monument, the claim is legitimised through links between the new house and the old one. However, she believes that this arrangement lacks the permanency of the mortuary monument - where the burial mound acts as legitimation that transcends generations, the house is impermanent and (at least in Norse society) appears to have been closely associated with generations (*ibid*). This may well be the case for Norway, but this reasoning may also go some way to explaining the evidence in Scotland - as Leonard has observed, Viking and Norse settlement saw precise reuse of the sites of halls for the construction of newer buildings. In effect, the impermanency of the buildings and their associations with succeeding generations created a dynamic in which the contemporary buildings was a symbol of links to not just the original Viking claim on the site, but the generations between them as well. Indeed, in some cases this created what can be described as a 'domestic mound' as opposed to a 'mortuary mound', through the build-up of midden and structural materials - as much testament to a family's claim on the land as a built-to-purpose mortuary mound would have been.
As a corollary to this theory, it is worth incorporating Hållans Stenholm's discussion of the role of the farmstead in social memory (2012, p.241) – it is likely that the specificity of the rebuilding evident in these settlements sought to maintain the generational memories embedded in the farmstead.

The superimposition of these multi-phase Norse settlements, and the memories associated with them, on top of older, native settlements would have been a powerful tool for redefining the cultural associations of these locations. Built on and from the remains of the older houses, but distinctively Norse in design and associated practice. Similarly to the performatively Norse nature of the burials at Moa Ness, it seems that the sociocultural pressures of Norse Scotland prompted the exercising of identity and the reinforcement of kinship links through settlement practice.

Conclusion

From the evidence and discussion above it should be clear that, while Viking interaction and reuse of prehistoric sites was limited in comparison to that exhibited in Anglo-Saxon England or Iron Age Orkney, this should not be taken as ignorance of or indifference towards the past features of the landscape. Instead, these features played an important role in shaping the structure of settlements and the specifics of landscape practice. The ancient monuments of prehistoric Scotland affected Norse perceptions, prompting physical responses as the settlers reasserted their identities in the face of the remnants of a differing culture. In turn, however, the monuments and settlement of the past were transformed through their reuse, acting as social and physical resources for the people of Viking Age society. The ruins of settlements that were once testament to the power of Iron Age elites were redefined into high status farmsteads emphasising Norse identity. Þing sites and chapels further transformed the visible remnants of the previous inhabitants into centres of Norse culture and belief. These reuse practices were almost certainly conducted against a background of pragmatic concerns, but they also conformed to the beliefs and social practices of the Norse. At the same time the spiritual background introduced by the Norse settlers prompted a wary respect of the prehistoric monuments that dot the isles, with strikingly few of these sites seeing physical reuse up until more recent times. The animistic tendencies of the pagan Norse created a landscape filled with spirits natural and human, with the power to change the fortunes of those who crossed them. In many ways the presence of pre-Norse features necessitated that they were somehow negotiated into the perceptual landscapes of the settlers – the ubiquity of monuments in the landscape meant that they had to been contextualised within the wider worldviews of the settlers. Similarly, the pressures of settling in a new landscape manifested in the public demonstration of identity, and the careful maintenance of links to the earliest Norse settlement through the superimposition of farm buildings atop the foundations of the preceding structure.

However, despite these wider trends, the specific ways in which they manifested were guided by the unique aspects of the landscape. The increased presence of Christianity in Lewis meant that instead of selecting prehistoric features for the erection of chapels, as in Rousay, it was the sites of pre-Norse Christianity that were returned to.

It is likely that there are other facets of Norse interaction with prehistoric monuments that were missed in this analysis, and it is clear that the identification of such trends has suffered due to the paucity of information about many of the monuments and settlements of these study areas. Most pressingly, the distribution and nature of Viking

settlement beyond those few sites attested to above remains shrouded in uncertainty – while it is commonly accepted that Viking settlements are merely buried beneath modern farmsteads and towns, the lack of hard evidence relegates any analysis of settlement patterns using toponymic evidence as proxy to 'suggestion', rather than a useful statement of such practices. It is also clear that detailed investigation of shieling practice in both study areas would likely have important implications for the ways in which people moved throughout the landscape – and thus in the ways in which they interacted with the monuments of that landscape.

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Appendix

Section 1: Rousay Study Area Sites

Section 1a: Rousay

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR1	Knowe of Rowiegar Tomb	2159	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	Y	Reused for site of Iron Age settlement, may also have been reused by Norse period buildings.	An Orkney-Cromarty type stalled cairn excavated in 1937 by W G Grant - this investigation showed that the cairn had been badly damaged by construction of an unidentified mass of masonry, to the point of obliterating the entrance. This was associated with an 'earth-house' built in the E half of the chamber, and a number of other Iron Age buildings situated on and around the cairn.	337350, 1029760
RR2	Knowe of Rowiegar Settlement	2159	Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	-	N/A	Excavations of the chambered cairn here in 1937 found that a souterrain had been built into the east half of the chamber, associated with a number of other buildings dated to the Iron Age by pottery sherds and other artefacts.	337370, 1029760
RR3	Viera Lodge Broch	2162	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	Y?	Possibly robbed for retaining wall?	Amorphous overgrown mound, was badly damaged by coastal erosion before the construction of a retaining wall on its south side (that may well have sourced material from the mound itself). RCAHMS noted in 1946 that there was clear evidence for occupation found on the cultivated land to the north, as well as in the park next to Viera Lodge. A visit by Lamb noted that in some places the retaining wall had fallen away, showing some stonework. It is believed that the walls of this probable broch are about 3.7m thick.	339150, 1028100

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR4	Mound	2165	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Described by Grant in 1934 as a circular mound, damaged and spread by cultivation, approx. 17m in diameter and 1.2m high. He presumed it to be a burial mound. A visit in 1980 found that the mound had been ploughed down to such an extent that it was barely visible as a slight rise in the field.	338290, 1029090
RR5	Westness Barrow	2166	Monument?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	Y	Opened in antiquity	Grassy earthen mound, ~12.1m X ~10.7m, and 0.9m high, situated on shelf in slope between the modern road and Westness house. Excavated in 1935 by Callander and Grant. The mound was found to be composed of earth with occasional small stones, covering a sub-oval chamber. The NE corner of the chamber had been destroyed by an unrecorded excavation, though the building line was still observable. No evidence for an entrance passage, corbelling, or roof supports. Some flagstones set in the floor indicative of bed- or hearth-like setting. Small built recesses found in the NW and SE sides. Finds were of burnt human bones and charcoal. A note in the entry suggests, from the irregular shape of the structure, that it was domestic rather than funerary, but this feels unlikely.	338410, 1028970

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR6	Westness Viking Farmstead	2167	Settlement	Viking to Post-Medieval	Viking	-	N/A	Major Viking settlement. A 'Norse' hall was visible in the 1960s, over 18m long by 4.8m wide between walls 1-1.3m thick and 0.8m high in some places. It is described as being similar to the halls seen at Birsay, and a secondary phase that included the construction of a possible tower is associated with the chieftain Sigurd of Westness. Excavated alongside the Moa Ness cemetery (CID 2204), which almost certainly served the settlement here. The settlement was found to consist of two major structures - a residential longhouse/hall, and two conjoined byres. Secondary walls associated with the hall suggested rebuilding. The later phase of the structure has been dated to the late Viking/early medieval period - the date of the earlier phase is unclear. Finds from the house included knife fragments, sherds of steatite and ceramics, bone pins and combs, and animal bones. Carbonised grains and seeds were also discovered, including barley, rye and flax. Pollen analysis indicates nearby cultivation of barley, rye and oats. Exploitation of seabirds, marine mammals, fish and deer evident from faunal bones. Almost certainly built using stone robbed from the Knowe of Swandro (CID 2169) - indeed, paving stretches towards the Knowe from the farmstead.	337560, 1029640

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR7	Knowe of Swandro Settlement	2169	Settlement	Iron Age to Pictish	Iron Age	Y	Structures robbed of stone for material for neighbouring Viking farmstead, mound used as refuse heap.	The Knowe of Swandro is a major multi-period settlement site closely associated with Westness (CID 2167). It has been badly damaged by coastal erosion, and has been the subject of ongoing excavation since 2010. Over the course of the Iron Age multiple structures were built around a Neolithic cairn, and at least two roundhouses were placed on top of it, incorporating cairn material and the entrance passage into their construction. The nature of Iron Age reuse of the inner chamber is unclear, as excavation has yet to investigate it. In the later Iron Age and Pictish period, structures appear to have been built stretching SE of the main settlement mound. One of these structures included a Pictish smithy. There is additional evidence of Viking/Norse interaction with the mound, primarily associated with the infilling of the chambered cairn passage. See in-text discussion for further description.	337530, 1029660
RR8	Knowe of Swandro Tomb	2169	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	Y	Reused for the site of an Iron Age settlement, entrance blocked up in the Norse period	Ongoing excavations since 2010 revealed a Neolithic chambered cairn of unknown type underlying the Iron Age settlement of the site. The entrance to the chamber was incorporated into the Iron Age structures, and was subsequently blocked up at some point during the occupation of the neighbouring Norse farmstead.	337520, 1029660
RR9	Burnt Mound (possible)	2171	Monument?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	The possible site of a burnt mound, recorded in 1946 as having been situated between Corse and Viera Lodge. Apparently destroyed, but mention of burnt material occasionally being discovered after ploughing. A revisit of the area in 1967 found no trace of burnt material, and no local knowledge of the mound.	339100, 1028090

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR10	Cairns	2173	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	Y	At least one mound opened in antiquity, one mound used for site of 'fairly modern' structure.	A pair of two cairns, and a natural build up of peat previously mistaken for a mound, sit on the summit of Ward Hill. The northern cairn is 14m in diameter and 0.8m high, and has been badly mutilated. According to NKB, visiting in 1967, a drystone structure, described as 'fairly modern', sits in the centre of the mound and may well have been built out of cairn material. The southern cairn is described as being ~8m in diameter and ~0.3m high prior to a 1936 excavation by Grant. This uncovered a central cist formed of edge-set slabs. It is believed that the site had already been dug into in the past, as the cover stone was absent. Confusingly, JD, visiting for the Orkney Barrows project, suggests that the northern mound has actually been excavated. JD describes a ring cairn or cist surrounded by the outer remnants of the cairn. It is possible that this was the cairn that was excavated by Grant, instead of the southern cairn.	338320, 1030000
RR11	St Mary's Chapel and Church Knowe	2175	Ecclesiastical	Norse	Historic	A	Placed on a natural feature believed to have been artificial seemingly even in prehistory.	The remains of a chapel were recorded as existing here until at least the beginning of the 19th century, standing on a low mound known as 'Church Knowe'. This mound was excavated in 1983, and turned out to be a natural deposit of boulder clay. Despite its natural origin, it had apparently been the focus for mortuary practices even preceding the construction of the chapel. Beyond five inhumations believed to be Christian in character, three cremation were noted. Two of these were found as cinerary urns and the other was an urnless deposition in a fire-reddened hollow in the natural clay. These are possibly associated with a narrow slot and a circular pit containing a sooty deposit. Finds from the ploughsoil included worked flint, flat-headed iron rivets/nails, and mortar.	339570, 1027830

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR12	Burials	2175	Monument	Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	Y	Possibly placed due to interpretation of site as earlier mortuary monument, overlain by Norse/Medieval period chapel and burials.	A number of prehistoric cremation burials were placed here on a natural mound, possibly due to interpretation of the mound as an earlier mortuary monument. A similar interpretation may have influenced the construction of a later chapel at this site. Later excavation confirmed the mound as natural, and beyond five inhumations believed to be Christian in character, three cremations were noted. Two of these were found as cinerary urns and the other was an urnless deposition in a fire-reddened hollow in the natural clay. These are possibly associated with a narrow slot and a circular pit containing a sooty deposit. Finds from the ploughsoil included worked flint, flat-headed iron rivets/nails, and mortar.	339570, 1027830
RR13	Boat Naust	2184	Industrial?	Viking	Viking	-	N/A	A rectangular drystone building with two distinct phases was uncovered here during the excavation of the nearby cemetery. It measures approx. ~8m long NW-SE and 4.5m NE-SW - it is believed that the building has been truncated by erosion on its SW side. It is believed that the original building may have been a Viking Age boat naust associated with the nearby settlement at Westness (CID 2167), rebuilt at a later date. Finds apparently included a few rivets. This being said, the quality of the building techniques evident in the structure has been interpreted by some as indicating that the structure is a later house.	337660, 1029280
RR14	Barrow	2186	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	Y	Opened in antiquity	Turf-covered mound of earth, some stone inclusions, ~12m in diameter, 1.2m high. The centre of the mound has been dug into at some point in the past, and is now overlain by a field wall.	338840, 1028500
RR15	Bronze Dagger	2187	Findspot	Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Bronze dagger with a horn handle recovered in this general area during peat-cutting in 1905.	339190, 1028980

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR16	Burnt Mound and Structure	2188	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Erosion in 2009 exposed burnt mound materials, prompting investigation of the site. The exposed deposits were found underneath a soft cliff of deep agricultural soil. Layer of burnt stones placed on and around a low rise of the natural glacial till, covering peat deposits next to the rise. It is believed that the location of the burnt mound had likely been a marsh or a bog at time of deposition. The burnt stones were also associated with a structure, and indeterminate building fragments were also discovered associated with paving leading to the beach.	339420, 1027980
RR17	Mound	2190	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Small overgrown stony mound 2.5m in diameter and 0.4m high identified by RCAHMS in 1982. Several other possible mounds were observed nearby, but it is noted that the terrace these mound are situated on has been disturbed by old cultivation. The identified mound could not be found during a later visit in 1994.	338650, 1029550
RR18	Crow Hamar Enclosure	2191	Agricultural?	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Substantial enclosure on the slopes of a hill - ~7m across, formed of a bank approx. 1m wide and 0.3m high. Lamb suggests that it may be a quoy (livestock enclosure), but does not discount that it may be associated with a prehistoric structure.	339560, 1028730

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR19	Norse Grave (possible)	2197	Monument?	Viking	Viking	-	N/A	This area is marked in the entry as the site of a Viking burial of a woman and infant discovered in 1963, associated with two bronze tortoise brooches dated to 800-850AD, a silver Celtic brooch of Irish design dated to 750AD and a decorative bronze-gilt panel believed to have been a book cover or part of a reliquary, alongside other grave goods. However, the entry for the cemetery on Moa Ness (CID 2204) suggests that this grave was actually discovered on the promontory and is therefore associated with the cemetery. This is backed up by NKB, who visited the site on behalf of the OS in 1967 - the site of the grave, which had been marked by the land owner, was pointed out by the original finder of the remains. The recorded coordinates place the grave on the Moa Ness promontory. This point in the Canmore database appears to be erroneous.	338190, 1028910
RR20	Knowe of Lairo	2203	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	Y	Named monument, robbed in antiquity	An Orkney-Cromarty type long horned cairn, on the edge of a terrace on the SW side of Sinclair's Hill, overlooked by the Knowe of Ramsay. About 54.8m long, ~22m broad on the eastern extent to 9.7m broad to the west, oriented WNW-ESE, and varying in height from 4.9 m in the ESE end to 1.2m in the WNW end. Entered from the ESE. Excavated in 1936 by Grant, who used cement to consolidate parts of the chamber. Had been robbed extensively in antiquity to the north and west. Finds included human remains, pottery sherds and a stone axe.	339900, 1027960
RR21	Moaness Pictish Cemetery	2204	Monument	Iron Age to Pictish	Iron Age	Y	Cemetery reused for Viking burials. Viking Age boat naust placed on south site of the peninsula.	Several Pictish inhumations discovered here during excavations of the Viking Age cemetery. Likely associated with the settlement at Swandro (CID 2169). None of the Pictish graves had been cut by the later Viking inhumations, indicating that some form of grave markings were in place.	337600, 1029290

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR22	Moaness Viking Cemetery	2204	Monument	Viking	Viking	-	N/A	Investigated since 1963, major excavation associated with excavations at Westness (CID 2167) uncovered multiple Viking Age graves featuring a variety of designs and grave goods.	337600, 1029300
RR23	Midhowe Cairn	2274	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	Y	Possibly referenced in local toponym, multiple structural additions and modifications made at a later date, close to the Iron Age settlement at Midhowe Broch	An Orkney-Cromarty type stalled chambered cairn, excavated from 1932-1934. Before excavation, it was visible as a low grassy mound with a number of orthostats projecting from the top. The cairn is ~32.5m NW-SE, ~13m wide. Entrance passage was to the SE of the cairn - this was blocked on both ends with masonry, with the blockage on the outside being flush with the outer wall face. Secondary occupation in the form of appended structures and the excavation and construction of a new passage into the chamber was discovered over the course of excavation. These structures included a cist-like tank. Additionally, two walls were found joining the N and E corners of the cairn, with an average width of ~1.4m and 1.2m high. The foundations for these walls are below the base of the cairn, and construction did not disturb the cairn where the walls abut it. It is unclear when these walls were built, or what they would have been used for. Finds include Unstan type pottery sherds.	337230, 1030490

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR24	South Howe Broch	2275	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	Y	Named feature, site reused by at least Norse settlement	The settlement mound of South Howe, also locally known as 'Brough', consists of the eroded remains of a broch overlain by structures believed to be Late Norse in date, which were used as the dumping site for kitchen waste by the inhabitants of a nearby farmstead (CID 351515) in the 19th century. Structural remains visible in the erosion interface in 1972 were identified as the west arc of a broch tower with an associated gallery. Several further dry built structures have been identified north of the broch, presumed by AA to be part of a secondary settlement. Some finds have been recovered, including an Iron Age long handled bone comb and a pottery sherd of unclear date. The broch was subject to limited evaluatory excavation to assess erosion risk in 2010 - this uncovered further structural remains associated with the broch, as well as a boundary ditch of unclear prehistoric date believed to be associated with pastoral land division.	337270, 1030370
RR25	North Howe Broch	2276	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	Y	Referenced in local toponym. Robbed, later structures built on top of broch mound.	Canmore Id 2276 The remains of a probable broch in the form of a grassy mound ~17m in diameter and 2.5m high. Traces of the NW outer wall face were visible in 1972, and uneven ground associated with the mound is believed to indicate secondary settlement similar to that seen at Midhowe (CID 2286). Has been robbed in places to build nearby dykes, as well as several standing drystone structures that sit on top of the mound (CID 182078). A zoomorphic penannular brooch and pieces of a bronze chain were discovered during ploughing nearby at an unclear date - these were donated to the NMAS by W G Grant in 1939. Beyond these observations, the mound has not been formally investigated.	337050, 1030730

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR26	Bretta Ness	2277	Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	Y	Reused for site of Norse chapel.	The promontory here is known as 'Bretta Ness', found in 1984 to be mostly artificial. Much of its current landmass is made up of settlement remains, overlying a masonry platform set on a now underwater mound of rubble. The earliest structural evidence were substantial curving drystone walls on the west end of the settlement mound, believed to be associated with the primary use of the site. A number of secondary corbelled cellular buildings were found - these had been built on by later structures, of indeterminate form because of severe robbing. One of these buildings was repurposed for the site of a kiln, with enough surviving that its flagged floor and wall were able to be observed. Finds included Iron Age and Pictish pottery, iron slag, bone pins, whalebone implements, crucibles and the fragment of a mould. This indicates a substantial Iron Age settlement, similar to that at the Knowe of Swandro (CID 2169)	339750, 1033240
RR27	Bretta Ness Chapel	2277	Ecclesiastical	Norse	Historic	Y	Reuses site of Iron Age settlement.	Little remains of this chapel. It is believed to have been dedicated to either St. Britta, St. Bridget or St. Bride based on the toponym of the promontory. Excavations in 1984 found a line of wall-fittings oriented E-W associated with rubble and lime plaster.	339750, 1033240

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR28	The Burrian	2278	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	Y?	Named feature, 'Burrian' probably from ON 'borg' = fort. Artificial islet and site of broch possibly reused for site of later chapel.	Site of an artificial, or artificially augmented, islet in the loch of Wasbister. The 'Name Book', dated 1880, mentions an island connected to the mainland via stepping stones hosting an 'ancient chapel' possibly occupying the site of an earlier building based on the discovery of antler, bone and coins. A visit in 1928 found no structural remains, but RCAHMS notes that the name 'Burrian', and the associated causeway indicate a possible broch. Another visit in 1972 found indications of the outer face of a wall on the periphery of the islet - this has otherwise been completely destroyed The loch was dived in 2004, showing that the edge of the islet is made up of a large number of stone slabs (CID 273917). It is believed that many of these slabs were originally part of a revetment wall enclosing the islet. Aerial photographs additionally indicated possible features associated with the previous shoreline where it is met by the causeway, but these were not investigated as they were only noticed after the investigation.	339490, 1033390
RR29	Corse Kirk	2279	Ecclesiastical	Norse	Historic	-	N/A	Record of a chapel with an associated graveyard here. The graveyard was still in use as of 1972, seemingly the only trace of the chapel is an area of higher ground in the N section of the graveyard, associated with the oldest extant gravestones	339490, 1033620

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR30	Knowe of Dale	2280	Monument?	Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	I	Named feature	Overgrown grassy mound. Described by RCAHMS in 1946, after a 1928 visit prior to its excavation by W G Grant. Its dimensions were 21.3 NW-SE, 18.3m NE-SW, with a varying height of 1.4m to the NW and 2.3m to the SE. The 1946 entry claims that the mound has had much of its southwest side removed, presumed to be due to agricultural processes, but an entry in 1972 describes it as a crescentic burnt mound open to the west. There are several other crescentic burnt mounds on Rousay, so it is not implausible that RCAHMS was mistaken here. The excavation by Grant partially uncovered a cist. Nothing is recorded as having been found within.	337420, 1032170
RR31	St Mary's Church	2281	Ecclesiastical	Norse	Historic	-	N/A	The standing church is 18th century in date - now in ruin. Believed by Lamb to have been built on medieval foundations - but these foundations have not been dated. However, when surveyed as part of the Skaill Farm Survey, surveyors found signs visible in the fabric of the church suggesting an earlier small chapel or chancel in its east end. Its proximity to the Norse period farmstead is notable.	337360, 1030170
RR32	The Wirk	2282	Settlement	Viking/Norse?	Historic	-	N/A	Described as a small stone tower and stone-built hall (only the tower remains standing), believed to be a multi-period dwelling dating at some point between the 11th and 13th centuries. Noted similarities to Cubbie Roo's Castle (CID 2665) means that an origin in the 12th century seems most likely. Associated with the chieftain Sigurd of Westness, it is believed that either Sigurd himself, or an heir or successor built the structure. It is possible that the structure overlies earlier deposits. The site was excavated in 1931 by Clouston, who believed the attached hall was the remains of a church - this appears to have been appended at a later date, no earlier than the 16th century. Now associated with St. Mary's Kirk (CID 2281)	337380, 1030190

