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A RECONSIDERATION OF THE EVIDENCE OF THE SHIELING IN THE KINGDOM OF MAN AND THE ISLES, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO MAN.

(IN TWO VOLUMES)

VOLUME TWO

GILLIAN QUINE

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A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM
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25 APR 1991

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

NORSE SETTLEMENT IN THE KINGDOM OF MAN AND THE ISLES

A. HOUSE SITES ON MAN (Fig.6)

Identification of the sites as Norse has not been based on artefactual evidence, although it is important to stress that finds from other periods are also noticeable by their absence. No datable finds were found at the Braaid, described by Wilson (1974:12) as the 'most important settlement of the Norse period so far identified in the Isle of Man', and by Gelling (1964:204) as a 'fine house' which must have been that of 'some notability'. This, and the lack of occupation debris, was explained by Fleure and Dunlop (1942:51), and Gelling (1964:202), by the likelihood that the stream near the site was diverted to run through the main building whilst occupied, and that after its abandonment the water spread and removed any material on the floor. The Ballagawne site finds consisted of fragmentary iron objects, including tubing (Bersu 1966:103-4); quern fragments and an unstratified coin of Edward I came from Cronk ny Merriu (Gelling 1952:314), and iron clinch bolts from Close ny Chollagh (Gelling 1956:573). Not a single find came from the site of Vowlan (Bersu 1949:74). The only site to produce any significant, and potentially datable finds, was Cass ny Hawin. These were handmade pottery fragments of bright orange, dark grey and pale buff wares, two with mica traces, part of a pair of iron shears and a very small spearhead (Gelling 1958c:37). These finds created problems for Gelling (1958c:37), the thirteenth century date for the pottery being at odds with his interpretation of the structural evidence. Garrad (1978:364) tentatively dated the pottery sherds to the fourteenth century. Doarlish Cashen also produced finds but these are of little use for dating. The most significant were a stone spindle-whorl from Building 2, a sherd of undecorated, unglazed grey pottery from the floor of Building 1, and a sherd of glazed nineteenth century pottery in the collapsed turf over the centre of this building. A very corroded piece of iron buckle was found just to its south (Gelling 1970a:81).

Thus, not a single diagnostic Norse find has been recovered from any of these sites. This evidence should be compared with that from sites such as the Udal (I. Crawford 1972:8) and Drimore (Maclaren 1974:14,18) in the Outer Hebrides; Freswick (Batey 1987a) in Caithness; the Brough of Birsay (C. Curle 1982), Buckquoy (A. Ritchie 1977), Orphir (Batey 1980) and Skaill (Gelling 1984) in Orkney, and Jarlshof (Hamilton 1956), Underhoull (Small 1968) and Papa Stour (Crawford 1985) in Shetland. All have produced characteristic Norse artefacts, although in varying quantities. The lack of finds on Man seems to be at odds also with the general view that the island, during the Norse period, had a 'nodal position' (Cubbon 1983:13), at the hub of activities in the Irish Sea, possibly taking advantage of the trading connections between Ireland and England, and further afield.

Structural evidence - the coastal sites

The excavated sites, all but one of which lies on a promontory, consist of relatively small, rectangular buildings set within once sizeabl ramparts. These ramparts are of earlier date, and at Close ny Chollagh (Fig.7) Gelling (1956:571) demonstrated that the rectangular structure overlay one of five earli r circular huts, which compared in form with that at the Braaid site (Wilson 1974:15). Gelling (1956:571) concluded that the Iron Age occupation of this site probably came to an end in the first century A.D..

At Vowlan (Fig.8-10), Bersu (1949:62-79) traced the outlines of six rectangular structures, five superimposed, varying in size from 4.1 by 7.3m to 5.4 by 9.8m. Two lines divided the interior into three aisles running parallel to the main axis, with the middle aisle, containing the hearth, being broader than the others. The outer aisles were subdivided by partition walls at ninety degrees from the wall of the aisle to the long outer wall. All walls appeared to be of wattle construction. Entrances were well preserved in four of the structures, appearing as gaps in the middle of the short walls nearest to the hearths. The latter formed flat pits lying, on average, one third of

the way along the length of the houses. The indications are that that these houses were not inhabited for any length of time, the floors of succeeding houses being at virtually the same level. The rectangular form and rounded corners suggested to Bersu a Germanic Iron Age date.

At Cass ny Hawin, (Gelling 1958c:28-38), a very different building technique was employed (Fig.11). Here, the floor of a rectangular building, 10.6 by 4-5m, had been cut through some 0.7m of glacial drift to the natural rock beneath. The structure had opposing doorways and a raised bench along each side, apparently created by the cutting of the central passage to a greater depth. In the centre lay a hearth, 2.5m long, and six post-holes were located, two at the west end and four in a line to the west of the doorways. Gelling believed that the post-holes lying outside the east end of the building belonged to the pre-mediaeval occupation. The exact details of the structure above ground were not clear: the lack of evidence of stone suggested turf walls. The possibility, however, that the stones were removed subsequently should not be ignored. Traces of a very low, eroded bank were located at the east end and Gelling suggested a width of some 2.5m for the wall. A similar bank was noted on the south side.

The structure at Cronk ny Merriu (Gelling 1952:307-17) appears very similar in plan to the above (Fig.12): roughly rectangular with rounded corners, some 11 by 4.5m in size, possible benches on three sides and opposing doorways in the long walls. All it lacks is the long central fire. The floor space, a narrow strip down the centre, contained three post-holes lying approximately along the central axis. No occupation material was discovered. Gelling suggested that the structural evidence had been obliterated by its re-use, perhaps as a cowshed, at a later date. The third entrance in the east wall would appear to support the theory of re-use, but at what stage is not clear.

Close ny Chollagh (Gelling 1956:571-5) is a very different site from the above, although the structure was again rectangular (Fig.7). It was 12.5 by 5.0m, and only the north wall was free-standing, the east and south walls being dug into the side of the rampart, and the west wall being provided by a rock outcrop. There appeared to be a bench along most of the south wall, although the internal arrangement of the house seems to have been rather rough, the builders having failed to remove all the collapsed material, causing the floor of the building to rise sharply to the foot of the east wall. Four post-holes were located but do not form any particular pattern. Three other features were found within the enclosed area: in the north-west corner was a curving stone foundation, 1-1.5m wide; in the south-west corner a row of upright stones about 4m long, enclosing an area roughly 5m by 3m, and a short distance from this were three stone steps built against the face of the rampart. On the north side of the latter there was also a stone trough. Gelling (1958b:56) interpreted the first two as out-buildings, one of them as a cow-house with evidence of stalls. The contemporaneity of all the buildings and features was not questioned.

Gelling (1958b:56) saw the sites as being occupied on a permanent basis by 'hard-working farmers and fishermen'. Wilson (1974:16) endorsed this, even if they were 'uncomfortably sited and exposed sites.' Bersu (1949:76;1968;88), however, saw them as the temporary dwellings of Viking raiders, or as forts, the precursors of the watch and ward system. The lack of occupation material in the sites and middens associated with them is consistent with this interpretation. However, it must be noted that the cliff-top situation might have encouraged the disposal of debris into the sea. It is likely also that erosion has taken its toll. This argument on its own cannot, therefore, be taken as evidence of temporary settlement. More significant, perhaps, was the choice of building materials: at Vowlan wattle (Bersu 1949:71); at Cass ny Hawin turf (Gelling 1958:35), and Close ny Chollagh existing features (Gelling 1956:571). This site, in particular, has structures which appear temporary in character. However, this is the only one to have produced evidence of structures which could possibly be interpreted in terms of farming (the cowshed).

Gelling (1958b:55-6) produced a site chronology based on the structural

evid nce. For Cronk ny Merriu, it was:

> 'tempting to guess that the house belongs to a time rather early in the period of the settlement before the settlers had time to forget their Scandinavian ways.'

As 'there was only one bench, and that a very narrow one...' in the Close ny Chollagh house, although in the Scandinavian tradition, it appeared to have been built at a time when 'this tradition was weakening and beginning to be forgotten', thus in the thirteenth century. The Cass ny Hawin house, however, presented difficulties. All the characteristic Scandinavian features appeared to be present, suggesting a tenth century date. However, the pottery suggested the thirteenth century. Gelling examined two explanations: the first that the house was built in the tenth century, but continued to be occupied until the thirteenth century. Assuming that the house had turf rather than stone walls, then Gelling correctly rejected this theory on the grounds that it was exceedingly unlikely such a house would have lasted for perhaps some four centuries. The other explanation, considered more likely, was that it was incorrect to assume that a house with clearly marked Norse features must belong to the Viking Age. He suggested that the Norse settlers continued to build houses in the traditional Scandinavian style for a much longer period than previously believed. This conclusion necessitated reconsideration of the dating of the Close ny Chollagh house, in which the idea of a bench had almost died out. A pre-fourteenth century (post-Norse) was hardly likely. In his eagerness to produce dating evidence, Gelling ignored the fact that such houses were not built to a standard plan. Size, shape and building materials used, for example, would vary according to the local environment. The size of the building at Cronk ny Merriu was obviously affected by the width of the promontory. It is also clear that the remains of the Iron Age defences and structures would have been made use of: the Close ny Chollagh building shows very clearly the use of existing features, both natural and man-made. Clearly, it is only natural that there should be variations in the form of the structures.

Besides the excavated sites, Bersu (1949:77) listed a number of other potential forts around the coast of Man, which could have been used in the Norse period. None of these have been excavated, but at least one is of seventeenth century date (Wilson 1974:14), and others are doubtful (Wilson 1974:16). These are:

1. Ballure
2. Gob ny Garvain
3. Little Switzerland, Douglas
4. Santon Head (near to it)
5. Purt ny Ceabagh
6. St. Michael's Island
7. Langness Point
8. Towlfoggy
9. Burroo Ned
10. The Parade
11. The Niarbyl
12. Creg Lea
13. Dalby Point (near to it)
14. Ballanyre Strand
15. Ballaugh Burn Fort (16th century)
16. Gob Gorm

Structural evidence - inland sites

The Ballagawne 'fortified house'

This site (Fig.13) is some 0.8km (0.5miles) from the sea, but lying within a bank and ditch on a small rocky hill it has more in common with the coastal sites as far as location is concerned. At least two superimposed rectangular buildings were identified by Bersu (1966:89-114) in 1941. Building 1, some 11 by 5.6 m, appeared to have been 'burned down in a heavy conflagration' (Bersu 1966:92). The latest building, 2, was in better condition. It was well-defined, 12.9-13.5 by 5.6m, and had evidence of both timber and short, outer stone walls, with a core of soil. The entrance lay in the middle of the east wall. Bersu, at first, suggested that the building was possibly used for storage, largely on the basis of the evidence of closely set rows of posts, and the possibility of a raised floor. He dated it to the

Scandinavian period. However, by 1963, he had altered his interpretation of the site (A. Cubbon 1966a:114-19), concluding that Building 2 was a dwelling. This was based on a comparison with the buildings discovered at the Braaid and the coastal sites, and a study of Germanic and Scandinavian house types. This re-interpretation has enhanced the strange nature of this site. The lack of occupation material, especially a hearth, is not explained, and there is still the problem of the large number of surplus post-holes. The question as to why the site was fortified, assuming that the defences are contemporary, is an important one and does suggest that the storage interpretation was simplistic. Both the form of the building and its internal timbering are unparalleled, as indicated by Wilson (1974:14), suggesting strongly that this site should not automatically be added to the list of Norse house sites in Man. Interestingly, Bersu (1968:88) mentioned that several examples of the remains of large rectangular buildings existed in places well scattered in the interior of the island. Unfortunately, he did not elaborate upon this.

The Braaid, Marown

This site (Fig.14), with its two rectangular and one circular structure of stone, is also enigmatic. It was interpreted as a sub-megalithic circle and adjoining alignments by Fleure and Dunlop in the 1940s (1942:39). Nothing was discovered to suggest that it was a habitation site: there were no hearths, only very small amounts of charcoal, and the clay floors were not hardened or discoloured by the heat (Fleure and Dunlop 1942:49). This suggested that if there had been any fires they were only small and infrequent. They concluded that the site was used for ceremonial purposes. However, Bersu (1942:51) re-interpreted the circle as the foundations of a round-house, comparing it with Pant-y-saer, north Anglesey, the house site at Little Woodbury (Bersu 1940), and with Ballacagen in Man. He suggested that wooden poles would have been necessary to supplement the outer walls in supporting the roof, but no post-holes were found in the interior of the circle. Bersu (1942:52) also concluded that the alignments were in fact 'boat-shaped houses of Scandinavian type'. In April 1962, Peter Gelling carried out re-excavations at the site to try to find structural evidence to help explain the function of the 'alignment' furthest up-slope (Fig.15).

Gelling (1964:201-5) discovered that the long-walls consisted of a solid core, probably of sods, or sods and earth, faced both inside and out by large boulders set on edge, and supplemented in places by dry walling. This suggested a timber structure with outer, protective walls of sod and stone. As far as the gables and internal features were concerned, he concluded that the excavations 'produced fairly good grounds for believing that there was a timber wall backed with sods at each gable, and that there were some signs that at least along one side there had been a raised bench' (Gelling 1964:202). However, as there were no post-holes, no traces of timber and no occupation material, and the sole evidence of a bench was a well-marked layer of bluish-grey clayey material, the conclusion that this was a timber house should be treated with caution. Gelling, explaining the lack of post-holes, suggested that the timber could have rested upon horizontal sleepers, but found no clear evidence to support this. His statement, therefore, that the evidence 'does confirm the date suggested by the curving plan of the walls,' would appear premature, and it is still only the shape and the curving walls which suggest a Norse period date.

Despite this lack of evidence few have questioned the validity of citing the Braaid as a Norse site. Cubbon (1983:18) described it as the 'only one typical Norse farmstead' in Man; Wilson (1974:12) as 'the most important settlement of the Norse period so far identified in the Isle of Man'; Kinvig (1975:70) as 'the home of a prominent Viking settler', and Sveinbjarnardóttir (1975:143) has noted that the bow-shaped building 'is a fine and interesting example of the earliest Scandinavian house-type in the North Atlantic area'. It is refreshing to discover that both Morris (1982:83) and B. Crawford (1987a:141) are cautious in their use of the evidence.

There are three particularly interesting features of the structures. The first is the fact that the bow-shaped building showed signs of

re-use: there was evidence of possible later structures inside, which Gelling (1964:202) suggested were animal pens. The construction and use of these could have been partly responsible for the obliteration of certain internal features and the loss of occupation debris. The second feature is the sheer size of the stones used in the buildings and the fact that some are uprights. At least one of these apparently bears no relation to any of the structures (Gelling 1964:205). Within the structures, a very large proportion of the stones are orthostats (Figs.14,15). An explanation has yet to be sought for this phenomenon, and it would be wise to be cautious in accepting this as a truly representative form of the original structures. Subsequent human interference should not be ruled out. Also of note is the mixing of walling techniques in the three structures.

The third, is the form and size of the bow-shaped structure. It is some 23m by 10m. Although, the former is not exceptional, the latter is. The normal distance between the two long walls would not be more than 6m or 7m because of the difficulties of erecting a roof with a wider span (A. Ritchie 1977:189). It is interesting to compare these dimensions with those of Viking and Norse houses found in other areas of Norse settlement (Table 1). Compared with most of these structures, the Braaid building is of considerable length and unusually great width. The lack of internal features is particularly frustrating when trying to understand how this structure could possibly have been roofed. At Buckquoy, Ritchie (1977:188) explained the lack of post-holes by assuming that posts were carried on pad-stones; there is no evidence of these on Gelling's plan. Gelling suggested that the timber walling could have rested upon horizontal sleepers. In Faroe (Thorsteinsson 1987), it has become clear that rows of stones just within the long walls of Norse houses were probably sills for wooden panelling, lining the walls. Later, it would seem that roof timbers were rested upon the walls, solving the problem of numerous upright timbers in the interior. Such internal rows of stones are not evident in the bow-shaped structure, but are possibly to be found in the so-called byre. Comparison with other sites also makes the lack of doorways in any of the long walls interesting. Gelling concluded that these would be in the timber gables, although, as already pointed out, proof of these was not entirely satisfactory.

In Scandinavia, the bow-shaped walls are generally diagnostic of Viking, early Norse houses (Crawford 1987a:145), and on Man a number of theories have been postulated based on this dating. Even before re-excavation, Gelling (1958b:54-5) argued that the site demonstrated the displacement of a Celtic farmer from his land by an early Norse settler, who then erected his own buildings. In 1964 he elaborated on this, suggesting that having built his long-house, the Norseman retained the round-house 'as a dwelling for servants and possibly for livestock' (1964:204). Another possibility was that the native servants attached to his household built their own dwelling in traditional style on his newly acquired piece of land. The excavated round-houses in Man have been dated to the period circa 200B.C.-A.D.200 (Gelling 1977:77). Did these structures then, continue to be built and occupied until the Norse period? Concerning the theory of re-occupation, it is worth considering certain comments made by Anna Ritchie (1974:189) in relation to the site at Buckquoy, Orkney. She noted that there appeared to be a 'distinct preference on the part of the Norse immigrants for settling on old occupation sites'. This she considered significant, since there was no shortage of agricultural land in the areas she was interested in. Following the theory of Munch (1966:25-29), she postulated that the 'preference may reflect an innate Norse habit of land conservation, very necessary in parts of the Norwegian homeland'. Other sites which have demonstrated this are: Skaill, Westness and Birsay in Orkney; Jarlshof and Underhoull in Shetland; Freswick in Caithness, and the Udal and Drimore in the Outer Hebrides. In Man, it is not only the Braaid, and possibly the Ballagawne site, which fit into this category, but also the coastal sites. It is far more likely in the case of the latter, however, that defence rather than land-conservation was the primary motive for the location of these sites.

Interest has centred upon the 'round-house' and the bow shaped structure at the Braaid. Little attention has been focused on the third building, the second rectangular structure (16m by 5.5m). No adequate explanation has been given of the function of this straight-walled structure. Gelling (1964:204) described it as 'bearing a certain resemblance to a Scandinavian long-house' but assigns it a Norse date on the basis of its association with the other building rather than on the results of excavation. Investigations produced no evidence concerning its function, but Gelling did determine that it had been the subject of many repairs and alterations, suggesting a potentially long life. Generally, this structure is regarded as the byre. It does, however, lack those features generally associated with a byre: a central drain and evidence of stalling (e.g. Underhoull, Shetland). The nature of the walling is worth noting, it being almost entirely of dry-walling. In places there was a core of stones. There seems to be no reason why this building, on the basis of the criteria used for the bow-shaped building by Gelling, should not also be regarded as a dwelling.

Doarlish Cashen

The site (Fig.16), lying at a height of 213m (700') a.s.l., just outside the top fields of Doarlish Cashen farm, Patrick, had, according to Kinvig (1975:70), a building of 'unmistakably Norse type'. Both Cubbon (1983:19) and Wilson (1974:12) included it in their reviews of Norse settlement on Man, but neither attempted any form of analysis. Morris (1982:83) betrayed his uneasiness by emphasising that yet again the interpretation of the site rested upon the structural evidence.

The site was excavated by Peter Gelling (1970b:74-82). The main structure (Fig.17) was oblong, internally some 7m by 3m, with walls of turf, and opposing doorways in the long walls towards the east end. The only floor-space was the passage between the doors, 3m by 1.2m, and the central portion of the west end of the structure, 3.2m by 1.2m. The rest of the internal area appeared to be taken up by benches, being roughly the same size as the floor space to the west of the doorways, and at the east end being two and a half times the size of the passage. The lack of space in this structure has not before been worthy of comment. Nor has the alignment of the north wall, the east end of which is clearly not aligned with that to the west of the passage. Gelling tried to explain this in terms of disturbance by cultivation at this end of the structure, but the possibility that there was more than one phase of building should not be ruled out. Comparing the size of this building with excavated Norse houses elsewhere, it appears to be particularly small (Table 1). The only structures of similar size are those to be found at Ytre Moa in Norway (Figs.18-20). The raised bench, the drain and the third entrance at the east end are also confusing. It is difficult to understand why the builder should erect a structure in this particular location if he did indeed anticipate that water would accumulate between the two doorways. It appears that in order to combat this problem, he built a drain in the body of the bench and a sump in the south-east corner of the house. Gelling was convinced that the drain never reached the sump. There is also the question of the third door; if contemporary with the bench, then it would have been necessary to step up from the passage on to the bench and then to step down again to the outside. It seems likely that this exit was cut at a later period, and it is conceivable that the change in the alignment of the north wall is related to this.

Gelling excavated a second structure at this site (Fig.21), and believed that it was 'hard to interpret it otherwise than as a corn kiln' (1970b:79). One surprising feature was the apparent subsidiary flues on the north-west and south-east sides. Characteristic Manx and Hebridean kilns have a single flue and a circular pot (Gelling 1970b:80). Gelling concluded that 'the evidence from Doarlish Cashen would suggest that the circular type is a post-Norse development in the Isle of Man...' (1970b:80), the central part of the kiln being a rough oblong about 3.4m by 2.1m. The dating of the kiln and the above conclusion were obviously based on the assumption that the main structure was of Norse date. Excavations outside the kiln showed that the main flue was dug through a considerable area of collapsed turf and

hearth material, which produced the stone spindle-whorl. South-east of the flue were a number of largely small stones set on edge in the natural subsoil. They did not appear to be part of the kiln and suggested to Gelling that there were three phases of occupation on this site.

Gelling carried out a cursory examination of one other structure, concluding that it was a pen rather than a building.

This site was obviously a small holding, but of what period is not clear. Although the rectangular form and the internal features could suggest a date not earlier than the Norse period, the type continued to be used in the following centuries and it was not unusual for houses to be built of sods rather than stone. Killip (1977:9) noted that: 'a sod house or at least the three feet [91cm] or so that was left of its walls, was discovered high up in a little ghyll above Ballaquayle in the parish of Patrick. It was a house that had been inhabited within the memory of at least one person living in the parish'. The structure, 5m by 10m, survived because it was built on land that was too rough to be ploughed. Such houses were both quick and cheap to build. Killip suggested that many such structures disappeared under the plough post 1860.

It is also worth noting that, prior to 1970, the Doarlish Cashen site much more extensive, consisting of possibly six other features and a number of associated banks (Fig.16). By Easter 1970, the area had been fenced off, ploughed and rotavated, and most of the features recorded on the original plan obliterated (Gelling 1970b:75-6). Building 2, which was excavated by Gelling and thought to be an animal pen (1970b:80-1), appears to have been similar in form to some of the destroyed features. The feature nearest the modern hedge seems to have been more like Buildings 1 and 3. Structures 1 and 3 are possibly linked by the banks which curve round from them on the north side, to form a small enclosure. Potentially significant on the plan, is the fact that the supposed yard attached to Building 1 and the corn-drying kiln have openings on those sides outside the enclosure. It is unfortunate that Gelling's plans do not show the relationship of these structures and features in more detail. It is not clear whether Building 2 is associated with this complex. Figure 16 shows that one bank seems to cut a circular structure, although the two halves of this do appear to be on a slightly different alignment. This, at least provides some stratigraphic evidence, and possibly suggests the exclusion of the other two features to the east. This is assuming that the main banks do form an enclosure around the site. The complex of banks on the south side could represent an entrance. The location of the site in relation to this is, however, unusual, being some distance from it and having the possible site entrance on the north side.