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR33	Midhowe Broch	2286	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	I	Referenced in local toponym	Originally a grassy mound with stone visible measuring about 5.5m high. Excavated between 1930 and 1933, found to contain the remains of a broch village. The village was built on a small promontory here, which is natural bounded to the NW and SE by two geos. The tower is in the centre of the promontory and is about 13.6m across including the walls, which are ~4.6m thick. The settlement is relatively well preserved, and at least two distinct periods of construction were observed, including reinforcement of the N section of the tower wall with a buttress. This appears to have been associated with a restructuring of the broch interior. A cup- and ring-marked stone was discovered incorporated into the fabric of the tower on its NE side - a cup-marked stone was also discovered in a later outbuilding. Evidence for iron and bronze smelting were discovered onsite, and multiple finds were recovered, including stone, bone and bronze implements as well as Roman potsherds and pieces of a Roman patera. A stone axe and flint implements were found in the field above the broch, suggesting possible Neolithic use of the site predating the broch tower. As far as I can ascertain, no evidence was recovered for settlement continuity into the Pictish period, or reuse by the Vikings.	337170, 1030590
RR34	Too of Nugle	2287	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	Y	Possibly opened in antiquity, robbed.	Rounded cairn placed in highly visible spot on ridge between the farmsteads of Moan and Innister. Fabric is gravel, measures 12m E-W, 10.5m N-S and 0.8m high. 1933 visit noted several large slabs on the cairn that may have formed a cist at one point. 2013 visit noted a hollow in the centre of about 5m in diameter, believed to either be from an earlier, unrecorded investigation, or from robbing for material for a nearby marker cairn.	338200, 1033540

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR35	Knapknowes Barrow	2288	Monument	Bronze Age	Prehistoric	I	Referenced in local toponym	One of three associated burial mounds - the other two are marked together separately due to their distance from this mound (approx. 57m S of this mound). All three mounds were excavated in 1936 by W G Grant - this mound was 4.9m in diameter and survived to a height of 0.6m. It covered an upright cinerary urn that had been placed in a stone setting - this urn contained cremated bones and 'cramp'. The mound lies outside the remains of a field boundary associated with Knapknowes farmstead (CID 182040).	337250, 1031510
RR36	Knapknowes Barrows	2288	Monument	Bronze Age	Prehistoric	Y	Enclosed within the immediate bounds of Knapknowes Farmstead, which is probably named for the mounds.	An associated group of three mostly earthen barrows - the northernmost barrow is listed separately in this corpus due to its distance from the other two barrows. All three were excavated in 1936 by W G Grant. The southernmost mound was approx. 6.4m in diameter and 0.6m high, covering a cist that contained cremated bone, 'cramp' and pieces of flint. The second mound, a few metres NE of the first, is crossed by a substantial later drystone dyke. It measured 5.5m in diameter and 0.7m in height, and covered two cists. One of these cists was central, the location of the other is undescribed; both cists contained cremated bone and 'cramp'. The second cist contained a pebble with grinding facets. Both of these burial mounds were enclosed within the bounds of the farmstead of Knapknowes (CID 182040), which appears to have been named for the mounds judging by the toponym.	337240, 1031450

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR37	Knowe of Lingro	2289	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	Y	Named feature, seemingly opened and robbed in antiquity	An Orkney-Cromarty type stalled cairn, rectangular in shape with rounded corners. Measures 21m E-W by 12.2m N-S, 1.5m high. Edge is well defined, cairn material is missing on the south side. The top has been removed, a few upright slabs visible in the centre - clearly divisional slabs.	339640, 1032380
RR38	Burnt Mound (possible)	2292	Monument?	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	A shapeless mound approx. 17.5m NE-SW by 13m NW-SE, 0.8m in height, sitting on the side of a burn. It appears to have been identified as a burnt mound due to its association with the water course, as Lamb notes that only unburnt earth has been exposed in rabbit scrapes.	337050, 1030970
RR39	Mounds	2293	Monument	Bronze Age	Prehistoric	Y	One mound opened in antiquity	Two mounds, about 27m apart, both excavated in 1936 by W G Grant. The southern mound was badly spread at time of excavation so its diameter could not be recorded. It was 0.6m high, and covered a cist containing cremated bone and 'cramp'. The northern mound was found to have been previously opened prior to Grant's excavation. It was approximately 8m in diameter, and covered a central cist containing cremated bones, a flint scraper and pottery sherds.	337320, 1031640
RR40	Whoom Cairn	2294	Monument	Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	-	N/A	This cairn sits in boggy ground at the head of a hillside valley and is associated with two mostly earthen mounds to the north. All three of these features were excavated by W G Grant in 1936 - the cairn was found to be approximately 5.5m in diameter and 0.3m in height. It covered a cist which contained a steatite urn, three other steatite artefacts believed by Grant to be amulets, and 'cramp'. The cist is apparently now waterlogged. The mounds are named for a nearby farmstead (CID 182080)	337060, 1031210

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR41	Sandy Holes Barrows	2295	Monument	Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	A pair of (mostly) earthen mounds sitting on a ridge known as 'Sandy Holes' were excavated by W G Grant in 1936. The northern mound was apparently badly spread, but survived to approx. 0.6m in height. It covered three cists - a large central cist in the centre - one smaller cist had been built on to its NE side, and NW of this cist was another 'ruined' cist. The later cists contained cremated bone and 'cramp' - it is unclear if anything was found in the central cist. The southern mound's dimensions prior to excavation are undescribed, but this mound also covered a cist containing burnt bone and 'cramp'. Survey for the Orkney Barrows project describes the northern mound as being 6.3m x6.m with a height of 0.5m and featuring a possible kerb, and the southern mound as being bowl shaped with a diameter of 3m and a height of 0.3m.	336620, 1031230
RR42	Scabra Head Mound	2296	Monument	Bronze Age?	Prehistoric?	Y?	Missing cist capstone may indicate opening of mound in antiquity, though the cist may have always lacked a capstone	This mound (height unclear, but marked by a circular kerb approx. ~5.5m in diameter) was cleared away during excavation by W G Grant in 1937. A central cist containing 'cramp' and burn bones was discovered inside - this was apparently missing its capstone.	336500, 1031190
RR43	Knowe of Gorn	2297	Monument?	Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	I	Named feature	A burnt mound on the bank of an artificially modified stream, approx. 14m x 15m, 1.6m high. Approx. 55m from the ruins of Gorm farmstead.	338690, 1033410
RR44	Mound	2298	Monument	Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	A mostly earthen mound sitting on a low rocky hill, 6.4m in diameter and 0.6m in height before excavation by W G Grant in 1936. Excavation uncovered a cist containing the cremated remains of two adults and a child as well as 'cramp'.	337160, 1032590
RR45	Mound	2299	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	A mound, 7.5m in diameter (height not described) observed by AA visiting on behalf of the OS in 1972. Lamb, visiting in 1980, was unable to locate this cairn, but believes that this is due to slight differences in grid references preceding the OS 1:10,000 map.	337440, 1031830

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR46	Mound	2300	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	I	Associated with nearby crofting farmstead.	A mound, just east of the farmstead of Mid Quandale (CID 182045) (strangely described as being N of the farmstead by Lamb) 5m in diameter and 0.6m high Observed by AA visiting on behalf of the OS in 1972. Unlike many of the other mounds present within the Quandale area, it appears to have been left unexcavated by W G Grant.	337340, 1031970
RR47	Mound (possible)	2301	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	A grass-grown mound approx. 6m in diameter with projecting stones on the NW slope of Mansemas Hill. The nature of this mound is unclear - both JD, writing for the Orkney Barrows Project in 1994, and JRS, writing on behalf of RCAHMS in 2015, suggest that this mound marks the remains of a dwelling structure.	337660, 1031290
RR48	Mounds	2302	Monument	Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	-	N/A	A line of four grass-grown mounds, each about 15m apart. Curves northwards from the most south-western feature, which has been identified as a square turf-walled structure enclosed within a square enclosure. The nature of this feature is unclear, but it is believed to be broadly contemporary with the three mounds to its north. The northernmost cairn is overlain by the massive drystone dyke that divides this part of Rousay. Lamb speculates that, due to the uneven nature of the ground in the area, there may be more unidentified features associated with the mounds. JD, visiting on behalf of the Orkney Barrows project in 1994, describes all four mounds as bowl-shaped, counter to the description of the square-shaped structure reported in 1972. This discrepancy is not addressed in the entry. The largest mound is described as being 10m by 7m, with a height of 0.4m	336970, 1031520
RR49	Quoy Geo Enclosure	2304	Agricultural?	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Associated with the major linear feature (Canmore 2305)	338260, 1034830

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR50	Sacquoy Head Dyke	2305	Land Division	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Between two geos on the west and east sides of Sacquoy Head stretches a major linear earthwork, effectively enclosing the entire headland. Close to the west end, and associated with a number of enclosures (CID 2304), the dyke is made up of boulders - further inland, it transitions into a prominent grassy bank. The entire length is considered to be of considerable stone construction - separating it from 'treb dykes' seen elsewhere in Rousay, which are generally made of turf and soil (see CID 2729). The land division does not conform to modern patterns, and Lamb believes it to be quite ancient - likely prehistoric.	338500, 1034620
RR51	Mound	2306	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Circular mound on the down-slope edge of a terrace on the SW slope of Mansemas Hill. Approx. 5m in diameter and 0.4m high. This mound was not located during the Orkney Barrows Project survey in 1994.	337690, 1030740
RR52	Mound	2307	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Earthen mound sat on a terrace on the SW slope of Mansemas Hill. 7m by 6m, 0.9m high according to Lamb, survey as part of the Orkney Barrows Project provides different measurements for some reason. Some earthfast stones protrude from the centre.	337820, 1030710
RR53	Cogar Mound	2308	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Circular mound of stones, 8.5m in diameter and 0.7m high. Visit by RCAHMS in 1933 highlighted it as being made up of burnt stones, but subsequent visits found no trace of burnt material or any record of such being found. As such, it is believed to be a burial mound.	339430, 1032720

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR54	Mounds	2309	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	Y	At least two have been opened in antiquity	A line of four circular mounds spaced on the edge of a terrace immediately SW of the summit of Ward Hill. Lamb suggests that they are burial mounds From the NNW: A neatly circular, sharp edged mound measuring 2m in diameter and 0.4m in height. Another neatly circular, sharp edged mound, 2.5m in diameter and 05m high. A neatly circular mound, 3m in diameter and 0.6m high which has had its centre hollowed out, several large orthostats around periphery of centre. An amorphous mound, described as larger but without description of dimensions. Has also had its centre hollowed out, revealing several earthfast but leaning slabs. Coordinates given by JD in the site entry are imprecise - three of the mounds are referred to with the same coordinates.	338270, 1030020
RR55	Moan Standing Stone	2310	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Earthfast slab, 1.55m long, 0.35m thick, 0.65m high), seemingly broken. Lamb believes is the stub of a standing stone	338080, 1033460
RR56	Burnt Mound	2311	Monument?	Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Grass-grown mound of earth and burnt stones, situated next to a burn. Approx. 9m NW-SE, 7m NE-SW, 1.5m high.	336890, 1030750
RR57	Cairn (possible)	2312	Monument?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Elongated mound, approx. 6m by 3m and 0.8m high, lying along the ridge of a promontory in the cliffs here. The mound consists of flat slabs and is associated with a rectangular feature made of large edge-set slabs. The ridge on which the mound sits continues inland as the edge of a terrace, believed to have possibly been used as a land division.	336840, 1030760

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR58	Tafts Farmstead	2313	Settlement	Post-Medieval	Historic	-	N/A	The house at Tafts is believed to have been of some importance in Quandale prior to its clearance in 1845. It is documented back to 1601, and is believed to be the oldest two-storeyed house in the Orkney Isles. It features several architectural features generally associated with upper class residences, but it is also very small for such a residence. A walled central passageway is additionally seen as a defensive feature. RCAHMS notes that the term 'taft' simply refers to a house and its immediate associated features, indicating that there was a dwelling here predating the rest of the crofting township of Quandale.	337310, 1032550
RR59	Treb Dyke	2314	Land Division	Uncertain	Prehistoric	I?	Possibly related to local place name.	Prehistoric earthen bank, 4m wide and up to 0.4m in height - runs N-S, down a valley to the sea to the north, and disappearing into cultivation on the south. Lamb noted a nearby place name - 'Stennisgorn', as possibly being connected.	339650, 1034650
RR60	Burnt Mound	2316	Monument?	Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Close to Quoylonga Ness is a crescentic burnt mound, open to the SE. 18.5m NE-SW, 13m NW-SE, 1.2m high. Opened at an unclear date, reported to consist of burnt stones packed around masonry and edge-set slabs by RCAHMS in 1946 after a visit in 1928. A visit by AA on behalf of the OS in 1972 found no trace of the structural features recorded by RCAHMS	336470, 1031990
RR61	The Bleaching Knowe	2317	Monument?	Uncertain	Prehistoric	I	Named feature	The remains of a burnt mound sitting on the side of the Loch of Wasbister. It is associated with a number of features described as 'cist-like boxes' formed of edge-set slabs close to the water-though these were apparently not visible during a 1982 visit.	339570, 1033160

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR62	Burnt Mound	2318	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Described as a burnt mound by RCAHMS after a visit in 1928. Partially excavated by W G Grant at an uncertain date. Prior to excavation, it was ~15m in diameter and 1m high. Excavation focused on the centre, and revealed a rectangular structure consisting of upright slabs and drystone walling. This structure featured a raised fireplace and a roofed rectangular cell on the NW side. It was entered through a passage on the SSW side. Possible that fragments of a pottery vessel held by the NMAS were recovered from the floor of this structure. Seems rather unusual - how often have burnt mounds been found to cover structures like this? What was the date of the original structure? Unfortunately, it has been little investigated or discussed since the original excavations.	336830, 1031910
RR63	Burnt Mound	2319	Monument?	Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	Y	Robbed	A crescentic burnt mound, open to the SW and 16m NW-SE by 12m NE-SW, 1m high. A 1946 entry from RCAHMS records two almost adjoining burnt mounds here, but AA, visiting on behalf of the OS, believes that this is due to robbing on its NE arc, giving the impression of two mounds. Another, smaller mound 4m in diameter was found 10m to the south, but it is unclear if this is a burnt mound or another feature.	337130, 1032490
RR64	Knowe of Hamar	2320	Monument?	Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	Y?	Named feature, possibly opened in antiquity?	A crescent-shaped burnt mound on the bank of an artificially altered stream, 14m NE-SW, 13m NW-SE, 1.5m high, open to the NW. Depression in the northern flank contains a possibly in-situ edge-set slab. Approx. 40m NE of the ruins of Hamar farm.	338940, 1033510

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR65	Knowe of Yarso	2623	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	I	Named monument	An Orkney-Cromarty stalled cairn, sitting on the edge of a hillside shelf. Prior to 1934 excavations, the mound was low and overgrown with some protruding slabs. The cairn is oriented WNW-ESE, 15.2m by 7.8m, with a maximum height of surviving masonry to 1.8m. The passage is open to the ESE, and contained the remains of at least 29 people, as well as bones from deer, sheep and a dog. Finds also included pottery sherds from food-vessels and beaker pottery, arrowheads, flint implements and bone tools. The types of finds found were believed to be associated with animal pelt processing. The cairn is now covered by a modern concrete roof.	340470, 1027940
RR66	Mound	2624	Monument	Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Prior site of a grassy earthen mound, 1.37m high, exposed slabs of stone visible through turf before excavation. Excavated in 1933 by Grant discovered a symmetrical wall of coursed slabs enclosing a circular space containing three cists. The central cist was two-tiered and contained cremated human bones and a pottery sherd, another had cremated human bones, burned material and the fragments of a steatite urn (some of which were found outside the cist), and the last apparently only contained soil. Outside the perimeter of the mound, a fourth cist was found filled with burnt material, presumed to be a fire-box instead of a burial cist. The mound was apparently restored after excavation, and was recorded in a 1994 visit as being 7m in diameter and 0.6m high. Possibly associated with a quartz arrowhead (CID 2631)	342450, 1027410

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR67	Knarston Burial Ground and Chapel (possible)	2625	Ecclesiastical?	Norse/Post-Medieval	Historic	Y	Reuses site of prehistoric settlement mound.	Name book says this was formerly site of chapel, but 1972 survey found no evidence of this. The burial ground, now disused, occupies the south side of a platform that continues northwards into the settlement mound (CID 2626).	344640, 1029270
RR68	Knarston Mound	2626	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric	Y	Location reused for later burial ground, possibly also a chapel	Large, amorphous, grass-covered mound that has been truncated by coastal erosion. Structural fragments visible eroding from the eastern side of the mound. Lamb, visiting in 1980, believes the site is too small to contain a broch, but is probably a settlement site of some form. A burial ground, and possibly a chapel (CID 2625), were placed in association with this mound.	344630, 1029290
RR69	Knowe of Burrian	2627	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	Y	Named feature ('knowe' = mound, 'burrian' probably from ON 'borg', for fort). Robbed, associated with nearby boat nausts.	A much eroded and robbed overgrown mound. Isolated masonry fragments visible on the shore in 1928 identify the site as a broch. The remains are confused enough that the dimensions of the broch are indeterminable. The northern arc of the walls is visible as a 2m high overgrown mound. The full height of the mound is approx. 3m. Associated with a number of nausts built on the W and E sides, likely built using material robbed from the broch. Possibility of outer bank beyond a naust to the west.	340060, 1027440
RR70	Knowe of Hunclett	2629	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	Y	Named feature, robbed for material for local farmstead	A sizeable overgrown mound and associated platform delimited by a ditch to the west. The mound is approximately 3m high and is unexcavated. Visible stonework in the form of the inner face of a curving wall suggests that this is very likely a broch tower. The internal diameter of the mound is believed to be 9-10m with 3-3.6m walls. Exposed masonry in the surrounding platform suggests adjoining outbuildings, meaning that this is likely a broch village similar to the Midhowe Broch (2286) and the Broch of Gurness (CID 2201). A slight hollow in the top of the mound suggests a possible robbing episode, likely for material for the nearby farmstead (CID 182329).	341450, 1027210

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR71	Geord of Nears	2630	Monument	Viking?	Viking	-	N/A	Site of a small cairn, approx. 7.6m in diameter with a double setting of standing stones oriented N-S. The inner group of settings was 3m by 1.5m, some stones protruding 1-1.2m out of the turf and others only just visible. The description of the second setting is a little difficult to parse, but it seems as if it stood between 1.2-1.8m apart from the inner setting. Two stones on the northern arc of this setting are recorded as being 0.7 and 1m above the ground, the settings on the east and west sides protruded only 5-7cm. It is ambiguous if these were true stone settings, or the remains of a chambered cairn. The inner 'setting' was excavated in 1932 by W G Grant. A small cist was discovered towards its north end, which contained cremated human remains in two large steatite urns. Grant suggested a Bronze age date, but also noted the insertion of cists into the broch mound at Oxtro and suggested that the urns may have been Norse in origin, arguing for later reuse of a prehistoric monument. ISS suggests that this may have been a Viking burial mound. Unfortunately, the original plan of the mound is now indiscernible - only a slight mound and some erect slabs remained visible in a 1980 visit.	342350, 1027380
RR72	Knitchen Hill Cairn	2632	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Near the summit of Knitchen Hill is a cairn, 12.5m in diameter and 2m high, which has been robbed on its south side for the stones of a modern cairn at the summit of the hill.	342960, 1028800

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR73	Taversoe Tuick	2634	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	I	Named feature - Tuick is anglicised from 'Tooack', local word for cairn. Taversoe more unclear, but contains fragment stemming from ON 'haugr', for mound.	An Orkney-Cromarty Bookan-type cairn on the southern slope of Knitchen Hill. The cairn has a diameter of ~9.1m, and it is surrounded by a platform of loose flat stones. Consists of two chambers, one on top of the other, each with their own entrance passage. The upper chamber was entered from the north and is divided into two compartments - when excavated, three cists were found built on a layer of earth in the west chamber. The lower chamber was entered from the south through a narrow passage, and is roughly oval, oriented E-W. It is divided into four compartments by five slabs, accessed from a central space. The cairn is additionally associated with a miniature chamber, immediately to the SSW of the main cairn. It is roughly oval, 1.5m SW-NE, 1.3m SE-NW. Finds included several skeletons, cremated bone, complete and fragmented Unstan Bowls, a Neolithic mace-head, a flint arrowhead, scrapers and disc beads. Identified as a chambered cairn in 1898 after the upper chamber was accidentally exposed. Investigated in that year, then completely excavated in 1937. The cairn is now covered by a modern concrete dome.	342580, 1027600

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR74	Knowe of Ramsay	2637	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	Y	Named monument, later structural additions and insertions.	An Orkney-Cromarty stalled cairn, sat on a natural hillside terrace on the SW face of Sinclair's Hill. Previously robbed and disturbed before an excavation in 1935. Oriented NW-SE, 31.4m by 7.3m Possible evidence for reuse of the cairn included a block of masonry against the west wall of the NW end (though this may have been the beginnings of an outer casing to the chamber), a wall abutting the SE end of the cairn from the east, and a cist inserted into one of the compartments. Finds included pottery sherds, a scraper, pieces of flint, heavily degraded human bones, and animal bones of various species.	340030, 1028000
RR75	Cubbie Roo's Burden	2638	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	Y	Opened in antiquity. Associated with later historic figure.	An Orkney-Cromarty type round cairn on the SE slop of Knitchen Hill. Circular in shape, 15.8 in diameter, 1.2m high. The middle of the cairn has been dug into, exposing the tops of five upright stones, the divisional and backing slabs of the interior chamber. The outer extent of the chamber and the entrance passage have not yet been traced. This prehistoric monument is associated with the historical Norse figure, Kolbein Hruga, who is also associated with the settlement and keep on Wyre (CID 289895, CID 2665). It is unclear if this is because Hruga owned the land in which the cairn stands, or due to some other unrecorded association.	343930, 1028000

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR76	Souterrain	2642	Souterrain	Iron Age?	Iron Age	-	N/A	Discovered during agricultural processes in 1937. Passage and chamber dug into the clay and roofed with slabs. The floor and sides of the passage were left bare, but the passage contained upright slabs and a masonry pillar as supports for the roof. The passage and chamber both had a max height of 0.83m, and the passage had a width of 0.96m. The chamber was 2.7m by 0.9-1.5m. A number of stone implements and pottery sherds were discovered and donated to the NMAS. The souterrain has since been covered over. The location of the marker is centred on an area indicated by the farmer of Tratland in 1972.	340530, 1027230
RR77	Blackhammer Cairn	2645	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	Y	Opened and robbed in antiquity, insertion of structural features into chamber.	An Orkney-Cromarty type stalled cairn, sat on a shelf on the lower slopes of Green Hill. 22.1m ESE-WNW, 8.2m NNW-SSE, facing wall surviving to a height of ~1m. Excavated in 1936, though the cairn had been much robbed and disturbed beforehand. Entrance was from the south, and was found to have been blocked by masonry, the outer face of which was flush with the outer wall of the cairn. Two masses of rough masonry were inserted into the chamber at an unknown date, an episode of reuse associated with the removal of some divisional stones and modification of others. Finds included the fragmentary skeletal remains of two adult males, a large number of animal bones (predominantly sheep) and pottery sherds, a bone pin, a flint knife and a polished stone axe. The cairn is now covered by a modern concrete roof.	341420, 1027610
RR78	Knowe of Oro	2646	Monument?	Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	I	Named feature	The denuded remains of a crescent-shaped burnt mound, possibly associated with the flint scatter at CID 133339. Measures 18m NE-SW, 13m NW-SE, 1.8m in height, and open to the SW.	344400, 1029500
RR79	Burnt Mound	2647	Monument	Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Overgrown mound of burnt stones, ~24m NE-SW, ~10m NW-SE, 1.5m high.	344700, 1028910

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR80	Mound	2648	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Site of an overgrown mound, purportedly levelled in the 1910s and the current rectangular building built in its place. Apparently covered a cist containing burnt bones.	343940, 1029250
RR81	Shingly Hill Cairn	2649	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	Y	Opened and robbed in antiquity	Robbed cairn, 7.5m in diameter and modern height of 0.5m. The centre has been dug into, exposing an edge-set slab that appears to have been part of a cist. The summit of this cairn is covered by a collapsed modern cairn.	343830, 1028190
RR82	Mounds	2653	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	Y?	One mound possibly used for material to build planticrub?	A group of four to six mounds in this area. The largest definite mound is 7m in diameter and 0.8m high - its closest neighbour is 5m in diameter and 0.6m high. Across a peat track to the NW is a pair of smaller mounds, 2m in diameter and 0.4m high. E of the largest mound is a broader mound that has been damaged by the peat track. RGL records a square 'kro' (probably planticrub) east of this damaged mound, suggesting that this may have been built on the site of another mound.	341520, 1027860
RR83	Kingarly Mound	2654	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Grassy earthen mound set in heather on NE slope of Knitchen Hill. Visit in 1980 by RGL suggested that it may be the remains of a burial mound.	343440, 1029770
RR84	Mounds	2655	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	A collection of five mounds was observed here by Lamb in 1980. Due to the hummocky nature of the surrounding terrain, it is possible that there are further mounds in the area. The largest mound is oval in shape, 7m NW-SE, 3m NE-SW and 0.5m high, consisting mostly of earth with some stones. Identified as likely burial mounds. Seven mounds were recorded by the Orkney Barrows Project, which noted that they are not particularly visible.	342420, 1028230
RR85	Cist	2657	Monument?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	RG Lamb observed two edge-set slabs set at right angles just showing above the grass here, presumed to be a buried cist.	340650, 1027620

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR86	Mound	2658	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Lamb described this as an 'indeterminate mound', overgrown and composed of earth and slabs. 5m in diameter, 0.4m high, associated with a possible earthwork - 3m long, 1m wide and 0.3m high.	340390, 1028070
RR87	Shielings	2661	Agricultural	Uncertain	Historic?	A	Judging solely from toponymic evidence, possibly a continually used shieling site named in reference to a no-longer-extant standing stone.	Described as the remains of a small hut, reduced to an amorphous spread of rubble in 1972. It has a local place name - the 'Styes of Steenie-Iron', and according to the Name Book of 1880, this was where pigs were sent to graze in the summer. Marwick, writing in 1937, made note of the toponym, believing it to be significant. Steenie - most likely refers to a standing stone in this area. Iron - not referring to the metal, may instead be an 'Old Celtic' borrow word. An place in Caithness is called Ásgrims-ærgin - Old Norse 'erg' from the Old Celtic 'airge', the word for what today would be called a shieling. Marwick notes that ærgin is likely a Norse neuter plural, with the definite article -in. Therefore, the Caithness name can be read as "The Shielings of Ásgrim. Steenie-Iron may therefore be "The Shielings by the Stone". Aergin (The Shielings) appears elsewhere in Orkney, at the farm of Arion near Stromness, and possibly as Airy elsewhere. If this interpretation is correct, Marwick believes that these names may be one of the few language elements pre-dating the Norse colonisation of the Isles	340780, 1029590
RR88	Naust	2663	Industrial?	Uncertain	Historic?	-	N/A	Overgrown, eroded remains of a naust of uncertain date, surviving to a length of 7m and width of 4m. Two more recent nausts to the SW	344530, 1029830

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR89	Peerie Water Structure	2666	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	An unusual structure indicated by stone settings, sitting in marshy ground south of Peerie Water. Oval in shape, formed from either a bank or a wall, interior diameter of ~6m. An entrance passage to the east of the structure is formed of three pairs of earthfast orthostats, with indications of a wall face between at least two of the piers on the north side of the passage. Two more orthostats flank the entrance and three others are spaced along the southern arc of the bank. It is difficult to determine the nature of this bank or wall due to peat growth, but it appears to be 2m in width. NKB describes the structure as a possible wheelhouse variant, suggesting that it is a domestic building. A survey in 1972 by ISS notes that the radial slabs seen in the interior of the structure are similar to those seen in hut circles at Dunnet Sands, Caithness. ISS also believes that the geometric gabling of the outer pair of slabs of the entrance is unique. Seemingly associated with a rectangular structure recorded on the 1st edition OS 6 inch map from 1882 (CID 182281)	340050, 1029250
RR90	Frotoft Long Stone	2667	Monument	Neolithic?	Prehistoric	-	N/A	The stone measures about 2.2m high, axis oriented NW-SE. The base is 0.76m wide by 0.3m thick, tapering to a width of less than 0.6m at the top. RCAHMS records a small indentation in its NW side approximately 1.5m above ground level. The stone was broken at an unknown date, but was cemented back together.	340400, 1027490
RR91	South Scockness Cairn	2698	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	Y	Hollow suggests opening or robbing in antiquity.	An overgrown hollowed stony mound, truncated on its N side. 12.5m E-W, 8m N-S. Despite prior claims of broch, site is too small. Lamb believes it is either a funerary cairn or the remains of settlement structure. Visit by MacKie in 2002 found no structural remains.	345250, 1032140

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR92	Scockness Chapel	2699	Ecclesiastical	Medieval	Historic	Y	Sits atop prehistoric settlement mound	The site of an old chapel, marked only by a 'vague hollow' in a now disused burial ground. Marwick noted that it was seen as a place for pregnant women to pray, suggesting that it may have been dedicated to Mary. The burial ground sits on top of a prehistoric settlement mound (CID 307021) Gibbon believes that this chapel was established after an estate encompassing Egilsay and the east coast of Rousay was divided, leaving the east coast of Rousay without a chapel.	345250, 1032540
RR93	Yatenes Standing Stone	2705	Monument	Neolithic?	Prehistoric	I	Named monument, associated with local legend.	Large sandstone block, quarried from nearby bank. 2.1m high, 1.6m x 0.6m. Points northwards. Associated with local folklore, in that it is actually a petrified giant who awakens each New Year's day, immediately after midnight, and goes to drink from the Loch of Scockness.	344700, 1032700
RR94	Kirk of St. Colm	2706	Ecclesiastical	Pictish/Norse?	Transitional?	-	N/A	Apparently the site of a church dedicated to Saint Columba. Could be significant, due to the saint's importance to early medieval Scottish Christianity. Unfortunately, very small amount of evidence remains visible due to dumping of rubble for erosion management.	340550, 1033060
RR95	Bigland Long Cairn	2708	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	Y	Modified in prehistory, opened and robbed in antiquity	An Orkney-Cromarty stalled cairn, set at the bottom of a valley. Much robbed and disturbed - current measurements are ~24.4m NW-SE, ~12.2m NE-SW, ~0.9m high. Some stones project through the turf, believed to be the back and divisional stones of a pair of chambers. The construction of these chambers indicates some level of reuse of the monument, as the larger chamber is oriented along the main axis of the cairn, whereas the smaller chamber is aligned ESE-WNW and blocks the entrance to the larger chamber. A leaf-shaped arrowhead discovered near the cairn was donated to NMAS in 1935 (CID 2710)	343540, 1032140

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR96	Bigland Round	2709	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	Y?	Possibly robbed in antiquity	An Orkney-Cromarty type tripartite round cairn sitting on the edge of a low terrace on the SW slop of Faraclett Head. Excavated by Grant in 1938. Mostly circular, diameter of approx. 11.7m, outer wall masonry found standing to 0.76m high. Excavation found that the entrance passage had been blocked by masonry at some point. No evidence found of a roof - possibly removed in antiquity. A hollow dug into the subsoil was found outside the south side of the cairn - it was bottomed by clay and full of peaty ash. Find included pottery sherds, a flint scraper and two flint chips.	343820, 1032500
RR97	Mansie's Knowes	2713	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	I	Named monuments	A collection of five stony mounds previously existed in this area, now mostly destroyed due to excavations in ~1880 and subsequent agricultural processes. The largest was ~15.2m in diameter and ~1.7m high (though it had apparently been taller in living memory), with a central cist measuring 0.76m x 0.6m x 0.45m. This cist contained ashy clay and bone fragments, surrounding a single urn also filled with a mixture of ash and bone fragments. The other mounds contained similar cists containing bone fragments but no urns. Two of the mounds were still visible in 1980, and another large rounded knoll was recorded to the SE that may be associated with this mound group.	342120, 1031240
RR98	Kierfea Hill Cairn	2714	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Ruined Orkney-Cromarty type round cairn on the S slope of Kierfea Hill. About 8.2m in diameter, 1.5m high. Chamber oriented ESE-WNW. Finds include carinated bowls, sherds and a worked flint chip.	342420, 1031950

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR99	Knowe of Craie	2715	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	Y	Named monument, opened and robbed in antiquity	An Orkney-Cromarty type tripartite cairn standing within enclosed land. Had been opened and robbed in antiquity, subsequently excavated in 1941. Roughly circular, 11.5m NNE-SSW, 9.5m WNW-ESE. Chamber divided into three compartments by upright slabs. Finds included pottery sherds, two scrapers and some flint chips. Excavation found a small hollow in the cairn material near the entrance, containing ashes, burnt bone, flints and sherds.	341960, 1031520
RR100	Burnt Mound	2716	Monument?	Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	I	Named feature, though the name is likely not particularly old.	The site of a now destroyed burnt mound, which was recorded as being about 17m in diameter and ~0.8m high. It was apparently locally known as the 'Fairy Knowe'	343460, 1031120
RR101	Rinyo Neolithic Settlement	2717	Settlement	Neolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Excavated by Childe and Grant in 1938 and 1946. Similar to Skara Brae in construction. Finds included pot-sherds (including some beaker ware), flint implements, coarse stone axes, stone balls, a mace-head, a mortar, and several potlids. Magnetometry performed in 2010 found evidence for further settlement beyond the excavated area, with settlement evidence covering an area of 2000 square metres. Evidence also found to suggest midden enhanced soils in the area, pointing to early landscape curation. The appearance of the site prior to excavation is not recorded in the site entry, but the entry for an associated lithic scatter (CID 2718) sees a 1936 reference to the 'Cairn of Rinyo', indicating a tumulus of sorts.	343990, 1032210
RR102	Lithic Scatter	2718	Find	Neolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Several flint implements and a quartz object were recovered from the surface of the field between the Rinyo settlement and Bigland farm	343860, 1032180
RR103	Mound	2720	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	At the summit of a hill marked on the OS map as 'Erne Tower'. Circular, approx. 8m in diameter, 0.8m high - has been damaged by rabbit burrows and the insertion of a marker cairn on the top. Believed to be a burial mound.	340000, 1034650

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR104	Saviskaill	2721	Settlement	Viking?	Viking?	-	N/A	Traces of dry-stone walling associated with burnt stones and midden material eroding out of the shoreline show a settlement predating the modern farmstead here. Believed to most likely be Viking in date, seemingly due to toponymic evidence, but not enough physical evidence to be certain.	340090, 1033470
RR105	Burnt Mound	2722	Monument?	Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Frequent finds of burnt stones found while ploughing in this area, as well as a rise in the surrounding field, suggests the site of a now much reduced burnt mound.	343370, 1030920
RR106	Kierfea Hill Mound	2723	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Mixed earth and stone mound, ~8.5m diameter, 0.9m high, top of edge-set slab about 1m long oriented E-W is visible to the east of the centre of the mound.	342280, 1032120
RR107	Mound	2724	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	1979 survey described this mound as being 8m x 6m and 0.5m high, associated with earthfast slabs and a hollowed summit. However, a visit in 1982 found that most stones were not earthfast, and no plan was observable. The mound was found to be mainly composed of earth and clay.	343820, 1032800
RR108	Stone Setting (possible)	2725	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	The remains of what Lamb believes was a stalled cairn, on the edge of a terrace on the SW slope of Faraclett Head. Consist of two parallel rows of erect slabs, spaced 1.3m apart. A visit in 1982 claims that this was in fact a domestic structure.	344030, 1032810
RR109	Langskaill Burnt Mound	2727	Monument?	Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	I	Named feature.	Conical burnt mound, 14m E-W. 12 N-S, 1.1m high. Apparently locally known as 'Everhaud', etymology unclear.	340200, 1033090
RR110	Mound	2728	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	Y?	Secondary structures possibly placed atop this mound.	Mound with little associated stone - 22m NE-SW, 14m NW-SE, 1.2m high. Sports a flattened top of 7m x 4m - two small upright slabs visible on the SW edge. JLD believes that mound is either barrow with secondary structure set atop, or, less likely, a burnt mound	343470, 1032070

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR111	Garsnie Geo Dyke	2729	Land Division	Uncertain	Prehistoric	I?	Associated with 'spirits' in local folklore	Treb dyke running inland from the cliff edge. 5m wide, max height of 0.4m high. Mostly earth, some stones visible. RG Lamb claims that many treb dykes were associated with superstitions, linked to the 'trows' that also haunted burial mounds.	343330, 1032700
RR112	'Green Gairsty' Treb Dyke	2730	Land Division	Uncertain	Prehistoric	I	Named feature	Rounded earthwork, modern maximum width of 10m, maximum height of 0.8m - predominantly earth with a few slabs and boulders.	341050, 1032740
RR113	Mound	2731	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	Y	Centre excavated in antiquity.	Prominent grassy mound atop a high bank, centre seemingly robbed. Diameter of 6m and 0.6m high. Prominent to the SSE.	341870, 1031520
RR114	Mound	2732	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Mutilated overgrown stony mound, near a ruined croft house. Recorded as 15m in diameter, ~0.8m high in 1980 visit by Lamb, but a 1994 visit as part of the Orkney Barrows project recorded it as being 6.1m x 7.7m with a height of 0.4m. It is unclear if this is possibly referencing another site. Lamb recorded that a small upright slab, facing E-W, was present in the centre of the mound, possibly linking it with the nearby slabs at CID 2733, which also face E-W.	341680, 1031040
RR115	Upright Slabs	2733	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Two upright slabs, 0.5m high and 8m apart, facing E-W. The nature of these slabs is unspeculated.	341670, 1030960
RR116	Suso Burn Burnt Mound	2735	Monument?	Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Field survey of Bronze Age burnt mounds done in association with an excavation of the Knowes of Quoyscottie on the Orkney Mainland found an overgrown mound on the side of a burn. Dimensions are not recorded. (Hedges, 1979, p.153).	342240, 1030860
RR117	Burnt Mound (possible)	2736	Monument?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	I	Possibly reference in local toponym	WDJ, writing in 1971 on behalf of the OS notes that RCAHMS reported a burnt mound here in 1946, but that this was unconfirmed. A visit by ISS on behalf of the OS in 1972 found no trace nor any local knowledge of the mound. However, Marwick notes that the placename likely stems from ON for 'burnt portion'.	342990, 1031410

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR118	Cairn	2737	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	N?	Apparently untouched	Turf-covered cairn on SE slope of Faraclett Head. 9.5m in diameter, 1m high. 1972 visit suggested that it has remained untouched.	344640, 1032870
RR119	Scockness Broch	2738	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	Y	Robbed	Irregular overgrown stony mound on the NW corner of the Loch of Scockness, measuring ~19m in diameter, max height of 1.5m. Deemed to be the remains of a broch that has been extensively robbed, to the point that most possible walling has been rendered unintelligible. However, an excavation in 1857 revealed an oval chamber with a corbelled roof and a door leading to the entrance of the broch, presumed to be the guard cell and entrance passage. Iron Age pottery sherds and a stone lamp were recovered in this excavation.	344970, 1033060
RR120	Mounds	2739	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	Y	Opened in antiquity	Two circular overgrown mounds close to Bigland Long Cairn. The mound nearest the cairn is 4.4m in diameter, 0.6m high. The other is 5.8m in diameter, 0.76m high - the top of this mound has been opened, exposing a core of stones. A visit in 1972 described both mounds as having had their centres dug out.	343540, 1032150
RR121	Taft of Husaby	2740	Souterrain?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Reported subterranean structure, possibly a souterrain, discovered by accident at an unrecorded date - no trace remains today. The toponym was not known locally in 1972, but memory of such a structure in the area marked had persisted.	343700, 1031390
RR122	Faraclett Head West	2741	Monument?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	One of two cairns possibly bearing chambers sitting on a terrace on the SW side of Faraclett Head. This cairn is approx. 12.1m in diameter and 0.9m high, and sports a number of stone slabs and stone coursing associated with traces of masonry. JLD suggests that this may be the remains of a rectangular structure.	343990, 1032710

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR123	Faraclett Head East	2741	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	Y	Opened in antiquity	One of two cairns possibly bearing chambers sitting on a terrace on the SW side of Faraclett Head. This cairn is approx. 9.4m in diameter and 0.9m high - a hollow visible in 1935 showed only a stone core lacking any indication of masonry. However, a visit in 1982 by JLD found the stumps of a pair of orthostats, suggesting that this cairn may have been chambered.	344010, 1032700
RR124	Lithic Scatter	133338	Find	Neolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	A disparate scatter of flint has been recorded in three fields nearby Brinian House, containing debitage presumed to be from the working of beach flint. It is believed to be late Neolithic in date.	344290, 1027790
RR125	Lithic Scatter	133339	Settlement?	Neolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	A collection of worked flints and debitage, including arrowheads, scrapers and cores, as well as a spread of pumice - believed to indicate a permanent settlement site of unclear location. Diagnostic material suggest continued use of this settlement site from the early Neolithic into the early Bronze Age.	344290, 1029570
RR126	Knapknowes	182040	Settlement	Post-Medieval?	Historic	-	N/A	The scant remains of the footings, walls, and associated boundaries of Knapknowes farmstead, cleared in 1845, are still visible today. The structures were heavily robbed after the farm was cleared for material for the massive drystone dyke that divides the areas of Quendal and Westness. The associated corn-drying kiln was excavated by W G Grant in 1936 under the mistaken belief that it was a burial cairn associated with those enclosed next to the farmstead (CID 2288). The farmstead was likely named for these mounds - 'knowe' is a local term for 'mound' seen elsewhere on Rousay to describe settlement, burial and burnt mounds.	337250, 1031430
RR127	Treb Dyke	306445	Land Division	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Earthen bank running SW-NE. approx. 0.3m high and 8m wide, composed of dark earth.	343640, 1032170

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR128	Enclosure	307009	Agricultural?	Uncertain	Historic?	-	N/A	A roughly rectangular enclosure of substantial overgrown walling near the shore of Muckle Water. The enclosure internally measures approx. 20m by 9m, oriented NW-SE. The wall stands to a height of 1.5m in some places, with a minimum height of 0.6m. The north corner of the enclosure is visibly raised, indicating a collapsed structure. Possibly linked to outfield pasture?	338570, 1030650
RR129	Scockness Mound	307021	Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	-	N/A	Settlement mound found underlying extant burial ground. Digging for sheep burial in the area immediately north of the burial ground revealed well-preserved drystone walls associated with a limpet midden - Julie Gibson believes this is indicative of Iron Age settlement.	345260, 1032550
RR130	Sheepfold	307293	Agricultural	Uncertain	Historic?	-	N/A	Labelled as 'Old Sheepfold' on the 1st Edition OS 6-inch map from 1882. Included as an example of outfield pasture in the Orkney Isles.	338430, 1030880
RR131	Structures	332216	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	The wall-footings of two rectangular buildings with rounded ends were noted here by GFG in 2013. These are adjacent to an old field bank, and feature raised platforms. One is 6.9m E-W by 4.1 transversely, the other is 10.6m by 4.4m with walls 0.7m thick. Their date and nature are unclear.	337220, 1031390
RR132	Burnt Mound	332219	Monument?	Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	-	N/A	A burnt mound, 7m in diameter, 0.5m high, with a hollow in its NE side.	337360, 1032220
RR133	Mound (possible)	334091	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	A possible bowl-shaped mound, identified as part of the Orkney Barrows Project. 6m by 7m, and 0.4m high. Fairly close to a cairn (CID 2649)	343920, 1028220
RR134	Cist	347523	Monument?	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Sits in pasture some 28m SSE of the ruins of North House farmstead (CID 182029). Measures about 0.64m x 0.45m, 0.45m deep. West end made up of large sandstone boulder, whereas the other sides are made of edge-set slabs.	337350, 1033170

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR135	Quarry and Hut	347524	Industrial?	Post-Medieval?	Historic?	-	N/A	A sandstone quarry immediately south of Munzie farmstead. A small hut, walls standing only up to 0.3m high, has been built against the NW-facing scarp. It is open to the SW. No date was ventured for either the quarry or the hut, though its association with the farmstead means that it is likely of no great antiquity.	337910, 1031560
RR136	Structure (possible)	347529	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	An overgrown mound of stones at the NW foot of Mansemas Hill. Approx. 5m in diameter by 0.5m high. Associated with a much smaller mound to the NW. JRS, writing on behalf of RCAHMS, believes that it, like a similar site to the WSW (CID 2301) is the remains of a hut.	337920, 1031440
RR137	Shieling Mound and Huts	347533	Agricultural?	Post-Medieval?	Historic?	-	N/A	A grass-grown mound sitting on the side of a stream gully, 8.5m in diameter by 0.5m high. Two huts adjoining, one E and the other NE of the mound. East hut is approx. 2.7m NNW-SSE, 2m transversely, has slab and boulder walls 0.6m thick surviving to height of 0.3m. NE hut is 1m square, in overgrown wall footings reaching a scant 0.1m above ground. Shieling mound dated in entry as post-medieval.	336920, 1032800
RR138	Mound	347544	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	An overgrown stony mound sitting in peaty moorland. It is oval in shape, measuring ~4.2m NNW-SSE, 3m transversely, 0.4m high. Apparently unexcavated by W G Grant.	337370, 1032710
RR139	Mound and Hut	347545	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	Y	Later hut appears to have been built on this mound.	Grass-grown mound in moorland, 3.2m in diameter and 0.4m high. A stone built structure believed to be a hut (CID 347557) is recorded in the same location as this mound. It is subrectangular, and measures 3m E-W by 1.6m N-S with a boulder and slab wall 0.6m thick and incorporating vertical slabs up to 0.5m high. Entrance is to the west. The hut is believed to be post-medieval in origin. A nearby enclosure (CID 347546) may be associated with this hut. It overlies a grass grown mound, presumed to be the remains of an earlier structure.	337180, 1032860