Other Norse sites in Man

The above analysis has been concerned with those sites most frequently associated with the Norse period in Man. More recently, a Norse period building has been excavated within the castle on St. Patrick's Isle, Peel (Freke 1983:7-8) (Fig.22). It lay in the 'Prison Yard' area, adjacent to the cathedral (Fig.23). Two beam stains and a clay floor appeared to represent the earliest phase. Superimposed upon these were floor levels of slate slabs, clay, sand clay in mortar, and a narrow stone wall. Finally, there seemed to be evidence of a suspended timber floor. Freke postulated that the building was at least 9m long; its east end had been truncated by the steps leading to the cathedral crypt, and the west end by the north transept. Constructed of wood, the structure would have rested on sill beams in the early phase, and later on the low wall. The most recent floor joists were fitted into wall recesses and soil stains marked the timber positions. A dating of c.1150 was obtained from a potential hearth. This represented the date at which the hearth had last been fired.

Freke (1983:8) suggested that this structure fitted in well with the fact that the Norse kings appear to have resided on St. Patrick's Isle from at least the twelfth century. He compared its sophistication with the apparent simplicity of the other possible Norse houses on Man, with their stone/sod walls and earthern floors. However, as has already been

indicated, the possibility exists that some of these buildings were of wood and that the stone/sod walls were outer ones only. The possibility of timber flooring at the Cashtal also exists. A structure worth comparing with the St. Patrick's Isle building is that discovered and excavated at 'Da Biggins, Papa Stour, Shetland (Crawford 1985:128-58), with its wooden floor dating from the late tenth/early eleventh century (Crawford 1987a:145,Fig.47). In the light of such comparisons, the Final Report of the Peel Castle excavations is awaited with interest.

Earlier excavations on St. Patrick's Isle by Bersu in 1947, in the central mound of the castle, exposed substantial post-holes sealed under a thirteenth century occupation layer (Curphey 1982:9) (Fig.24). Six post-holes, 35-40cm in diameter, went down to a depth of 30cm into white sand in Cutting Six (Wright 1982:25). These could be seen as forming part of the outline of a sub-rectangular building with additional interior post(s), and they appeared to belong to the earliest phase of occupation. Pottery evidence suggested that this wooden enclosure was not later than the twelfth century.

SITES WITH NORSE CONNECTIONS

The importance of those sites occupied in the immediately pre-Viking period, such as Kiondroghad (Gelling 1969:67-83), Ballacraine (Gelling 1977:78) and Ronaldsway (Neely 1940:72-86; Laing and Laing 1987:389-415), is generally omitted from discussions concerning Norse period settlement. Gelling (1969:82;1977:78) discovered the post-holes of a rectangular building, 4.5m by 2.5m, at Kiondroghad, and postulated that Norsemen employed craftsmen here during the ninth century, on the basis of a possible connection between the site and the mounts from the Balladoole boat-burial (Bersu and Wilson 1966:25). At Ronaldsway, widely scattered Norse finds including iron rivets (Bersu 1968:88), a Viking-period stick pin with polyhedric head, a strap-end with interlaced ornament and a possible Norse 'toilet implement' (Laing and Laing 1987:405), were discovered on the Early Christian period site. That these finds demonstrate nothing more than trading contacts is likely, but they do show the existence of native settlement at a time when Norse influence was being felt in the Irish Sea. There has been a tendency to concentrate solely upon the Scandinavian settlements during the Norse period, and to conveniently forget about those of the indigenous population.

B. HOUSE SITES IN THE HEBRIDES (Fig.6)

To date only two certain Norse settlement sites have been excavated, both in the Outer Hebrides: the site on Drimore Machair in South Uist (Maclaren 1974), and that at the Udal in North Uist (I. Crawford Excavation Reports 1971-1975;1974b;1977;1978;1981;1986). The former was excavated in a very short period and was regarded as a single phase site, whereas the latter was a large multi-period site, and possessed at least two Norse phases, Viking and Late Norse.

The site on Drimore Machair was excavated in July 1956 as part of an excavation programme carried out before the construction of the guided weapons range in South Uist. Two other sites in the area were excavated: the wheelhouse at A'Cheardach Mhor (A. Young & Richardson 1960) and A'Cheardach Bheag (Fairhurst 1971a). The site lay at a height of some 50m a.s.l. (164'), and within 300m of the west coast of South Uist. Excavation of an area of visible stones revealed the outline of an oblong structure (Fig.25), 14m by 4.2m internally, its long axis aligned east-west. Little, other than the foundations, remained of the walls. On the north side and at the west end the walls were marked out by a single row of stones, in contrast to the south side and east end which possessed a double row of rounded water-worn boulders. The double walls averaged a thickness of 90cm at the base. Maclaren (1974:12) wrote that the long side-walls 'bowed slightly outwards in the centre' and that they curved gently inwards at either end. It can be argued, on the basis of the plan, that the north wall curves very slightly at its centre, but the south side would appear to be straight. The ends of these walls do indeed curve inwards but the marked difference in the form of the two ends is important, the west being rounded and the east being straight, connecting the long-walls at an oblique angle. The apparent difference in the construction of the walls would also seem to

be of some considerable significance, as would the short extension of the long-walls beyond the east end. Examination of this extension on plan indicates that the stones are on a different alignment, and this together with the narrowing of the south long-wall and the use of a greater number of small stones in this section of the wall, suggests that there is more than one phase of building at this end of the structure.

Only one entrance, some 80cm wide, was discovered, lying towards the west end of the north long wall. A large piece of whale-bone vertebra was discovered at the west side of the doorway, serving once as a lower socket for the door. A paved causeway of c.1m, led up to the entrance and continued into the structure for 2.1m, to the edge of a very long, long-hearth. This ran east-west, down the centre of the structure, and was some 7m long and 1.5m wide. At the east end, several of the flat stone slabs forming its base survived, but the majority had disintegrated to the west. At this end, the hearth consisted of a 'compacted mass of burnt debris and ash' (Maclaren 1974:12). Two further burnt areas were identified in the east end. Other features such as post-holes were noticeably lacking. Maclaren (1974:12-3) argued that rises in the water-table in the area were likely to have obliterated such features (cf. the Braaid, Man). The persistent dark stains discovered could, however, have been the remains of roof supports. The existence of benches on either side of the long-fire was postulated on the basis of the distribution of a small number of stones, at least two of which were set on edge. Maclaren (1974:13) believed that, in spite of the lack of evidence of features such as post-holes, the structure would have had internal divisions. The bulk of the finds were found in the area to the east of the entrance - three-quarters of the internal area - suggesting to him that this end was used for domestic purposes and that the area to the west of the entrance had a different function. It was not obvious, however, what this function may have been. Maclaren postulated that it could have been used for livestock, but had this been the case, it might have been expected that there would be some evidence of drainage and a separate entrance in the short wall, as found at sites such as Underhoull in Shetland (Small 1966; see Fig.26).

As far as the finds are concerned (Maclaren 1974:14ff.), the majority came from the occupation layer within the house. There were a number of corroded iron objects, including knife blades and nails; 5 small sherds of pottery; 16 steatite vessel fragments and 7 steatite spindle-whorls; bone, ivory and antler objects, including 11 pins, an awl, comb, whale-bone cleaver, door sneck and playing piece, and a few implements of stone - sinker, pounder, shale disc, possible whetstone fragment and 2 flint fragments. The bulk of the faunal remains were domesticated animals, including ox, sheep, pig, horse and dog. Only a few fish bones were recovered (cod). Bones of birds and red deer were regarded as evidence of hunting. Whale-bone was also found, and there was substantial evidence of molluscs.

It is difficult to draw conclusions about this site on the basis of the evidence available. Sveinbjarnardóttir (1975:137) found that it was difficult to decide whether the site was permanently or seasonally occupied on the basis of the excavated evidence, the structure having been divorced from its context, so that there is no information concerning possibly related structures or middens for example. There is also the question of the possible relationship between this site and the two other excavated structures in the area. Lane (1983:258) has postulated Dark Age activity at A'Cheardach Mhor, on the basis of pottery evidence, and there is reason to believe that there was activity at the site at a later stage (A. Young & Richardson 1960:158). In an area of disturbance, above the sand-blow into which the Phase IV hut was inserted, were the remains of straight-walling, on the whole one course high. At the base of one of the walls were sherds of a plain sooty pottery, and in the sooty material were the fragmentary remains of a double-sided composite comb. This same layer produced an iron knife, whale-bone shovel and other pottery fragments. In the subhumus, were fragments of worked steatite, including part of a lamp of a type ascribed to the Viking period at Jarlshof. Lane (1983:259) has not

dated any of the pottery to the Viking period, but the evidence suggests that there may well have been Viking activity in a much wider area than indicated by the Drimore structure.

The excavation of the Norse layers at the Udal, North Uist, was not only part of the excavation of a multi-period site but also part of a multi-disciplinary project (I. Crawford and Switsur 1977). Research was initially focused on the machair plain of the Outer Hebrides, an area of deep calcareous and siliceous sand deposits with a high relative fertility, which has been important for settlement at all periods. In North Uist, the machair is particularly extensive, and at Coileagan an Udail, on a large promontory in the north of the island, there was a choice of 'tell' formations, large accumulations of occupation deposits, for excavation. For one tell, Udal North, Estate Documents were available relating to the arable lands of Veilish and Gillegorrie. Levels II to IV of the tell covered the mid-fifteenth to late seventeenth centuries, V to XV the Mediaeval, Norse and late Iron Age, and below this there was evidence of activity in the Early Iron Age and Bronze Age. In this tell there was complete excavation of the structural foci at all levels.

The Norse phases were levels X, IXc and IXb. In the first level, there were rectangular stone buildings superimposed on three cellular structures dated to the period 780-850 A.D.. The former were roughly 10m in length, with evidence of slightly bowed walls. These were of dry-stone, double-faced construction. Within the structures were long slab-lined central hearths (I. Crawford 1974b:11;1977). One of the excavated buildings, stratified at the interface of levels XI and X, was a small polygonal enclosure interpreted as a fort (I. Crawford 1977:131). It was 7m across, with a broad rubble core foundation trench. Two of the walls survived to a height of 3-4 courses and incorporated massive stones. The structure apparently went out of use very quickly and became, of all things, a cabbage patch enclosure, but around it an 'industrial zone' appears to have developed consisting of a corn-drying kiln and threshing floor, metal-working furnaces and other small buildings, yet to be identified. Level X also produced middens and an area of ploughed land of half an acre. Level IXc covered a longer period. There was evidence of denser occupation, with some six major buildings being excavated (I. Crawford 1977:131; Lane 1983:53). These were all, however, badly damaged. Level IXb consisted of a burnt layer, and was interpreted as a destruction level (I. Crawford 1977:131).

As far as dating is concerned, level X had a C14 date of 800-985 A.D.. It contained characteristic Viking artefacts - bronzes and bone-work (Graham-Campbell 1975), but Crawford (1974b:12) concluded that, as a whole, the period X assemblage did not 'contain any material that could nave been diagnosed in isolation as Norse'. Level IXc has been dated to the period c.950-1100. At the top of this level, and just below the destruction phase IXb, was a silver penny of Harald Hardrada. Crawford (1974b:13) has linked the destruction with the raid of Magnus Barefoot in 1098 A.D.. Level IXc contained the largest group of pottery securely stratified in Viking Age levels, and saw the introduction of a new pottery style, very distinct from that of the preceding Dark Age levels (Lane 1983:210ff.).

Crawford's interpretation of the Norse history of the site (1977:131) involved: first, a violent Viking intrusion with which the construction of the fort was associated; in Phase X a single farmstead, and in IXc a denser occupation. Crawford was tempted to think that this phase represented the material culture of the Gall-Gaidheal.

POTENTIAL NORSE SETTLEMENT SITES (Fig.6)

The two sites which are most frequently quoted as possibles are those of Machrins, Colonsay (G. Ritchie 1981) and Little Dunagoil, Bute (Marshall 1964). There are, however, problems with both sites: at Machrins there was evidence of a Viking burial some 14m ESE of the settlement but the structural evidence indicated native traditions, suggesting that the two were not necessarily linked; at Little Dunagoil there was little to suggest that the excavated long-houses belonged to

the Norse period and, although there were finds from the fifth to thirteenth centuries, there were no characteristic Norse artefacts. Of much greater significance, in this context, is the research of Alan Lane (1983). Having identified distinctive styles of pottery at the Udal belonging to the Viking and Late Norse periods, he discovered similar forms in assemblages from many other sites in the Hebrides. The pottery suggests Viking/Late Norse activity of some form, and it is unlikely that it is related to burial. Much of the pottery has been recovered from eroding middens or deposits of uncertain nature, and some from occupation sites of earlier periods (e.g. brochs and wheel-houses). The finds are fairly evenly distributed from Lewis to Barra; there are single finds in west Skye and west Mull, and there are notable concentrations of finds on Coll and Tiree. There is, as yet, no evidence of Viking Age pottery in the more southerly islands or on the western mainland.

The following is a list of possible Norse settlement sites based on the research of Alan Lane.

1. AIGNISH, LEWIS, c.NB 484323.
Sand dune site on the narrow neck of Eye Peninsula, E coast.
Fieldwork: sites discovered by Curwen (1939:55-7) and by Gibson (1934:430). Possible that both were referring to the same site.
Finds: Curwen's finds included a fragment of a composite bone comb, iron fragments and cinder. Gibson discovered a bronze penannular brooch 'in a kitchen midden on a beach near Aignish Church.' The brooch is of Irish/Scottish type but would not be out of place on a Norse site.
Pottery: examination of illustrated sherds suggested a close similarity to the Udal Viking Age finds.
Structures: Curwen's finds were made in a sand pit west of the church and associated with them was a reported hearth and stone walls.

2. CHICKEN HEAD, LEWIS, NB 502292.
Site on Eye Peninsula, E coast.
Fieldwork: survey by Royal Comm. (1928:14).
Pottery: 1 sherd was found with the impression of a ringed pin stamped on it (A. Young 1953:94; Fanning 1983a:330). Lane felt that the sherd was not closely comparable with the Udal material, and was unusual.
Structures: a small chapel, Teampull, and surrounding structures, on the Eye Peninsula (Royal Comm. 1928:14). About 5/8 mile E of Chicken Head, in a small enclosure on the left bank of a rivulet near the edge of a cliff, which is more than 30m high, were the remains of a stone and mud building some 5.5m by 4.6m. It was orientated WNW-ESE. Foundations of other structures were located in the vicinity which the Commission believed to be shielings.

3. GALSON, LEWIS, NB 437594.
Midden sites, NW coast.
Fieldwork: Baden-Powell and Elton (1937:347-65), Edwards (1924:185-203) and Stevenson (1952:106-15).
Finds: a silver Anglo-Saxon penny of Edgar 959-75 and a ringed pin dated similarly. A second ringed pin, a steatite cup, some fragments of a composite bone comb and various bone pins.
Pottery: N.M.A.S. found pottery which Lane believed could be attributed on stylistic grounds to the Viking Age. A few sherds from the Stevenson excavations could also fall into this category. No platter sherds or grass-marked bases were found in the assemblage.
Structures: none of possible Viking/Norse date were associated with this site.

4. BARVAS, LEWIS, c.NB 361498.
Township, NW coast.
Fieldwork: surface collections by T. Cowie, S.D.D. 1978.
Pottery: platter fragments and rims. Excavations on a limited scale produced several hundred sherds of platter and some sagging base forms.
Structures: possible house structures.

5. BRAGAR, LEWIS, c.NB 295477
Township, NW coast.
Fieldwork: surface collection.

12. NORTHTON, HARRIS, c.NF 9891.
On the W coast of S Harris. Evidence of multi-period activity in the area.
Fieldwork: survey by Royal Comm. (1928:46). Stated that one mile to the E of Northton was an earth-house, and that there were kitchen middens on the isthmus connecting the Toe Head peninsula with mainland Harris. Also surface collection by T. Cowie 1978.
Finds: a cast bronze fragment of a Scandinavian type brooch of the ninth/tenth century discovered in the sand dunes on the SE of Chaipaval, within a mile of Northton by J. Morrison (Graham-Campbell 1975:212-4).
Pottery: at least 4 pieces of platter from eroding deposits.
Structures: none reported.

13. ENSAY, SOUND OF HARRIS, NF 975868.
One of the smaller habitable islands in the Sound.
Fieldwork: surface collection by D.D.A. Simpson and T. Cowie (1978). Simpson recovered material from an eroding area beneath the present wall of the graveyard, which seemed to be situated on a considerable accumulation of archaeological deposits.
Pottery: Simpson - most was not closely datable, but the collection included two body sherds, 1 of a grass-marked platter, which could be attributed to the period in question. Cowie - more platter sherds.
Structures: none reported.

14. KILLEGRAY, SOUND OF HARRIS, NF 975847.
An uninhabited island in the Sound.
Fieldwork: D.D.A. Simpson and T. Cowie. Simpson recovered pottery from eroding midden deposits on the NE side of the island, just N of Killegray House. Cowie discovered more material in 1978 in eroding midden deposits.
Pottery: several hundred sherds from the site, included probable platter sherds and some base sherds, which could be paralleled at the Udal.
Structures: none reported.

15. THE UDAL, NORTH UIST, NF 825783.
An area of deep calcareous and siliceous sand deposits on the N coast, on a promontory to the NE of Vallay Strand. See above.
Fieldwork: surface collections by the N.M.A.S. prior to Crawford's excavations.
Pottery: handmade pottery was found in all levels from the Late Iron Age to the eighteenth century. The Viking Age pottery contained both Dark Age features and new features. New forms appeared with slightly harder, glossier finishes. The construction was also different, with coils of clay of varying size being used. The base was made first and the coils were added, producing a distinctive base/wall slab join. Subsequent strips were then pressed into the wall. Some of these vessels were grass-marked, a new phenomenon in the Udal assemblages. To summarise, the shape and the construction of the vessels was different and some were grass-marked (Lane 1983).
Structures: see above.

16. GARRY IOCHDRACH, NORTH UIST, NF 772743.
Fieldwork: excavation by Beveridge and Callander (Beveridge 1932:32-42), and surface collection by N.M.A.S.
Finds: pottery, stone whorls, bone pins, smoothing stones, hammer-stones, whetstones, fragments of corroded iron, pumice and burnt shell and bone. Also, a complete but broken stem of a bronze free ring-headed pin, 5" long, and a heavy block of soapstone bearing cut marks.
Pottery: a small number of coarse, plain fragments, possibly Viking in date.
Structures: Beveridge and Callander excavated beneath a modern sheepfold and discovered a roughly oblong structure, c.2.1m by 5.5m (7'by 18') long. A hearth, 1.2m (4') from the wall, was centrally placed as to the width. Almost opposite, to the east, was a passage through the wall, and to the west was a raised step. The whole building was paved, and this included the hearth, which was 0.6m (2') below the

floor surface. Two floor levels were identified, the second, and lower, also being paved and possessing a large paved hearth. The structural evidence and the finds point to very probable Viking or Norse activity at this site.

17. EILEAN MALEIT, NORTH UIST, NF 775739.
Located at Vallay Strand on N coast.
Fieldwork: survey by Royal Comm. (1928:88-9,Fig.142) and Sir L. Scott (1948).
Pottery: 1 platter rim and 2 everted rims, possibly of similar date. They are of similar fabric and form to the Udal rims.
Structures: a circular stone structure of apparent complexity. Nothing to suggest that there was any Viking/Norse activity.

18. CUL NA MUICE, VALLAY, NORTH UIST, NF 776768.
An erosion site on the N side of Vallay, on N coast.
Fieldwork: surface finds given to N.M.A.S. in 1961.
Pottery: 5 certain, and 1 probable, platter sherds, with grass-marked exteriors and stab marks.
Structures: none reported.

19. SKELLOR, NORTH UIST, NF 806756.
Sand-hills near Skellor graveyard, near Vallay Strand, N coast.
Fieldwork: Beveridge (1911:23-5) recorded midden debris and finds, and the N.M.A.S. reported finds.
Pottery: 1 possible platter sherd with deep interior fingermarks and a stab mark.
Structures: none reported.

20. HOUGHARRY, NORTH UIST, NF 698706.
Eroding middens and structures on E shore of headland, W of Hougharry, on W coast.
Fieldwork: surface collections by I. Shepherd, S.D.D.
Pottery: most was undiagnostic, but 1 platter sherd was present plus a sherd with a finger-marked interior and grass-marked exterior.
Structures: collapsed wall of a building with at least three floors and two midden deposits.

21. CLETTRAVAL, NORTH UIST, c.NF 746710.
Site of an 'aisled round-house', located on W facing slope of Clettraval in N. This is an area of multi-period activity.
Fieldwork: excavated by Scott (1948:46-57).
Pottery: no identified Viking/Norse material. 10 pottery sherds were recovered from a sub-rectangular structure, B, 22 from Building E and an unspecified number from Buildings D and F.
Structures: Building B - on a dry knoll to the W end of the ridge on which the aisled house was built, a sub-rectangular structure, 2.4m by 1.8m (8' by 6'). The walls were of turf and stone, faced internally with slabs of stone set on edge. The short end to the north was open. The floor was partly paved and there was no hearth. Building E - a large roughly rectangular building, lying up and down slope to the SW of the aisled house. Scott assumed that it was a byre. It was shoddily constructed, the long-walls being loosely and irregularly constructed. The entrance was at the upper end. Along the length of the lower and wider part of the house was a long pier, standing to a greater height than the walls. Scott suggested that this was a roof support, being too large to be a partition. A shorter pier set in from the NW wall was possibly a partition. A large part of the structure was paved, but irregularly. Peat ash spreads indicated that fires had frequently been lit. Buildings D and F - Scott believed that these oval structures were also barns. Their walls were loosely built of stone and earth. The floor of F was roughly paved, and that of D partially.

22. ROSINISH, BENBECULA, NF 873538.
A complex multi-period site in the sand-dune area on NE coast.
Fieldwork: prehistoric excavations by Crawford (1977:94-107) and Shepherd (1976:209-219). Shepherd carried out controlled collections of material in the vicinity of the main site, and examined a stratified deposit to the south.
Pottery: 7 definite, and 10 possible, platter sherds. 1 grass-marked

base and a rim from a possible open-bowl.
Structures: none reported.

23. DRIMORE, SOUTH UIST, NF 756409.
Drimore machair on W coast.
Fieldwork: excavated by Maclaren (1974:9-18). See above.
Pottery: 5 undecorated pot sherds with no diagnostic features.
Structures: see above.

24. A' CHEARDACH BHEAG, SOUTH UIST, NF 757404.
Some 590m to the SSW of the Drimore site.
Fieldwork: excavation of a wheel-house, with a small secondary wheel-house attached, by Fairhurst (1971a:72-106) .
Pottery: found mostly in late contexts. Undiagnostic.
Structures: none attributed to the Viking/Norse period.

25. A' CHEARDACH MHOR, SOUTH UIST, NF 757413.
320m to NNE of the site at Drimore.
Fieldwork: excavated by A. Young and Richardson (1960:135-73).
Finds: fragments of steatite including the remains of a lamp, sherds of a plain sooty material with the fragmentary remains of a double-sided composite comb, an iron knife, a whale-bone shovel and a few fragments of pottery comparable with the Phase III cooking wares.
Pottery. none datable to this period.
Structures: Phase V. Stretches of straight-walling, rarely more than one course high, in the disturbance above the blown-sand into which the Phase IV hut was inserted.

26.SITHEAN A PHIOBAIRE, SOUTH UIST, NF 734214.
Located on W coast, E of Daliburgh. Site of a wheel-house destroyed to provide building stone.
Fieldwork: excavations in the area by Lethbridge (1952:176-93). N.M.A.S. received pottery collected from a field near the site by Werner Kissling.
Pottery: 1 rim, possibly from an open-bowl.
Structures: none reported.

27. DALIBURGH, SOUTH UIST, c.NF 7321.
Eroding middens in the sand hills to W of the settlement on W coast.
Fieldwork: survey by Royal Comm. (1928:119).
Finds: hand-made pottery, bone pins, some bronzes, large amount of animal bones and shells.
Pottery: 3 platter sherds, with fingered inner surfaces and roughened exterior surfaces. Also a possible Viking rim.
Structures: none reported.

28. KILDONAN MACHAIR, SOUTH UIST, NF 726280.
An eroded machair site on W coast. Probably multi-period.
Fieldwork: surface collections.
Finds: Iron Age to Mediaeval. Included a silver ring, dated by Graham-Campbell to c.A.D.1300 (1975:213) and a bronze ringed pin. Also, a small fragment of a gilt bronze Scandinavian oval brooch of the ninth/tenth century.
Pottery: a few sherds of pottery were found in the same area as the brooch fragment. 1 fragment of a grass-marked platter and 6 fragments of grass-marked bases of other vessels.
Structures: none reported.

29. DUN CHLIF, BARRA, NG 682053.
A probable broch site on W shore of Barra, circa 1 mile ENE of Cliad.
Fieldwork: survey by the Royal Comm. (1928:132).
Pottery: 1 rim, comparable to the Udal material.
Structures: Royal Comm. noted scanty remains.

30. ALLASDALE, BARRA, NF 677022.
Site located at head of stream flowing down into Allasdale.
Fieldwork: excavated by A. Young (1953:80-105).
Finds: majority of diagnostic finds were Iron Age. Some belong d to later periods.
Pottery: 3 sherds possibly of Viking Age date. Also, others that may

have belonged to the same phase of activity.
Structures: the existence of a drain and a hearth in the so-called 'steading' may suggest possible Viking activity on site. Note the rectangular shape of this barn.

31. DUN CUIER, BARRA, NF 664034.
Near Allasdale township on the W coast.
Fieldwork: excavated by A. Young (1956:290-325).
Finds: e.g. combs and bone pins of Dark Age date.
Pottery: 1 rim, very similar to a Viking Age bowl form from Udal.
Structures: dun, seen as a single phase structure. No Viking/Norse remains reported.

32. DUN BEAG, SKYE, NG 340386.
A broch near Struan, Loch Bracadale, W coast of Skye.
Fieldwork: excavated by Callander (1921:110-131).
Finds: Iron Age to Modern. Possible Bronze buckle and gold finger ring of the Scandinavian period (Graham-Campbell 1976a:131).
Pottery: 1 vessel of the Viking Age: a small flat-bottomed pot with straight sides and a slightly inturned rim. Similar vessels noted at the Udal.
Structures: none reported.

33. SORISDALE, COLL, NM 273633.
Sand dunes to N of Sorisdale, NE tip of Coll.
Fieldwork: surface collection. See Ritchie *et al* (1978). Also N.M.A.S.
Pottery: 1 base with a roughened exterior surface (N.M.A.S.). Four sherd which can be paralleled at the Udal (G. Ritchie *et al* 1978:Fig.7,nos.15,19,20; Fig.8,no.1).
Structures: none reported.

34. CORNAIG LODGE, COLL, NM 244632.
Midden site near the W coast, N Coll.
Fieldwork: surface collections made by J. Crawford (see Ritchie *et al* 1978).
Pottery: an unusual low-walled platter. Also, disc platters of the Udal type, possible grass-marked bases and at least one sagging base bowl with a roughened exterior.
Structures: none reported.

35. CORNAIGMORE, COLL.
Site not far from Cornaig Lodge, differentiated by J. Crawford as a separate midden site.
Fieldwork: surface collections by J. Crawford (see Ritchie *et al* 1978).
Pottery: grass-marked base sherds and Hebridean disc platter sherds.
Structures: none reported.

36. FEALL BAY, COLL, NM 149550.
On the W coast in the S part of Coll.
Fieldwork: surface collections by J. Crawford (Ritchie *et al* 1978:97).
Pottery: 2 base sherds, of slightly sagging base form, one with exterior grass-marking.
Structures: none reported.

37. PORT AN T-SAOIR, COLL, NM 148550.
Extensive sand dune erosion site on W coast, E of Ben Feall.
Fieldwork: surface collections by J. Crawford (Ritchie *et al* 1978:94). Further material received by the N.M.A.S.
Finds: pot sherds, flint and stone implements and iron slag.
Pottery: rim sherds of a possible mediaeval date. Also, 1 possible grass-marked base. (G. Ritchie *et al* 1978:Fig.9,nos.8,9)
Structures: rectilinear stone structures reported by Ritchie.

38. CORNAIG, TIREE, c.NL 972475.
Possibly from the sand dunes to W of Cornaig More, on N coast, E half of Tiree.
Fieldwork: surface collections by J. Crawford (see Ritchie *et al* 1978).
Pottery: Bronze Age, Iron Age and possibly Mediaeval material. 1 platter base (Ritchie 1978:Fig.8,no.10).
Structures: none reported.

Burials: a weapon accompanied burial discovered at Cornaigbeg (Roy. Comm. 1980:16,234).

39. MINGARY, CHINISH, MULL, NM 416557.
A small fort near Mingary in NW Mull.
Fieldwork: surface collections by N.M.A.S. and survey by the Royal Comm. (1980:84-5).
Pottery: a few sherds including one with dense exterior marking and some organic inclusions.
Structures: the fort was oval in plan, 30m by 15m, and delineated by a drystone wall. In the interior were two enclosures, one with a sub-rectangular building 12m by 6m.

C. PLACE-NAMES AND THE MANX HOUSE-SITES

The place-names associated with the Manx sites have not before been considered in this context. At first glance, it appears significant that none of the sites have names today of Norse origin, but closer examination results in the discovery of some interesting facts. The names and their etymology are set out below. The latter is based on Kneen (1926-29).

DOARLISH CASHEN
'Cashen's gap' (Kneen 1927:344). This name is not attached to the site but to the farm.

BRAAID
1543 Manorial Roll BALLA BREID
1703 Manorial Roll BRADE
1703 Manorial Roll JO. KEWLEY NA BREIDE
Manx breid, Irish braghad, literally 'throat, gullet, or wind-pipe', is applied to 'a gorge, glen or sheltered vale' (Kneen 1926:159).

CASHTAL, BALLAGAWNE
1643 Manorial Roll BALLAGAWNE
Manx balla, 'farm of the Gawnes, or smiths'. Cashtal, 'castle' (Kneen 1926:247).

VOWLAN
No early form has been found, and several interpretations are admissable. It is difficult to deal with. (Kneen 1928:547).

CRONK NY MERRIU
Cronk ny marroo, 'the hill of the dead people'. The name of the tumulus above Port Grenaugh (Kneen 1926:141).

CASS NY HAWIN
1741 Diocesan Register CAS NY HOUYN
'The foot of the river'. Where the Santan Burn enters the sea (Kneen 1926:138).

CLOSE NY CHOLLAGH
'Enclosure of the stallions' (Kneen 1925:102).

Studying the settlement sites, it is interesting to note that, in the case of the coastal ones, the place-names are Gaelic. It is often along the coast that the survival of Norse names is greatest. However, the concentration of Norse topographical names in the parish of Santan, their occurrence at Scarlett, Malew parish, and in the vicinity of Vowlan, and the Cashtal is noteworthy. Three topographical, and one name in -stadr, lie near the Braaid: only names in -by are to be found in proximity to the Doarlish Cashen site. The site of Cass ny Hawin, lies in the parish of Santan, where there is a cluster of five Norse topographical names. It is in the treen of Arragon:

ARRAGON
1511 Manorial Roll AROS ROGAN
1643 Manorial Roll ARS ROGAINE
1703 Manorial Roll ROGAINE
1741 Diocesan Register ROGAINE

The first element is Scandinavian ar-os, 'river mouth'; the second, according to Kneen (1926:135), was the Gaelic surname 'O'Rogane', and according to Marstrander Norse kvern, 'mill'.

The first element of this name, which Kneen identified as Scandinavian, is the same as the interpretation put forward for the name CASS NY HAWIN. It may be possible that the Gaelic name is the replacement of the Old Norse name. Although an interesting point, this should not be stressed, for this would be a natural name to give to a site in this location. However, examination of the other place-names is useful, to discover whether similar cases exist.

Cronk ny Merriu, also in Santan, lies in the treen of MEARY.

MEARY
1511 Manorial Roll MEARE
1703 Manorial Roll MEARY
Scandinavian maeri, 'border land' (Kneen 1926:145). Marstrander (1932:151-2) Mid-firdir.

Here, there is the possibility that MERRIU and MEARY are in fact from the same word. The apparent form seems close enough to suggest that this a real possibility.

The site of Close ny Chollagh is in Malew parish, and on the land of Scarlett. Although an analysis of this name does not lead to any interesting connections (Old Norse skarfr-klettr), Kneen's interpretation of Close ny Chollagh as 'enclosure of the stallions' is important in the light of Gelling's excavation evidence. Here he discovered the remains of what he thought to be a cowshed with cattle stalls (1958:56), and also a stone trough. The crude nature of the structures at this site, especially the supposed dwelling, could support the view that the area within the Iron Age ramparts was used for keeping animals rather than for the purposes of settlement.

Of the other sites, Vowlan lies in the treen of GREST and the Cashtal in that of GRAWE. Both names are Norse in origin (Kneen 1928.528;1926:261). However, they do not aid the interpretation of the site names. The Braaid proves to be of more interest. The site lies in the treen of SANREBREK:

SANREBREK
1511 Manorial Roll SANREBREK
1703 Manorial Roll SANDBRICK
Scandinavian sand-brekka, 'sandy slope'; sanda-brekka, 'Sandi's slope' (Kneen 1926:169). Marstrander (1932:157) believed the former was correct. It seems possible that there could be a connection between brek and breid.

Much of this evidence is slight and dubious, but has proved to be, at the least, thought-provoking. In the absence of evidence relating to the dating of the supposed Norse settlement sites, this short and scanty review of the place-name material would seem, in some cases, to back up the conclusion that they were used during the Norse period. These are the Braaid, Cronk ny Merriu and Cass ny Hawin.

APPENDIX 2

THE PAGAN GRAVES (Fig.27)

A. Norse Graves on Man
(M.M. = Manx Museum; E.N.M. = Edinburgh National Museum)

PARISH	SITE	LOCATION	REFERENCE
Rushen	Calf of Man	Lost	Manx Advertiser 3rd Feb. 1810
Arbory	Chapel Hill, Balladoole	M.M.	Bersu and Wilson 1966:1-44
Malew	Malew churchyard	Lost	Cummings 1861:87
	? Ronaldsway	M.M.	Neely 1940:82-83; Megaw and Megaw 1950:145; Bersu 1968:88; Laing and Laing 1987:405
Santan			
Marown			
Braddan	Old Kirk Braddan churchyard	M.M.	Manx Sun 26th Aug. 1865 Megaw 1937:235, pl.116:6
Onchan			
Lonan	?King Orry's Grave, Gretch Beg	Lost	Barnwell 1868:104; Megaw 1937:236
Maughold	Maughold churchyard	E.N.M	Anderson 1874:568-9; Kermode 1901:161; Megaw 1937:235, pl. 116:1
Patrick	Glen Rushen	Lost	Manx Advertiser 3rd Feb. 1810; Megaw 1937:236
	Ballelby	Lost	Oswald 1860:77-8; Kermode 1901:182; Megaw 1937:235
	Ballabrooie	M.M.	Cubbon 1965:249-53
German	St. John's	Lost	Oswald 1860:198; Barnwell 1868:102-3; Kermode 1901:186; Megaw 1937:235, pl.117:A
	St. John's	M.M.	Megaw 1937:236, pl.116:4
	Balladoyne	M.M.	Megaw 1938:11-14

	St. Patrick's Isle	Lost M.M.	Megaw and Megaw 1950:145; Freke Interim Reports 1983-87; Holgate 1987; Graham-Cambell forthcoming
Michael	? Lhen y Oi, Orrisdale	Lost	A. Crellin 1895:121; Megaw 1937:236
	Michael churchyard	M.M.	Megaw 1937:235, pl.116:5
Ballaugh	Village	E.N.M.	Oswald 1860:171; Anderson 1874:567-8; Kermode 1901:191; Megaw 1937: 235-36, pl.116:7
Jurby	Ballachrink	M.M.	Kermode 1901:192; Megaw 1937:234-5, pl. 116:2,3
	Jurby churchyard	Re-interred	Megaw 1937:235-6, Fig.8
	Cronk Moar	M.M.	Bersu and Wilson 1966: 63-83
	Ballateare	M.M.	ibid 45-62
Lezayre		Lost	Manx Museum Atholl Papers X/19 (2nd):30
	Cronk yn Howe	M.M.	Bruce and Cubbon 1930a: 290,293-6, Figs.7,8
Bride			
Andreas	Knock y Doonee	M.M.	Kermode 1930:126-33

B. Norse Graves in the Hebrides

ISLAND	SITE	REFERENCE
Arran	King's Cross Point	Balfour 1909:371-5: Grieg 1940:26-7
	Millhill, Lamlash	Balfour 1910:221-4; Grieg 1940:27-28
Gigha	East Tarbert Bay	Bryce 1913:436-443, Fig 1; R. Anderson 1939:17; Grieg 1940: 29-30; Royal Comm. 1971:97
Islay	Ballinaby	Donations to the Museum, PSAS 1878:600; Anderson 1874: 554; Anderson 1880:51-89; Edwards 1934:74-8; Grieg 1940: 32-41; Royal Comm. 1984:147-9
	Cruach Mhor	Alcock and Alcock 1980:66-7;

		Royal Comm. 1984:150
	Newton	Anderson 1880:71; Notices of Archaeological Publications, Arch. J., 1883:467; Grieg 1940:42: Royal Comm. 1984:153
Colonsay	Miscellaneous	Purchases for the Museum and Library 1899:7-8; Grieg 1940: 46-8
	Ardskinish	Anderson 1907:441-2; Grieg 1940:61; Royal Comm. 1984:147
	Cnoc nan Gall	Grieg 1940:61-2; G. Ritchie 1981:263,278-9; Royal Comm. 1984:150
	Kiloran Bay	Anderson 1907:443-449; Shetelig 1907:172-4; Grieg 1940:48-61; Royal Comm. 1984:150
	Machrins	McNeill 1892:61-2; Anderson 1907:441; Grieg 1940:197; Ritchie 1981:267-9
	Traigh nam Barc	Ritchie 1981:279-80; Royal Comm. 1984:153
Oronsay	Carn nan Bharraich-Ex. 15th April 1891	McNeill 1891:432-5; Anderson 1907:437-41; Grieg 1940:44-6
	Ex. 23rd May 1913	Grieve 1914:272-9; Curle 1914:292-4; Grieg 1940: 42-4
	Druim Arstail	Royal Comm. 1984:150
	Lochan Chille Moire	Grieg 1940:46; Royal Comm. 1984: 152
Mull	Lost	Anderson 1880:72; Grieg 1940:62
Tiree		Donations to the Museum, PSAS 1872:446; Anderson 1874:554-5; Grieg 1940:63; Royal Comm. 1980:119
	Cornaigbeg	Anderson 1874:555; Grieg 1940: 63; Royal Comm. 1980:118
Coll	Grishipoll	G. Ritchie *et al* 1978:94,96,99; Royal Comm. 1980:119
Eigg		Macpherson 1878:586-91; Grieg 1940:63-70
Canna	Memorial church	Royal Comm. 1928:lvi
Skye	Tote, Skeabost	Lethbridge 1920:135-6; Grieg 1940:70-1
Barra		Anderson 1874:555
	Ardvouray	J. Curle 1914:307-9: Grieg 1940: 72-3
Eriskay		Donations to the Museum, PSAS 1906a:215,1906b:347; Grieg

		1940:73
South Uist		Donations to the Museum, PSAS 1872:446; Grieg 1940:73-5
North Uist	Carnan Mhor	Donations to the Museum, PSAS 1922:17; Royal Comm. 1928:275
Ensay		Anderson 1874:556; Grieg 1940: 79
Sangay	unidentified island between North Uist and Harris	Archaeological Intelligence, Arch. J., 1848:221; Anderson 1874:555; Grieg 1940:79
Harris?	? Chaipaval	
St Kilda		Anderson 1874:555-6; Grieg 1940:78
Lewis	Valtos, Uig	Macleod 1916:181-9: Grieg 1940:75-8
	Kneep, Uig	Welander *et al* 1987:149-74

DISCUSSION

The graves, generally, vary considerably in form and opulence, but share one common feature - they are, almost without exception, inhumations. In Norway cremation and inhumation were equally frequent all over the country during the Viking period (Curle *et al* 1954:68; Foote and Wilson 1970:407), but '.... inhumation must have been the prevailing burial custom among the Norsemen who settled in the Isles in the ninth and tenth centuries' (Eldjarn 1984:8). There is no general rule in orientation (Curle *et al* 1954:97). Ship burials, numerous in all the coastal districts of Norway (Curle *et al* 1954:69), have been found, for example at Balladoole (Bersu and Wilson 1966:3) and Knoc y Doonee (Kermode 1930:129) on Man, and have been suggested at Carn nan Bharraich, Oronsay (Anderson 1907:437) and at Kiloran Bay, Colonsay (Anderson 1907:443). The supposed boat-burials on Canna have been convincingly dismissed by Alcock (1983:293-309). Mound burials have been found at sites such as Kingscross, Arran (Balfour 1909;371); Ballateare and Cronk Moar, Man (Bersu and Wilson 1966:45,63); Tote, Skye (Lethbridge 1920:305); Ardvouray, Barra (Curle 1914); Otternish, North Uist (R. Comm. 1928:275), and on Eigg (Macpherson 1878:586). The mounds are all low, according to Eldjarn (1984:8), compared with the Norwegian examples. It is difficult, however, to be sure about the original heights of the mounds, taking into account, for example, the effects of erosion. In some cases, the Viking burials have been arranged in older mounds, such as at Tote, Skye, and King's Cross Point, Arran (Curle *et al* 1954:92). The mound at Knoc y Doonee, Man, was capped with white pebbles (Kermode 1930:128), and that at Ballateare had traces of a post-hole, perhaps for a wooden marker (Bersu and Wilson 1966:51). The 'pagan lady' on St Patrick's Isle, Peel, was buried in a stone-lined, lintel, grave (Holgate 1987:10), and long cists have been found at Machrins, Colonsay (G. Ritchie 1981:267) and Ballinaby, Islay (Edwards 1934:74). Also at Ballinaby, burials were found in enclosures (Anderson 1880:51) and the aforementioned boat at Kiloran Bay, covered an enclosure of upright stone slabs (Anderson 1907:443), forming perhaps a roof.

It is interesting to consider whether the mounds served a function other than that of covering the dead. In the parish of Jurby on Man, there is reason to believe that the mounds were also territorial markers:

> 'Six out of eight quarterland farms on the coastal ridge each appear to have been distinguished by a prominently-sited grave-mound, perhaps the burial places of the Norse settlers. The distribution would seem to support the identification of the farm units of the ninth century with the traditional

quarterland farms' (B. Megaw 1978:283).
Reilly (1988:114) went further to suggest that thirteen Norse grave mounds could be identified, although the possibility that these are pre-Viking should not be ignored, and linked this phenomenon, with the aid of computer analysis, with the possible deliberate settling of 'a small band of Vikings' in this area during the second half of the ninth century (1988:129). It remains uncertain whether the estates were created by the incomers, gifted to them, or expropriated from native owners. Reilly (1988:131) favoured a theory in which Celtic leaders 'handed over' land units which were already part of the existing land division system. In the Isles mounds have not been found in sufficient number to allow similar studies to be carried out on their relationship with land systems.

Double graves have been excavated at Ballinaby, Islay (Edwards 1934:74) and Ardvouray, Barra (Grieve 1914), and on Man the presence of sacrificial victims is suggested for both the grave at Ballateare and that at Balladoole (Bersu and Wilson 1966:90-1). Animals have also been found, a horse in the first burial excavated at Machrins (McNeill 1892:62) and a dog in the second (Ritchie 1981:267), a horse at Kiloran Bay (Anderson 1907:445) and also possibly at Cnoc nan Gall (R.Comm.1984:150). On Man, cremated animal remains have been found at Balladoole and Ballateare (Bersu and Wilson 1966:9-10,47).