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR140	Mound	347548	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Grassy oval mound in moorland 50m WNW of the remains of Hestivall farmstead. 5.2m NE-SW, 36m NW-SE, 0.5m high.	337340, 1032950
RR141	Hut	347549	Agricultural?	Post-Medieval?	Historic?	-	N/A	The remains of a hut on rough pasture NNE of Breck farmstead. Believed to have been subrectangular originally, it is now an amorphous spread of rubble. Like associated with a subrectangular enclosure to the east, believed to be post-medieval in date (CID347563)	337530, 1032970
RR142	Hut	347553	Agricultural?	Post-Medieval?	Historic?	-	N/A	Rectangular hut, believed to be post-medieval in origin. Possibly associated with a stone-walled enclosure to the WSE. Included as a possible shieling, if later than the focus periods.	337440, 1032260
RR143	Hut	347558	Agricultural?	Post-Medieval?	Historic?	-	N/A	Subrectangular hut, sat on the north bank of a stream. Measures 3.2m NNW-SSE, 2m WNW-ESE, walls up to 0.25m high. Most likely entered from the SSE.	337790, 1032350
RR144	Mound	347573	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	The remains of a cist visible in pasture associated with Breck farmstead. Comprises of large siding slab facing S and an end slab facing W. Previously covered by an overgrown mound, seemingly originally measuring to about 2.7m in diameter.	337520, 1032720
RR145	Hut (possible)	347576	Agricultural?	Post-Medieval?	Historic?	-	N/A	Scatter of flat slabs 5m across on the SW face of the Brae of Moan - JRS suggests the remains of a hut, does not suggest a date.	337610, 1033070
RR146	Cairn (possible)	347577	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Overgrown mound of stones, 4m diameter and 0.4m high, sits on moorland 225m NW of nearby ruined farmstead - recorded as possible cairn by JRS - however, is it possibly the ruins of another structure? Nearby are the remains of what JRS claims to be a post-medieval hut (CID 347568), which is now only a scatter of flat stones.	337140, 1033320

Rousay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RR147	Wall	351489	Land Division	Uncertain	Prehistoric	I?	Part of the agricultural landscape of Quandale, possibly reused as boundary by nearby farmsteads?	Overgrown stony bank, approx. 80m in length, crossed by a head-dyke associated with Tafts farmstead. Truncated to the SE by cultivated ground associated with Croolea farmstead, descends into wet, peaty ground to the NW. Believed to be prehistoric.	337490, 1032360
RR148	Skaill Farmstead	351514	Settlement	Viking to 19th Century	Viking	-	N/A	A multi-period farmstead - the existing structures are post medieval/modern, but they overlie Norse and Viking age deposits. The site has been excavated from 2015-2019, with magnetometry survey showing earlier boundaries aligned differently to extant post-medieval divisions, thought to be related to an earlier farm. A test pit in the 'garden' area of the main farmhouse encountered midden enhanced topsoil covering a demolition layer containing fish bones and a sherd of steatite, sealing a stone wall. The steatite indicated a Viking Age date for the earlier farm. Test pitting in 2016 revealed multiple early structural evidence, believed to be contemporary with the Viking/Norse farmstead. Excavations in 2017 found several medieval deposits, indicating possible unbroken continuity of settlement at the site beyond the Norse period. Excavations in 2019, unpublished, discovered the remains of a hall or 'drinking hall' dating from the Norse period. The etymology of 'Skaill' is important here, as it stems from the ON for 'hall'.	337380, 1030100

Section 1b: Mainland

Orkney Mainland									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RM1	Knowe of Grugar	2160	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	I	Named feature	Seemingly alternatively known as the Knowe of Ryo. Large mound, at least 30m in diameter and nearly 5m high in 1946. While no courses of masonry are visible, it is clear that the mound is full of stones. Generally agreed to most likely contain the remains of a broch tower and associated settlement.	335640, 1027290
RM2	Knowe of Stenso	2161	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	I	Named feature	A probable broch site. The remains of the structure are apparently much disturbed, though a section of the wall foundation is traceable on the north side. Euan MacKie noted what may be the remains of a mural gallery and suggestions of outbuildings on the south side. A sealbone borer was discovered here, donated to the NMAS in 1921.	336390, 1026740
RM3	Reeky Knowes	2168	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	Y	Robbed, named features	A group of six earth and small stone mounds are visible in this area, with a variety of diameters and heights. The largest is 14m in diameter and 1.25m high. Two of the mounds are much reduced and have likely been robbed - the centres are entirely removed. The mounds are rounded and circular, suggesting possible barrows - however, no finds have been reported.	338730, 1026520
RM4	Robie's Knowe	2172	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	I	Associated with local legend.	Canmore Id 2172 Mound of smallish stones, about 1m high. Some of the stones have apparently been burnt, but not in enough number to classify the feature as a burnt mound. Two local stories associated with the feature: one is that it marks the burial place of an important person called Robbie, the other suggests that it was frequently visited by a 'half-witted old man' called Robbie.	336210, 1026650

Orkney Mainland									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RM5	Redland North Cairn	2174	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	Y	Robbed	Remains believed to be those of an Orkney-Cromarty type stalled cairn. Sits in marshy ground - clear 'rim' visible around the north half of the cairn, whereas the south side is indistinct. The centre has been hollowed out, with the stumps of three stones believed to have been the back-slab and divisional stones of the chamber. The cairn seems to have been oval in shape, and ~10m wide.	338000, 1025010
RM6	Quoys Chambered Cairn	2176	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	Y	Robbed	The greatly robbed and ruined remains of an Orkney-Cromarty type stalled cairn, similar to the nearby Redland chambered cairn (CID 2174). The northern edge of the cairn is still traceable as undisturbed cairn material. The original diameter of the cairn appears to have been ~17.3m. The entrance to the cairn was at the SSE side, as shown by remaining stone stumps from the chamber orthostats	337830, 1025080
RM7	Mounds	2177	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Originally several tumuli in this area, all but two were removed during land improvement in 1868. During removal of these mounds, stone cists containing bones were discovered.	339700, 1025410

Orkney Mainland									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RM8	Broch of Burgar	2178	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Prehistoric	Y	Insertion of cremation urn and associated urn, believed to have been in the Early Medieval period.	Seems to have been excavated several times in the 19th century - in 1826, possibly in 1841, and from 1870-71. Described as ~18m in diameter, 4.2m high with walls ~5.2m thick in 1852. Finds from the 1826 excavation included one skeleton with long-handled bone comb Mostly buried, with the exception of a section of the outer wall face on the north side - approximately 15m long and 2.7m high in 1946. Has been damaged by erosion since. Apparently, two gold armillae were recovered from the site and were in the possession of the Earl of Zetland in 1851. These could not be traced in a 1961 OS survey. Also apparently the site of a silver and amber hoard, found with a pair of human skeletons in an urn thought to have been deposited after the broch fell into ruin. Ewan Mackie believes that the silver content indicates that the hoard was deposited after the Iron Age. It was purportedly thrown into the sea by the finder to avoid seizure by the Crown.	335210, 1027710
RM9	Symbol Stone	2183	Find	Pictish	Iron Age	-	N/A	Fragment of a symbol stone found on the Sands of Evie in 1967. Incised with the lower portion of a mirror symbol.	337200, 1026400
RM10	Cist (possible)	2198	Monument?	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Earthfast slab in this area, believed to be possible capstone of a cist.	335260, 1027660

Orkney Mainland									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RM11	Broch of Gurness Norse Settlement (possible)	2201	Settlement	Viking	Viking	-	N/A	Settlement at the Broch of Gurness likely persisted up until the Norse conquest, and may have continued afterwards as well. An oblong structure believed to be a Viking hall house was found to make up part of the mound entombing the broch before it was excavated - however it is possible that this may have been Pictish in origin instead. Unfortunately, none of the finds associated with this structure were diagnostic. However, in more concrete terms, the grave of a Viking Age woman was found inserted into the old rampart of the broch. Associated grave goods included a pair of diagnostic Scandinavian-type oval bronze brooches, an iron necklet, an iron sickle and an iron knife with a wooden handle.	338200, 1026830
RM12	Broch of Gurness	2201	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age to Pictish	Iron Age	Y	Pictish cellular house built on the side of the broch, associated with an oblong house either Pictish or Viking in date. A Pictish symbol stone built into broch outbuilding wall. Viking grave inserted into broch material	Iron Age broch village, the tower currently stands to about 3m high and is nearly 20m in diameter. Pre-broch levels have not been investigated, but it is clear that settlement at the Broch of Gurness continued into the Late Iron Age - it seems likely that the settlement persisted up until the Norse conquest. A 'Pictish' house was found at a high level within the grassy mound that covered the broch prior to excavation, to the NE of the broch tower. This house consisted of a living room surrounded by five cells. This structure was found nearby another oblong structure - this has been suggested to be a Viking hall house, but finds associated with this structure were unfortunately undiagnostic, and it is possible that the oblong structure is of 'Pictish' origin instead. Both of these structures were dismantled and were rebuilt to the west of the site Additionally, a symbol stone (CID 2202) was discovered at the top of a wall	338180, 1026840
RM13	Pictish Symbol Stone	2202	Find	Pictish	Iron Age	-	N/A	Found in 1935 during excavation of broch outbuildings, sitting atop the wall of a structure flanking the main pathway into the Broch proper. Now in the small museum attached to the Broch of Gurness.	338170, 1026850

Orkney Mainland									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RM14	St Nicholas's Chapel	2205	Ecclesiastical	Norse	Historic	-	N/A	Only a slight rise in the area marks the site of this chapel, but it was still locally known in 1967. Footings of chapel infrequently discovered during grave digging - period of construction is unknown.	337140, 1026200
RM15	Cross Slab	2206	Find	Norse?	Historic	I?	Seems to have been deliberately placed on a natural hummock believed to have been artificial until detailed investigation.	Found in a 'knoll' in 1852, now lost. Site of find - the 'Knowe of Desso' purportedly the site of a chapel or similar ecclesiastical building - however, later survey found that the mound was natural in origin and no traces of any artificial structure.	337680, 1026040
RM16	Mounds (possible)	2208	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Remains of a group of mounds found to the side of the watercourse here. Earliest entry claims five, later entries confirm only four. Largest is apparently 7m in diameter, survives up to 0.4m in height. A field visit in 1967 found no evidence of burnt material or internal material - this, along with their circular bowl-like shapes, suggests that they may have been barrows. At an unknown date, a cist was found in the largest mound - nothing was found within.	333830, 1028150
RM17	Peter's Kirk	2210	Ecclesiastical	Norse?	Historic	-	N/A	The remains of a chapel associated with a burial ground, sitting atop a settlement mound of prehistoric origin (CID 2214) . The architectural proportions of the chapel suggest an origin date in the 13th century, though it was clearly modified after this as well. A visit in 1946 found the traces of a possible dwelling associated with a kitchen midden on the edge of the cliff. RCAHMS deemed that this was likely a source of stone for the chapel, and it is conceivable that this structure was associated with the settlement mound.	333750, 1028680
RM18	Burgar Chambered Cairn	2213	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	Y	Robbed	The cairn has been extensively robbed, however enough remains that it was able to be identified as an Orkney-Cromarty type round chambered cairn. Five of the slabs that made up the chamber still remain in the centre of the cairn material, made up of small, horizontally laid slabs. The entrance is believed to have been in the NE of the cairn - notably facing out across the Eynhallow Sound.	334820, 1027820

Orkney Mainland									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RM19	Outer Urrigar Settlement	2214	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric	Y	The settlement mound was used for the site of, and probably robbed of material for, Peter's Kirk and the associated graveyard.	The associated 'Peter's Kirk' (CID 2210) sits at the highest point of a substantial settlement mound that has been partially truncated to the NW by the encroaching cliff. Visible in the mound section is a complex stratigraphy of stone structures, possibly incorporating a broch. A 'cairn' noted by the Ordnance Survey appears to be part of this settlement mound - a row of erect slabs form a north-facing concave face, suggested by RGL to be the interior wall of a building.	333760, 1028680
RM20	Howana Gruna Cairn	2227	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	Y	Opened in antiquity, robbed.	Large mound of stones on the WNW slope of Burgar Hill. About 18m in diameter and 2.3m high. Sports a hollow in the top, indicating a past excavation (unrecorded, likely a robbing attempt). A short length of dry walling is visible near the top as well - this has been suggested to either be part of the interior structure of the mound, or the remains of an old quoy.	333650, 1026290
RM21	Cist	2235	Monument?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Cist discovered in the vicinity of Arwick in 1973. Apparently lacked any contents.	338890, 1024790
RM22	Redland South Cairn	2236	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	Y	Robbed and disturbed by farm outbuildings	The remains of a stalled cairn, robbed and disturbed by structures associated with a since destroyed farmstead. Approximately 8.2m SE-NW, 3.7m SW-NE. Cairn material remains to height of about 0.6m. Stalled chamber indicated by remaining stumps of eight orthostats.	338000, 1024830
RM23	Ness of Woodwick Broch	2695	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	-	N/A	Probable broch - has never been excavated, but the outer wall face was somewhat exposed around 1946. RCAHMS reckoned the internal diameter of the broch tower to be about 7.6-9.1m and the overall site diameter to be about 15-18m. External wall has apparently since become overgrown.	340080, 1024870
RM24	Carved stone (possible)	270084	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	There is a point here in the Canmore database listing a 'Carved Stone' associated with Aikerness Farm - however, there are no details on either the stone or the farmstead.	338580, 1026150

Section 1c: Eynhallow

Eynhallow									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
REY1	The Graand Standing Stone	2163	Monument	Uncertain	Historic?	-	N/A	Believed to be relatively recent in construction, used to aid in the hauling of boats. Likely linked to coastal navigation in much the same way as many of the modern cairns on the NE coast of the island.	335860, 1028680
REY2	Farmstead	2164	Settlement	Post-Medieval?	Historic	-	N/A	An oval mound of heavy stones, with an associated slab. Prior interpretations of this site include the remnants of a destroyed burial cairn or a field clearance cairn. However, assessment of the 1st edition 25 inch OS map from 1882 and a sketch plan from 1827 shows a farmstead in this location known as 'South House'.	335900, 1028730
REY3	Eynhallow Monastery	2170	Ecclesiastical	Norse	Transitional?	I?	The toponym 'Eynhallow' may refer to a pre-Norse ecclesiastical site.	The church at Eynhallow appears to have been a major ecclesiastical site during the Norse period - the bishop of Eynhallow is mentioned several times in Orkneyinga saga as being an important individual involved in the leadership of the isles. It is possible that there was an ecclesiastical site here before the arrival of the Norse - the name of the island is apparently rooted in the Old Norse for 'Holy Isle'. Gradiometry of the area around the monastery in 2008 found evidence for settlement within the mound that the buildings sit upon, with additional evidence suggesting that the extant structure sit upon earlier features.	335910, 1028810
REY4	Monkerness Roundhouse	2179	Settlement	Iron Age?	Iron Age	-	N/A	Partially excavated in 1922 by William Kirkness, John Shearer and Alex Taylor. Uncovered remains of circular drystone building with central hearth, about 7.3m in diameter. Possible secondary structure 4m to the N. Finds included corroded iron, 'burnt peat' and an 'axe-like stone implement' that has since been lost.	336520, 1029240

Eynhallow									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
REY5	Roundhouse (possible) and Burnt Mound	2180	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	The interpretation of this site is uncertain, having been variously described as the foundations of a drystone structure or the remains of a roundhouse. During a 2015 field visit, the remains here were found to be a circular bank enclosing a 13.4m diameter area, two edge set stones marking the inner edge of the bank to the north, with an amorphous mound occupying the centre of the ring. A smaller mound is found roughly 8m SW of this site, which Moore and Thomas believe to be a burnt mound - geophysical survey of this mound found diagnostic crescent-shaped burning lenses.	336500, 1029390
REY6	Kyarl Settlement	2185	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Two slabs here were previously interpreted as the remains of a stone grave cist. However, reassessment in 1972 point to these being the remains of the entrance passage to a set of dry-stone buildings. Visited again in 1982 by Lamb, the remains here where then interpreted as a prehistoric settlement buried under storm debris. A visit in 2015 was unable to confidently identify these remains, likely due to coastal erosion.	336400, 1029460
REY7	Stone Slabs	2193	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	Y?	Possibly a prehistoric monumental structure reused by farmstead	Originally described in 1949 as an arrangement of three erect stone slabs in an arc. Visit in 1982 found two erect slabs, one set at a 45 degree angle to the end of the other. Visit in 2008 found only one of the slabs. Possibly associated with farmstead to the east (CID 182340)	336500, 1029140
REY8	Cave of the Twenty Men Hole	2195	Natural Feature	Norse?	Historic	-	N/A	Purportedly the refuge of Sweyn Asleifsson during his time of hiding, as recorded in Orkneyinga Saga. RCAHMS claims that the identification of Eynhallow as the isle of "Hellisey" has been challenged, but provides no sources that I am able to follow up on.	335560, 1029410
REY9	Farmstead	182340	Settlement	Post-medieval?	Historic?	-	N/A	Recorded as derelict building associated with three enclosures on 1st edition of OS 6-inch map from 1882. Field visit noted that all three enclosures still extant, and that central enclosure possibly incorporates an earlier two room structure. Northern enclosure robbed of stone for nearby structure.	336510, 1029140

Eynhallow									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
REY10	Mound	350656	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Grass-grown mound, 6.9m NS, 6m EW, 0.3m high. Undated.	336130, 1028980
REY11	Stones	350660	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Edge-set stones in marshy ground, possibly associated with earthen dyke to the SE. Aligned NW to SE, 0.8m apart. Unclear function or date.	336450, 1029250
REY12	Kyarl Navigation Cairn	350664	Monument	Post-Medieval?	Historic?	-	N/A	Neatly built cairn, about 3m diameter, 2.5m high. Sits on the NE tip of Eynhallow, believed to have been built for seaborne navigation.	336420, 1029460
REY13	Navigation Cairn	350665	Monument	Post-Medieval?	Historic?	-	N/A	Neatly built cairn, 2.1m diameter, 1.6m high. Most likely post-Medieval, built to aid seaborne navigation.	336320, 1029400
REY14	Mound	350667	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	Y?	Nearby planticrub may have been built using mound material.	Grass-grown mound, 5m diameter, adjacent to a possible 'planticrub' or turf enclosure. Undated.	336360, 1029050
REY15	Mounds	350668	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Two adjacent grass-grown mounds in boggy terrain. Largest is 8m NS, 6.5m EW, 0.45m high. Undated.	336320, 1029000
REY16	Structure	350674	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Rectangular footings of small drystone structure. Undated.	336540, 1029060
REY17	Cairn (possible)	350676	Monument	Uncertain	Unknown	A	Modern cairn possibly reusing material from an older cairn.	Moore and Thomas describe a modern cairn in this area, but also note the nearby ruins of an older cairn. It is unclear what date or purpose this cairn has.	336320, 1028890
REY18	Mound	350680	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	7.7m EW, 4.7m NS, 0.6m high. Undated.	336120, 1028620

Eynhallow									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
REY19	Mound	350682	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Measures about 6.5m EW, 3.2m NS, 0.5m high. Undated.	335940, 1028660

Section 1d: Wyre

Wyre									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RW1	Burnt Mound (possible)	2618	Monument?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Associated with the nearby enclosures (also CID 2618) - There are many smaller enclosures dotted along the east and south Wyre coastline identified during Antonia Thomas's survey of Wyre. The age and identity of these enclosures is not speculated on in the Canmore database.	345580, 1026210
RW2	Enclosures	2618	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	A group of connected enclosures. The building technique used for the walls here is unusual - the inner and outer faces of the walls are constructed of edge-set slabs, the space between filled with loosely packed small stones, with coursed stone set atop this arrangement. Also, despite these enclosures having been built on an area of slight slope, the enclosed areas remain on the same level. A visit in 1934 found a stone-lined pit filled with black greasy earth and small animal bones - possible midden - surveyor concluded that the site was most likely domestic. The site has never been formally investigated.	345560, 1026220
RW3	Structure	2639	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	Y?	Recorded henhouse possibly incorporates earlier structure of unknown date.	Landscape survey in 2006 describes a sub-rectangular building here, believed to be the remains of a 20th century hen house. However, this hen house is believed to have incorporated the remains of an earlier structure here that may have been associated with Cubbie Roo's Castle (Canmore ID 2665). In 1930, a whalebone handle was discovered in this area and donated to the NMAS.	344100, 1026280

Wyre									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RW4	Settlement Mound (possible)	2650	Settlement	Neolithic?	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Rectilinear stony mound near the shoreline. Flints, pottery and stone sinkers found by the farmer in the mound, suggesting that this may be a settlement mound.	343450, 1025550
RW5	Burnt Mounds	2651	Monument?	Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Two burnt mound recorded here. A depression in one of the mounds revealed that it contains a large number of charred stones, and its neighbour is believed to be of a similar make-up. A walkover survey in 2006 found two possibly associated features - a sub-circular depression associated with greener grass to the N, and an earthen bank to the NNE.	343670, 1025800
RW6	St. Mary's Chapel, Wyre	2656	Ecclesiastical	Norse	Historic	-	N/A	Alternatively known as 'Peter's Kirk'. Romanesque in architecture, and dates from the 12th century - within the Norse period in Orkney. Almost certainly built at the behest of the high status family living in 'The Bu' farmstead to the north (CID 289895) Apparently ruinous by 1791, the church was cleared of rubble and partially rebuilt in the 19th century. Small holes excavated around the chapel in 2009 to monitor the stability of the chapel walls - no finds or features of significance found.	344290, 1026280
RW7	Settlement (possible)	2659	Settlement	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	A possible midden was discovered here in the 1970s when electricity mains were installed. Holes dug for a pole and associated bracing found 'rich black earth containing animal bones and substantial sub-structures'. Area does not appear to have been revisited to confirm. Lamb, visiting the site in 1982, observed a slight rise in the ground surface extending SW from the pole.	343790, 1026440