There is little evidence of pagan cemeteries in the Isles. Freke (1985a:15), however, has claimed that one existed on St. Patrick's Isle, Peel, on Man. Seven pagan graves (Freke 1987:12), classified as 'dressed' or 'shrouded' rather than accompanied burials (Graham-Campbell forthcoming), were discovered during the course of excavation of an early Christian cemetery (Freke 1985a:15). The number of graves suggested to Freke (1985b:14) that he was not dealing with an isolated family group, but a pagan cemetery. Although such possible pagan cemeteries are rare, burials are known in Christian graveyards, largely on Man (Wilson 1974:46). Consideration of the Balladoole boat burial on Man, also involves consideration of the relationship between pagans and Christians in the Isles. The burial was placed on top of an existing Celtic Christian cemetery, slighting stone-lined lintel graves (Bersu and Wilson 1966:4). The Megaws (1950:147) considered the juxtaposition of the Viking burial and the Christian graves as coincidental, brought about by a desire for a prominent situation for the grave. Wilson (1966:13), however, considered the siting significant, regarding it as a possible demonstration/affirmation of the power of the Vikings, at that time, over Man. Pagan burials in churchyards are also a feature of the Manx corpus. Viking artefacts have been recovered from five of the parish church graveyards: Kirk Braddan and Kirk Jurby (Wilson 1974:46); Kirk Maughold and Kirk Michael (Megaw 1937:235); and Kirk Malew (Cummings 1861:87). Graveyards of churches not of parish status have also yielded artefacts, for example at St. John's (Megaw 1937:236) and Ballabrooie (Cubbon 1965:249-53). Reilly (1988:95-6) has questioned the validity of describing many of the finds as Viking graves, and on the basis of the discovery of an assemblage of Viking objects at Claghbane, near Ramsey, by Cubbon (1982:439-57), which was clearly not part of the burial, but possibly some form of cenotaph burial of weapons (Cubbon 1983:18), he has postulated that some may have been ritual deposits. Curle *et al* (1954:95) and Wilson (1976:99) have suggested that these finds may indicate the partial adoption of Christian religious practices, and 'showed that the Vikings had come to some sort of terms with the islanders' (Wilson 1967:39). The Megaws (1950:149), however, have pointed out the possibility that some of the parish churchyards only came into existence after the conversion to Christianity, and that pagan burial places could have become the centres of the new faith (1950:147). The predominance of inhumation and the use of stone-lined cists for pagan burial, in Man and the Isles, may have been influenced by the existing Christian population. At Kiloran Bay (Anderson 1907:443; R.Comm. 1984:150), two cross-marked slabs were discovered in 1883, at the east and west ends of the burial enclosure. They were marked with roughly incised lines forming a cross. Their positions pointed to the deliberate inclusion of a Christian symbol within the grave. On Canna (R.Comm.1928:lvi), a long pin of Viking type, with a

ring head, was found at the site of a memorial church.

Typical male grave assemblages include weapons, possibly a sword, spear, axe, shield and knife, and perhaps items of dress, such as a pin, buckle or strap-ends. Typical female assemblages include a pair of oval brooches, a comb, shears, a knife, beads, needle case and needles, and dress- pin.

On Man, of the rich graves, the Balladoole male possessed only a shield (Bersu and Wilson 1966:14-7); the other males were accompanied by sword, shield and at least one spear (Bersu and Wilson 1966:51-4,57-61;70-3,76-8). The Knoc y Doonee male also had an axe (Kermode 1930:130-1). In the Hebrides, the full complement of weapons is generally also lacking. Exceptions include a burial at Ballinaby (Anderson 1880:51-2), and that at Kiloran Bay (Anderson 1907:445). A number of graves, however, have been found with shield, sword, and axe or spear. Of the twenty-two possible pagan graves in Man with weapons, ten are represented by a single weapon, generally a sword. It has been suggested that the rich graves on Man indicate men of 'warrior caste' (Crawford 1987a:125; Curle *et al* 1954:101), and those of the Inner Hebrides aristocrats (Eldjarn 1984:7-8; Crawford 1987a:125). The Megaws (1950:147) argued that the goods indicated 'prosperous yeomen', substantial farmers rather than 'piratical chieftains', and the same might be said of the Inner Hebridean grave goods. Reilly (1988:131) compromised, describing the Jurby men as 'Viking warrior-farmers', whilst Wilson (1976:99) believed the graves represented settlers and not raiders.

Evidence of activities other than warfare does exist. A possible sickle was found in a male grave at Ballinaby (Edwards 1934:75), and another in a grave on Eigg (Grieg 1940:68). Sickles have also been found in female graves, for example at Cruach Mhor (R.Comm.1984:150) and at Kneep (Welander *et al* 1987:159), perhaps pointing to the importance of women in agriculture. Actual plough marks were discovered beneath the Cronk Moar burial mound on Man. Wilson (1966:70) believed that these could be dated to the Viking period, in which case 'the Viking at Cronk Moar was buried on his own fields which he had cultivated himself'. No agricultural tools were buried with him, however. Evidence of fishing is virtually non-existent, the only find possibly relating to it being a lead weight from the Knoc y Doonee burial in Man (Kermode 1930:131). Two graves have produced significant evidence of smithing. The discovery of a bowl, hammer and smith's tongs at Knoc y Doonee (Kermode 1930:131), and an adze, hammer, tongs, and cauldron fragments in the 1877 Ballinaby burial (Grieg 1940:32-6; R.Comm.1984:148), both rich graves, indicate the importance of skilled craftsmen in the community. The Knoc y Doonee burial was not only a boat grave, but the occupant was accompanied by a full set of weapons and horse equipment. The Ballinaby male also had shield, sword, spear, and two axes (Grieg 1940:32-3), indicating that the smith was also a warrior of considerable status. Foote and Wilson (1970:316) emphasised that the weapon-smith was looked upon as a much more important man than the jeweller, for example, in the literary sources. The trader is also represented in the grave goods. The grave at Kiloran Bay (Anderson 1907:444-5), produced a balance-beam with two scales and seven decorated weights, whilst at a site on Gigha, possibly that of a grave, a bronze balance-beam with two scales and four weights was discovered (Grieg 1940:29). On Ensay, two bronze balance scales were recorded by Martin Martin as being found in a grave c.1716 (Grieg 1940:79). Can we assume, however, that the men who possessed these fine objects were Norse merchants? The Ensay scales were accompanied only by a small hammer, but the Kiloran Bay male also had an iron sword, spearhead, axe and shield, an iron pot, silver pin and four bronze studs (Grieg 1940:48-61). On the north side of the burial enclosure, which included the two cross-incised slabs, were the remains of an elaborate horse harness, and to the east lay the skeleton of the horse (Anderson 1907:445). This was the grave that would also appear to have be n covered by a boat. Some time after the excavation of the site, three Northumbrian copper stycas were discovered on the surface of the enclosure. Two were identified as being issued under Eanred I (808-841) and Wigmund, Archbishop of York (831-854) (Grieg 1940:58-60). They had

been pierced for suspension, and this, together with the nature of their discovery, makes them of little use for dating (R.Comm.1984:150). Crawford (1987a:126) toyed with the ideas that this man was either an 'armed merchant, preparing to defend himself while on his trading voyages around the British Isles', or possibly "a Viking chieftain who needed 'to weigh out precious metals when distributing booty to his followers'. It is impossible to be sure.

Whether these were farmers, warriors or traders, many of the grave goods point to interesting links with insular, and in the case of the Balladoole burial continental, culture. One of the most common items in the male graves of the Isles, but also appearing in those of females, and in non-grave contexts (see Fanning 1983a:324-42), is the bronze ringed pin. There is a pin from each of the mounds at Balladoole, Ballateare and Cronk Moar on Man (Fanning 1983b:28-36), and there are two from unsexed graves on St. Patrick's Isle which are possibly those of males (Graham-Campbell forthcoming). They have been found, for example, at Ballinaby, (Edwards 1934:75), Ardskinish (Anderson 1907:441), Machrins (G. Ritchie 1981:267) and Kiloran Bay in the Isles (Fanning 1983a:334-42). The pins represent the adoption by the Vikings of an Irish form of dress fastening, and they have been found in various numbers along the Atlantic sea-route (Fanning 1983a:Fig.4). Some 60 are known from Scotland, and over 700 have been found in Ireland. They consist of two separate components, a pin and a loose swivel ring inserted in a looped or perforated head (Fanning 1983a:324-5). Other Celtic objects on Man include all except one of the spearheads, the Balladoole shield, enamels, and harness mounts, and the Cronk Moar strap-end (Bersu and Wilson 1966:84). In the Hebrides, items include the penannular brooches from Machrins (McNeill 1892:62; Grieg 1940:197), Eigg (Grieg 1940:67,69) and Skye (Grieg 1940:70); the bronze mounts or weights from Kiloran Bay (Grieg 1940:56-7), and the two brooches from the female grave at Carn nan Bharraich (Grieg 1940:42), probably constructed from the strap terminals of a portable shrine of insular workmanship.

The continental objects from Balladoole are spurs, their buckles and strap-ends and the third buckle and strap-end. Wilson (Bersu and Wilson 1966:88) also suggested that objects such as the Balladoole stirrups and the Ballateare scabbard-mounts were possibly produced under Anglo-Saxon influence. More recently, excavation of the graves on St. Patrick's Isle produced items such as the silver wire balls which suggested English workmanship (Graham-Campbell forthcoming). Such objects point to the range of contacts which some of the early Norse settlers of the Isles possessed, and their receptiveness, especially, to insular culture.

Turning to the female graves, it is interesting to note that this taste for certain insular objects is also reflected in their contents, for example, the ringed pins buried with the two females at Carn nan Bharraich (Grieg 1940:42) and with the woman at Kneep (Welander *et al* 1987:159). Whilst male personal possessions usually took the form of weapons, belts, and horse-tackle, those of women were generally jewellery and, often, small household items. The most diagnostic feature of Norse women's graves of the ninth and tenth centuries, in both Norway and the colonies, is the pair of oval brooches (see Graham-Campbell 1980:Chapter 3), described by Wilson (1976:99) as 'a distinctive and integral part of Scandinavian folk dress'. He also stated that these brooches were not worn by local women, and it is the lack of such objects from the pagan female grave at Peel, which suggested to Holgate (1987:21) that the woman may have been buried in Celtic rather than Norse dress. Freke (1985:15) has suggested that she was Celtic. The lack of identifiable Celtic objects in the grave, especially jewellery, might argue against this as an explanation. Other jewellery found in female graves includes beads; 73, all different in form, and made of glass, amber and jet, at Peel (Holgate 1987:15; Graham-Campbell forthcoming); 44 coloured glass beads at Kneep (Welander *et al* 1987:155), and a group of jet, amber, glass, burnt clay, mosaic and applied decoration beads from Ballinaby (Grieg 1940:38). At Ballinaby (Grieg 1940:36-8), one of the women was discovered with, amongst other things, a silver pin with a filigree

head, a chain of silver (probably linking her two oval brooches), and bronze mounts decorated with repousse ornament. Combs have been found at Peel (Holgate 1987:14; Graham-Campbell forthcoming), Ardvouray (Grieg 1940:72), and at Kneep (Welander *et al* 1987:155).

The inclusion of small household items appears to have been quite common, although it is important to remember that most of the goods in female graves are those associated with dress. Iron knives were found at Peel (Holgate 1987:13-14), Kneep (Welander *et al* 1987:157), and at Machrins (G. Ritchie 1981:269); sickles at Cruach Mhor (R.Comm.1984:150), and Kneep (Welander *et al* 1987:159); shears at Peel (Holgate 1987:14; Graham-Campbell forthcoming), Carn nan Bharraich (Grieg 1940:43), and Cruach Mhor (R.Comm.1984:150); needles and needle cases at Peel (Holgate 1987:14; Graham-Campbell forthcoming), Ballinaby (Grieg 1940:40), Carn nan Bharraich (Grieg 1940:43-4), and Kneep (Welander *et al* 1987:157); a glass linen smoother at Ballinaby (Grieg 1940:38); a stone spindle-whorl at Cruach Mhor (R.Comm.1984:150); a pendant hone at Kneep (Welander *et al* 1987:157); a possible pestle and mortar at Peel (Holgate 1987:15; Graham-Campbell forthcoming); and, finally, perhaps one of the most significant finds, a roasting spit from Peel (Holgate 1987:13; Graham-Campbell forthcoming), an artefact unparalleled in Britain.

This summary of the range of goods discovered in female pagan graves provides an indication of the various activities of women, for example sewing, spinning, the cutting and smoothing of cloth, food preparation and cooking, and also possibly also farming. A number of the graves indicate individuals of some status, those at St. Patrick's Isle and Kneep being particularly rich. The woman from the former site is the only one suggested to have been Celtic rather than Norse. However, it seems rash to reach such a conclusion solely on the basis of the absence of the oval brooches, the other grave goods certainly pointing to strong Scandinavian connections. These graves contrast sharply with the appearance of the two possible sacrificial victims in the Ballateare and Balladoole burials.

APPENDIX 3

SCULPTURE AND HOARD EVIDENCE

A. STONE SCULPTURE AND RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS

The sculptured and runic-inscribed stones are largely confined to Man, and do not indicate close cultural links with the other islands. They also suggest a different social background to that indicated by the wealthy graves. Whilst some have argued (e.g. Crawford 1987a:174) that the latter evidence, especially in Man, pointed to the existence of a Viking warrior aristocracy, perhaps at pains to emphasise its identity, the sculptured stones and the runic inscriptions suggest a mixed Celtic-Norse population. The carving of stones, however, appears to have been a short-lived tradition. Wilson (1983:185) has dated the memorial stones to the period 930-1010/1020 A.D., a slightly wider period than the one he proposed earlier (1973:18). The series of inscriptions starts with Gautr's cross at Kirk Michael, c.930, and continues until at least the middle of the twelfth century (Page 1983:136-9).

The Manx stones, regarded as memorials and carved mainly from Manx slate (Wilson 1983:175), have been found in every parish except Arbory. The idea of erecting such monuments, however, is not a Scandinavian one. During the pre-Norse period, carvings took the form of a slab, and the ornament was arranged around and within a large cross (Bailey 1980:217). By the time the Norsemen arrived, a corpus of inscribed stones already existed, some embellished with simple ornament, such as those from Maughold (Wilson 1983:178). Until this time, such stones were associated with the monastic tradition (Bailey 1984:12; Trench-Jellicoe 1985:38-9). The Norsemen not only adopted this monastic art, but also took it into the secular side of society: the 'scandinavianised patron embraced the idea of such memorial stones eagerly and they were produced with enthusiasm, and often with skill' (Wilson 1983:178). Trench-Jellicoe (1985:398-9) has emphasised, however, that the models for the interlaced animal and human decoration were from an external source.

Bailey (1980:254-6) stressed that the relationship between patron and sculptor clearly varied from one place to another. Urban workshops could be argued for York or Chester, but villages were more likely to have employed the skills of the local or itinerant stone mason. On Man, the name of one individual is significant, Gautr. The claim, on a Kirk Michael cross (K[=Kermode]74), that he 'made this and all in Man', led to the belief that he was the first Viking craftsman to carve crosses on Man (e.g. Kermode 1907:38; Wilson 1973:4) and subsequent analysis on the sequence of the stones has been based upon this. Only one other cross, at Andreas (K73), can be ascribed to Gautr on the basis of an inscription, but other crosses have been ascribed to his workshop (Wilson 1983:180). This inscription reads 'Gautr made me, son of Bjorn of Kollr' (Page 1983:136). Page believed that the equating of these two men was correct, but had nothing to offer concerning the location of 'Kollr.' Kermode (1907:149) suggested the farm of Cooley in Michael, but Marstrander (1938a:381) interpreted it as the Inner Hebridean island of Coll.

The main ornament on Gautr's Kirk Michael cross, described as a classic of the Manx Viking series (Wilson 1983:178), consists of Scandinavian Borre-style ring-chain pattern. Additional features appear to indicate insular development of motifs, for example the tendril-like motif (Wilson 1983:180). Other stones, not part of the 'Gautr group', are ornamented in a zoomorphic Jelling/Mammen-style, for example two at Braddan (K108,109), and at Kirk Michael there is an example of the fusion of this ornament and the ring-chain (K105) (Wilson 1983:181). Ringerike characteristics have been noted at Kirk Michael and at Maughold (Wilson 1983:181-82).

The origin of these styles in Man is complex. Wilson (1983:183) suggested that the Borre-style was so popular that it could have come from any of the areas around the Irish sea or directly from Scandinavia; the Mammen style might have come direct from Scandinavia,

belonging to a period when Scandinavian influence in England, and possibly Ireland, was at a low, and the Ringerike style probably reached Man from Ireland. Bailey (1984:21) stressed that the Manx sculpture is different from that of its neighbours in many respects. He could find no links between Galloway and Man, and little to suggest close links with its near neighbours Lancashire, Cheshire and the Wirral. Contact with Anglo-Scandinavian England was, however, clear, Man having links with both Cumbria and York, and perhaps belonging to the same cultural orbit (see also Trench-Jellicoe 1985:395-6).

Besides decorative ornament, a number of the Manx stones also have carved scenes. Monuments in the 'mythological corpus' include the stone at Bride (K97), the most complete example; and fragments from Jurby (K98,99), Kirk Maughold (K96), and Kirk Andreas (K102) (Margeson 1983:96). Odin, Thor, Gerdr, Heimdallr and Sigurd were identified by Kermode (1907:68), but Margeson (1983:95-9) has advised caution in some cases. She (1983:100-4) identified four crosses with Sigurd iconography, dated to the mid/late tenth century, and suggested that the carvings contain most of the key literary elements, and those in later pictures. Identifiable Christian scenes are rare, but figures do appear, for example the Christ figures on two of the Kirk Michael crosses (K100,101); a figure with a cross and book at Kirk Andreas (K102); and the harpist at Kirk Michael (K104) (Margeson 1983:105; Wilson 1973:10). Margeson (1983:105) argued that the presence of a Christian figure on the Kirk Andreas (K102) cross also depicting Odin, showed that pagan and Christian pictures were given equal prominence. She postulated (1983:105) that this indicates that the two images were seen as equivalent by the sculptor, and possibly as 'aspects of the same theme in two idioms.' Thus, not the triumph of one over the other. Bailey (1980:124-310) argued that, in such cases, the sculptor was perhaps comparing pagan myth and Christian doctrine, thus using a 'pagan iconography of Christian ideas' (1980:125) on the crosses. The Sigurd story, for example, contains parts which are strongly suggestive of certain Christian ideals, and could explain why sculptors chose to illustrate certain passages on the crosses. It must be stressed, however, that many of the Norse mythological stories were written down long after the Viking Age, in Christian communities (Bailey 1980:103). Crawford (1987a:174) suggested that the stones were erected by tolerant patrons who wished to remember 'the old traditions of their forefathers regarding the world of the gods, although pious enough to commission Christian monuments as a testimonial to their own firm beliefs.' It seems more likely that this method of commemorating the dead appealed to the Scandinavians, who adopted it and commissioned carvings to their own taste, possibly incorporating both pagan and Christian symbols. Other secular scenes, however, may indicate activities pursued in life by the commemorated, rather than representing specific chapters in Norse mythology, and the figures may portray these individuals rather than mythical characters (Margeson 1983:105). Presumably, much of the decoration of the stones depended not only upon the wishes of the patron, but also on the background and competence of the sculptor.

The lack of memorial stones of the period in the Hebrides is interesting, and has been explained by Wilson (1976:102) as possibly due to the late conversion of the Norse in this area. The Kilbar stone (Curle *et al* 1954:123ff.), discovered in Kilbar churchyard on Barra in the Outer Hebrides, has on one face a cross of Celtic type, circled at the intersection of the arms, and filled with a simple plait-work. The lower limbs are flanked by a pair of double scrolls and fretwork. On the other side is the runic inscription. It was suggested that this stone may have inspired Gautr and his colleagues on Man. Liestøl (1983:92), noting the short distance between Barra and Iona and the fact that the sea-route passes the island of Coll, suggested not only that Bjorn, the father of Gautr, may have been responsible for the Kilbar stone, but that he may have moved to the more prosperous Man to instruct his son. Wilson (1976:102), however, was adamant that the stone was derived from a Manx prototype. Stones with designs similar to those on Man have also been found on Iona, sharing features such as knotted terminals and a separate interlaced central ring (Liestøl 1983:92; also Royal Commission Argyll volume 1982 for detailed descriptions and discussion).

Turning to the runic inscriptions, Page (1983:134) has counted at least thirty-one rune stones in the Manx corpus, but excluded five from his analysis; two definite, and one possible, post-Viking examples, and two tiny fragments. The earliest surviving runes are of tenth century date, and demonstrate not only a clear link with Norway, but also show Norsemen accommodating to a western tradition which has strong Celtic elements (Page 1983:139). Page argued that c.1000 the runic tradition was influenced by new techniques, pointing to the arrival of a new group in Man using the script in alternative ways. After this innovative period, it appears that the runic tradition on Man continued in some isolation.

All the runic inscriptions are commemorative, and the majority take the form of '(x) raised this cross in memory of (y)'. Page (1983:135) noted additions to this basic formula, giving more information about x or y, or the name of the carver or rune cutter. This formula is similar to that on many of the Norwegian rune-stones of the Viking period. There is, however, one significant difference, the use of the word 'cross' (kross), in preference to 'stone' (steinn), on the Manx examples. The latter continues to be used in both Norway and Denmark into the late Viking period, indicating that the use of 'cross' was a definite Celtic adoption. The only other stone in the Isles to have incorporated this word within its inscription is the Kilbar cross.

Besides the basic memorial formula, Page (1983:135) noted other similarities between the runic inscriptions of Norway and Man. Minor characteristics include the use of punctuation marks by the Manx carvers. On a larger scale, the cutting of the runes along the edge of the slabs, generally from the base upwards, is common in Norway and Sweden. It is rarely found in Denmark. There is, however, another lay-out which is found on Manx memorial stones, but, not in Norway or Denmark during the Viking Age. In it, the runes are cut on the face of the slab, alongside the stem of a relief cross. They also run upwards (see Kermode 1907).

Both Norse and Celtic names appear in the runic-inscriptions, but do not necessarily indicate nationality. A cross at Braddan (K108) records that Celtic-named Fiac was the son of Norse-named Thorleifr and nephew of similarly named Hafr. On a second Braddan stone (K86), the father has the Celtic name Krinian, and the son the Norse name Ofeigr. There are a number of similar examples, in which various members of families mentioned on the crosses have a mixture of Norse and Celtic names. Olsen (1954) suggested that Celtic names tended to occur in the earliest period of Scandinavian sculpture (the period of Gautr), whereas in the middle and later periods, the large majority of inscriptions incorporated Scandinavian names. Wilson (1973:17) believed this a reasonable conclusion, indicating that the Celtic and Norse populations were living harmoniously together on the island. Curle *et al* (1954:45) also argued that the runic inscriptions showed the intermixture of Norse and Celtic populations, and that they were concerned with people who, although they did not play leading parts in the history of Man, held such prominent positions in society that they were able to erect these monuments.

Page (1983:138), noting the grammatical imprecision of the runes on early Manx stones, postulated that this might be a feature of a community of Norse-Gaelic speakers using Old Norse, and has emphasised particularly the importance of an inscription on one of the Kirk Michael stones. Apparently cut by a rune-master trained in techniques outside Man, the inscription is recorded in distinctively Manx speech. Grammatical imprecision on stones as early as Gautr's (Page 1983:136), dated to the 930s/940s, might suggest that contact between the two cultures had been extensive for a not inconsiderable length of time. It is difficult, however, to gauge the rate of acculturation. It is important to note, also, that M. Gelling (1970:139) has concluded that the runic evidence points to a very slight Gaelic linguistic survival during the Norse period.

The pagan burials are generally held to belong to a period before the

DISCUSSION

Reilly concluded (1988:101) that 'the pattern and period of hoarding is different in the Isle of Man compared to other areas of Scandinavian influence, and this suggests that their impact was initially not very pronounced but gradually grew stronger.' This is a gross over-simplification, and Reilly is incorrect in stressing the differences between Man and its neighbours, the island mirroring at various periods the situation in Ireland and demonstrating close links with the Isles.

Figure 30 is a comparison of the hoard deposition charts for Man, Ireland and Scotland. It should be noted that only eight of the twenty-one Scottish hoards are Hebridean. The overall similarity is striking, but closer examination reveals marked differences in certain periods. Pre-900 A.D., five hoards are found in Ireland, two in Scotland and none in Man. The hoard dated c.900-950 is a doubtful case, and should be used with caution. Thus, it cannot be argued with confidence that hoarding was a feature of life on Man pre-960. This is in sharp contrast to both Scotland and Ireland, the number of hoards increasing from 930 and 920 respectively. When hoards do begin to be found in Man, their distribution mirrors that in Ireland, and peaks are reached in all three areas in the 970s. There is a gap in the record in the 980s for Man, but there is a hoard dated to the 990s. After 1010, there are gaps in all three areas; in Scotland until the 1020s, when the number of hoards peaks again; in Ireland until a hoard dated to the 1030s, and in Man also until the 1030s. In the 1040s, the number of hoards reaches its peak in Man, but in Scotland there is a gap until 1060, and in Ireland the numbers for 1040-60 are similar to those for the period 920-950, but then fall off. The 1060s in Man produce the same number of hoards as the 970s and then fall off. The virtual disappearance of hoards in Man and the occurrence of only two in Scotland between 1030 and 1160, is not reflected in Ireland. Hoards are found dated to the 1090s, and in the decade 1100-1110, the third highest number of hoards occurs. Post 1110, there is a gap until the period 1130-1150, which produces three hoards.

The lack of hoards pre-960 would suggest that either there was no permanent settlement on Man, or that the inhabitants were deliberately pursuing a 'policy of the low profile', as suggested by Dolley (1981). He argued that the new settlers were too involved in establishing internal control to become involved in external affairs. They were more concerned with their new land-holdings than with piracy or commerce. If this was indeed the case, then, a re-dating of the pagan burial mounds is necessary, it being unlikely that the settlers spent a century sorting out their new land-holdings and establishing internal control. Dolley's theory does, however, become tenable if the graves are dated to the early years of the tenth century, and the insular nature of the sculptural evidence, for example, would support the 'low profile' argument for the period 930-960. However, it must be stressed that the hoards themselves, do not provide any information about the nature of the take-over in Man.

The lack of hoards in the period 920-960 is of crucial significance. Although the great surge in numbers recovered in Ireland is not reflected in Scotland, a noticeable clustering occurs there. Dolley (1981) has explained the increased incidence of hoards as a direct result of the growth in importance of Dublin, and the consequent availability of wealth, and has argued that it is this that the Manx hoards begin to reflect in the 960s. This may explain the appearance of coins and bullion in Man, Ireland and Scotland, but it does not explain why it had to be concealed and, most important, why it was not recovered. A period of crisis, or the involvement of individuals in outside events, would provide an explanation for the latter (Casey 1986:61). Whatever these activities were, the evidence suggests that individuals in both Scotland and Ireland were also involved in them. The coins of the Viking kings of York, Anlaf Guthfrithsson (1), Anlaf Sihtricsson (3), and Erik Blood-axe (2) in two of the Manx hoards, could suggest that it was the events surrounding these men which drew

the Manx-Norse settlers out of their isolation. However, it is to the 940s and the 950s that these events relate, rather than to the 960s and 970s. Alternatively, they could be associated with the activities of Earl Sigurd of Orkney, who was extending his sway in the west during the period 975-1014 (Crawford 1987a:133), and the deposition in the 970s could be seen as a response to the events leading up to the battle of Tara in 980 (see Dolley 1969:122).

However, this approach presents problems, for example an increase in deposited hoards might be expected at the beginning of the eleventh century, associated with the battle of Clontarf in 1014. This is not the case, there being a gap in hoard deposition in Man from 1000-1030; in Ireland from 1010-1040, and in Scotland from 1010-1020. This gap is particularly odd as a mint was established in Dublin at the end of the tenth century. From the hoard evidence alone, it might be deduced that this was a time of peace in Scotland and the Irish Sea area, directly contradicting the historical evidence. Dolley's explanation (1966:38) was that those men who were involved in the battle of Clontarf were not habitual users of coins. They would, thus, not have been hastily concealing their wealth before being recruited. The establishment of a mint at Dublin, and the abrupt change from English to Irish coins must also have been significant. Ireland entered an era of self-sufficiency and there was a contraction in the area where the new Irish coinage was acceptable (Dolley 1966:37). This could mean that the Isles, for example, reverted to a coinless economy.

From their composition, the Manx hoards appear to be emergency hoards, containing coins that were currently in circulation, rather than being savings hoards accumulated through time. Four of the hoards contain objects in addition to coins: the Ballaquayle, West Nappin, Kirk Andreas (1874), and Kirk Michael (1972/75) hoards, the first of these described as 'a classic example of a mixed Viking-Age silver hoard' (Graham-Campbell 1983b:69), containing coins, ingot(s), hack silver and complete ornaments. Wilson (1974:40) has suggested that it was possibly 'the treasure of a single family who were one of the richest in the community living on what was later one of the rich medieval farms of the island.' The loss of such a hoard must have represented a considerable dent in the family finances. It has been argued that ring-money was largely a 'Scoto-Viking' phenomenon (Graham-Campbell 1983b:63), dating generally to the period c.925-1075, but in particular to the period 950-1050. It is suggested that it was a form of currency based on a Scandinavian Viking-Age 'ounce' of about 24gm (see Warner 1976). Dolley (1979:549) suggested that the introduction of ring-money to the Irish Sea area might be associated with the activities of Sigurd the Stout in the Hebrides. Could the Ballaquayle hoard have been that of a Manx supporter of Sigurd?

The hoards of the Hebrides with coins also cluster within this period, perhaps reflecting Sigurd's activities. They are dated to 975 (2), 985, 986 to 1000 A.D.. Graham-Campbell (1976a:122) has described the Iona Abbey hoard, consisting of over 350 coins, a small fragment of gold rod, silver ingot, silver mount and gold filigree ornament, as very similar to many of the Irish hoards from around the time of the Battle of Tara. Only the hoard from North Uist appears to have been of coins alone, the others having objects, including ring-money, finger-rings and ingots, in various quantities. There are also coinless hoards, one on Iona, dated to c.986. Graham-Campbell (1976a:127) has argued that there is little to indicate that there had been a transition to a coin-using economy in Scotland, and that the ring-money found in the hoards was sufficient for trading purposes in England and Ireland.

Post-Clontarf, it is clear that the Scottish pattern of hoarding does not reflect the situation in Ireland. There is a concentration of four hoards in the 1020s, none of them in the Hebrides. After this, there is one hoard dated to the 1060s from Shetland, and one to the 1150s from Bute. The evidence points to a lack of Hiberno-Norse coins, and to the fact that the area was still making use of arm-rings. This strongly suggests that Scotland, including the Hebrides, was now peripheral to the activities in the Irish Sea. Hiberno-Norse coins also cease to be found in Norway, pointing to the fact that links between this country

and its oldest colonies were now no more than nominal (Dolley 1966:40). In sharp contrast, Man appears to begin to mint its own coins in the 1030s. Hoards appear again in the 1030s after a gap of some thirty years. In this group Dolley (1976a:75-84) identified the new Hiberno-Manx coinage, based upon, but distinct from, the Hiberno-Norse coins of Dublin. He (1981:175) pointed to eleventh century examples, in Scandinavia and Finland, of moneying in non-urban contexts, and suggested that only one Dublin moneyer with a set of dies removed from Dublin, need be involved. These dies were probably copied by a single hand over a short period of time, namely during the 1030s. Graham-Campbell (1983b:61) found this unsurprising, Man being little more than an 'offshore island of Ireland rather than the southernmost of the Hebrides'. This is borne out by a comparison of the contents of the eleventh century hoards, but continuing links with Scotland are suggested by the appearance of ring-money in hoards on Man until the 1070s (Graham-Campbell 1983b:62). Dolley (1976a:82-3;1976b:19-21; 1981:176)) suggested that there was a dynastic take-over on Man, by a representative of Dublin's royal house, after the battle of Clontarf, in which both Earl Sigurd of Orkney and the leader of the Manx contingent were killed. This left a convenient power vacuum in Man, which the Hiberno-Norse filled, thus effectively detaching Man from its Orkney alignment. It is suggested that this relationship ended with the takeover of Man in 1079 by Godred Crovan.

Thus, for a short time, silver in Man was being struck into coin rather than being used for the manufacture of ornaments. Dolley (1976a:82;1976b:20), noting the concentration of hoards with Hiberno-Norse and Hiberno-Manx coins in the geographical north of the island, suggested that the 'two men and a boy' operation was probably located here, and that there may have been an influx of new settlers into the area at this time. He also argued (1981:175-6) that the ring-money reaching Man was creating problems within a monetary economy: the most sensible way of dealing with this was to convert the silver into coin, and perhaps the moneyer, rather than being based in one place, travelled and worked wherever his services were required (Graham-Campbell 1983b:62).

One coin hoard is dated to the 1070s on Man, and one to the late eleventh/early twelfth century. Coins did not circulate in any great quantity again until the end of the thirteenth century (Dolley 1981:174-5). As Irish hoards post-1070 are relatively numerous, it can be argued that the economy in Man relapsed into coinlessness and that there was little contact with Dublin. The area of influence of the Hiberno-Norsemen had contracted even further. Continuing contact between Man and Scotland, particularly the Hebrides, cannot be argued on the basis of the hoards.

APPENDIX 4

PLACE-NAMES IN THE '*LIMITES SEU DIVISIO NES TERRARUM MONACHORUM*'.

GELLING (1971:169-72)

BOUNDARY	NORSE	GAELIC	HYBRID	LATINISED	OBSCURE	TOTAL
One	15 (2*)	4	-	4	4	27
Two	5 (1*)	8	1	-	1	15
Three	5 (1*)	1	-	-	-	6
TOTAL	25	13	1	4	5	48

N.B. * represents an inversion compound.

MEGAW (1978:307-08)

BOUNDARY	NORSE	GAELIC	GAELICISED	LATINISED	OBSCURE	TOTAL
One	10	3	2	4	5	24
Two	3 8	1	-	3	15	
Three	4 1	1	1	-	7	
TOTAL	17	12	4	5	8	46

N.B. Megaw did not include Gaelic baligil and Norse conisaker and Sandewyk in the list of names in the first boundary. In the third boundary, the extra name is capellam sancti Nicholai.

APPENDIX 5

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MANX LAND-SYSTEM, SUPPLEMENTED BY INFORMATION ON THE UNITS OF THE HEBRIDES ALSO BELIEVED TO BE OF NORSE ORIGIN.

Treen and quarterland

The treen was equated by Marstrander (1937:389-90) and Marwick (1935:17;1949) with the Hebridean 'ounce-land', Gaelic *tír-unga*. Marstrander's first theory (1932:350-1) saw the word *treen* as being derived from a postulated unit called in Old Norse the *prí-hífingr*, which he equated with the three-hide unit. It consisted of three smaller units, *hífingr*, the main estates of the Celtic inhabitants of the island, which were grouped together to form the Celtic equivalent of *prí-hífingr*. Marstrander postulated that when the Vikings settled in the island, the old system was re-named and the Norse aristocracy took over control of the estates. During this period of change, the units were reorganised and the original three units were replaced by four quarterlands. Marwick (1935:17,28-9) objected to this conclusion, believing that it was not a convincing explanation of the division of the treen into four rather than three units. He also pointed to the fact that Marstrander's postulated land-units were unknown. He instead equated the treen with the Hebridean *tír-unga* and the Orkney *eyrisland*. These ounce-lands can be equated also with the southern Scottish *ounce-land* and the northern Scottish *davach* (McKerral 1944:54ff.). Both the eyrisland and the tír-unga were divided into four units, those of the former known as *scattalds* and those of the latter as quarterlands. Marwick compared the rentals of the treens and tír-ungas, and found that they the rents paid on these units were very similar, but as Reilly (1988:25) pointed out, the fact that the documents were not contemporary, and the Manx rents could experience significant change in even a short period, as demonstrated by a comparison of the Manorial Rolls and the earlier fragment found by M. Crellin (1969), made the comparison invalid.

Marstrander accepted and developed this theory (1937:389-90), believing that treen and tír-unga were later translations of the original Norse eyrisland. Both Marstrander (1937) and Marwick (1935; 1949) concluded that certain elements in the Manx land-system were incorporated into an administrative system which was derived from a Scandinavian one, and was specifically based upon the coastal defence system known as *leidang*. Again, Marstrander accepted Marwick's conclusions that the *shiprede* (the district from which the levy of ships and manpower was drawn) should be identified with the parish, and that the *manngerds* (the smaller units into which the *shiprede* was divided) should be identified with the quarterlands.

However, Marstrander (1932) in his study of the place-names of the island, recognised that the majority of the quarterlands had names which were of Gaelic construction rather than Norse. This suggested that there had been a pre-Norse system of territorial organisation in existence. The evidence of the quarterland names, together with the fact that minor topographical features appeared to have Gaelic rather than Norse names, was believed to indicate the status of the two groups, Norse and Gaelic. The native population clearly retained their family units, or quarterlands, and the Norse converted the treens into taxation units. The use of Norse names for the larger topographical features accorded well with the higher status of the Norse settlers on the island.

Turning to the archaeological evidence, Marstrander (1937) used the distribution of *keeills* (chapels) and *rhullicks* (burial-grounds) to test the theory that the treens were pre-Viking in origin. Traditionally, the chapels were regarded as being the ancient treen-churches, and in the Traditionary Ballad Saint German was associated with their erection. Generally, this saint is identified with historical figures of the fifth and sixth centuries (R. Shaw 1966). Marstrander, by demonstrating that there was a correlation between the chapels, burial-grounds and the treens, believed that he had confirmed the tradition. However, this required further testing,

none of the chapels having a clear pre-Viking foundation date (Megaw & Megaw 1950:154), and some of the keeills overlying graves which had a different orientation and thus not being of the same antiquity as the cemetery. In other cases, it appeared that the chapels were located on pagan burial-mounds (B. Megaw 1978:297).

B. Megaw (1978:280), rather than continuing the examination of the possible Norse origins of the land-system, concentrated on the Gaelic parallels for the land units on Man. He believed that the 'most natural explanation' seemed to be that the Gaelic tír-unga was the equivalent of the *tír-mbo* ('cow-land') of the seventh century Irish laws. It appears that this unit in Ireland was regarded as the normal holding of the freeholder, and for this he paid his lord an annual tribute of 'a cow with its accompaniment'. The value of this has been estimated as an ounce of silver (Binchy 1941:8,68,77). Megaw noted that the treen and ounce-land did not appear to fit into the freeman's holding in mediaeval times in the form that they are known. Instead, he compared tentatively the four-quarterland division with the Carolingian system involving the combining of four *manses* to provide and support one fighting-man. The man was provided by one manse, and his equipment and upkeep by the other three. However, there are similar systems geographically much nearer, for example, the *maenol* in North Wales and the *tref* in South Wales (Lloyd 1911), the *treb* in mediaeval Argyll (Bannerman 1974), the Cornish *treves* and their Breton counterparts the *trièves* (Flàtres 1957). The aforementioned *davach* can also be added to the list. All of these units comprised four smaller units, like the treen, and all were fiscal and administrative units (McKerral 1944). It has also been suggested that they may also have corresponded to social and political ranks within the societies which adopted them (Reilly 1988:27).

Reilly (1988:28) concluded that there were very strong grounds for accepting the conclusion that the Manx land-system was part of the same general 'cultural matrix' as the above systems, and that the similarity between the terminology of it and its Gaelic counterparts suggested that its origins were unlikely to lie in a Norse cultural sphere. He tested Marstrander's keeill-treen (1988:Chapter 6) theory, which saw the distribution of the chapels and burial-grounds as non-random and that they represented elements of a system of Early Mediaeval proto-parishes, by generating theoretical distribution patterns for comparative purposes. The statistical evidence generated contradicted the keeill-treen theory, which saw each treen as having one keeill, and also a keeill-quarterland theory. Consequently, Reilly (1988:155) rejected Marstrander's theory on statistical grounds as 'unconvincing and potentially misleading'.

An alternative theory of the origin and distribution of the keeills has been proposed by Lowe (1987:230-234), in his field-survey of the keeills of Man and the Northern Isles. He produced a theoretical model in which there were five major phases in the development of the keeills on the Isle of Man and their relationship with the land divisions during the period from the fifth century to the twelfth century A.D. He dated the sixth phase to the late mediaeval period. In Phase 1, dated to the period immediately prior to the introduction of Christianity, he argued that treens were occupied by kindred groups, and that they fully exploited meadow, pasture and arable land. The treens were surrounded by expanses of unused or under-exploited waste. Phase 2, covering the fifth to eighth century, represents the situation in the early years after the introduction of Christianity into the island. Some keeills were located on the boundaries of treens, whilst others were erected on the wastes (non-treenland types). In Phase 3, the seventh to tenth century, the original treen holding was expanded, and it was possibly at this time that the *alia* and *beg* type treens emerged. Lowe suggested that this expansion may have resulted in the incorporation of some of the former non-treenland keeills, which might be located centrally within the new treen landscape or on its periphery. Phase 4, covering the period from the ninth to the eleventh century, is divided into two parts. Phase 4a, potentially contemporary with 4b, saw a further expansion of holdings, and possibly involved the permanent settling of the *eary* treens. This expansion could have been responsible for the

absorption of more keeills located on the wastes. In Phase 4b, it is suggested that some new keeills were erected in more central locations within the treens, irrespective of the type of treen, frequently in close proximity to the quarterland farms. Some treens may at this stage have had two keeills. The treens continued to expand in Phase 5, dating from the late tenth to twelfth century, but new formations, possibly the *renn* and small treens, were not provided with keeills, and earlier sites were not, on the whole, absorbed. The major feature of this phase was the emergence of a fairly centrally placed parish church, built on the site of an earlier keeill. The parish boundary was also ascribed to this period. In Phase 6, the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, there was further expansion of the treen. The new units in this phase were the *intacks*. One more keeill site was absorbed, but the possibility must not be rejected that it was a ruin by this stage, and only one site remained on the waste. This phase essentially represented the present-day pattern.

Both Reilly (1988) and Lowe (1987) have examined in detail the specific relationship between the keeills and the boundaries of land divisions. Reilly (1988:184), again using statistical analysis, found that the tests he carried out provided no support for the hypothesis that early chapels and burial grounds were located unusually near boundaries of land units in the study area. Lowe (1987:230-233) in his model clearly felt that boundary association was an important element in the early siting of the keeills, and linked it (1983:124) with the observations made by E. Davies (1956:103) concerning the incidence of wells with boundaries. He argued that there was a move to a central location in the later phases. He further suggested (1987:337) that areas which had large numbers of boundary sited chapels could possibly be identified as those where estates or districts remained relatively intact, and where the integration of the native population with Norse settlers was achieved relatively quickly. The location of the chapels was thus a reflection of the amount of disruption which a particular area underwent.

THE PARISHES

Reilly (1988:28) has highlighted areas which have been insufficiently explored or ignored in the past. Issues such as the basis of Olaf's decision on the number of the parishes and upon the location of the parish-churches, and the possibility that he imposed the new ecclesiastical structure on an existing territorial division of the island are important. Reilly felt that it was not unlikely that the parishes had evolved from pre-existing secular units, and pointed to the fact that it is assumed that the pre-twelfth century ecclesiastical organisation in Man would have been similar to that in the rest of the north and west of Britain, a reflection of the secular society in those areas. The Church, generally, was administered from large monasteries and a network of smaller chapels and anchorite settlements (Thomas 1971;1981). This organisation was considered to be inefficient and archaic, and reform involved the reorganisation on the basis of 'territorial dioceses and parishes', and the payment of a tithe was made obligatory to aid the 'creation of the parish as a defined territorial unit' (Addleshaw 1973:27).

Reilly (1988:31,35) has considered the question of the basis upon which the island was divided into parishes, and has produced a model to explain this and the selection of sites of parish-churches. He postulated that it could be expected that the parish layout would reflect 'the role of the new ecclesiastical regime as providing a service to a much wider community from that sustained by the keeills'. The reformers would have wished to strike a balance between the need to reach the population and the need to have access to, and some sort of control over, the land: the population's greatest resource, and means of production. He suggested that, in fact, the parishes represented the territory which supported a person of noble rank, and pointed to evidence from Orkney, that the parish churches were established on the site of eyrisland chapels located nearest the hall of the chief family in a specific area (Marwick 1949). Returning to Lowe's model of the development of keeills (1987:230-3), it is in Phase 5 that the parish-churches appear. Lowe wrote that these were more or less

centrally placed, and that they were built on the site of an earlier keeill. In Phase 4b, new keeill sites had been established in more centrally located positions, frequently in proximity to the quarterland farms.

Other features of parish-church location have been noted, for example, the fact (Kneen 1938:214) that many of them stood at the centre of a group of three treens (Jurby, Ballaugh, Arbory, Braddan, Andreas, Michael and Onchan), and that many are located near the treen boundaries (Reilly 1988;33-34, Fig.17-22). This, Reilly believed, would have made access between churches and estates easier. He also pointed to the fact that Lowe (1983:124-126; 1987:234) argued that boundary location was a feature of the earlier keeill organisation, earlier in the sense that this organisation pre-dated the parish one, and in the sense that it was an early phenomenon within it.

The model, thus, recognised that the lay population was a key factor in the division of the island into parishes, and that the units created were related 'to the amount and configuration of land supporting the population' (1988:35) Accepting that the population would have been evenly distributed and that all the parishes would have been of equal importance, the model predicted that the parishes would have been of roughly equal size and the parish-church would have been placed centrally so as to allow equal access to all the parishioners.

Reilly (1988:36) noted that all the parishes were not of equal size, that not all of the land within them could support similar numbers of population and livestock, and that land-holding was confined to the treen and the quarterland. The model, therefore, had to reflect the fact that the size of population within a given unit was largely determined by the carrying capacity of the land, and that the size of the parish was a reflection of both the size of the population and the amount of arable land available.

A further factor of importance which needed to be recognised in the model was the significance of fishing to the population. Reilly (1988:37) suggested that given the importance of the sea, both as a source of food and as a means of contact and exchange, access to it must have been an important consideration in the siting of the parish-church. Furthermore, the Church would have extended its tithes to include a proportion of the catches, and was more likely to have been located near this resource than to the less productive moorlands. It should not be forgotten, however, that the moorlands were important resource areas, providing not only rough grazing but also the possibilities of hunting, the digging of peat (fuel), and the possible use for shieling during the summer months (which would have resulted in the production of cheeses, which could also have formed part of the tithe).