Wyre									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RW8	Cubbie Roo's Castle	2665	Monumental Settlement	Norse	Historic	-	N/A	The castle on Wyre was established in the Norse period at around 1145 by Kolbein Hruga, according to the Orkneyinga Saga. The Bu, a farmstead to the NW (CID 289895), was likely the main residence of Hruga's family. The castle itself consists of a squarish keep with substantial walls, surrounded by a stone wall with associated outer ditch and bank. Only the ground floor of the keep survives today, but it is believed that it would have risen at least two more floors when it was still maintained. Unlikely that the fortification was used as permanent residence - it seems more likely to have been a place of refuge. Excavated in the 1920s by the HM Office of Works. Simpson, writing in 1954, noted that examination had not found any trace of earlier structures. Landscape survey in 2006 found nearby features of interest that have not been investigated in detail.	344170, 1026290
RW9	Mound	182270	Monument	Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Low grassy mound on the point of the Taing, ~8m NS, 7m EW, 0.4m high Antonia Thomas believes that this may be a Bronze Age burial.	342250, 1025600
RW10	Burial Mound (possible) and Structure	182274	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	I?	Associated with nearby structure of unknown date.	Low stony mound, approx. 11.5m by 10.5m Antonia Thomas believes that this may be a burial mound. Nearby structure, stone- and turf-built, with at least two distinct building phases.	342470, 1025550
RW11	Settlement (possible)	182275	Settlement	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Rectilinear earthwork, about 10.5m x 7m across. Thomas believes this may be a settlement site, does not venture a date. Associated rectilinear structure consisting of stony earthwork of ~5m x 5m to the NE, rectilinear earthwork enclosure of ~5m x 4.5m to the SE. Small rectilinear stone structure to the SW, about 3.5m x 3.5m in area.	344870, 1025570
RW12	Structure	182304	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Rectilinear structure/enclosure, about 50m by 12m, oriented roughly NS.	345420, 1025830

Wyre									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RW13	Hallbreck Farm Neolithic Settlement	288385	Settlement	Neolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Ploughing of the field here during 2006, believed to have been for the first time in around 20 years, uncovered a large amount of archaeological materials. Initial results from fieldwalking included the recovery of pottery, coarse stone tools, burnt stone and bone, flint debitage and a fragment of a macehead from a rectangular feature, and a large number of finds were also recovered from a large sub-circular feature, including maceheads and flint tools. The site was excavated from 2007-2013, discovering several Neolithic houses and associated midden material. Diagnostic evidence from the Early Neolithic period was discovered. Additionally, there was evidence for the replacement of wooden rectangular houses having been dismantled and replaced with a stone-built houses on the same foundations. There is good reason to believe that the dwellings in this area were part of a larger, complex Neolithic settlement on Wyre (see Canmore ID 293586)	343760, 1025940
RW14	Cist (Possible)	289845	Monument?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Large slab, partially upturned. Thomas believes this may be part of a cist.	343760, 1026030
RW15	Earthen Bank	289855	Land Division	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Low bank, oriented N-S, 90m long, approx. 0.8m wide. Possibly same bank as that noted in entry for Canmore ID 2651.	343700, 1025890
RW16	Structure	289857	Settlement?	Uncertain	Historic?	-	N/A	2.5 square meter stone structure with lime-mortar bonding on coursed stone, survives to a height of 2.5m on N, W, S sides, E side has been eroded by the sea. Most likely Post-Medieval or later, judging by survival.	344690, 1025310
RW17	Curvilinear Earthwork	289857	Land Division	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Up to about 100m in length, surviving to height of 0.3m and width of 0.8m, encloses a section of coast bounded on southeast and southwest sides by the shore.	344670, 1025320
RW18	Settlement Mound (possible)	289859	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Sub-circular mound, about 9m in diameter and 1m high. Thomas believes that this may be a settlement site.	344000, 1025720
RW19	Earthen Bank	289860	Land Division	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Curvilinear earthwork, approx. 138m long, 2m wide. Sub-circular patch of grass to the NW, Thomas notes similarity to kelp pit but believes it to be too far inshore.	345340, 1026020

Wyre									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RW20	Structure	289861	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Rectilinear structure, 8m x 3m, oriented E-W. Vague remains.	345510, 1025950
RW21	Enclosure	289862	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Curvilinear stony earthwork, encloses ~25m area, Thomas noted much greener grass here than outside the enclosure. Bank survives to height of 1.2m and width of 0.8m.	345380, 1025800
RW22	Loch of Oorns Earthwork	289871	Settlement?	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Stony earthwork oriented E-W, 7m by 3m, max height of 0.9m - Thomas believes may be settlement site	345270, 1026460
RW23	Enclosure	289872	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Stony earthwork enclosure, semi-circular. Bank facing the coast is ~25m wide, inland bank ~20m. Date unknown.	345540, 1026070
RW24	Crook Rubble Structure	289882	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	May be of some age - has been badly damaged by coastal erosion.	345050, 1027070
RW25	Earthwork	289883	Land Division	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Stony linear earthwork, oriented NNE-SSW. Approx. 1-2m wide, 130m long (165m if sea-dyke included). Possibly associated with features noted in CID 289884.	344810, 1027010
RW26	Enclosure	289884	Agricultural?	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Semi-circular stony enclosure, approx. 40m x 29m, oriented N-S. Bank has max height of 0.75m, width of 1m. Apparently encloses a sub-circular waterlogged area of the field.	344810, 1026950
RW27	Earthwork	289884	Settlement?	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Rectangular earthwork of 8m x 6m, 0.7m high and 0.8-1.8m wide banks. This earthwork is enclosed within a similar earthwork. Thomas believes that it may be a settlement site.	344840, 1026930
RW28	Earthworks	289885	Land Division	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Very slight earthwork bank, surviving only to a height of 0.15m, approximately 5m x 4m, oriented NE to SE. Not date ventured.	344980, 1025650
RW29	Earthen Bank	289886	Land Division	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Small linear earthwork, ~1m wide, ~6m long.	344510, 1025810

Wyre									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
RW30	'The Bu' Farmstead	289895	Settlement	Viking/Norse	Viking	-	N/A	According to SJG, Bu is an Old Norse placename denoting a high-status settlement. The 19th century farmstead is purportedly built into a substantial mound which seems to consist of midden deposits - essentially a 'farm mound' as seen at the Skaill and Westness farmsteads. It would seem that the original settlement at Bu dates at least to the Norse period, with the keep (CID 2665) and chapel (CID 2656) being linked to the high status family that owned the farmstead.	344290, 1026430
RW31	Mound	289898	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	11.5m diameter - slight rise in the field with darker area of soil and increased incidence of stone. Thomas believes that this may indicate the remains of a burial mound.	343640, 1025910
RW32	Loch of Oorns Standing Stone	289900	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Possible standing stone - 0.8m wide, 0.35m high, in the centre of an 8m diameter depression associated with stones and greener grass than surrounds.	345240, 1026200
RW33	Loch of Oorns Structure	289902	Settlement?	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Orientated N-S, 7m by 5m, contains slabs and coursing. Thomas believes this may be a settlement site	345170, 1026290
RW34	Skirmie Clett Standing Stone	289904	Monument	Uncertain	Historic?	-	N/A	Lone orthostat, 60mm deep, 1m wide, 0.4m visible above ground. Possibly upcast from shore, but size suggests otherwise. Possibly placed as a navigational marker, similarly to navigational cairns elsewhere on the isles.	345530, 1026460
RW35	Neolithic Settlement	293586	Settlement	Neolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Site initially identified as part of desk-based and landscape survey, leading to a campaign of fieldwalking which recovered a large variety of Neolithic material from the ploughsoil. Geophysical survey also used, which found at least one structure and showed significant activity in the area. Diagnostic finds, typically associated with ritual sites elsewhere in the isles, suggest that this area was part of a complex settlement on Wyre, of which the Neolithic structures described to the west (Canmore ID 288385) were likely also part.	344010, 1026010

Egilsay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
REG1	Howan House	2620	Settlement	Medieval/Post Medieval	Historic	-	N/A	Canmore entry refers to a ruined Laird's house - 17th century in origin. However, house sits atop a 'rounded hillock', believed to be a settlement mound by Lamb, indicating that the settlement here is of some antiquity. An investigation of the house in 2011 noted that the rise might have been the location of a broch, but that it is likely that the later settlement robbed any above-ground structure remains if they were ever present. Small exploratory trenches dug in the immediate region of the house itself found no archaeological features predating the 17th century.	347790, 1029240
REG2	Howan Settlement	2620	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	Y	Settlement mound reused for the site of a later bishop's residence, which then became the laird's house.	Howan House sits atop a 'rounded hillock', believed to be a settlement mound by Lamb, indicating that the settlement here is of some antiquity. An investigation of the house in 2011 noted that the rise might have been the location of a broch, but that it is likely that the later settlement robbed any above-ground structure remains if they were ever present. Small exploratory trenches dug in the immediate region of the house itself found no archaeological features predating the 17th century.	347790, 1029240
REG3	Onziebist Chambered Cairn	2621	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	Y	Opened in antiquity.	Measures about 20m by 17m, oriented N-S. Maximum height of 1.8m. Top of cairn has been dug into, exposing an interior corbelled cell that is believed to have formed part of a Maes Howe-type chamber.	347420, 1027800
REG4	Kirbust Burnt Mound	2622	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	About 26m x 16m, oriented E-W. Approx. 1m high. Has been badly mutilated	347540, 1028900
REG5	St Magnus's Church	2697	Ecclesiastical	Norse	Historic	-	N/A	Structure dates from the Norse period - likely stands on/incorporates fabric of earlier church that was purportedly the site of Magnus's martyrdom	346610, 1030390

Egilsay									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
REG6	Mid-Skaill	2701	Settlement	Viking?	Viking?	-	N/A	Possible Viking potsherds and midden deposits recovered from collapsed bank at nearby farm of Mid-Skaill during the 1970s - believed to be from a Viking settlement, though RGL notes that pronouncement may be conjecture based on the place name. More recently, coastal erosion has revealed black organic earth (indicative of midden) below Mugley cottage.	346250, 1030150
REG7	Knowes of Howe	2703	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	I	Referenced in local toponym.	A pair of probable burial mounds atop a rocky hill. One stands on the summit - circular, steep-sided mound 8m diameter and 1.2m high with a rounded top. The other sits 15m to the south, oval and steep-sided, roughly 10m in diameter and 0.8m high, sporting a flat top with a slight hollow in the centre. The place name is tautological - Howe is the name of the nearby farm, and 'knowe' is a locally used word for 'mound', but 'howe' and 'knowe' both stem from the ON 'haugr', meaning 'mound'. It seems likely that the farm was named for the mounds, and then the mounds were renamed for the farm.	346350, 1031190
REG8	Cist	113964	Monument?	Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Short flat cist near Midskaill, 0.7m x 0.45m, 3m deep. Excavated 1992 - contained pottery sherds and cramp. At first glance, no bone was recorded but the cramp was discovered to contain minute fragments of bone after detailed examination (Moore and Wilson, 1995)	346250, 1030080
Kili Holm									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence of Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
REG9	Kili Holm House	2700	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Stony mound with protruding edge slabs originally believed to be the remains of a chambered tomb, but identified as likely prehistoric house by RG Lamb	347570, 1032590
REG10	Kili Holm Prehistoric House	2702	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Similar to CID 2700, stony mound with protruding slabs previously believed to be the remains of a chambered cairn, but shape and architecture suggesting a prehistoric house according to RG Lamb.	347630, 1032650

Section 2: Loch Ròg Sites:

Section 2a: Bhaltos Peninsula

Bhaltos Peninsula									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LV1	Viking Burial	4001	Monument	Viking	Viking	-	N/A	9th century Viking burial with associated grave goods including weapons and two tortoise brooches. Discovered by children under slight sandy mound in approximate area of marker. Bronze penannular brooch and belt mound also found in area, likely associated with burial. Armit was unable to locate this site or any associated features due to possible obscuring by clearance cairns and collapse from erosion of nearby ridge. Armit, 1994, Gazetteer No.14	108480, 936290
LV2	Cairn and Burials	4003	Monument	Bronze Age	Prehistoric	Y	Closely associated Viking cemetery	Bronze Age cairn excavated in 1976 and 1978. Showed signs of three separate burial events. Earliest phase was of d-shaped cairn covering inhumation, disturbed at later date when hole was dug for insertion of small corbelled cist containing a cremation urn. These structures later covered by two-ringed kerb cairn, with interior ring containing cremation burial without urn. Several inhumations uncovered nearby in 2009, with first one found in cist near previous cairn. Additional burial mound found 3m to south of excavation, containing remains of at least three individuals. Revetted sandy mound, associated grave goods included jet beads and copper alloy pin.	109970, 936390
LV3	Cliobh	4004	Settlement	Viking/Norse	Viking?	-	N/A	Sherds of early medieval and medieval pottery recovered from various middens on the Cnip peninsula - the occurrence of this find near the putative dun site near Bhaltos school is interesting. PSAS. (1981) 'Donations to and purchases for the Museum and Library', Proc Soc Antiq Scot, vol. 110, 1978-80. Page(s): 536	108500, 936400
LV4	Bronze Age Graves	4006	Monument	Bronze Age	Prehistoric	Y	Associated Viking graves nearby	Cists surrounded by kerbed stones, associated with coarse and beaker ceramics	109900, 936500

Bhaltos Peninsula									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LV5	Viking Cemetery	4007	Monument	Viking	Viking	-	N/A	Large number of Viking age inhumations discovered from this area: Armit notes that a rich female grave was recorded as having been uncovered here in 1979. Child grave apparently discovered here in 1991 (Armit, 1994, Gazetteer No.15) Three well preserved graves discovered in 1992 excavations, each appearing to have had a small mound of soil decorated with stones piled over each. Graves believed to be at least broadly contemporary with each other. CFA (1992) 'Cnip (Kneep), Lewis (Uig parish): probable Viking cemetery', Discovery Excav Scot, 1992, p.83 Further remains uncovered in 1994 due to erosion, revealing human bones and an amber bead upon initial inspection. Excavation uncovered extremely eroded burial, only skull and upper left torso survived, with another amber bead found beneath the jaw, suggesting that it had formed part of a necklace. Next to this grave was the grave of an unflexed neonate. Lump of iron found beneath rear of skull. These burials are assumed to have been linked with those uncovered in 1992, as cleaning of ground surface in surrounding area did not pick up any more graves. Extremely closely associated with Bronze Age burials in the area, to the extent that a Bronze Age cist burial was excavated during 1992 excavation.	109950, 936390
LV6	Wheelhouses	4009	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	-	N/A	Substantial Iron Age settlement in this area, excavated in 1987. Almost certainly associated with the settlement evidence to the NW (Canmore ID 72682). Evidence for multiple phases of structuration - but also that the phases of building matched earlier spatial arrangements closely. No evidence of any abandonment between phases, but covering of structures by midden containing corbelled ceramics indicates that the site fell out of use in the Middle Iron Age (before Norse colonisation). Evidence for iron and bronze working found. Armit, 1994, Gazetteer No.9	109800, 936590
LV7	Bhaltos Cemetery and (possible) Chapel	4012	Monument	Norse to Modern	Historic	-	N/A	Cemetery here was called Teampuill Bhaltos, and there is evidence to suggest that it was once the site of a small chapel, the foundations of which have since disappeared.	108910, 936730

Bhaltos Peninsula									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LV8	Souterrain	4019	Souterrain	Iron Age	Iron Age	-	N/A	Souterrain discovered during 1965 construction of water tank close to Sidhean A'Chairn Bhuidhe. Armit notes that the OS map records several wall fragments and other structural evidence that is possibly associated with the souterrain here. Possibly related to the souterrain found near to the cemetery to the SSE Armit, 1994, Gazetteer No.10	108790, 936830
LV9	Dun Bharabhat	4020	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	I	Referenced in local toponym	A major broch/complex Atlantic roundhouse set on an islet in Loch Bharabhat. Excavations from 1985-1987 uncovered the extent of the settlement, along with multiple wooden tools and valuable environmental evidence. Significant for demonstrating the breadth in character of Iron Age structures in the Hebrides as compared with contemporary mainland and Northern Isles evidence. It is believed that the name of the Loch is sourced from the Old Norse 'Borgarvatn', or 'Lake of the Stronghold'. Beyond this reference, no evidence suggesting reuse of the site by the Vikings.	109880, 935320
LV10	Hut Circle	4021	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Entry claims prehistoric - visited by RCAHMS in 1914, had already begun to be eroded by movement of sand. Later visit in 1969 found no trace. Armit, 1994, Gazetteer No.4	108400, 936400
LV11	Souterrain	4023	Souterrain	Iron Age	Iron Age	-	N/A	Souterrain exposed by wind erosion around 1914. Unclear accounts of location means that its actual position is unknown, but presumed to be within the area of the marker. Possible burned mound (recorded as containing fractured stones and 'comminuted' bone) to the south, possible hut-circle west of burned mound. Armit, 1994, Gazetteer No.11	108820, 936750
LV12	Dun (possible)	4025	Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	Y	Referenced in local toponym, nearby associated Viking/Norse midden.	Popular tradition holds that there used to be a dun overlooking Camus na Clibhe. This is attested to in local toponyms - a nearby spring is called 'Tobar a Chasteal', the mound at the marker is named 'An Caisteal' (the castle), and the toponym 'Traigh Bhargaigdh' (beach of the fort) occurs close by. However, there is only limited trace of a small stone structure in the area, and Armit believes that the actual site of the Dun at Camus na Clibhe is at NB 083 361 (Canmore ID 72685) Armit, 1994, Gazetteer No.7	108520, 936410

Bhaltos Peninsula									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LV13	Broch	4100	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age/Pictish	Iron Age	Y	Settlement continuity into the Pictish period, possible Norse settlement close to the site.	Prior to infilling of Loch na Berie, the broch here likely sat on an islet. Excavations from 1985-1988 and 1993-1995 showed that interior of the broch had been reused several times after initial broch period, with two drastic changes in architectural style. Firstly a series of cellular structures of pre-Pictish period date were inserted. These are unusual in the Western Isles, most similar to structures found at Jarlshof and Gurness in the Northern Isles. C14 dating was performed on occupation layers from these structures, giving dates from 253-549 AD. Additionally, characteristic finds such as hand-pins, a spear-butt mould and Samian ware were recovered, backing up these dates. Following the cellular structures, the style shifted again to a series of figure-of-eight buildings, with the first being partially dug into the interior of the broch. While no carbon-dating was done for these levels, a find of a 7th/8th century penannular brooch in the earlier levels of the structure provides a useful terminus post quem. Excavation also discovered that the original floor surface of the broch is about 1m below the modern water table, possibly preserving valuable organic artefacts.	110350, 935160
LV14	Possible Wheelhouse	4101	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	-	N/A	Partially excavated by one Calum MacLeod in the 1950s. Visited by R B K Stevenson from the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, who believed that a wheelhouse was definitely exposed. Pottery, bone whistle and h-shaped mould apparently recovered, though a revision of the site by Euan MacKie in 2007 found no record of any finds. Armit suggests that the mound that the ruins sit upon is the remains of a wider settlement. Unfortunately, geophys survey of the mound saw significant interference due to near-surface gneiss bedrock. The wheelhouse appears to have been significantly eroded since, and, notably, the outlines of the excavation trenches were still visible during a field visit in 2004. Armit, 1994, Gazetteer No.12	110220, 935690
LV15	Cist	4102	Monument	Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Probable cist burial associated with coarse and beaker sherds described in this area by W. F. Cormack in 1973 Cormack, W. F. (1973) 'Lewis, Valtos, Traigh na Beiridh, pottery and cists', Discovery Excav. Scot., 1973, p.48	109990, 936000
LV16	Cnip	72682	Settlement	Bronze Age to Norse	Multi-temporal b	Y	Continuity of settlement	Multiple finds have been recovered from the eroding sand bunkers in this part of the peninsula. These include multiple clinch nails of possibly Viking/medieval origin, an oxidised iron blade, fragments of sheet bronze and more.	109900, 936460

Bhaltos Peninsula									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LV17	Findspots	72682	Findspot	Viking	Viking	-	N/A	Multiple finds recovered in this area of active erosion - unidentified pottery sherds, part of a pair of scissors, shells, bones and a boat rivet were recovered. This is believed to be associated with a series of Viking graves excavated nearby.	109950, 936450
LV18	Iron Age Settlement	72682	Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	-	N/A	Recording of beachfront erosion near the village of Bhaltos in 1992 uncovered complex stratified prehistoric (probably Iron Age) sequence, as well as associated outbuildings, one of which was preceded and succeeded by midden spreads. Excavators associated it with a wheelhouse found 200m to the SE	109640, 936710
LV19	Cnip Iron Age Settlement	72682	Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	Y	Viking settlement nearby	Complex Iron Age settlement, associated with metalworking finds.	109910, 936460
LV20	Roundhouse	72685	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	I	Referenced in local toponym	Armit describes the remains of a substantial roundhouse in this location. He believes that this is likely the actual site of the 'Castle at Cliff', instead of the feature to the NE (Canmore ID: 4025) Armit, I. (1994) 'Archaeological field survey of the Bhaltos (Valtos) peninsula, Lewis', Proc Soc Antiq Scot, vol. 124, Gazetteer No.8	108390, 936060
LV21	Settlement Mound (possible)	72692	Settlement?	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Small hollow topped stony mound near the modern road. Armit believes that it may be a settlement, but notes that this diagnosis is very uncertain. Armit, 1994, Gazetteer No.21	110590, 935360
LV22	Burial and Midden	72693	Monument	Mesolithic?	Prehistoric	Y	Iron Age pottery recovered nearby	Sherds and fragments of Iron Age or later pottery recovered from rabbit scrapes in 1991. Midden uncovered by coastal erosion was subjected to small scale excavation in 2013 as part of a larger campaign in examining Mesolithic settlement in the area. Area associated with nearby shell midden at Tràigh na Beirigh. Stratigraphic sequence consisted of glacial till overlain by old ground surface, midden material and machair. Human remains belonging to one individual associated with large quantity of struck quartz artefacts discovered in old ground surface. These directly overlaid another shell rich midden, which had been truncated by a pit with a base surface of cobbles and filled with soil. The pit fill also yielded finds such as shell, burnt bone, ash and more struck quartz artefacts.	110070, 936400
LV23	Midden	72694	Settlement	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Section of organic rich soil associated with collapsing stonework in area of eroding beach front Armit, 1994, Gazetteer No.23	111600, 935190

Bhaltos Peninsula									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LV24	Midden	72697	Settlement	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Stones and shells visible in rabbit scrapes. Possible structure to the north west.	110660, 935360
LV25	Midden	72698	Settlement	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Conical mound - shell and pottery exposed by rabbit scrapes. Armit, 1994, Gazetteer No.25	110650, 935450
LV26	Settlement Mound	72699	Settlement	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Armit describes an extensive settlement mound here, with wall fragments visible due to erosion of its northern extent. The wall appears to be containing a dense midden containing much shell. Geophys results indicate several anthropogenic deposits. Appears secure from severe damage for the time being, and no further work appears to have been done on the location. Armit, 1994, Gazetteer No.26	110350, 935520
LV27	Shell Midden	72700	Settlement	Mesolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Sample taken from main body of heavily eroded shell midden here. Contained shells, fish bones, crab shells, one hare bone, a piece of charcoal and several burnt hazel nut shells. No evidence for plant or animal domesticates, or pottery. Radiocarbon dates returned calibrated date of later half of fifth millennium cal BC.	110020, 936300
LV28	Cairn	72712	Monument	Viking?	Viking?	-	N/A	Visited by Armit. Described as comprising of flat slabs and several orthostats arranged in an oval, or possibly boat-shaped, alignment. Armit, I. (1994) 'Archaeological field survey of the Bhaltos (Valtos) peninsula, Lewis', Proc Soc Antiq Scot, vol. 124, Gazetteer No.34.	110090, 935750
LV29	Cairnfield	72713	Agricultural?	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Series of clearance cairns, some associated with structures of unclear nature. Truncated by features associated with settlement - appears that most recent features are nineteenth century, but some are older. Armit does not offer a date. Armit, I. (1994) 'Archaeological field survey of the Bhaltos (Valtos) peninsula, Lewis', Proc Soc Antiq Scot, vol. 124, Gazetteer No.36.	108400, 935800
LV30	Stone Row	72723	Monument?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Five parallel rows of stones associated with the cultivated land in the area, aligned in the same way as the strips of cultivation. Visited by Armit during his survey of the area, he had no idea to the purpose of the alignment. Canmore entry says Neolithic/Bronze Age, but I believe this is due to the way stone rows are displayed in the database. Armit, 1994, Gazetteer no.38.	110070, 935710
LV31	Cairn	72724	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Undated cairn, Armit believes from rise in machair in surrounding area that this is not a simple field clearance cairn. Armit, 1994, Gazetteer no.39	110090, 935710