On examination of the parishes, it was clear to Reilly that the area of cultivable land within each parish is fairly similar. Some of the parishes, such as Patrick, German and Lezayre, are clearly much larger units than the others, but an examination of the type of land in each one showed that they had a larger proportion of mountainous land, which when discounted made the inhabitable areas of the parishes much smaller. In the case of Lezayre, the amount of available land was also reduced by the existence of extensive marshy tracts. Reilly still had to explain, however, the fact that Malew appears to be larger than the others, and that Arbory is significantly smaller. A solution to this problem was that Arbory had lost out to Malew in land grants given to Rushen Abbey at roughly the same time that the parishes were formalised (the Charter of Pope Eugenius III c.1153 (Oswald 1860:8-12)). There is an interesting twist to the theory, however, in that the combined area of Santon and of Marown would have far exceeded that of any other parish. Consequently, Reilly had to accept that there were originally seventeen parishes.

Examination of the distribution of the parishes churches, showed that they were placed in such a position as to allow easy access to the cultivable land, thus the treen and quarterland estates, within the

parish bounds. Reilly noted also that there was a tendency for them to be located near the coast. He argued that the fact that fairs were held annually at the parish churches reinforced the interpretation of them as important central places. Such fairs would not only have facilitated commercial exchange, but would have encouraged social as well (Reilly 1988:38).

THE SHEADINGS

The Norse origin of the sheadings was first argued by Vigfusson (1887) and was supported by Round (1895:76). Vigfusson believed the word *sheading* to be derived from Old Norse **scegd-ping*, 'ship-division'. Marstrander (1937:410,431) failed to find such a word, and also rejected the Middle English proposal, favouring Old Norse *settungr*, a 'sixth part' instead. B. Megaw (1978:284,285) questioned the Norse character and origin of the units, emphasising that the division of land into thirds and sixths was not only a Scandinavian characteristic. For example, he pointed to the similarity between the sheadings and the six *commotes* of nearby Anglesey, with which Man had significant early links. The Welsh commote (*cwmwd*, 'neighbourhood') was also a court district, and the units were grouped together, like those in Man, into larger primary divisions, which, in the case of Anglesey, was three. Also comparable were the sheading-centre farms and the *maerdref* 'the (royal) steward's demesne-farm or township' of the Welsh commotes. The sheading-centre farms were identified by Megaw, who noted that the names of the units implied that each one had formerly been administered from a treen-estate, or possibly from a quarterland-estate within the treen, which could be identified by the fact that it bore the same name. A further similarity was the existence of an official of the sheading in Man (fifteenth century statutes) called the *moar*, and the *maer* of the commote. Megaw also compared the units with the 'primitive shire' centres in parts of England and Wales, and listed the examples of the six *lathes* of seventh century Kent and the six *hundreds* of Brythonic Cornwall as further evidence that sixths were to be found elsewhere.

The existence of the office of the moar is particularly significant, as it is now well-established that it is of insular Celtic origin, with the word *moar* being ultimately derived from Romano-British Latin *maior* ('steward') (Jackson 1953:299). In Man, in recent years, the moar was a parish official, and there were thus, two or three in each sheading. However, the earliest statutes (fifteenth century) refer instead to six moars, one for each of the sheadings (B. Megaw 1978:283-284,287). The moar was responsible for the collection of the dues from the treens. In the Hebrides, Carmichael recorded (1884:452) that the *maor-gruinnd* was a ground officer, appointed by the Factor and acting under him.

Reilly (1988:40), in his review of the function of the sheading, has suggested the equation of the quarterland with the Welsh *tref*, the *treb* of Dalriada and the English *hide*, and the treen with the Welsh *maenol* or *multiple-estate* unit (see G.R.J. Jones 1979). The sheadings, in this scheme, can be equated with the *hundred* and the Welsh *cantref* (consisting of one hundred rather than fifty farms, and believed by Reilly to be closer, therefore, than the commote, to the sheading) and each would be 'discrete and self-contained political, social and economic units'. Each unit would have had its own hierarchy with a lord at the top. In the Manx context, Reilly pointed to the Norse king of Man and the Isles as the paramount chief, but recognised the possibility that the structure was already in place before the arrival of the Scandinavians. In this case, it would have not have been difficult for the Norse to quickly and effectively establish their supremacy, and this, Reilly believed, could account for the complete lack of evidence of destruction in the archaeological record, and the persistence of numerous aspects of Celtic culture.

THE HEBRIDEAN EVIDENCE - OUNCELANDS AND PENNYLANDS

McKerral (1944:54), writing of what he took to be Norse land units believed that these were imposed upon the ancient Celtic townlands, each of which appeared to have to pay a *scatt*, or tax, of one ounce of silver to the Norse overlord. In Lewis, the *ounceland*, the unit paying the scatt, was divided into eighteen parts (the normal division in

Orkney and Caithness), each called a *pennyland* (McKerral 1944:54). More generally, it appears that the ouncelands were divided into 20 pennylands in the Western Isles. The pennylands represented the amount of land which paid one silver penny as tax (Easson 1987:2). It has been suggested that the units were associated with an assessment system for taxation form the start, even though they may also have been used for the purpose of raising a naval defence levy (Crawford 1987a:88).

In the Latin charters the ounceland was known as the *Unciata*, but was translated back into Gaelic as *tír-unga*, Gaelic *tír*, 'land', and *unga*, 'ounce'. The word is also found in charters as the *tirung* or *terung*. This unit was divided into four divisions known as quarters. In Orkney, the ouncelands were also divided into four units, but these were known as *scattalds*. The earliest documentary reference to ounceland in the west occurs in 1343, in the Latin form, in a grant by King David II to Reginald, son of Roderick of the Isles, of the eight ouncelands of Garmoran. The earliest reference to it in the form of tir-unga, occurs in a grant by King James IV to Torquil Macleod of Lewis (Easson 1987:2). As far as the distribution of the ounceland is concerned, apart from the Northern Isles, Caithness and the Isle of Man, it is confined to certain parts of the western seaboards and the Western Isles. It is found as far south as Kintyre and as far north as Assynt, but does not occur in all the regions between these two points. Of the islands, it can be found in Mull, Coll, Tiree, Skye, Harris, North Uist, South Uist and Barra (Easson 1987:1).

The Latin words for *pennyland* were either *deniariata* or *nummata*, and in Gaelic it was *peoghinn*. The distribution of this unit is different from the ounceland. Pennylands appear in the majority of the Western Isles, with heavy concentrations in Mull. They are notably absent from the Islay group of islands, Islay, Jura, Colonsay and Gigha (Easson 1987:1), and are not found in the Isle of Man, but do occur in south-west Scotland, where ouncelands are not to be found. The distribution conforms, with the exception of the Islay group, with what was once the kingdom of Dalriada (Easson 1987:1). Rental values suggest that the pennylands varied in extent in different localities.

Also in records in the west, fractions of the *pennyland* are to be found: the *half-pennyland* (Latin *dimidia-denariata*, Gaelic *leth pheighinn*); the *quarter pennyland* or *farthingland* (Latin *quadrata*, Gaelic *feorlin*); the *half farthingland* (Gaelic *cleitag*), and the eighth part of the *farthingland* (Gaelic *cionag*).

It appears that both the ounceland and pennyland were based on units of arable land, despite the fact that the Isles were predominantly pastoral in character (Easson 1987:3). This is suggested by the equation of the ounceland with the *davoch*, known primarily form eastern Scotland, but used to describe a unit of land in the west Highlands and Islands during the mediaeval period (Easson 1987:2). The term is derived from Old Irish *dabhach*, meaning a large tub or vat (Bangor-Jones 1986:158), and represented the amount of land which paid a vat of produce as a render (Easson 1987:2). The davoch, as a land assessment, was a unit of arable land, the emphasis upon which is confirmed by the distribution of davochs in the northern Highlands (Bangor-Jones 1986:158). The arable nature of the units is further indicated by the fact that ouncelands and pennylands are frequently accompanied by meadows, pastures, plains and woods, and in some cases the rights of mill, in grants (Easson 1987:3). The units were compact and had fixed bounds, a fact which is indicated by the frequent naming of them (McKerral 1944:56; Easson 1987:3). The difference in the distribution of the units, however, has suggested that the two may not have been contemporaneous in their imposition, and that they may not have been imposed for the same purpose (Crawford 1987a:88). Further, the word *ounceland* suggests the use of silver bullion, whereas *pennyland* indicates the use of coinage. This makes it difficult to relate the two assessments.

McKerral (1944:54) argued that there was evidence to suggest that the scatt of an ounce of silver was imposed on the Celtic townlands as early as the time of Harald Fairhair, as a result of his raids during

the ninth century. The ouncelands and pennylands are, however, unknown in Norway, and the fact that there was such an expedition by Harald has been questioned by some historians (e.g. Shetelig 1940:23; Sawyer 1976; 1982b:13; Smyth 1984:152,156). It has, thus, been suggested that they were based on the pre-Norse administrative divisions. Skene (1886), for example, believed that the Norse units were adapted to the existing divisions of land, which could not have been altered without interfering with the whole framework of society. As indicated above, the ounceland has been related to the davoch, and in late Hebridean sources, the davoch is the equivalent of the tir-unga (Easson 1987:3). It is, however, never used in Orkney or north-east Caithness, where both ounceland and pennyland are to be found, and in south Caithness and Sutherland the relationship between davoch and pennyland is fixed at six pennylands (Bangor-Jones 1986:157). It is impossible to be sure that an association between davoch and ounceland/pennyland can be dated to the period when the incoming Norse may have made use of an existing administrative framework.

Easson (1987:8) argued, that as far as military service was concerned during the mediaeval period, the fact that the ounceland supplied in the region of twenty men and that each pennyland supplied one man, suggested a link with the assessment due from the twenty house unit of seventh century Dalriada. In the document *Senchus fer nAlban*, originally compiled in the seventh century, besides the genealogical survey of ruling families, there is a survey of the civil, military and naval organisation. In seventh century Dalriada, the unit of assessment was the *house*, and it was on this that tribute and military service were assessed (see Bannerman 1974) The houses were grouped together into twenties for the purpose of naval recruitment. Every twenty houses were expected to provide twenty-eight oarsmen. Thus, Easson (1987:5) argued, there is evidence of a system of assessment based on groups of twenty, long before the ouncelands and pennylands appeared (note: one ounceland = 20 pennylands in the Isles).

B. Megaw (1978:280) also saw a seventh century connection, and favoured a pre-Norse origin for the land units. He believed that the Gaelic *tir-unga*, was the equivalent of the *tír-mbo* ('cow-land') of the seventh century Irish laws, the value of which was estimated as an ounce of silver (Binchy 1941:8, 68,77). He emphasised the similarity in the structure of the two words, *tír-unga* and *tír-mbo*.

Sawyer (1982b:110) has also questioned whether the units were introduced by Norsemen at all. Crawford (1987a:89), however, pointed to the fact that the Norse were used to weighing bullion in units of marks, ounces and *ertogs*, and that there seemed to be little reason to doubt the fact that they would have been able to use the ounce as the basis of an assessment system from the early days of the settlement of the Northern and Western Isles. Crawford (1987a:90) has postulated an extension of an assessment system, developed within Orkney and Caithness, to the Hebrides and the western mainland of Scotland during the period of Sigurd's, or his son Thorfinn's, conquest of the Hebrides and Argyll in the early eleventh century. She has gone further to suggest that wherever the system based on the ounce is to be found, regular political control by the Orkney earls could be indicated. The use of the system in parts of the mainland could indicate that Sigurd and Thorfinn succeeded in imposing their rule in the mainland territories as well as the islands, and that they used the ounceland assessment for the purposes of raising taxes and a naval levy.

The above applies only to the ouncelands, the question of the pennylands appearing to be quite a different matter. The variation in the number of pennylands per ounceland suggests that they were not imposed by a single political authority. The standard eighteen penny divisions of Caithness and Orkney, however, is clearly related to the control of the earls (Crawford 1987a:90). Important is the apparent absence of pennylands from Islay and from Man. Both islands were administrative centres, connected with the later kings of Man, and, it has been suggested by Crawford (1987a:90), were possibly large royal demesne estates. She has postulated that the use of the penny, a monetary unit, may have been derived from the southern part of the

area. The influence from Dublin was strong, and in the tenth century the Dublin kings had begun to produce their own coinage, based on the Anglo-Saxon penny. Penny weights were, however, already familiar in the coinless ninth century Ireland, and it is possible that the concept of the pennyweight was already well-established in the western Highlands and the islands before the coming of the Scandinavians (Easson 1987:7). If this was the case, there is still the problem of the absence of the units from the Isle of Man and Islay. Easson (1987:8-9), besides pointing to a link between the house and the ounceland, found that there was also a parallel for the house and pennyland. He pointed to the evidence of a grant, made at the time of the Lordship of the Isles, in the thirteenth century. In the grant from Ranald, son of Somerled, Paisley Abbey received a silver penny for every house from which smoke came.

Easson (1987:9) concluded that the ouncelands and pennylands were not the result of Scandinavian influence, and believed that they were not based on the number of pennies in an ounce of silver, but on a much earlier system of land assessment. This system, she argued, was the house system of the seventh century in the kingdom of Dalriada. However, although Crawford (1987a:89) accepted that this may have been possible, and that the Norse were 'adept at using whatever administrative system they found in the countries they settled if these suited their purposes', she argued that the presence of the system throughout the entire area which was ruled, or influenced, by the Norse around the Scottish coasts, clearly indicated that much of it was imposed by them, or even by a single ruler. Within this system, relatively sophisticated assessment techniques were used, based on units valued according to ouncelands and pennylands. These two conclusions are as far as it is possible to go on the basis of research to date. Further light on this complex subject will only be thrown by greater study of the divisions in the west Highlands and Islands.

APPENDIX 6

CROFTING

The word *croft* (Gaelicised as *croit*) is an Anglo-Scottish term, meaning steadily cropped infield land, manured and never left farrow (Geddes 1955:60).

Crofting represents a special form of land use. The crofts are based on subsistence, if not self-sufficiency, and generally use the land at a low level of efficiency (O'Dell & Walton 1962:143). This type of farming is supplemented by fishing and other forms of occupation, for example traditionally weaving in Lewis. Conditions of life make specialisation difficult, and a mixture of skills is necessary on the croft. The main problem with the land holdings is their small size and a lack of capital.

In 1976 the Crofting Reform (Scotland) Act was passed. This conferred on the crofter the absolute right to acquire the ownership of his croft house and the garden ground on the payment of a price, which amounts to only a few pounds for the land where the house is the tenant's improvement. The price is higher if the house has been built by the landlord, or if he/she has been involved in the improvements. The crofter has the right to buy the inbye land of the croft, or any portion of it, at a price which is fifteen times the rent of the land (F. Thompson 1984:25). Today, this means that owner-occupancy of the crofts is offered to the crofters who traditionally have claimed 'a symbolic right to the land over and above their actual legal rights of tenure' (F. Thompson 1984:37).

Prior to this, the most important legislation was the Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886. The main features of this were as follows:
(a) Security of tenure as long as the crofter paid his rent and complied with the various statutory conditions.
(b) The crofter had the right to a fair rent. If there was a disagreement, the amount was to be fixed by the Crofter's Commission established in 1886. Fair rents were now fixed by the Scottish Land Court.
(c) The right to compensation when the crofter left, for improvements carried out by him, or by the predecessor in the tenancy.
(d) The right to bequeath the tenancy to a member of his family.
A *crofter* was defined by the Act as the tenant of a holding from year to year who resided on his holding, the annual rent of which did not exceed £30 in money, and was situated in a crofting parish (F.Thompson 1984:20,21; Fenton 1987:49-50).

This type of holding largely came into being in the Highlands and Islands during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

APPENDIX 7

THE ISLANDS OF THE OUTER HEBRIDES

Beginning in the north the islands can be grouped as follows:
1. Lewis-Harris: Killegray, Ensay, a large number of small islands to the north of North Uist, Harris (attached to Lewis), Taransay, Soay Beg, Soay More and Isay on the western side of Harris and Scalpay, Scotasay on the eastern side. West of the northern part of Harris, there is Scarp, and to the north (part of Lewis) Mealasta Island, Great Bernera plus an archipelago of islands in West and East Loch Roag, Little Bernera, and the Flannen Isles. Farthest to the north, there are Sula Sgeir and North Rona. On the east coast of Lewis-Harris, there are the Shiant Islands east of Scalpay, a number of islands in the mouth of Loch Erisort, the Loch Seaforth Islands, and Eilean Iuvard in Loch Shell. To the north of the Eye Peninsula (an island connected by a sandbar) in Lewis, there are no islands.

2. Uists: Eriskay, Lingay, South Uist, Benbecula, Wiay, Ronay, Grimsay, North Uist, Baleshare (a foreshore bar), Kirkibost Island (another foreshore bar), Boreray, Berneray, Lingay, Pabbay, and twenty-seven small uninhabited islands to the north-east of North Uist. To the west, and further out, are the Heisker or Monarch Islands, Haskeir Islands, and the St. Kilda group of islands.

3. Barra Isles: Berneray, Mingulay, Pabbay, Lingay, Flodday, Sandray, Muldoanich, Vatersay, Barra, Fuiay, Flodday, Hellisay, Gighay, Fuday and Fiaray.

APPENDIX 8

THE MACHAIR

The most useful work in this context is that of W. Ritchie (1967). The relationship between this type of landscape and archaeology is discussed by I. Crawford (1979).

The machair is an area of deflation plains and sand hills, covering the coastal rock platform, and is frequently bounded on the seaward side by a line of dunes of various ages and degrees of fixation. There is general similarity in machair areas, these being a reflection of the uniformity of processes which have acted on the extensive coastal plain of the Outer Hebrides and the Inner Hebridean islands over a long period of time. These areas are Lewis-Barra, Canna-Muck-Coll-Tiree, and Colonsay-Oronsay-Jura-Islay. In the case of the Outer Hebrides, the machair zone is 161km (100 miles) long and 4km (2-3 miles) broad.

The machair sand consists of a variable mixture of siliceous and calcareous fractions, the latter appearing to decrease with age, distance from the sea and the amount of water saturation. This fraction is responsible for imparting high pH conditions to the soil of the machair, which supports a rich and varied flora, and enables the land to support viable crofting, in the form of both pastoral and arable activities.

Examination of the calcareous sand at a micro level has shown that it is derived form crushed marine shells and other marine organisms. Its presence on the beaches may be a legacy of former marine conditions, or it may have arrived continuously over a long period of time. The origin and the age of the shell fraction remains largely unknown.

The most obvious features of the machair are its low altitude and flatness. The area generally consists of gentle plains, normally below 7m (20') O.D. These characteristics appear to be the result of the age of the machair, and the length of time that erosion has been dominant. Relief amplitude has been reduced by centuries of rainfall, strong winds, soil creep, and grazing and cultivation. The machair landscape is thus one of erosion and reworking. Despite being largely a stable surface, being modified by erosion, depositional forms do exist. These are hills and ridges of sand piled against and over pre-existing features, and forms of reworking and redeposition of the eroded materials. In South Uist there are fields of sand hillocks, varying in size, and covered with vegetation. The machair is then a compound of ancient and more recent forms; original and reworked features.

As far as dating the machair is concerned, the earliest available evidence consists of wind-blown sand contained in compressed organic deposits. These are found below the high-water mark at certain coastal sites, for example at Borve in Benbecula. This contains wood fragments which have been dated to 5,700+/-170 years B.P. Both below and above the dated horizon, there are layers of blown sand, texturally similar to that of the adjacent machair area. There is thus evidence for sand movement onto what can be demonstrated to be areas of fresh water marsh. Several archaeological sites have produced evidence of machair surfaces, for example the Kilpheder sites of South Uist which provide evidence of the period c.100-200 A.D. and later. The wheel-houses were set on, or in, an older sand surface and, as the *black-land* would have been peat covered or forested at this time, it appears that the machair would have sustained the pastoral and arable activities of the settlers.

It appears that from the seventeenth century the machair was over-grazed and over-cultivated. The result was that much of it was laid bare by severe sand erosion, and drifting, and this state continued into the early twentieth century. From this period, the land has become increasingly stabilised. Today the machair can be described as a 'fully stable and completely vegetation covered coastal sand plain' (W. Ritchie 1987:173). Where there is local inland reworking and erosion, and in some coastal stretches, Psammophilous grasses are

found. Elsewhere, there is a complex grass and legume association which is maintained by grazing and cultivation.

APPENDIX 9

EQUIVALENTS FOR THE SOUMING REGULATIONS
Quoted by Carmichael (1884:469).

1	horse	is equal to	8 foals
1	"	"	4 one year old fillies
1	"	"	2 two year old fillies
1	"	"	1 three year old filly
		1	one year old filly
1	"	"	2 calves
1	cow	"	8 calves
1	"	"	4 stirks
1	"	"	2 two year old queys
1	"	"	1 three year old quey
		1	one year old stirk
1	"	"	8 sheep
1	"	"	12 hoggs
1	"	"	16 lambs
1	"	"	16 geese

APPENDIX 10

THE SHEALING HYMN (Carmichael 1884:471-472)

A Mhicheil mhin! nan steud geala,
A choisin cios air Dragon fala,
Air ghaol Dia' us Mhic Muire,
Sgaoil do sgiath oirinn dian sinn uile,
Sgaoil do sgiath oirinn dian sinn uile.

A Mhoire ghradhach! Mathair Uain-ghil,
Cobhair oirinne, Oigh na h-uaisle;
A rioghainn uai'reach! a bhuachaille nan treud!
Cum ar cuallach cuartaich sinn le cheil,
Cum ar cuallach cuartaich sinn le cheil.

A Chalum-Chille! chairdeil, chaoimh,
An ainm Athar, Mic, 'us Spioraid Naoimh,
Trid na Trithinn! trid na Traith,
Comraig sinne, gleidh ar trial,
Comraig sinne, gleidh ar tria.

Athair! A Mhic! A Spioraid Naoimh!
Bi'eadh an Tri-Aon leinn a la's a dh-oidhche!
'S air machair loim, no air rinn nam, beann,
Bi'dh an Tri-Aon leinn, 's bith A lamh mu'r ceann,
Bi'dh an Tri-Aon leinn, 's bith A lamh mu'r ceann.

Thou gentle Michael of the white steed,
Who subdued the Dragon of blood,
For love of God and the Son of Mary,
Spread over us thy wing, shield us all!
Spread over us thy wing, shield us all!

Mary beloved! Mother of the White Lamb,
Protect us, thou Virgin of nobleness,
Queen of Beauty! Shepherdess of the flocks!
Keep our cattle, surround us together,
Keep our cattle, surround us together.

Thou Columba, the friendly, the kind,
In name of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit Holy,
Through the Three-in-One, through the Three,
Encompass us, guard our procession,
Encompass us, guard our procession.

Thou Father! Thou Son! Thou Spirit Holy!
Be the Three-One with us day and night,
On the machair plain, on the mountain ridge,
The Three-One is with us, with His arm around our head,
The Three-One is with us, with his arm around our head.

APPENDIX 11

EXAMINATION OF JOHN MATHESON BY THE NAPIER COMMISSION

The following is an extract (abridged) from the Napier Commissions's Minutes of Evidence, quoted in the 'West Side Story' (Shawbost School 1964:26). The Commission was set up to inquire into the conditions of the crofters, at the end of the nineteenth century, in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

June 6, 1883
THE CHANT OF THE PRE-CHRISTIANS?
John Matheson (68) Upper Barvas - examined

...

The Chairman: Do they still go to the sheilings?

- Yes regularly.

How many go?

- Probably there will be two heads of cattle on average going to the summer pastures from each house, and a female also accompanies them, but sometimes two neighbours may entrust care of their animals to one person.

When do you send them?

- About this time.

How long do you keep them there?

- Six weeks.

Do the women stay all the time in the sheilings?

- Yes.

Is the milk sent home or do they make butter and cheese?

- The milk comes home every day.

Is somebody sent for it?

- The milkman comes every morning with the milk.

How far is it?

- From four to six miles.

Do the women sleep in the bothies?

- They sl ep outside in the sheilings.

Did you ever here of an old custom of the people of the place to meet and go in a sort of procession, singing a sort of chant when they went to the sheilings?

- I have heard something of the practice, but I am not able to give any correct opinion about it. I believe it must have been long ago.

What is the tradition you have heard about it?

- They used to sing, but it was not psalms; it was not the psalms of David whatever. They had some metrical composition.

Do you think it was so long ago as to date from the times before they were Christian?

- I cannot say.

APPENDIX 12.

SOIL UNITS
(To be used in conjunction with the catalogues of visited sites in Skye and the Outer Hebrides).

The information concerning the soils on which sites are located has been derived from the surveys of Western Scotland and the Outer Hebrides by The Macaulay Institute of Soil Research (Bibby *et al* 1982; Hudson *et al* 1982). The main features of each soil unit are outlined below.

UNIT	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE
4	Blanket peat. Primary land use is rough grazing. The most extensive soil map unit in region. The largest unit is in the northern half of Lewis, but other significant areas are to be found in north North Uist and Trotternish, Skye. Much of the land is level or gently sloping. Altitude range is from sea-level to 350m, 150m in Lewis.	Hudson 1982:38 Bibby 1982:32
30	Chief components are peaty gleys, peat, peaty podzols and peaty rankers. Not found in the Outer Hebrides. Land is rugged and rocky, and suitable only for rough grazing.	Hudson 1982:30
31	Peaty rankers, peaty gleys and peaty podzols on steep slopes. Used for rough grazing, and also forestry.	Hudson 1982:46 Bibby 1982:35
34	Subalpine podzols and gleys, and hagged peats. Associated with plateau areas between 400-600m Rough grazing is main land use. Mountain heath communities and stiff sedge-fescue grassland provide seasonal pasture land.	Hudson 1982:46 Bibby 1982:37
149	Restricted to the north of Skye, on the western flanks of the Trotternish and Waternish peninsulas, namely Uig in the case of the former. Non-calcareous and humic gleys are present, plus brown forest soils. The unit is entirely cultivated, but drainage can be a problem.	Hudson 1982:59 Bibby 1982:47-8
155	Similar to 149. Carries peaty gleys and peat. It occurs on the west-facing slopes of Trotternish. Vegetation is heath grass-white bent grassland, moist Atlantic heather moor and flying bent grassland. Rush communities are common. Use for rough grazing largely, and forest land. Severe surface wetness problems.	Hudson 1982:59 Bibby 1982:48
158	Principal soil is the freely drained brown forest soil. Second most extensive are the brown rankers. They are important agriculturally, deeper soils often cultivated, shallow soils are surface seeded, and they high quality grazing. The unit is essentially lowland in character.	Hudson 1982:60 Bibby 1982:50
159	Wide variety of soil types and drainage classes from brown forest soils to peaty gleys, but with a preponderance of peaty podzols. Major development of the unit occurs between 125-300m. It is found sporadically through north Skye. It is normally used for moderate rough grazing, but some parts have potential for reclamation.	Hudson 1982:60-1 Bibby 1982:51
160	Major soil is peat, deeper than 50cm, with peaty gleys, peaty rankers and peaty podzols. Grazing values are low, and the severe surface wetness restricts agricultural use of the land. Reclamation is usually not possible. Slopes are mainly gentle and strong. It extends to sea-level in Skye.	Hudson 1982:61 Bibby 1982:51
259	Extensive in North and South Uist, and in Benbecula. Also smaller areas in Lewis and Harris Humose calcareous regosols and brown calcareous	Hudson 1982:70 Bibby 1982:55-6

	soils on strikingly flat machairs. Dune pastures herb-rich bent-fescue grassland and rye-grass crested dog's tail pasture form the closely grazed sward. General use as common grazing land, but some crofters have used more sheltered spots for arable cropping. Exposure, liability to erosion and drought are problems.	
260	Found where shell sand has been blown over Lewisian gneisses. Non-rocky land is rare, but very rocky areas are uncommon. Brown calcareous soils and calcareous regosols are the principal soils. Soils are shallow, but provide good grazing.	Hudson 1982:70 Bibby 1982:56-7
262	Calcareous ground-water gleys are the principal soils. There are some brown calcareous soils on slight rises where the water-table is lower. Poor drainage is a problem. Used for arable and pasture land. Gently undulating land. The unit especially extensive near Loch Bee in South Uist, around Benbecula aerodrome, and along the SW coast of North Uist.	Bibby 1982:57-8
385	Confined to Lewis. Found on the Eye Peninsula, at Tolsta, and is associated with most of the crofting townships between Shawbost and Ness. Soils are non-calcareous and humic gleys with some humus-iron podzols. They are distributed around periphery of the large peat-covered till plain of north Lewis, and parts of the unit have been reclaimed from the peaty gleys, peat and peaty podzols of *Map Unit* 390. Land is gently undulating, and strip cultivation is widely practised. Much of the land is under permanent and long ley pastures with occasional arable breaks for root crops and cereals.	Bibby 1982:68
386	Lewis and South Uist. Soils are humus-iron podzols, with peaty gleys and peaty rankers. Freely drained soils are found on shedding sites and steeper slopes of rocky knolls. Many parts have reclaimed from *Map Unit* 394. Some of the ground can be cultivated, but much is under permanent pasture.	Hudson 1982:82 Bibby 1982:68,70
388	Main areas are west sides of North Uist, Benbecula, and South Uist. Smaller areas occur at Loch Eport, North Uist, and Kershader and Arivruaich, Lewis. Principal soils are humus-iron podzols, non-calcareous gleys and humic gleys, with some peaty gleys and peaty podzols.	Bibby 1982:70
390	This unit occurs inland from *Map Unit* 385, at the fringes of the peat in north Lewis. It is most extensive between Shawbost and Ness. The principal soils are peaty gleys and peat, with some peaty podzols on steeper slopes. The land commonly called *skinned land*. The unit is next to the crofting townships, and is used for grazing.	Bibby 1982:71
391	This unit is found in valleys in Lewis and Harris, but on more open lowland sites in the Uists. The largest area is around Loch Seaforth, but it is also extensive in the hilly areas of north Harris, west Lewis and the Park district. The unit consists of peaty podzols and peat, with some peaty gleys. Slopes are mainly gentle and strong. Land use is restricted to poor rough grazing or deer-forest.	Hudson 1982:83 Bibby 1982:72
392	The principal soils are peat and peaty gleys, with some peaty podzols. It occurs on non-rocky hill sides and undulating land with strong and and gentle slopes. Land use is largely restricted to poor rough grazing due to wetness and climatic limitations. In the drier north and east of	Hudson 1982:83 Bibby 1982:72

	Lewis, some of the unit is suitable for improvement.	
394	The main soil types are peaty gleys and peat, with some peaty rankers and peaty podzols. The landscape is gently undulating to irregular, hillocky. Grazing values are low. Some areas of improved land has higher value grazing. It is widespread in the loch-studded ground of south Lewis and is found in smaller areas in the Outer Hebrides and in the Sleat peninsula, Skye.	Hudson 1982:83 Bibby 1982:73
395	This unit is dominant in south Harris and between Loch Roag and West Loch Tarbert. There are also numerous small areas on the west side of North and South Uist. The soils are peaty gleys, peaty rankers and peat. The landscape is more rugged than the above. The land is mainly below 250m. The vegetation gives poor grazing. Only small areas have been improved.	Hudson 1982:84 Bibby 1982:73
483	Most of this unit occurs in north Skye, between Totscore and Kilvaxter, near Kilmaug and patchily through croft lands southwards from Staffin. The principal components are gleys, mainly non-calcareous, calcareous and humic gleys, but some peaty gleys and peaty-alluvial soils are present in hollows. Some of the unit is used for arable, but permanent pasture is more usual.	Hudson 1982:90 Bibby 1982:76
548	This unit is found extensively on areas of pneumatolysed basalt affected by intrusions associated with volcanic centres. The soils are peaty gleys, often very shallow and stony, and even shallower peaty rankers. In some areas the soils have been improved and are used only by sheep.	Hudson 1982:102 Bibby 1982:79

APPENDIX 13

PLACE-NAMES CONTAINING COMMON GAELIC 'AIRGE' IDENTIFIED BY E. MEGAW ON THE ISLE OF MAN (1978), (Fig.106).

ANDREAS	
Unidentified sites	
Located approximately	EARY LHONE (Nr. Ballacamain, Bride).
Unlocated	'THE AREY or Fern ground'.
ARBORY	
Identified sites	ARESTEYNE (Eairystane).
	ARDARY (?)
	ARYSSYNOK (Arishonock, Ronague).
Located approximately	
Unlocated	
BALLAUGH	
Identified sites	
Located approximately	ARIJ COTTIMAN (nr. Forester's Lodge).
Unlocated	AIREY WEEN
	ARYDOOIL (see Michael).
BRADDAN	
Identified sites	AREY BEG
	NARY WEEN (Airy Wind).
Located approximately	
Unlocated	
GERMAN	
Identified sites	ARYRODY (comprised of Eairy Moar and Eairy Beg).
	EARY GLASS.
	ARYHIMYN (Ballahimmin).
	AIRY SAYLE (Ballasayle).
	AIRYLAINE (Eary lhean).
Located approximately	
Unlocated	
JURBY	
Identified sites	
Located approximately	
Unlocated	NARY DRESSAGH.
LEZAYRE	
Identified sites	ARIKILLEW (Earykellue).
	EARYBEDN (Eary Bane).
	BLOCK EARY (Block Ayry).
	NARY (Neary more, Neary beg).
Located approximately	'HATH ARYGEGORMANE'.
Unlocated	
LONAN	
Identified sites	
Located approximately	'GREDARY RIVOLETT' (parish boundary, Begoad).
Unlocated	
MALEW	
Identified sites	'ARYEUZRYN' (ARERNAN).
Located approximately	
Unlocated	

MAROWN

Identified sites	AIRY NA SOIE (Eairy ny suie). EAIRY VANE. ARY (Neyrey, Eairy and Eary ploydwell). ARI KELLAG (Ary'hellag). ARY JORA
Located approximately	
Unlocated	

MAUGHOLD

Identified sites	
Located approximately	CRONK EAIRY (Narij ?).
Unlocated	

MICHAEL

Identified sites	ARYHORKELL (later Eary Kelly, Druidale). AREGAU (Eary). EARY NY KIONE.
Located approximately	
Unlocated	ARY DOOIL (-doule, see Ballaugh). ARY JOAN (-Jon). EARY LHINNEY.

ONCHAN

Identified sites	TREMSARE (Tremasery).
Located approximately	EARY LOUR (Tremsary treen, Ballavinch farm).
Unlocated	

PATRICK

Identified sites	EARY CUSHLIN (Thalloo Quislin). NEARY (Eary).
Located approximately	EARY PHOYLL WOOAR (on Creggan Moar). THIE EARYS (on Creggan Moar).
Unlocated	EARY BRAID.

RUSHEN

Identified sites	THIE EARY (field in Cregneash treen).
Located approximately	
Unlocated	

SANTAN

Identified sites	
Located approximately	EARY LIAUYR (on Ballaquiggin).
Unlocated	

APPENDIX 14

MEDIAEVAL POTTERY FINDS IN THE ISLE OF MAN (Fig.120)
After Garrad (1978:357-365).

1. ANDREAS
'ROUND ELLAN'
SC 413991
Location - Andreas. Discovered inside an earthwork of unknown date.
Pottery - a rim sherd of poorly- glazed, micaceous ware, probably Manx.

BALLAKINNAG
SC 337961
Location - Ballaugh. Discovered in an eroding cliff.
Pottery - a small body sherd of micaceous ware.

2. BALLAUGH
BROUGHJIARG
SC 3393
Location - Ballaugh. More precise location is not known.
Pottery - probably Manx.

CRAWYN BROOGHS
circa SC 337965
Location - Ballaugh. Found in eroding cliff face.
Pottery - 2 sherds, probably Manx.

CRONK COIR
SC 335949
Location - Ballaugh.
Pottery - micaceous sherd with red surface, probably Manx.

3. SULBY VALLEY
LHERGYRHENNY
circa SC 38?881
Location - Sulby Valley. Discovered above the paving and ashes in a cist excavated in 1899. The cist lay 800m east-south-east of the farm, on the edge of a small gully. 180m below the Mountain Road.
Pottery - handle and part of lip, from a large jug, probably Manx.

SHERRAGH VANE
circa SC 370898
Location - Sulby Valley. Approximately 90m east of the house.
Pottery - 1 sherd with a plain rim, and 3 others, probably Manx.

THE CLADDAGH FIELD
SC 395948
Location - Sulby, Lezayre.
Pottery - small base sherd, circa 85mm in diameter. An unglazed, pale buff ware, with a little mica. Probably Manx.

a. BLOCK EARY
SC 401896
Location - Lezayre. Shieling site, excavated by Peter Gelling, at the headwaters of a tributary of the Sulby River. Lies on the north-west side of Snaefell.
Pottery - sherds indeterminate, but probably Manx.
Other finds - coin of Stephen and a merels board, which suggest a mediaeval date.

4. CORNAA
circa SC 437896
Location - Maughold. Discovered in a 'tumulus', found in 1922.
Pottery - 4 sherds of a bright red fabric with traces of glaze. Possibly imported.

5. ST. PATRICK'S ISLE
SC 241837
Location - Peel. The castle/cathedral site. Finds from Bersu's 1947 excavations, chance finds and those from smaller investigations. More

recently the excavations by Freke have produced a large assemblage of mediaeval pottery (see interim reports).
Pottery - numerous finds of both Manx micaceous pottery and imported ware.

6. BALLAHIMMIN KEEILL
SC 314854
Location - German. Sherds were found under the floor of the chapel.
Pottery - a sherd of micaceous ware, probably Manx.

7. KERROODHOO GARDEN
SC 400801
Location - uncertain, but assumed to be Onchan.
Pottery - a micaceous sherd, probably Manx.

8. ST. RUNUS CHURCH
SC 321787
Location - Marown. Found in a lintel grave in 1923.
Pottery - a rim sherd of micaceous ware, probably Manx.

9. NEW VICARAGE SITE, BRADDAN
SC 363761
Location - Braddan. Rescue excavation on the site of the new vicarage.
Pottery - a small quantity of micaceous ware.
Other finds - included a silver penny of Edward III (1351-61) and a merels board. Seems to have been some metal-working in the area.

10. NICKIE'S ORCHARD
SC 295717
Location - Malew. On the north edge of the orchard.
Pottery - a jug handle in a reddish fabric. The upper surfaces are slashed and there are traces of yellow glaze. Possibly an import from southern England.

11. CASTLETOWN
RONALDSWAY
SC 280678
Location - Castletown. Airport site.
Pottery - unglazed micaceous ware: 1 rim, 1 base and 1 body sherd.
Glazed micaceous ware - 4 rims, 1 handle, 1 sherd with relief decoration, 2 bases, 24 body sherds.
Glazed white body - 17 sherds, possibly imports.

CASTLE RUSHEN
SC 263676
Location - Malew. Castle in Castletown, the old capital.
Pottery - a variety of sherds, including those of oval skillets with straight handles, and one third of a flat-based conical vessel. The former are possibly of eighteenth century date. Some of sherds probably Manx.

CASTLETOWN
circa SC 264678
Location - Malew. 4, The Parade, Crofton, The Crofts and the Castletown Thermostats site.
Pottery - a few scraps of micaceous ware, and a detached mask from a Saintonge chafing dish. Also, a handle of micaceous ware from the Thermostats' site.

12. MULL HILL
SC 190679
Location- Rushen. Lag ny Boirey huts, Mull Hill.
Pottery - 3 sherds of glazed mediaeval ware.

13. MAROWN
SC 345786
Location - a field between Ballafreer house and keeill.
Pottery - 1 sherd.

b. PURT Y CANDAS

SC 285815
Location - St. John's, German. Site excavated by Peter Gelling. Excavations revealed the traces of slight buildings associated with metal-working.
Pottery - included half a base of an 'E' ware vessel.

c. SOUTH BARRULE HILLFORT
SC 258759
Location- summit of South Barrule. Site excavated by Peter Gelling. A number of circular huts were identified.
Pottery - pottery abundant (cf. Ronaldsway).

d. CASS NY HAWIN
SC 297693
Location - Santan. Coastal promontory fort excavated by P. Gelling (see Appendix 1).
Pottery - pottery included Manx micaceous ware and hand-made vessels in an orange fabric (c.f. sherds from J). Tentatively dated to the fourteenth century.

APPENDIX 15.

THE FORESTER

A. 'FORESTER'S DUTY' - 1504.
The Ancient Ordinances And Statute Laws Of The Isle Of Man (M. Mills 1821:34).

'...First, we find by Virtue of our said Oathes, that the Forrester, or his Deputy, ought to go forth, on St. Collumes Eve, through the Forrest, and to ride to the highest Hill Top within the Isle of Mann, and there to blow his Horne thrice; the same done, then after to range and view the Forrest; and on the third Day to go forth, and take such company with him as he shall think like, to see what Sheep he finds unshorn: and if he finds any unshorn, he ought to take them with his Dog, if the said Sheep be not Milk Sheep, to sheare them, and to take the Fleece for his own Use, and to put a privy Mark on the said Sheep; and so to use all that he finds within the Precincts of the Forrest the same time, to the intent, that if any such Sheep be found the next Yeare by the said Forester, he to certify the Comptroller and Receiver of the same, that they may be recorded in the the Court Bookes, and so prized and sold to the Lord his most Profitt.

And whereas the said Forrester did clayme a Lamb within the Precincts of the Forrest, because it was unmarked: we find, by Virtue of our Oathes, thus he ought not to clayme such Dutys as due to the Forrester; but if he find any such Lamb, Sheep, Goate, or Kidd, that hath no Mark upon them, he ought to take them and put a privy Mark on the same, to the intent that if he find any such the next Yeare, not claimed by any Person to have just Title of the same, or to the same, then the same to be priced, and sold to my Lord his most Profitt as a Stray.'

B. 'AN ACT TO ALTER THE FORRISTER'S DAY OF GOING FORTH TO CLIPP THE SHEEP IN THE FORREST....' - 1748.
The Ancient Ordinances and Statute Laws of the Isle of Man (M. Mills 1821:285).

'Whereas by a declarative Law set down and entered in the Book of Statutes in the Year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and seventy, the Forrester of this Isle is allowed, after blowing his Horn on St. Columb's Eve and ranging the Forrest, to go forth on the third Day with his Company to seek for unshorn Sheep, and to clipp them for his own use, &c.; and it having been complained of for several Years past that the Forester's going out to clipp Sheep on the Commons so early in the Summer is a general Prejudice to the Owners of Sheep, and that the Matter now so represented by the xxiiij Keyes, be it therefore enacted by the Most Noble and Puissant Prince James Duke of Atholl, Lord Strange, Lord of Mann and the Isles, &c. the Governor, Councel, Deemsters, and Keyes, in this present Court of Tynwald assembled, and by the authority of the same. That that Part of the said Law, as to the Forrester going forth on the third Day after St. Columb's Eve, shall be and is hereby repealed; and that hereafter it shall not be lawful for the Forrester to go forth to clipp such Sheep on the Commons as his Perquisite till the twenty-first Day of June in every Year, the said declarative Law notwithstanding.'

TABLE 1

A ROUGH INDICATION OF THE SIZE OF VARIOUS EXCAVATED NORSE HOUSES
(other than those described in the text)

Freswick, Caithness	9.2m by 4.3m; 8.8m by 3.8m (Batey 1987a:69,71).
Skaill, Orkney	c.18.9m by 4.6m; 11.6m by 4m (Gelling 1984:20,32).
Buckquoy, Orkney	3.65m by 2.0m; 6m by 4.5-5m (Ritchie 1977:186,187). N.B. These figures should be treated with caution, the structures having suffered erosion damage.
Westness, Orkney	c.35m by 6.5-7m; 15m by 5-5.5m (Kaland 1987:19-22)
Jarlshof, Shetland	21m by 5m in general (Hamilton 1956:103).
Sandwick, Shetland	15.4m by 3.25-4m (Bigelow 1978:2).
Underhoull, Shetland	17.07 by 4.57 (Small 1966:237).
Kvívík, Faroe Islands	21m by 5.75m (Dahl 1965:137,138).
Seyrvagur, Faroe Islands	14m by 4.5m (Dahl 1970a:69).
Toftanes, Faroe Islands	13m by 4m; 20m by 5m (Hansen 1988:61).
Skallakot, Iceland	30m by 2.2m (see Stenberger 1943:314, Summary).
Stong hall, Iceland	12.5m by 6m (see Stenberger 1943:315, Summary).
Snjaleifartóttir, Iceland	33m long (see Stenberger 1943:316, Summary).
Ísleifsstaðir, Iceland	14m by 6m; 17.2m by 5.1m (see Stenberger 1943:319, Summary).
Ytre Moa, Norway	7.5m by 4m; 8m by 4m (Bakka 1965:125).

CATALOGUES

CATALOGUE OF SITES RECORDED IN THE ISLE OF MAN 1986-1990

In the text, the sites are referred to by name and site number, e.g. Druidale Site 1 (M1), M representing Man. All the sites can be found on Figure 51.

In the catalogue, the diameters given for the mounds are those at the base, rather than the flat areas on the top.