Bhaltos Peninsula									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LV32	Structure	72731	Settlement?	Norse/Medieval	Historic	-	N/A	Unusual structure, probably medieval, see Canmore Id : 72739 for more info. Armit, 1994, Gazetteer No.40	111510, 935390
LV33	Structure	72735	Settlement?	Norse/Medieval	Historic	-	N/A	Unusual structure, probably medieval, see Canmore Id : 72739 for more info. Armit, 1994, Gazetteer No.48	109420, 936190
LV34	Structure	72736	Settlement?	Norse/Medieval	Historic	-	N/A	Unusual structure, probably medieval, see Canmore Id : 72739 for more info. Appears to have been refaced at some point. Armit, 1994, Gazetteer No.44	109670, 935960
LV35	Structure	72739	Settlement?	Norse/Medieval	Historic	-	N/A	Armit describes a number of non-blackhouse style structures dotted across the Bhaltos peninsula, which do not match earlier structure forms. This structure is one of a group of small rectilinear structures with particularly rounded corners. Date is unclear, but presumed to be vaguely medieval. Set atop a possibly artificial mound. Armit,1994, Gazetteer No.46	107980, 936380
LV36	Settlement	72740	Settlement	Post-Medieval?	Historic	-	N/A	Set of structures associated with nearby rig and furrow. Rectilinear structure associated with annular structures, and two sets of banks. Similarities to post-medieval settlement at Druim nan Dearcag, North Uist. Armit, 1994, Gazetteer No.47	108140, 936250
LV37	Structure	72741	Settlement?	Norse/Medieval	Historic	-	N/A	Unusual structure, probably medieval, see Canmore Id : 72739 for more info. Similarly to other examples, features markedly rounded internal corners. Additionally, this structure' east internal wall is irregular, suggesting that there may have been an internal partition at some point. Armit, 1994, Gazetteer No.48	110260, 935320
LV38	Settlement	72742	Settlement	Norse/Medieval	Historic	-	N/A	Three rectangular raised areas sitting in the marsh next to Loch na Berie indicate buildings here. Recorded in the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey of the area from 1850, indicated as unoccupied. Armit believes that they are of relatively early date due to being set on the modern water table, though later than the occupation at the broch to the west. No trace of stone at any of the structures, indicating construction from turf or timber. Armit believes that they originally sat on the shore of Loch na Berie, prior to the infilling of the loch. He believes that they are Norse/Medieval in date.	110400, 935190

Bhaltos Peninsula									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LV39	Viking Burial (possible)	74119	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Canmore entry provides no description of this burial, and the referenced entry in Armit's survey describes a midden located elsewhere. Possibly an errant point	109990, 936500
LV40	Enclosure	223967	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Promontory enclosure, undated but almost certainly prehistoric.	108040, 936480
LV41	Settlement Mound	257555	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Known locally as the site of a Teampuill. Flat topped, clearly artificial from a distance. Modern road disturbs east shoulder. Projecting orthostats from top of northern section of mound, curvilinear in alignment. Mound based on accumulation of structures on same site. Resistivity and magnetic survey showed at least two well-defined structures. Armit, I. (1994) 'Archaeological field survey of the Bhaltos (Valtos) peninsula, Lewis', Proc Soc Antiq Scot, vol. 124, Gazetteer No.18	109880, 936160
LV42	Settlement Mound	257556	Settlement	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Large deposits of midden material in area, mostly consisting of shells but also featuring coarse pottery. Armit visited mound in 1992 - describes large rectilinear mound with evidence for stone structures. Mound apparently planted with potatoes at one point. Armit, (1994), Gazetteer No.20	109880, 936340
LV43	Shell Midden	257556	Settlement	Mesolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Subjected to rescue excavation in 2012. Several 'scoops' into underlying ground surface discovered, containing burnt shell and carbonised macrofossils. Worked oyster shell found lying flat on top of old ground surface below main body of midden. Believed to have been decorative in purpose, and deposition believed to have been votive in nature. Worked flint and quartz, shellfish and crustacean remains, fish and animal bones, hazelnut shells and charcoal discovered during processing of bulk samples.	110020, 936280
LV44	Hut Circle	257557	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Hut circles observed in the area by A. D. Lacaille in 1935. A later survey in 1995 found that only one of the circles was still visible. Armit, 1994, Gazetteer No.3	109930, 936360

Bhaltos Peninsula									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LV45	Traigh na Beirgh	257558	Settlement	Mesolithic to Modern	Multi-temporal	Y	Continuity of settlement	The area known as the Sands of Bere, or Traigh na Berie, is the site of extensive settlement ranging from the Mesolithic to at least the broch building period. A Mesolithic working floor and stone industry similar to the Late Larnian have been discovered in the area, and hut circles and extensive middens of uncertain date have frequently been uncovered and recovered by the shifting of sand. One midden is noted as having produced slag and two sherds of Samian ware alongside a large proportion of oyster shells. Some excavations in 1909 - found hut-circles and souterrain. Extensive middens to western extent - produced bronze needles, pins, wire; hut circles and working floor discovered within, One pin recovered was of a type common in Ireland from the Viking period to the 12th century.	110010, 936030
LV46	Quartz Quarry	306033	Industrial	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Investigated by Ian Armit - several outcroppings with substantial quartz veins. These outcroppings have numerous circular indentations around them, which Armit attributes to prehistoric quarrying practice.	108710, 937580
LV47	Quartz Quarry	306033	Industrial	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Investigated by Ian Armit - hill in this area has three large outcroppings containing large quartz veins that bear numerous circular indentations from prehistoric quarrying. Associated with nearby souterrain and another structure.	108790, 936820
LV48	Settlement Mound (possible)	334634	Settlement	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Undated and undescribed in entry.	108140, 936470
LV49	Prehistoric Enclosure	334637	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Site entry is lacking, consisting of a list of keywords. Essentially a curvilinear enclosure made from turf and stone.	108600, 936820
LV50	Cist	334650	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Entry says 'prehistoric', otherwise no information.	109920, 936670
LV51	Midden	334651	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Entry says prehistoric.	109930, 936530
LV52	Kerb Cairn	334652	Monument	Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Described in Canmore entry as "Multi-phase Bronze Age kerbed cairn"	109940, 936310
LV53	Bronze Age Field System	334654	Agricultural	Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Cultivation area consisting of cord rigging, dated in Canmore to Bronze Age.	109920, 936300
LV54	Cist	334662	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Prehistoric cist, entry otherwise undescriptive.	110180, 935720

Bhaltos Peninsula									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LV55	Stone Row	334663	Monument	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Described as being 'Pre-Improvement' in the entry, indicating a feature predating the Scottish Agricultural Revolution (17th-19th centuries). Unsure if this designation is meant to suggest a stone row recorded on pre-Improvement estate maps, or simply a landscape feature known to predate the improvement due to its associations with improvement land forms.	110290, 935760
LV56	Stone Row	334666	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Canmore says prehistoric - no other description.	111820, 935360
LV57	Cellular Structure	334672	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	No description given.	111710, 934530
LV58	Quarry	334673	Industrial	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Canmore says prehistoric - mill stone quarry.	111690, 934500
LV59	Cultivation	334677	Agricultural	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Prehistoric rigging cultivation.	111680, 934500
LV60	Cairn	335611	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Small stone heap, visited by Armit, eroding out of sand blow-out at location of marker. Armit, 1994, Gazetteer No.33	108640, 936470
LV61	Settlement (possible)	337125	Settlement	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	9m diameter mound of stones with several cellular structures 3m in diameter set in middle.	107820, 936340
LV62	Shell Midden	348338	Settlement	Mesolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Excavated in 2013 Substantial shell midden - appears to have been deliberately covered by layer of stone at some point, which was then overlain by substantial machair layer. Associated with similar midden nearby, forming part of broader Late Mesolithic landscape on Cnip headland.	110030, 936330
Siaram Mòr									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LV63	Shell Middens	337322	Settlement	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Undated middens identified by Crawford	110250, 936750

Section 2b: West Loch Ròg Isles

Pabaigh Mòr									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LI1	St Peter's Church	4095	Ecclesiastical	Uncertain	Historic?	-	N/A	According to local tradition, the church was associated with a burial ground. However, this has never been located. The church is in poor shape, which Crawford attributes to possible shelling by artillery due to the building's use as shelter during the Scottish Crown's campaign against the MacLeods of Lewis. No attempt at dating is made in the Canmore entry.	110440, 937700
LI2	Iron Age Midden	132232	Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	Y	Overlain by a possible Viking settlement	Erosion exposing lenses of charcoal, shellfish and Iron Age pottery.	110020, 938470
LI3	Charraboist	132232	Settlement	Viking	Viking	-	N/A	Crawford mentions the name 'Charraboist', which with other evidence suggests a settlement of Norse date. This is backed up by MML in entry for Canmore ID 335789, which notes that it occurs as 'Mol Charraboist' on the 1854 OS map. Crawford describes a number of oval depressions in the area, in association with large amounts of building material scattered on the nearby beach.	110040, 938430
LI4	Shell Midden	132255	Settlement	Mesolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Midden here excavated and samples by Mike Church and Peter Rowly-Conwy in 2013. Almost certainly Mesolithic, very similar to middens found across on Lewis mainland	110410, 937270
LI5	Crois	132255	Settlement	Viking/Norse	Viking?	-	N/A	Pabaigh Mòr - The township of Crois, cleared in 1849. Crawford has noted multiple examples of Iron Age sherds being recovered from the eroding midden here, while the name of Crois is referenced as rooted in ON for 'crossing place' (Mac an Tàilleir, 2003, p.34) Of note is the Mesolithic shell midden associated with the site. All in all, evidence paints the picture of a settlement with multiple (possibly continuous) occupation periods.	110400, 937280
LI6	Midden	132255	Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	Y	The township of Crois overlies midden here.	Crawford has noted multiple examples of Iron Age sherds being recovered from the eroding midden here. Of note is the Mesolithic shell midden associated with the site. Overlain by the township of Crois, which was cleared in 1849	110400, 937280

Pabaigh Mòr									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LI7	Bronze Age Burial	237343	Monument	Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Crouched inhumation of single individual oriented N-S - slightly disturbed leading to its discovery, but otherwise well preserved. Large stone found cutting machair on west of grave. Found buried on right side with polished pebble, almost complete pot and smoothed pumice as grave goods. Analysis of ceramic fabric indicates prehistoric, most likely Bronze Age date. C14 dating resulted in uncalibrated date of 1155 +/- 35 BCE	110480, 937950
LI8	Cairnfield	306502	Monument	Uncertain	Viking?	-	N/A	Knott records a group of rectangular cairns, either aligned E-W or N-S, within an enclosure. She notes that they could be interpreted as clearance cairns, but believes that they represent an early cemetery. It is unclear if this cemetery predates or is associated with the nearby Viking settlements.	110440, 938040
LI9	Robbed Cairn (possible)	315898	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Scatter of revetted stones around oval depression. Coordinates listed in Canmore are inaccurate, they should be: NB 10615 37365	110610, 937360
LI10	Kerb Cairn and Robbed Cairns (possible)	315898	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	Y	Robbed, possibly for use as building material.	Kerb cairn, 4m x 3m, central chamber oriented N-S. Nearby are two oval depressions, both with stone scatter and one associated with revetted stones. These are possibly the remains of shielings made from robbed cairn material.	110620, 937370
LI11	Burial Cairn	315903	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Erosion shows revetted stones on NW side - Crawford believes prehistoric.	110560, 937720
LI12	Iron Age Houses	315905	Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	-	N/A	NB 10610 37750: exposed midden containing multiple sherds of Iron Age pottery associated with remains of oval structure on tidal inlet. NB 10573 37757: additional structure and associated midden. Without relative dating, difficult to label as 'settlement'.	110590, 937760
LI13	Stone Setting	315964	Monument	Iron Age	Iron Age	Y	Reused for site of triangulation station	Canmore entry mainly refers to the triangulation station at the summit of Beinn Mhor. However, Crawford indicates a substantial stone setting at this point that may be Iron Age.	110140, 937650
LI14	Cairn	315967	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Crawford believes this to be quite old, but provides no further estimate of date.	110030, 937960
LI15	Stone Setting	315968	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Set on the peak of Sron Sithaig - period unclear. Presumably the setting diagnosed by Carol Knott as the settings for a cairn in Canmore ID 335558	110080, 937900

Pabaigh Mòr									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LI16	Iron Age Homestead	315974	Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	-	N/A	Main structure is hut circle with multiple chambers attached on east, west and south sides. Nearby outbuilding at NB 10080 38192. Crawford says Iron Age. Possible shieling/transhumance related?	110080, 938180
LI17	Stone Setting	315975	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Stone setting against bedrock of unclear function or date	109940, 938200
LI18	Burial Mounds	315984	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	Y	Robbed, possibly for the enclosing wall	Crawford describes three separate burial monuments within an area enclosed by a turf and stone wall here - one in which glacial till has been used as a burial cist and subsequently robbed, one 0.8m high mound which has been robbed out, and one 1.5m high mound with revetted stone.	110530, 938190
LI19	Mealabost	335559	Settlement	Viking	Viking	-	N/A	Several structures associated with substantial middens and sherds noted by Crawford. No attempt at dating. Probably the remains of the settlement of Mealabost, as MML notes the name of the area suggests a settlement of Norse origin in the entry for the nearby cairnfield (CID 306502).	110510, 937960

Pabaigh Beag									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LI20	Chapel (possible)	280475	Ecclesiastical	Uncertain	Historic?	-	N/A	Entry provides no details.	109790, 938870

Fuaigh Mòr									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LI21	Fuaigh Mhòr	132256	Settlement	Medieval? to 19th Century	Historic	-	N/A	The township of Fuaigh Mór, sharing its name with the island it sat upon, was cleared in 1849. The village has been planned due to heightened risk of erosion damage, and Crawford noted several structures of ambiguous date, with possible origins ranging from the medieval period to the 19th century.	113180, 935050
LI22	Burial Cairn	315986	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	Y?	Possibly robbed	Cairn contains two large orthostats - one directly on the summit, and one 2m to the north in peat. Crawford believes this may be a cist burial cairn	112870, 934930

Fuaigh Mòr									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LI23	Burial Cairn	315989	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	Y	Associated Iron Age dun and possible medieval buildings	Substantial mound with revetted stones. Crawford claims prehistoric. Along with CID 315990 and CID 315992, one of a number of remains on this peninsula, which Crawford believes may have had ritual significance.	113240, 935160
LI24	Possible Dun	315990	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	Y	Insertion of kiln, township established nearby	Marker delineates a well-preserved kiln in this area, but associated cellular structures and stone settings surrounding it. Crawford believes that this may indicate that the kiln is reusing the site of a dun. Age of kiln uncertain. Along with CID 315992 and CID 315989, one of a number of remains on this peninsula, which Crawford believes may have had ritual significance.	113220, 935200
LI25	Stone Setting	315992	Monument?	Iron Age	Iron Age	Y	Associated with other remains on this peninsula.	Crawford notes a number of stone settings in this area that may have been footings for another structure. Along with CID 315990 and CID 315989, one of a number of remains on this peninsula, which Crawford believes may have had ritual significance.	113220, 935250
LI26	Stone Setting	315999	Monument	Viking	Viking	-	N/A	Stone setting in gully - Crawford believes Norse burial setting.	113040, 934570
LI27	Cairn	316000	Monument	Viking	Viking	-	N/A	Area of mounding and masonry. Crawford believes Norse burial cairn.	113410, 934620
LI28	Kerbed Cairn	316003	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	4.4m diameter cairn with 1.7m slab forming kerb. Remains of a hut to the NE that Crawford believes to be medieval/modern.	113080, 934950
LI29	Huts (possible)	316019	Settlement	Pictish/Norse	Transitional	-	N/A	Crawford suggest that this may have been an ecclesiastical retreat, assigns them a date of early medieval period.	112550, 935550

Fuaigh Beag									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LI30	Mound	315868	Monument?	Viking	Viking	-	N/A	Substantial mound on southern extent of Fuaidh Beag. Crawford believes this may be a Norse feature.	112390, 933130

Fuaigh Beag									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LI31	Blackhouse	315870	Settlement	Medieval? to Post-Medieval?	Historic	-	N/A	Crawford describes a single chamber dwelling that has been cut into by a 'shieling type' structure. The dwelling is associated with several contemporary cellular structures at its S end, as well as a the remains of a stock enclosure to the NW. Crawford notes a historical reference to the Isle of Fuaigh Beag dating to 1549, in which it is described as 'inhabit and manurit gude for store (cattle) corn and fishing', and believes this structure to have been the main settlement site on the island at this time.	112440, 933230
LI32	Kerb Cairn	315871	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Kerb cairn, 4.4m diameter	112390, 933380
LI33	Burial Cairn	315872	Monument	Viking	Viking	Y?	Possibly robbed	Small cairn on E shore of Fuaidh Beag. Has revetted stones and a depression at the summit Crawford claims it is Norse	112500, 933500
LI34	Quarry and Revetment	346346	Industrial	Bronze Age	Prehistoric	Y	Area here reused as quarry by the 20th century	Memorial cairn on Reef apparently sourced stones from ENE shore of Fuaigh Beag. When source site examined, found evidence for rough revetment that Crawford reckons to be Bronze Age. Additionally, some rocks found that appear to have been transported from elsewhere.	112490, 933580

Glas Eilean									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LI35	Hut	308647	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Prehistoric hut circle	113730, 933640
Linngeam									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LI36	Cairn	315857	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	Y	Reused as base of OS 1 trig point	Prehistoric cairn, described by Crawford as largely overgrown with peat and having been reused as the base for an OS 1 trig station.	114150, 933290

Eilean Bhacsaigh									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LI37	Stone Setting	337493	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Neolithic/Bronze Age. Being eroded by the sea.	111410, 936830
LI38	Settlement Mound and Turf Hut	337496	Settlement	Uncertain	Unknown	Y	Settlement continuity	Crawford describes the remains of a turf hut atop a grassy mound, suggesting a continued settlement.	111350, 936740
LI39	Cairn	337498	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Grassed over cairn.	111200, 936810
LI40	Homestead	337506	Settlement	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Remains of hut and associated house. Date unclear.	111540, 937150
LI41	Navigation Cairn	337515	Monument	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Crawford says fishing cairn, used for seaborne navigation.	111690, 937200
LI42	Cairn (possible)	337516	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Arrangement of three boulders - Crawford diagnoses this as possible aborted cairn.	111690, 937220
LI43	Navigation Cairn	337522	Monument	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Crawford says fishing cairn, used for seaborne navigation.	111690, 936810

Section 2c: Beàrnaraigh Mòr

Beàrnaraigh Mòr									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LBM1	Dun Bharabhat	4089	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	I	Referenced in local toponym	Iron Age galleried dun sitting on an islet in Loch Barabhat, connected to the shore via a narrow causeway. Not a true broch, but some elements of similar construction. Like similarly named sites on the Lewis Mainland (CID 4020 and CID 123590), both local toponyms here are probably tautological as Bharabhat likely stems from the Old Norse 'borgarvatn', meaning 'lake of the fort'. This suggests that these areas were named before Gaelic became predominant in the landscape.	115590, 935560

Beàrnaraigh Mòr									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LBM2	Iron Age Settlement	4108	Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	Y	Find of Neolithic mace head, suggesting later interaction with previous material in this area.	Multiple finds of Iron Age pottery around the village of Haclete suggest that there was an Iron age settlement in this area. Additionally, a Neolithic mace-head was found associated with Iron Age pottery, suggesting later interaction with such remains.	115120, 934590
LBM3	Rock Art	4110	Monument	Neolithic, Pictish?	Prehistoric	Y?	Prehistoric rock art possibly revisited in Pictish period.	Two groups of rock art, 10m apart. Mostly cup marks, but there is also a symbol closely resembling that of the Pictish 'mirror'.	116750, 934400
LBM4	Rock Art	4111	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	According to local accounts, group of cupmarks here was destroyed by construction of north abutment of bridge.	116450, 934240
LBM5	Tursachan Stones	4112	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	I	Referenced in local toponym	Have been carbon dated - sample of charcoal dated to 3370-3320 cal BC Three standing stones and a prostrate pillar Placed on rocky slope that ends with a cliff - broad faces oriented towards water. Tursachan translates to 'standing stones', its etymology is unclear, but may be linked to the Old Germanic 'þurs', meaning 'giant' or 'beast'	116420, 934240
LBM6	Chapel	4113	Settlement	Norse?	Historic	I?	Possibly referenced by local toponym	Possibly St Macra's Church. This is the church that Kirkibost may have been named for	119120, 934620
LBM7	Dun Tiddaborra/Nicisabhat	4114	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age?	Iron Age	I?	Possibly referenced in local toponym	Observable in 1914 prior to demolition - site has since been destroyed. The name 'Tiddaborra' may be partly rooted in the Old Norse 'borg', meaning 'fort'.	118290, 933990
LBM8	Dun Barraglom	4115	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	I?	Possibly referenced by local toponym	Probable broch (based on size and shape), at the very least almost certainly an Iron Age fortified site. Much of the site has been destroyed. The name	116770, 934360

Beàrnaraigh Mòr									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
								'Barraglom' may be partly rooted in the Old Norse 'borg', meaning 'fort'	
LBM9	Rock Art	4118	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Cup-marked stone	119070, 933680
LBM10	Dun Stugh	4122	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	I	Referenced in local Gaelic toponym	Galleried dun or broch - Iron Age	115400, 940260
LBM11	Bostadh Iron Age Settlement	4130	Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	Y	Directly overlain by Viking period dwelling.	Major Iron Age settlement in the bay, with at least one dwelling discovered with Viking site directly overlaying it	113720, 940100
LBM12	Bostadh	4130	Settlement	Viking	Viking	-	N/A	Viking house directly overlays Iron Age house at Bostadh Root in Old Norse for 'small farmstead' English name - Bosta (Mac an Tàilleir, 2003, p.21)	113750, 940090
LBM13	Blackhouse	4131	Settlement	Uncertain	Historic	-	N/A	Blackhouse, unclear date. Recorded in Discovery and Excavation in Scotland 1976	114100, 940110
LBM14	Cairns	69520	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	Y	Robbed, also possibly referenced in local toponym	Two cairns near the village of Totarol. Totarol is rooted in ON for 'Hill of the House Sites' - it is possible that these cairns are either the remains of prehistoric houses, or interpreted as such by the settling Norse. 69520 appears to have been robbed - kerb stones misplaced, and hollow in centre. Adjacent is 74122, a possible burial cairn.	118900, 933990
LBM15	Standing Stone	72849	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Name is apparently "Airigh Mhaoldonuich"	117700, 934500
LBM16	Burial Cairn (possible)	77894	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Large mound covered by peat and grass. Possible kerb stones. Nearby enclosure containing lazy-bed cultivation	116000, 934220
LBM17	Burial Cairn (possible)	77895	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Covered by peat. Probing showed large collection of stones, probable edge to 'cairn'.	116100, 934220

Beàrnaraigh Mòr									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LBM18	Stone Setting	91814	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	Y	Robbed for building material	Stone setting surrounded by lazy-bed cultivation. Likely originally circular, robbed for material for mill to the north.	116700, 936920
LBM19	Mill	91815	Industrial	Uncertain	Historic	-	N/A	Uncertain date, but probably took material from stone setting to the south. Replica of 'Norse' mill has been built nearby.	116730, 937030
LBM20	Kirkibost	134846	Settlement	Viking	Viking	-	N/A	According to Aonghas Beàrnaraigh, Kirkibost dates at least to the Norse Settlement of the Isles. Marker is placed at site of original village. The modern name derives from Old Norse for 'Church at a farm'.	119000, 934570
LBM21	Chambered Cairn	158181	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Neolithic in date	114450, 934530
LBM22	Crannog (possible)	270844	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Possible artificially augmented island off isthmus in Loch Breaclete	116270, 936440
LBM23	Cairn	334952	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Described only as prehistoric	118360, 936260
LBM24	Kerb Cairn	334964	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Described only as a prehistoric kerb cairn.	119070, 934180
LBM25	Cairn	334965	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed	119060, 934200
LBM26	Cellular Building	334971	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Described only as prehistoric	118860, 933580
LBM27	Settlement Mound	334972	Settlement	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	No date ventured.	118840, 933690
LBM28	Stone row	334980	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Alignment of stones, Neolithic/Bronze Age	118430, 933780
LBM29	Settlement Mound	334987	Settlement	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Date unventured.	118130, 934300
LBM30	Cellular building	335001	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Unknown date, but associated with promontory fort -possibly made from robbed stone.	114070, 935180
LBM31	Promontory Fort	335002	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Cellular building nearby - contemporary, or robbed from remains of fort?	114070, 935190
LBM32	Promontory Fort	335006	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Described only as prehistoric	113900, 936000
LBM33	Cellular building	335010	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Date unventured	114280, 935820
LBM34	Cairn	335019	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed	114710, 935790

Beàrnaraigh Mòr									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LBM35	Burial Cairn	335021	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Described only as Neolithic	114680, 935630
LBM36	Promontory Fort	335027	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Described only as prehistoric	114470, 936440
LBM37	Cairn	335031	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed	114360, 936840
LBM38	Standing Stone (possible)	335042	Monument?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Possible fallen standing stone, otherwise undescribed.	114790, 937770
LBM39	Settlement Mound	335044	Settlement	Uncertain	Unknown	Y	Continuity of settlement.	Site entry claims multi-period settlement mound, but no elaboration on this.	114810, 937860
LBM40	Cairn	335052	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed	113860, 937230
LBM41	Cellular Structure	335052	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	No date ventured	114650, 937050
LBM42	Cairn	335057	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed	113370, 938430
LBM43	Standing Stone	335058	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Stone of unknown date near the township of Tòpsann	113380, 938540
LBM44	Cairn	335059	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed	113280, 938610
LBM45	Cairn	335060	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed	113220, 938770
LBM46	Standing Stone	335069	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Undescribed	114520, 940280
LBM47	Burial Cairn	335074	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Undescribed	114720, 940310
LBM48	Cellular Building	335079	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Undescribed	115610, 940120
LBM49	Promontory Fort	335084	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	No date ventured	116210, 937230
LBM50	Cellular Building	335104	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Described only as prehistoric	117260, 936820
LBM51	Promontory Fort	335106	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Described as prehistoric promontory enclosure	117280, 937130
LBM52	Cairn	335107	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed	117210, 937190
LBM53	Standing Stone	335114	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Entry says Neolithic, but also notes that the stone has not been visited yet.	117360, 938040

Beàrnaraigh Mòr									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LBM54	Cairn	335116	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed	117670, 937350
LBM55	Enclosure	335119	Agricultural?	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Curvilinear enclosure, Canmore says prehistoric.	115770, 939910
LBM56	Promontory Fort	335129	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Promontory enclosure near the settlement at Bostadh - undescribed.	113420, 940380
LBM57	Cist	335131	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Burial cist, undescribed.	113360, 940500
LBM58	Midden	335133	Settlement?	Post-Medieval	Historic	-	N/A	Midden found in northern part of cemetery. Recorded on Canmore as Post-Medieval	113790, 940140
LBM59	"Footprint" carving	335612	Monument	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	'A perfect right foot' Knott claims feature could be completely natural feature, or enhanced natural feature, but notes that local tradition has referred to it as a footprint for a good while.	118630, 935600
LBM60	Pre-Norse Ecclesiastical Site (Possible)	335613	Settlement	Pictish	Iron Age	I?	Possibly referenced in nearby settlement toponym	Knott notes that according to Rev. Macaulay, an early religious establishment/college existed here before the Norse conquest. No upstanding remains.	118870, 934430
LBM61	Hut	337531	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Small circular hut with passageway facing the beachfront. Crawford lists two separate coordinate locations in the entry - I have chosen to stick with the map marker used by Canmore, as it fits better with Crawford's description. It seems that Crawford mistyped the coordinates used for the description in the site entry. Despite seemingly being close to another hut (Canmore ID 337532), two entries were used instead of grouping the two together.	118730, 936460
LBM62	Hut	337532	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	What Crawford believes to be the settings of a large hut, being eroded by the sea. Despite seemingly being close to another hut (Canmore ID 337531), two entries were used instead of grouping the two together.	118730, 936430
LBM63	Stone Setting (possible)	337533	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Stone setting at the peak of Eilean Bhacasaigh. Crawford believes it to be of Neolithic/Bronze Age date	118790, 936240

Beàrnaraigh Mòr									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LBM64	Cairn	337534	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Crawford believes this cairn to be of some age due to peat accumulation.	118920, 936160
LBM65	Cairns	338299	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed	113220, 939700
LBM66	Midden and Structure	349065	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Prehistoric midden and curvilinear cell structure of uncertain period, though likely associated with the Iron Age settlement nearby.	113770, 940250
LBM67	Shell Midden	349829	Settlement?	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Midden and associated wall, of uncertain date, though likely associated with the Iron Age settlement nearby.	113800, 940220

Section 2d: Beàrnaraigh Beag and associated isles

Beàrnaraigh Beag									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LBB1	Teampuill Bhearnaraidh Bheag	4125	Ecclesiastical	Pictish/Norse	Transitional	Y?	Possible pre-Viking ecclesiastical site repurposed in the Norse period.	Few grave markers - no tombs, head stones, vaults. Enclosure on the east side. Stone sepulchral cells. Two chapel names recorded here - St Donnan's and St Michael's. Possibly location of both, but this is not clear. At the very least, there are two separate sites, of which both appear to have been chapels. Discussion claims that occurrence of toponym 'Pabanish' nearby (specifically referencing Iron Age remains with links to the cemetery site) may suggest that this was an early ecclesiastical site, possibly predating Norse colonisation similarly to the Isle of Papa Westray in Orkney	115050, 940730
LBB2	Chapel	4125	Ecclesiastical	Pictish/Norse	Transitional	Y?	Possible pre-Viking ecclesiastical site repurposed in the Norse period.	One of the two chapels at the cemetery site. Either St. Donnan's or St Michael's	115050, 940700

Beàrnaraigh Beag									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LBB3	Chapel	4125	Ecclesiastical	Pictish/Norse	Transitional	Y?	Possible pre-Viking ecclesiastical site repurposed in the Norse period.	One of the two chapel sites found near the cemetery. Either St. Donnan's or St. Michael's	115070, 940720
LBB4	Tanganais	134867	Settlement	Uncertain	Historic	-	N/A	Settlement structures here largely 18th century, but founding of town here possibly earlier. No investigations as of yet.	114340, 940660
LBB5	Settlement	134873	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Collection of sites and structures set within gully from inland to beach. Marker on Canmore is for site recorded on old OS map - marker here adapted from BNG references in entry text, which appear to be inaccurate. Site 36 is recorded as being at NB 41225 41201, which would be placed within the Lewis mainland. Marker here is at NB 14425 41201. Crawford describes a prehistoric roundhouse and associated outbuildings with the entrance facing the sea.	114420, 941200
LBB6	Shell Midden	306504	Settlement?	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	The shell midden here overlies an extensive charcoal deposit.	114490, 941250
LBB7	Navigation Cairn	308662	Monument	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Crawford believes this may have been built to aid seaborne navigation, does not assign age.	113680, 941690
LBB8	Mound	308664	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Small mound, possibly with kerbstones. Prehistoric to J Crawford's reckoning	113710, 941510
LBB9	Chapel (possible)	308665	Ecclesiastical	Norse?	Historic?	-	N/A	Rectangular building foundations. J Crawford believes site is ecclesiastical, possible St. Donnan's Teampuill	113550, 941500
LBB10	Neolithic Settlement	308667	Settlement	Neolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Investigated by Crawford - erosion has uncovered remains of structures set on glacial till. Almost certainly prehistoric, most likely Neolithic	113880, 941580
LBB11	Rock Shelter	308668	Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	-	N/A	Shelter set into bedrock, Crawford claims prehistoric - Iron Age	113970, 941540
LBB12	Cultivation Terrace (possible)	308669	Agricultural?	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Crawford claims possible terrace made of boulders here, probably prehistoric	113950, 941510

Beàrnaraigh Beag									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LBB13	Promontory Fort (possible)	308670	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Substantial wall, Crawford says prehistoric. Enclosed a peninsula that has since collapsed. Possible promontory fort?	114020, 941480
LBB14	Hut and outbuilding	308673	Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	-	N/A	Hut and associated outbuilding. Crawford says Iron Age.	114060, 941410
LBB15	Standing Stone (possible)	308675	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Sits atop hill, associated orthostat.	113910, 941390
LBB16	Homestead	308682	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Hut, associated stone settings. Crawford believes of prehistoric origin. Situated close to the shores of Loch Mór a' Ghearraidh	113850, 941240
LBB17	Cairn	308683	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Cairn, possibly over burial	113660, 941320
LBB18	Stone Setting	308698	Industrial?	Norse?	Historic?	Y	Robbed for building materials	Setting near stream. Entry date claims Neolithic/Bronze Age, but Crawford believes remains are of early horizontal mill that was subsequently robbed out for nearby dyke. Entry ends with 'Late medieval', but it is not clear if this is referring to the dam or the mill.	113920, 941110
LBB19	Quarry	308699	Industrial	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Prehistoric quarry - signs of extraction of large stone slabs, possibly for monumental structure?	114110, 941220
LBB20	Standing Stones	308712	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	Y?	Possible later addition of wall to monument.	Circular arrangement of stones on knoll, with associated wall that may be a later addition. Crawford notes that this monument overlooks a village, presumably Tanganais.	114160, 940780
LBB21	Enclosure	308714	Agricultural	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Enclosure - could theoretically be post-med, but J Crawford believes that, based on other evidence on Beàrnaraigh Beag, it could be prehistoric.	113950, 940520
LBB22	Cairn	308716	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	Y	Robbed	Burial cairn, robbed. Unclear date	113940, 940490
LBB23	Structure	308717	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Terraced structure here associated with walling that Crawford believes to be prehistoric in origin. The site entry credits one 'J. Shepherd' with the description, but I believe this may be an error.	114110, 940540
LBB24	Platform	308720	Agricultural	Post-Medieval	Historic	-	N/A	Platform with associated curved revetment wall. Crawford says Late Medieval	114410, 940910
LBB25	Grave (possible)	308720	Monument	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Possible burial - collection of stones. Date uncertain	114470, 940830

Beàrnaraigh Beag									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LBB26	Iron Age Settlement	308732	Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	-	N/A	Crawford describes several associated structures in this entry. Large division wall (2.7m thick, 35m long) stretching E-W between two sides of a N-S gully here, with a gateway at its centre - Crawford believes this is Iron Age in origin. Associated with this wall is a circular depression, about 6m in diameter, which Crawford believes may have been a high status building. A smaller wall forms an enclosure for this building, and Crawford noted a structure, obscured by sand, at its centre. These features are visible from Google Earth Pro's imagery.	114730, 940740
LBB27	Rock shelter	308733	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Rock shelter - prehistoric according to Crawford	114810, 940700
LBB28	Burial	308735	Monument	Viking	Viking	-	N/A	Site previously used for sand extraction, but this halted upon uncovering of body. Slabs in area, probably grave markers. Crawford claims Viking	114750, 940870
LBB29	Platform	308736	Indeterminate	Pictish/Norse	Transitional	Y?	Possible pre-Viking ecclesiastical site repurposed in the Norse period.	Bualie Pabanish - Crawford says Iron Age, but appears to be associated with ecclesiastical activity. Associated dyke, southern end of dyke was apparently landing point to transport burials to cemetery (not sure if this is where burials landed or embarked)	115110, 940600
LBB30	Hut	308736	Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	-	N/A	Turf and stone footings of hut, entrance to north, Crawford says Iron Age	115090, 940580
LBB31	Platform	308737	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	8m x 5m platform near a quartz outcrop, Crawford says prehistoric	115030, 940810
LBB32	Burial Cairn	308738	Monument	Iron Age?	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Cairn, 3m diameter and 0.9m high with revetted stones. Crawford claims Iron Age, but this seems unlikely - unfortunately he does not note why he believes this to be the case.	114790, 941110
LBB33	Norse Grave (possible)	333106	Monument	Viking/Norse	Viking	-	N/A	Three small orthostats . Crawford believes Norse grave.	114310, 940990
LBB34	Structure (possible)	333109	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Mound with stones, unclear purpose and date	114050, 940760
LBB35	Orthostats	333111	Monument?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Orthostats set into the shore of Loch Beag A Ghearraidh	113610, 941620

Beàrnaraigh Beag									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LBB36	Cairn and House	335786	Settlement	Neolithic?	Prehistoric	Y	Associated with later township of Tanganais	Oval shaped house - Crawford says that it is reminiscent of Neolithic houses in the Northern Isles, but such structures are rare in Western Isles, so his definition is tentative. Associated cairn - no real description. Both sites are close to relict buildings associated with the Tanganais township.	114340, 940570

Eilean Campaigh									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LBB37	Hut Circle	337311	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Prehistoric hut circle. Appears to be situated above the natural wave tunnel that stretches from W-E	114280, 942690
Eilean Cealasaigh									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LBB38	Stone Setting and Midden	306032	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	~2m oval stone setting, associated with midden and charcoal deposits. In an area of active erosion	114500, 941600
LBB39	Burial Cairn	337312	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	25m in circumference, 1.5m high, earthfast stones at base. Crawford believes burial cairn.	114600, 941620
LBB40	Standing Stone	337315	Monument	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	0.6m orthostat sitting in machair	114440, 941880

LBB41	Chapel (possible)	337317	Ecclesiastical	Pictish/Norse	Transitional	I?	Possibly referenced in toponym	Marker on map refers to walling orthostats and paving towards a possible chapel on the Isle of Cealasaigh, north of Beàrnaraigh Beag. Crawford makes a point of noting that during low spring tide, depth of water between Cealasaigh and Beàrnaraigh Beag is low enough to wade across. Also notes that Donald MacIver claims in his book of place names of Lewis and Harris that Beàrnaraigh Beag and Cealasaigh were, at the beginning of the Norse period, one whole island called Kiallasaigh (islands of cells/temples), but was later cut in two.	114560, 941840

Eilean Fir Chrothair									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LBB42	Hut and chapel	270625	Ecclesiastical	Pictish/Norse	Transitional	-	N/A	Possible chapel site	113980, 941890

Section 2e: East Loch Ròg Coastline

East Loch Ròg Coastline									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LEC1	Dun	4092	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	-	N/A	Dun built onto an islet in Loch an Dùnaìn, connected to the shore by way of a causeway. In 1914, observed to consist of stone rampart built around the margin of the island - now a heavily overgrown tumble of stones on the N of the island.	119750, 939910
LEC2	Broch	4121	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	I	Referenced in local toponym	The eponymous 'Dun Carloway' for which the nearby township is named. One of the best preserved examples of a broch. Consists of two concentric drystone walls, built similarly to the brochs at Glenelg. Sports a guard chamber near the entrance, and examination of interior masonry reveals at least four different building phases. Stands almost to original height of 9m on south side. Apparently stood in a near complete state into the 19th century, with witnesses from 1830 noting that it was roofed over with a large flat stone.	119010, 941230

East Loch Ròg Coastline									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LEC3	Dun	4124	Monumental Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	I	Referenced in local toponym	This small coastal dun at Borghastan was demolished during the construction of the pier. Extension of the pier in 1991 without archaeological oversight destroyed much of the remaining material and context. The remaining debris was sifted after the fact, but I can find no record of any finds.	119270, 942180
LEC4	Chapel	4126	Ecclesiastical	Norse?	Historic	-	N/A	Pre-reformation church - St. Michael in Kirvig - mentioned by Martin Martin. Nearby placenames of Baile an Teampuill' and 'Mol na Gile' suggests that this may be its site. Locally believed that the church stood on a knoll within a disused burial ground - knoll now sports several gravestones and is mostly obscured by heavy vegetation - drystone walling visible on N and W sides.	119390, 941870
LEC5	Iron Age Settlement	4127	Settlement	Iron Age	Iron Age	Y?	Site reuse (possible)	Promontory settlement on a small headland known as Berie, partially excavated by N Galbraith. Homestead comprising of three cells and a raised heath. Nearby outbuilding, unclear if this is associated with homestead or from a different period. More settlement remains believed to be present to the north. Finds included stone implements, pottery sherds of mixed wares and iron slag.	117470, 943150
LEC6	Chambered Cairn (possible)	4149	Monument	Neolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Arrangement of stones, presumed to be the remains of the interior chamber of a cairn.	121020, 935480
LEC7	Callanish XI	4151	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	Y	Nearby cairns robbed, reused as location for shieling huts.	Fallen stone circle on the S face of Beinne na Bige, believed to be part of the Callanish Complex. Some stones have been robbed (or were never placed), all but one of the others have fallen and some of these have been buried. Associated with two cairns, one of which likely being a chambered cairn with kerb stones, the other being a small kerb cairn. Both have been robbed of stones to build post-medieval shielings, one of which sits atop the larger cairn. Stone axe found nearby in 1976.	122210, 935670

East Loch Ròg Coastline									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LEC8	Callanish I	4156	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	Y	Insertion of cairn into interior of circle, cairn possibly reused as a dwelling, site referenced in local topographical placename.	The main stone circle of the Callanish complex. The circle and associated alignments are the centre of a wider landscape of megalithic arrangements, one of the most complex in all of the British Isles. The arrangement of stones here appears to have been at least partially to create a sundial for indicating the date of midsummer, using a beam of light created by the sun shining through a nearby 'cave' formed by blocks on Cnoc an Tursa. Notably, the main circle has seen reuse since its initial construction. First, a chambered tomb was inserted into the centre of the circle. This was subsequently opened and robbed in antiquity. Miers claims that it was used as a dwelling at some point, but I can find no evidence for this.	121290, 933010
LEC9	Callanis XIII	4157	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Set on tidal islet in Tòb na Faodhail. 4 piles of stones, hollow between them, NW pile has prostrate slab which has possibly been worked. Ponting, Ponting and Curtis, M, G and G R. (1976) 'Callanish', Discovery Excav Scot, p.58	121490, 934110
LEC10	Callanish XIV E	4158	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Low standing stone with packing stones on E summit of rocky ridge (Cnoc Sgeir Na H-Uidhe). Aligned with location of equinoctial sunrise seen from Callanish I (Canmore ID: 4156) Ponting, Ponting and Curtis, M, G and G R. (1976) 'Callanish', Discovery Excav Scot, 1976, p.	122800, 932900
LEC11	Callanish XIV W	4159	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Small edge-set stones arranged in rectangular setting, set on Cnoc Sgeir Na H-Uidhe, W summit of rocky ridge. Possible cist. Ponting, Ponting and Curtis, M, G and G R. (1976) 'Callanish', Discovery Excav Scot, 1976, p.59	122700, 932910

East Loch Ròg Coastline									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LEC12	Callanish XVI	4160	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Also called the Cliacabhadh Standing Stone Close to a drystone wall. Ponting et al claim that this stone is SE of another one, but I can find no corresponding site. Ponting, Ponting and Curtis, M, G and G R. (1977) 'Isle of Lewis, Callanish - stone circle and related structures; Callanish I: the standing stones of Callanish, buried stone 33A; Braesclete, Callanish XI:Airigh na Beinne Bige, possible stones, holes, etc.; Callanish XVIA: Cliacabhadh, standing stone; Callanish XIX:Buaile Chruaidh, possible standing stone', Discovery Excav Scot, 1977, p.32	121290, 933780
LEC13	Callanish XIX	4163	Monument?	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Possible standing stone Ponting, Ponting and Curtis, M, G and G R. (1977) 'Isle of Lewis, Callanish - stone circle and related structures; Callanish I: the standing stones of Callanish, buried stone 33A; Braesclete, Callanish XI:Airigh na Beinne Bige, possible stones, holes, etc.; Callanish XVIA: Cliacabhadh, standing stone; Callanish XIX:Buaile Chruaidh, possible standing stone', Discovery Excav Scot, 1977, p.32	121800, 933100
LEC14	Stone Setting	4164	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Six stones, two set on side, arranged in an arc. Ponting and Ponting, G and M. (1981) 'Cnoc Nan Cnamh, Callanish (Uig p) stone setting', Discovery Excav Scot, 1981, p.14	121100, 933390
LEC15	Callanish III	4167	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Near the top of Cnoc Fillibhir Bheag stand two concentric rings of standing stones, packed at base with boulders. Likely associated with stone settings to W (Canmore ID: 69527)	122510, 932710
LEC16	Callanish II	4169	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	Y	Robbed	Tall thin standing stones arranged in a circle around a cairn, which appears to have been looted. Unclear, but most likely Neolithic/Bronze Age	122210, 932600
LEC17	Callanish XII	4171	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Slab of gneiss, packed at base, revealed during peat cutting in 1923 One of a series of shortish standing stones believed to be part of lunar observation from the main complex of Callanish.	121540, 934950

East Loch Ròg Coastline									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LEC18	Callanish X	4172	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Collection of fallen megaliths on top of Na Dromnan - seem to have originally been loosely packed here to keep them upright, probably in preparation for being moved to another location. Field visit and excavation in 2003-2006 revealed that the area the stones sit on is likely their own quarry - not the cliff face seen to the west.	122970, 933620
LEC19	Megalith Quarry	4172	Industrial	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Exposed rock face with evidence for quarrying - millennia of weathering has split the stone into easily separated slabs, and this was long seen as optimal for the megalithic structures of Callanish. However, analysis of the rocks here during a 2003-2006 campaign to understand the composition and architecture of the Callanish structures found that it lacks the characteristic hornblende inclusions seen in the lowland Callanish structures. It is possible that this quarry was used to source stones for other locations, but it does not appear to have been the main quarry for the complex.	122930, 933600
LEC20	Clach an Tursa	4212	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	I	Referenced in local toponym	Standing stone associated with two prostrate split pillar slabs. Appears to be locally known as the 'Stone of Sadness', ('clach' meaning stone in Gaelic and 'tursa' appearing to be linked to Gaelic 'tuir'/'tursaidh', meaning sorrow/lament. However, tursa is an established word for monoliths elsewhere in the area that has Old Norse roots, so I believe that the toponym is tautological. This may indicate that 'Tursa' was the toponym used for this area before Gaelic became the predominant language in the landscape.	120400, 942940
LEC21	Standing Stone	69428	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Broken stump of a standing stone, nearby to the stone circle to the south (Canmore Id (4167)	122470, 932830

East Loch Ròg Coastline									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LEC22	Cairn and Stone Setting (possible)	69511	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	Y?	Possibly reused as location of shieling hut	Large circular mound on W end of ridge of Cnoc an Ball Dubh. Some surface stones have been rearranged to form stone settings described as 'semi-modern'. This may be the settings of one of two shieling huts marked here on the 1st edition OS map (CID69512.	119590, 939400
LEC23	Kerb Cairn	69524	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Low, largely denuded, but associated with 3 large fallen stones presumed to be kerb stones.	117100, 933590
LEC24	Hut Circles	69525	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	In an area known as 'Sgianailt', 3 circular stone settings in a close group, with another 45m to the west of this group.	120540, 937100
LEC25	Stone Setting	69527	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Sub-circular annular setting of stones, multiple more exposed stones from abandoned peat cuttings. Likely associated with stone circle to the east (Canmore ID 4167)	122400, 932710
LEC26	Kerb Cairn	72852	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Kerb cairn atop local summit. Bisected by modern fence	121640, 935960
LEC27	Cairn	74120	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	Y?	Possibly reused as location for shielings	Large long mound sat on the NNW slope of Cnoc a' Bhoineid. Two kerb stones visible. Several small hollows dug into top, believed to be semi-modern in date. Possible shielings around mound, possibly built using material from the cairn.	119820, 938390
LEC28	Graves	74124	Monument	Medieval	Historic	-	N/A	A group of 6-8 angular headstones sitting in heath on rising ground known locally as 'the Slope of the dead' on the west side of a hill called Ceadraiseal. Purportedly mark the graves of members of the Morrison clan of Ness, who were killed during feuding with the MacAulays of Uig.	120790, 936890
LEC29	Hearth	74125	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Concentration of charcoal with burnt branch and bark inclusions, as well as possible pottery sherd, within setting of small stones lying on glacial till, covered by relict clay soil, 20cm peat and 27cm cultivated soil.	121750, 934630
LEC30	Hut Circle	74126	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Possibly prehistoric, cuts a possible sub-circular setting on its west side.	120990, 934210
LEC31	Structure	77609	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Trapezoidal structure consisting of edge-set stones with packing forming 'walls'. No evidence for 'capstone'. Unclear what this may be.	121020, 936160

East Loch Ròg Coastline									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LEC32	Cairn and Grave (possible)	77945	Monument	Viking?	Viking?	I	Referenced in local toponym, local folklore	Near the summit of Cnoc na h-Inghinn a' Ruaidha sits a stone setting of 18 earthfast stones in low grassy mound, presumed to be burial cairn. Nearby is a smaller arrangement of 7 edge-set stones, possibly forming a boat-shaped grave. Significantly, Curtis and Curtis record that there is a local legend that a boat bearing the body of a red-haired woman came in, and that the woman was buried on this hill. They translate Cnoc na h-Inghinna Ruaidha as 'Hill of the Red-Haired Maiden'	120880, 935800
LEC33	Platform	82977	Indeterminate	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	A platform associated with several post holes and pits sits on the northward slope of Cnoc an Tursa. Most likely broadly contemporaneous with Callanish I (Canmore Id: 4156), and placement would suggest that it is associated with the monument.	121300, 932950
LEC34	Standing stone	82978	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	One of a series of relatively low standing stones spread around the Callanish complex, believed to be an aspect of lunar observation. Since removed due to agricultural processes.	121580, 934860
LEC35	Stone Setting	91812	Monument?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Rectangular setting with central 0.6m high stone located on boulder bounded rectangular raised area on Beannan Beag	120770, 937520
LEC36	Callanish XXVIII	91813	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Low mound atop E shoulder of N end of Aird Callanish - believed to be an important part of the astronomical calendar of the main complex of Callanish I.	120920, 933840

East Loch Ròg Coastline									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LEC37	Burial Cairn	110238	Monument	Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Kerb cairn discovered as part of road widening. Large scatter of quartz flakes nearby. Excavated 1995 - cairn found to have been built atop old ground surface sporting ard marks, no such ard marks found in area outside the cairn. Neighbour suggests that this may be due to differences in preservation, but does not discount a ritual cause. Old ground surface marked by over 100 post holes, many arranged in curving/straight lines and trapezoids. Redeposited material suggests structures - possible dwelling preceding cairn? Cairn itself had two kerbs, largely robbed in places. Central cist contained plain cremation urn and associated cremated bone - no covering slab to the cist, suggesting possible robbing. First entrance aligned with main avenue at Callanish, and cairn believed to be associated with monumental complex. Post cairn features - cairn cut by two drainage channels, and also by several post-holes.	121780, 934740
LEC38	Stone Setting	110242	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Setting of stones about 4.5m NS by 5m EW, discovered during construction of garage and drainage ditch. Set on underlying glacial till, beneath peat.	121740, 934620
LEC39	Dun/Cairn	123590	Monumental Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric	I	Referenced in local toponym	Canmore ID 123590 Sub-circular structure, possibly robbed, currently submerged under waters of Loch Bharabhat. Similarly to identically named loch on the Bhaltos peninsula, the name Bharabhat comes from Old Norse and indicates a lake associated with a fort. The structure on the islet here may either be a cairn or a dun, and needs further investigation to determine which.	122340, 934300
LEC40	Prehistoric Hearth	124863	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Sub-peat features eroding from coast here - evidence for birch clearance as well as most likely prehistoric curvilinear stone hearth.	120500, 933500
LEC41	Stone Setting	131217	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Small circle of stones of about 4m in diameter, made up of stones either buried or standing 0.3-0.4m above modern turf.	122190, 934750

East Loch Ròg Coastline									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LEC42	Stone Setting	217219	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Setting of ~20 stones forming central hollow, capped with roundish horizontal slab. Possible pointed standing stone may have fallen from this setting subsequent to damming of the loch.	122400, 934200
LEC43	Promontory Fort	223931	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	I?	Possibly referenced in local toponym	Large promontory fort built onto a stack called 'A'Bheirigh', which to me suggests a root from the Old Norse 'borg'. Survey and evaluation excavation in 1995 found that beyond the originally defining enclosure (consisting of a substantial drystone wall on the narrow neck of land that connects the stack to the mainland), several platforms are present within the interior of the enclosed area. The trial trench was placed on the edge of one particular platform that has a circular stone structure atop it. No dating or artefactual evidence was found during this excavation, but it confirmed that the stone structure was indeed a structure, and discovered the possible remains of a timber building.	118680, 944990
LEC44	Stone Circle	270940	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	Y	Robbed	Set on Cnoc Gèarraidh Nighean Choinnich. Previously urecorded prior to 2001, despite being the largest such stone circle within the Callanish area. Several megaliths have since been robbed, with hollow suggesting that there were originally 15 in total. 9 remain, 4 are broken. It is believed that the main episode of robbing coincided with peat cutting in the 18th century. As with other stone circles in the Callanish area, believed to have been significant for astronomical and landscape observations. Seems that the nearby kerb cairn's (Canmore ID 110238) second entrance was oriented towards this circle.	122170, 934840
LEC45	Stone Setting	283003	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Stone setting surrounded by several slabs and incorporating three natural boulders. Apparently set within Màla Dúbh, and nearby to a wider causeway across the peat in this area.	122380, 933680

East Loch Ròg Coastline									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LEC46	Stone Circle	283004	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Set on Cnoc Gèarraidh Nighean Choinnich. One slab appears to have been robbed to form part of a nearby bridge. As with observations from Callanish I, Curtis and Curtis believe that this circle was used in several lunar observations.	122210, 934960
LEC47	Megalith Quarry (possible)	293950	Industrial	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Project from 2003-2006 analysed potential sources for megaliths at Callanish - outcropping here shows distinctive inclusions of hornblende seen also in the stones at Callanish I (Canmore Id: 4156). No direct evidence for quarrying found in trenches, but most likely location for stones.	120950, 933120
LEC48	Stone Settings	333113	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Several stone settings, one of which may be a kerb cairn, nearby a croft. Set within an area with multiple pre-crofting drainage ditches, one possible setting partially cut by one ditch.	121490, 933540
LEC49	Stone Settings	333115	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Three stone settings close to a croft. Likely kerbed.	121480, 933510
LEC50	Stone Row	334742	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed	117180, 942950
LEC51	Stone Row	335183	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Alignment of stones, likely part of the Callanish ritual complex.	121910, 932620
LEC52	Structure (possible)	335199	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Inundated rounded enclosure on sunken outcropping.	121390, 932600
LEC53	Dyke	335207	Land Division	Neolithic	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Drystone dyke on east side of Bratanais Mòr, apparently Neolithic	120690, 932900
LEC54	Cairn	335215	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Entry says prehistoric.	120870, 933100
LEC55	Stone Row	335219	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Presumably part of the monument complex of Callanish, but no description given.	120670, 933080
LEC56	Dyke	335220	Land Division	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Drystone dyke, possibly part of wider Callanish complex.	120670, 933110
LEC57	Cellular Building	335222	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Prehistoric cellular building.	120560, 933190
LEC58	Curvilinear Enclosure	335223	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Prehistoric, likely associated with cell to the east (Canmore Id: 335222)	120540, 933190

East Loch Ròg Coastline									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LEC59	House Platform	335236	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Prehistoric house platform - no further description in entry, but judging by other nearby sites (CID 110242, CID 74125), possibly part of a wider settlement in the area.	121710, 934650
LEC60	Stone Setting	335241	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Prehistoric, otherwise undescribed.	121580, 934140
LEC61	Hearth	335242	Settlement	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Eroding from stream bank.	121680, 934690
LEC62	Dyke	335250	Land Division	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Prehistoric drystone dyke atop Stac a' Bhanain. At risk of destruction.	120390, 936050
LEC63	Cup-marked Stone (possible)	335256	Monument?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed.	118680, 938530
LEC64	Cist	335258	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed, sits on the side of Loch Shiadair	118590, 938850
LEC65	Promontory Fort	335264	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Promontory fort on the seaward part of Cnoc Buaile Fang	117830, 940830
LEC66	Stone Row	335270	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed.	118860, 942430
LEC67	Cairn	335271	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed.	118760, 942410
LEC68	Stone Row	335272	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Undescribed	117550, 943050
LEC69	Cairn	335273	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed	117880, 943620
LEC70	Cairn	335278	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed in entry.	118580, 943940
LEC71	Cairn	335280	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed in entry.	118660, 944030
LEC72	Cairn	335281	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed in entry.	118560, 944220
LEC73	Cairn	335282	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed in entry	118710, 944240
LEC74	Farmstead and Cist (possible)	337080	Settlement?	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Burgess found what he believes to be the remains of a farmstead, as well as an associated cist, in this area.	118700, 943340
LEC75	Cairn	337082	Monument	Uncertain	Historic?	-	N/A	Surveyed by Burgess - smallish cairn appearing to consist of loose rubble, Burgess believes it to be fairly recent.	119030, 943160
LEC76	Cairn	337563	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Submerged in the waters of Loch Liuravat	119710, 943390

East Loch Ròg Coastline									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LEC77	Cist (possible)	337567	Monument?	Uncertain	Prehistoric	Y?	Possibly robbed	Possible cist, described by Burgess as consisting of a scatter of stones, some edge-set slabs, above a possible subterranean hollow.	118910, 944940
LEC78	Crannog (possible)	337854	Settlement?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Circular area of reeds in Loch Breivat observed by Burgess in 1995 survey. Needs diving to confirm as crannog.	119300, 943360
LEC79	Cairn	337868	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Burgess believes this to be of some antiquity, as much of the cairn is buried beneath peat.	119450, 944530
LEC80	Cellular Building	338304	Indeterminate	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Undescribed	117660, 943030
LEC81	Standing Stone	338304	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age?	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Undescribed	117680, 942990
LEC82	Promontory Enclosure	338306	Settlement?	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Undescribed	118290, 943490
LEC83	Cairn	338306	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed	118280, 943510
LEC84	Stone Row	338306	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed	118190, 943580
LEC85	Burial Cairn	338307	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed	118090, 943580
LEC86	Stone Alignment	338307	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Associated with possible cist.	118180, 943600
LEC87	Cairn	338307	Monument	Uncertain	Historic?	-	N/A	Undescribed, location may suggest modern hikers' cairn.	118140, 943690
LEC88	Cairns	338308	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed in entry.	118670, 944250
LEC89	Cairns	338309	Monument	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Undescribed in entry.	118760, 944360
LEC90	Stone Setting (possible)	346347	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age?	Prehistoric?	Y?	Possibly reused as setting for clearance cairn	Curtis believes that this may be a stone setting linked to the wider Callanish landscape, that has subsequently been selected as the site of a field clearance cairn.	121470, 935170
LEC91	Burial Cairn (possible)	347005	Monument?	Uncertain	Prehistoric?	Y?	Possibly reused by crofters, but may actually simply be the remains of quarrying activity.	An arrangement of stone slabs, some of which appear to have been modified for use as lintels in nearby crofts. Possibly the remains of a chambered cairn that has been repurposed. Unclear, however, as may simply be the remnants of quarrying activity by crofters.	121400, 936010

East Loch Ròg Coastline									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LEC92	Standing Stone (possible)	348303	Monument?	Neolithic/Bronze Age?	Prehistoric?	-	N/A	Slab supported by small stones within a concavity on the summit of Cnoc Leathann. Curtis believes the slab marks the location from which astronomical observations were made due to the effects of the concavity on the view.	121530, 936220
LEC93	Standing Stones	348740	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Slab re-examined in 2013, found to have packing stones, identifying it as a fallen standing stone. Curtis and Curtis believe that it may have acted as an astronomical marker, and that quart stone found as part of its packing is linked to Callanish X (Canmore ID 4172)	121530, 936000

Eilean Grèinam									
Corpus ID	Name	Canmore ID	Site Type	Period	Culture	Reuse?	Evidence for Reuse	Description	BNG Reference
LEC94	Roundhouse	337535	Settlement	Uncertain	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Crawford records the remains of a circular house here, being eroded by a shingle beach.	120030, 935800
LEC95	Oval House	337536	Settlement	Uncertain	Unknown	-	N/A	Crawford does not suggest a date for this building, which is eroding into a nearby shingle beach.	120010, 935830
LEC96	Stone setting	337538	Monument	Neolithic/Bronze Age	Prehistoric	-	N/A	Being eroded by the sea.	119960, 935870

Section 3: Rousay Toponyms

Rousay Toponyms			
Corpus ID	Name	Status	Description
ORT1	'The Bu' Farmstead	Confirmed	According to SJG, Bu is an Old Norse placename denoting a high-status settlement. The 19th century farmstead is purportedly built into a substantial mound which seems to consist of midden deposits - essentially a 'farm mound' as seen at the Skaill and Westness farmsteads. It would seem that the original settlement at Bu dates at least to the Norse period, with the keep (CID 2665) and chapel (CID 2656) being linked to the high status family that owned the farmstead.
ORT2	Gurness Settlement	Suspected	See RM11 for details.
ORT3	Husabae	Possible	Marwick believes that the -bae element in the name indicates a major farmstead, though Scockness appears to have taken its place as the main farm for this part of the island at some point.

Rousay Toponyms			
Corpus ID	Name	Status	Description
ORT4	Knarston	Possible	Translates to 'Knarr's Town'. Believed by Marwick to be the site of a Viking head house.
ORT5	Langskaill	Possible	Rooted in Old Norse for 'long hall' Believed by Marwick to be the site of a Viking head house.
ORT6	Mid-Skaill	Suspected	Mix of Old Norse and English - lit. 'middle hall' Possible Viking potsherds and midden deposits recovered from collapsed bank at nearby farm of Mid-Skaill during the 1970s - believed to be from a Viking settlement, though RGL notes that pronuncement may be conjecture based on the place name. More recently, coastal erosion has revealed black organic earth (indicative of midden) below Mugley cottage.
ORT7	Saviskaill	Suspected	Contains the 'skaill' element, possibly indicating the location of a hall. Traces of dry-stone walling associated with burnt stones and midden material eroding out of the shoreline show a settlement predating the modern farmstead here. Believed to most likely be Viking in date, seemingly due to toponymic evidence, but not enough physical evidence to be certain.
ORT8	Scockness	Possible	Believed by Marwick to be the site of a Viking head house. May have usurped Husabae as the site of the main farm for its district.
ORT9	Skaill Farmstead	Confirmed	'Skaill' translates into 'hall', and is a common placename and toponymic element across the Orkney Isles. See RR148 for archaeological details.
ORT10	Tratland	Possible	According to Marwick, name translates to 'strife land', possibly indicating that ownership of this area was the source of contention at some point in the past. Believed by Marwick to be the site of a Viking head house.
ORT11	Westness Viking Farmstead	Confirmed	See RR6 for details

Section 4: Loch Ròg Toponyms

Loch Ròg Toponyms			
Corpus ID	Name	Status	Description
LRT1	Bhàlasaigh	Possible	Root in Old Norse for 'whale island' English name: Valasay (Mac an Tàilleir, 2003, p.117)
LRT2	Borghastan	Possible	Contains the Old Norse word for 'fort', rest of the place name is unclear English name: Borriston (Mac an Tàilleir, 2003, p.21) Almost certainly named for the nearby Iron Age promontory fort.

Loch Ròg Toponyms			
Corpus ID	Name	Status	Description
LRT3	Bostadh	Confirmed	Root in Old Norse for 'small farmstead' English name - Bosta (Mac an Tàilleir, 2003, p.21) See LBM12 for archaeological details
LRT4	Breascleit	Possible	Root in Old Norse for 'broad cliff' English name: Breasclete (Mac an Tàilleir, 2003, p.22)
LRT5	Càrlabhagh	Possible	Root in Old Norse for 'Karl's Bay' English name: Carloway (Mac an Tàilleir, 2003, p. 27)
LRT6	Chàrraboist	Confirmed	Old Norse - Stahl notes that it is most likely to be a compund of ON 'kjarr', meaning 'brushwood/fen/marsh' and ON 'bólstaðr', meaning settlement. English name - Carrabost Stahl, 2005, p.2 See LI3 for archaeological details
LRT7	Cliobh	Confirmed	Root in Old Norse for 'Cliff' English name: 'Cliff'
LRT8	Cnip	Possible	It is highly likely that there was a settlement in the vicinity of the Viking cemetery on Cnip Headland, but the precise location of this settlement in unknown.
LRT9	Crois	Suspected	Root in Old Norse for 'crossing place' Mac an Tàilleir, 2003, p.34
LRT10	Crothair	Possible	Root in Old Norse for 'enclosures' English name - Croir (Mac an Tàilleir, 2003, p.34) Probably began as a seasonal settlement
LRT11	Crùlabhig	Possible	Old Norse origin, possibly means 'bay at the meadow with a pen'. English name - Crulivaig Mac an Tàilleir, 2003, p.35
LRT12	Fuaigh Beag	Possible	See entry for Fuaigh Mòr. Most likely a mix of Old Norse root for 'Fuaigh', meaning 'house island' and Scots Gaelic 'beag' meaning 'small'

Loch Ròg Toponyms			
Corpus ID	Name	Status	Description
LRT13	Fuaigh Mòr	Possible	Not directly addressed by Mac an Tàilleir, but similar place name of Fuiay/Fùidheigh in Barra recorded as being from Old Nore for 'house island'. Thus, this topynym is likely a mix of Old Norse and the Gaelic word 'mòr', meaning 'big'. (Mac an Tàilleir, 2003, p.51)
LRT14	Iarsiadar	Possible	Root in Old Norse for 'beach farm' English name - Earshader (Mac an Tàilleir, 2003, p.45)
LRT15	Kirkibost	Confirmed	Old Norse for 'farm by the church'
LRT16	Linnseadar	Possible	From Old Norse for 'flax township' English name - Linshader (Mac an Tàilleir, 2003, p.80)
LRT17	Meàlabost	Confirmed	Old Norse - Stahl notes that due to a scarcity of evidence about this place name (it occurs only once in historic maps, and there is no knowledge of pronunciation), it is difficult to understand what the place name may mean, but it contains the Old Norse 'bólstaðr', meaning settlement. Stahl notes two similar place names: The first is Meabost, in Skye, thought to incorporate ON 'mjór', meaning 'narrow/tight', with 'bólstaðr'. The second is Melbost, occurring in the parish of Barvas on Lewis, thought to be a compound of ON 'melr' meaning 'sandbank/gravel bank' and 'bólstaðr'. Stahl, 2005, p.3 See LI19 for archaeological details.
LRT18	Tàcleit	Possible	Root in Old Norse for 'high cliff' English name: Hacklete (Mac an Tàilleir, 2003, p.61) Multiple finds of Iron Age ceramics within area of village (See LBM2).
LRT19	Tobhtarol	Possible	Root in Old Norse for 'Hill of the House Sites' English name - Totarol Mac an Tàilleir, 2003, p.114

Loch Ròg Toponyms			
Corpus ID	Name	Status	Description
LRT20	Tolastadh a' Chaolais	Possible	Mix of Old Norse and Gaelic. 'a' Chaolais' is Scots Gaelic for 'at the narrows', and 'Tolstadh' has its roots in the Old Norse for 'Tholf's place'. English name - Tolstacholais (Mac an Tàilleir, 2003, p.113)