1. DRUIDALE SITE 1 (centred SC 3503 8720)
Location: at the head of the Sulby River, in the valley of Druidale, Michael Parish. The site lies on open moorland, on the south side of the river, between a small tributary stream to the north-east, and a narrow area of running water to the south-west. This appears as a marshy patch, as the water running down to the river has, for most of its length, not cut a channel. The site is on a N facing slope, covers a total area of some 210m by 135m, and is at a height of c.274m (900') O.D. It consists of a group of mounds, placed centrally between the two tributaries, on a small dry plateau, high above the river. It is some 70m from the river, and roughly 100m from both tributaries. There are also outlying mounds: one on the edge of the plateau, above the river; a group to the south-east of the main group on the bank of the north-east tributary; and there is a single mound virtually opposite this group, on the other side of the stream. In the vicinity of the second group, the ground is damp and soft under foot. Associated with the mounds are four banks: one running from the south-west tributary to the second group of mounds, enclosing the site; the second, a smaller bank, lying to the north, and down-slope from this bank, and possibly being associated with it; and the other two lie to the south of these, on the edge of the marshy tributary. All the banks run up-slope from the west end of the site. It should be noted that the site has suffered from erosion since Gelling produced his plan of it, much of the south bank of the river having suffered from undercutting, and has consequently collapsed. The vegetation at this site is short, rough grass. The mounds show up as brighter spots in the area, and in some cases have a small covering of reeds. Between the main group of mounds and the second group is a fairly dense cover of heather, and the soil is softer under foot. This is also true of the land outside the main bank. The site is 2.7km from the farm of Druidale (SC 3680 8878), the nearest inhabited farm, and is 1km from the tholtan, Mont Pelier, (SC 3541 8808).
Geology: boulder drift.
Features: group of ten mounds, one located on the north side of the west tributary, apparently of turf and earth, bounded on the south side by an earth bank. There is a smaller bank associated with this at the west end. Also two earth banks outside the enclosure, south of the above. At the north-east end of the site, there is an excavated hollow which may also be related to this site.
A. A roughly circular mound, with diameters of 6.5m and 7.5m, and a height of 75cm. There is a small depression in the centre of this mound.
B. A barely visible circular mound. It is almost flat, and has rough dimensions of 5.60m and 5.50m. There is no central depression.
C. An oval mound, 40-50cm high, and with diameters of 6.5m and 9.0m. There are no distinguishing features.
D. A circular mound, larger than the above mounds. It has diameter of 8.5m and 9.0m, and a height of 25cm. There is no clear depression.
E. A circular mound, 6.0m by 6.5m, and 80cm high. To the west is a large, roughly circular depression, of some 4m by 3.5m. Surrounding it is a bank, which forms a rough circle. The bank is 25cm high. (Pl.2b).
F. An elongated mound, 23.0m in length and with a maximum width of 10.0m. The height ranges from 75cm at the east end, to 1.5m at the west end. There is a depression towards the east end, 30cm deep. Note the stone which protrudes on the north flank of the mound. Between this mound, and Mound G is a reed-filled depression.
G. A circular mound, 12.5m by 13.0m, and 1.5m high. This is the largest of the circular mounds. It has been disturbed by rabbits, and has small collapsed sections. A central depression was noted. It appears as

very bright green mound, grass, reed and heather covered. (Pl.3a).
H. A small mound slightly truncated, with a diameter of 4.0m, and 0.25cm high.
I. An elongated mound, 21.90m by 10.1m, with a height of roughly 1m for most of its length. The mound slopes down gradually towards the east. There is a small, but marked, depression between this mound and J.
J. A smaller mound at the west end of I, 4.50m by 4.0m, and 45cm high.
K A small, circular mound, 25-50cm high, and 6.0 by 5.0m.
L. A slightly raised feature, in a concave depression, to the east of H. It was not clear whether this was natural or man-made.
The Enclosure Bank: an earth boundary, 1.0-1.50m in breadth, and c.25cm high, running upslope in an easterly direction from the west tributary. It curves around the mounds, stopping at D, turns, and heads of in a SSE direction, gradually curving to join mound H. The total length is some 200m. It does not start at the edge of the tributary, but slightly upslope from it. There is little evidence of stone in the bank, but there are two stones, 1.5m apart, at the point where the bank turns. The bank becomes more difficult to follow heading in this direction, especially near Mound I. There are two stones on the line of the boundary here. It is more marshy and the bank virtually disappears. Beyond the most easterly stone, there is no trace of the bank. (Pl.2a).
Other Banks: at the west end of the above boundary, a smaller one runs for a short distance upslope, almost parallel with it. The two are not joined. It is 23.5m long and is narrower, c.90-110 m wide, and 25cm high. It starts at roughly the same point as the larger bank. They then curve slightly from each other. There are no traces of any stones. To the south of the main bank are two more banks. These are narrow, curving ones, their ends curving in towards each other, but not joining, leaving spaces at the ends, 3.5m and 6.5m. The ground slopes towards the stream, and thus the banks do. They are of similar height and width to the above small bank. When these banks were being planned they appeared to end at the edge of the tributary, but on certain photographs, it appears that they may have continued across it.
Form of the site: an enclosed site with features which suggest the corralling of stock. Is Mound I part of this site?
Reference: Excursion to Druidale 1889:123-5; Kermode 1901:187; Gelling 1961:125.
Survey: 16.4.87, 16.4.88, 17.4.88.
Photographs: GQ M1:14-36; M2:1; M4:13,16; M10:25-27; M11:7-18; M15:35: RJB 70:17-20: Plates: 1-3a.
Figure: 55-57.

2. DRUIDALE SITE 2 (SC 3473 8722)
Location: at the head of the Sulby River, in the valley of Druidale, on a SE facing slope, to the west of Site 1, on the opposite side of the valley. This site lies virtually on the road, at a point where it bends sharply. The land slopes steeply down to the river. The site, consisting of a group of mounds and a bank, lies at a height of c.290m (950') O.D., between two tributary streams, and certain of the mounds, located on the banks, have been truncated. The sides of the small valleys are rather steep in the vicinity of the site. The site, itself, covers an area of 40m by 60m. The vegetation here is quite different from that at Site 1, most of the area having a dense covering of heather. Within this, the mounds appear as elevated, grass and reed covered features. The site is in the parish of Michael. The farm of Druidale is roughly 2.5km to the north-east of the site.
Geology: boulder drift.
Features: six, possibly seven, large mounds and an earth bank.
A. An oval mound, the lower part of which has slipped down the bank, 5.3m by 9.0m. It is almost 2m high. To the east is a reed filled hollow.
B. An elongated mound, 14.6m by 6.2m. Lozenge shaped. This mound has a central depression. It is c.1.5m high.
C. A mound roughly circular in shape, 7.3m by 8.3m, and 1m high. This mound lies on the bank of the tributary to the north, and material appears to have slipped.
D. A smaller and lower mound than the others, 6.2m by 6.7m and c.1.7m high. There is a slight depression to the west.
E. Another large, oval mound, 10.8m by 5.7m, and 1.25m high at its highest point. There is a small depression in this mound to the SSE, at

least 1m square. This mound is located on the bank of the stream to the south-west of the site, and has suffered some slippage.
F. A mound, roughly circular in shape, 5.8m by 7.0m, and c.0.25m high
G. A possible mound located at the south west end of the bank enclosing the site. This is on the bank of the stream to the south-west and has suffered truncation. Its measurements are 4.10m and 4.80m. It is c.0.25m high. It is also possible that this is merely the end of the bank.
The Enclosure Bank: a very low earth bank, 10-30cm high, and roughly 1m wide. This stretches between the two tributaries, effectively forming a northern boundary for the site.
Form of the site: small, compact group between two small streams and with a possible boundary bank.
Reference: Gelling's 1963 distribution map; Fig.43.
Field walking: the valley above the bank was scoured for similar mounds and banks but none were found.
Survey: 20.4.87, 14.4.88, 19.8.88.
Photographs: GQ M4:14-15; M10:28; M11:18-19; M15:33-34; RJB 77:11-13:
Plates: 3b.
Figure: 58.

3. DRUIDALE SITE 3 (SC 3480 8726)
Location: this site also lies on the north side of the Sulby River in the Druidale Valley, and is opposite the main group of mounds belonging to Site 1. It is on the north-east side of the tributary stream which is the east boundary of Site 2. The site, consisting of a number of mounds, lies slightly further up-slope than Site 2, at a height of c.305m (1000') O.D., and on a SE facing slope. It covers an area of roughly 25m square. The hillside has a dense covering of heather, and in this case the mounds, for the most part, are also heather covered. The site lies in the parish of Michael. The site is some 2.5km from Druidale Farm.
Geology: boulder drift.
Features: group of possibly seven mounds. The mounds of Site 2 stood out as green patches in this area of dense heather. The possible mounds of Site 3 do not stand out in the same way, being totally swamped by heather. There are only a few greener spots, together with a few isolated clumps of reeds, which suggests from a distance that this may be a site. Walking over the area, it is possible to detect features which appear to be mounds, of similar dimensions to those at Site 2. Some of the mounds appear to be touching. Only one has evidence of a central depression.
Form of site: similar to above. A compact group.
Field walking: the whole area around this site was walked, and particular attention was paid to the stream banks. No other features were identified.
Date of visit: 20.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M4:17.

4. DRUIDALE SITE 4 (SC 3512 8758)
Location: the site is 0.5km down the valley from Site 3. It also lies on open moorland on the north side of the river, on a SE facing slope. It is at a height of 302m (990') O.D., and is located approximately 25m from the road. The nearest stream to the site is that lying to the west, 250m up the valley. . The hillside has a dense covering of heather, and the site shows up as a circular, grass and reed covered mound. The site lies in Michael parish. It is 2.0km from Druidale Farm.
Geology: boulder drift.
Features: a single mound. A roughly circular mound with an oval shaped central hollow, and quartz stones surrounding the base. Its diameters are 9.0m and 8.1m, and it is 0.5m high. The depression is 4.2m by 1.45m. It is a heather and grass covered mound, and the hollow is rush-filled.
Form of site: a single mound, on the open hillside.
Survey: 18.4.87, 19.8.87.
Photographs: GQ M4:18; RJB 77:7-10: Plates: 4a.
Figure: 59.

5. DRUIDALE SITE 5 (SC 3520 8708)
Location: this site lies on the east bank of the tributary, which forms

a possible boundary of Site 1, thus on the south side of the Sulby River, on a NNW facing slope. It lies slightly up-stream from the mound which has been associated with Site 1, at the point where two tiny tributaries meet to form this north-flowing stream. It is at a height of 244m (on the 800' contour) O.D. The site is in the parish of Michael.
Geology: boulder drift.
Features: one large rectangular structure of stone, with a turf covering, and one bank of stone and earth. The structure has an external length of 15.42m, and width of some 6.0m. Internally, it is roughly 12.0m in length, and 3.9m in width. The walls stand to a height of 1.0m, and are 1.18m thick. From three to five courses of walling survive. It has only one area of collapse in the east wall. Internally, the walls are exposed, but externally, they are turf covered for the most part, as are the tops of the walls. There is one clear entrance in the north end wall, and possibly a second, very narrow one, in the east long wall. Both long walls continue for some distance beyond the north short wall, in the case of the west wall for 8.15m, and for the east wall 7.55m, befor it turns and heads off in an easterly direction. The north wall is narrower than the other walls, and contains smaller stones, suggesting that it may be a secondary feature. The turf bank, 1.34m wide and just over 0.5m high, curves as it heads upslope for a distance of 33.17m. It is largely of earth, but a number of stones are visible.
Form of site. stock enclosure?
Date of visit: 14.5.88.
Photographs: GQ M10:22-24; RJB 70:13 15: Plates: 4b.

6. DRUIDALE SITE 6 (SC 3486 8737)
Location: this site lies on the north side of the Sulby River, virtually opposite the main group of mounds of Site 1, and roughly 250m to the north-east of Site 3. It lies on the same SE facing slope as Sites 2, 3 and 4, at a height of c.305m (1000') O.D. It lies some 30m from the small tributary to the north-east. The hillside has a dense heather covering, and the features showed up as bright grassy circles. The site is in the parish of Michael.
Geology: boulder drift.
Features: the two features consist of adjoining large green circular depressions, surrounded by turf banks. They face south-east, with entrances located on the down-slope side. They are of turf, with little evidence of stone, and are built against, and slightly into, the hillside. This means that, internally, the surfaces are sloping. The turf walls are 1.25m and 0.75m respectively, at their highest points.
A. Two adjoining circles. Both have east-west diameters of 9.93m, from north-south some 8.80m, and are some 5.90m wide at the down-slope end. The walls are 1.40 2.0m thick. The entrance is 1.82m wide.
B. Another double feature. The structure to the south is 7.20m east-west, and 5.80m north-south. The walls are roughly 1.50m thick, and stand to a height of 50-75cm. The entrance is c.1.50m. The other half is slightly larger, and has diameters of 9.32m and 7.38m. The joining wall is 2.0m wide. The wall varies in height from 50-75cm.
Form of site: hut circles.
Date of visit: 9.10.89.
Photographs: GQ M13:-2-2; M15:36-38: Plate: 5b.
Figure: 60,61.

7. DRUIDALE SITE 7 (centred SC 3550 8788)
Location: the site, consisting of a number of hut circles, lies on the south side of the Sulby River, 0.75km down-stream from Site 1. The slope is NNW facing one, which descends steeply down to the river as a result of erosion. The site is located on a relatively flat area at the top of this slope, (very similar to that at Site 1, at a height of c.244m (800') O.D. It lies between two tributary streams, the nearest some 250m to the east. The vegetation around the site is a mixture of short, rough grass and heather. The sites are easily identified. The ite lies in the parish of Michael.
Geology: boulder drift.
Features: three circles of stone and turf, and two possibles. These, Features D and E, are rough circles joined. Each feature has a marked central depressions, encircled by turf walls, 0.5-1.0m high. All of

them hav clear entrances. No mounds were identified at this site.
A. This hut has diameters of 9.30m and 7.50m, and walls almost 1.0m high. Its entrance is c.1.0m ide.
Form of site: hut circles.
Reference: The Rheast Settlement, excavated by Heidman etc. (M.M.S.M.R.)
Date of visit: 24.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M4:19-20: Plates: 6a.

8. DRUIDALE SITE 8 (SC 3648 8891)
Location: this single mound lies on the west bank of the north flowing tributary, on the west side of the Close farm. It lies at a height of c.238m (780'), on a NE facing slope. The mound was difficult to spot in this heather covered landscape. The rest of the valley was scoured for similar sites, but none were located. The site lies in the parish of Michael.
Geology: boulder drift.
Features: a single mound, with a diameter of roughly 8.0m, and a height of 1.0m.
Form of site: a single mound on a stream bank.
Date of visit: 24.4.87.
Photographs: no.

BLOCK EARY
The name Block Eary was given by Peter Gelling to what he identified as a single site lying on open moorland, on the north side, and in the headwaters of, a north-west flowing tributary of the Sulby River. It lies at the base of the north facing slope of the highest hill, and the only one that can be legitimately called a mountain on Man, Snaefell. On account of the fact that the mounds appear to cluster in distinct groups at this site, at 274 284m (900-930') O.D., 290m (950') O.D., and just over 305m (1000)' O.D., forming perhaps three separate units, the descriptions below are given for each of these rather than for the area as a whole. The site lies in the parish of Lezayre.
Geology: Barrule slate and boulder drift.
Reference: Excursion to Sulby 1901:219-220; Gelling 1963a.
Figure: 62.

9. GROUP A (centred SC 3990 8957)
Location: the mounds belonging to this lowest group are located at a height of 274m (900') to 284m (930' O.D.). The group covers an area of roughly 80m square, and is bordered to the west by a small dry valley. The mounds lie just outside the enclosed farmland of the now deserted farm of Block Eary. There is a cluster of mounds between the dry valley and the river, and another three some 40m upslope. Those that lie near the river are virtually on the bank of it, rather than being set back from it. The slope is a SW facing one.
Features: identified the nine mounds which are on Gelling's plan. The following is a brief description of these mounds:
-A. The feature marked by this letter appears to be a quarry, but on the lip is a build-up of material forming a small mound. This is over 3.0m in diameter, and between 0.5 1.0m high.
A. Large mound, with a diameter of some 6.0m, and roughly 0.5m high. The mound has a very uneven surface, and there is some evidence of stone at the lower edge of the mound.
B. and C. Again large mounds, with diameters of about 8.0m, and almost 1.0m high. There is very little distance between them, and the area is filled with reeds. There are no surface indications of stone in the mounds, and there are no concave depressions on the summits. The surface of C is much smoother than that of B, and is grass rather than heather covered.
D. A large mound, both in height and width, roughly circular. Over 7.0m in diameter, and about 1.0m high. There is a thin soil cover, and the surface of the mound is very uneven. There is a single stone at the top of the mound, in a central position. The mound is located on the edge of the small dry valley, and has suffered from erosion.
E, F, G, H. A compact group of mounds above the stream. G is a large mound, just over 10.0m in diameter and over 2.0m in height; E and F, to the west are smaller, between 6.0-7.0m in diameter, and 1.0 1.5m high; H is even smaller than these, 4.0m in diameter and 0.5m high. Part of E

has been lost through erosion, and F has also suffered from collapse on its ast side.
I. Very little remains of this mound, lying to the east of the above. It has a diameter of some 2m, and is barely visible, being less than 0.4m high. It is identifiable by the fact that it is a small green patch in an area of tussocky grass and heather.
Form of site: a compact group of six mounds, and three to the north-east.
Date of visit: 17.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M2:20-27: Plate: 9a.

10. Group B (centred SC 4010 8959)
Location: this group lies to the north-east of Group A, and contains a larger number of mounds, and two banks. The mounds are set further back from the river (some 80m), and lie at a height of c.287m (940') to 296m (970') O.D. The slope is SW facing. The banks extend from the mound to the east of the stone wall, to the tributary to the east, and from this tributary to the river. The group of mounds covers an area of 160m by 60m. It is possible that the mound (SC 4040 8948) on the opposite side of the river, on a north facing slope, is associated with this site. Also the mound to the north of the main group (SC 4017 8965).
Features: all seventeen mounds identified by Gelling, and the possible corn-drying kiln, were located:
J, K, L and M. These are large mounds built up against the slope, with considerable amounts of material fanning out at their lower ends. They are very similar in appearance to those located on the slope in Group A. This gives them a more oval shape in appearance. Discounting the slipped material, the mounds appear to have diameters of 6.0-8.0m, and are between 0.5m and 1.0m high. A couple of stones were identified in the centre of mound K.
N. (Gelling's Mound E) A mound lying on the slope, slightly higher up than the other mounds. It is more again more oval than circular in shape, because of the collapsed material. It is some 8.0m in diameter, and is over 1.0m in height.
P and Q. These mounds lie beneath the stone wall. Q has a diameter of over 8.0m, but has suffered considerably from erosion. It has a height of 1.0m in places. Mound P, at the north end of the wall, is of similar size, as is O (Gelling's mound D).
R. (Gelling's Mound C) There is very little left of this mound. It is identifiable by a slightly raised, greener area, with a very uneven surface.
S. A roughly circular mound, lying at the end of the turf bank. It is about 7.5m in diameter, and at its highest point is some 1.3m high. A large part of this mound has slumped down the slope on the south side of the bank. The mound has a very uneven surface. (Pl.8b).
T. (Gelling's Mound B). A mound, roughly oval in shape, fairly large and about 0.7-0.8m in height. It has a large central depression, no doubt the result of the excavations.
U. (Gelling's Mound A), which has the appearance of a hut circle. All that remains of this mound is a large circular scatter of turf and large blocks of stone.
V. A small mound, barely visible. It is only distinguishable by the fact that it is a slightly raised, greener patch. It is only a couple of metres diameter, and some 0.3m high.
W and X. W is a grass and reed covered mound, roughly circular in shape, with diameters of 10.61m and 8.50m. It is some 2.0m high. Note the smaller mound, X, attached to the south end.
Y. A much smaller and flatter mound, with a diameter of some 4m, and a height of 0.5m.
Z. A mound with a diameter of 6-8m and over 0.5m high.
AA. The structure which Gelling compared with the possible corn-drying kiln of Group C. This mound lies on a small, steep spur of land above the river. Within the mound, the diameters of which are 2.5m and 3.0, are the remains of a small structure, 2m by 1m internally. The walls of stone and turf vary in width from 0.5m to 1.0m. The entrance faces north-west, and is looking down the valley. (Pl.8a).
The Banks: there are two sizeable banks associated with the main group. The first bank is c.100m in length and the second is 50m long. They are approximately 1m high. There are, however, also much smaller banks associated with Mound AA on the opposite side of the river. Where the

small spur juts out from the adjoining moorland, there is short bank of turf and stone which effectively cuts off the spur. A number of stones are visible along its length. A short distance in front of this bank are the remains of two more small lengths of turf bank which appear to form an L-shaped feature.
Form of site: a straggling group of mounds, of various sizes.
Date of visit. 17.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M2:6-19: Plates: 8a-b.

11. GROUP C (centred SC 4031 8945)
Location: this group of mounds lies in the headwaters of the river, between two tributaries, one running down from the Snaefell road at a height of almost 427m (1400') O.D., and the other, a much shorter one, flowing from a height of just over 335m (1100') O.D. The mounds lie at a height of c.311m (1020') to c.314m (1030') O.D., and are on a W facing slope. The mounds are spread over the whole of the area between the two tributaries. The land slopes gently down the valley, and consists of a mixture of short, rough grass and reeds. Mounds EE and FF are separated from the others by a narrow marshy area, containing a small stream, and are effectively on a separate small spur.
Features: seven mounds.
BB. Marked on Gelling's map as Mound K. The mound is roughly circular, 3.5m by 3.5m, and contains a very small structure of stone, with an internal area of approximately 1.0m square. The entrance, facing NNE is very narrow, only some 0.5m wide, and is placed to one side of the short wall rather than centrally. The walls survive to a height of 1.0m. On the WSW side of the mound, two arms of turf extend for a length of 1.5m, and there is about 0.75m between the two. This area between the two arms appears as a marked depression. The size of the stones incorporated in this structure is worth noting, there being a large number of sizeable slabs of slate. (Pl.7a-b).
CC. A small, circular mound, some 2.5m by 2.5m, and 0.30m high. There was little visible stone in this mound.
DD. CC and DD potentially associated. DD is quite different in character from the other mounds at this site, being much larger, and possibly with traces of more than one structure on its surface. The mound has diameters of 7.5m and 6.5m, and is over 1.0m high. The depression on the summit of the mound, towards the north end is roughly rectangular in shape, possibly indicating a structure similar to that in Mound BB. There are a number of stones visible. Towards the south end of the mound, where it begins to slope, is a second depression. This one is very small, with sides of less than 50cm, but in each side a slab of stone is exposed.
EE. This mound lies on the narrow spur to the north of the above mounds. It is markedly oval in shape, with diameters of 2.0m and 3.0m, and is just over 0.25m high. At its upper, east, end a number of stone are visible forming the eastern edge of a slight depression.
FF. Also located on this spur, upslope from Mound V. It is a circular, turf mound, with few visible stones. It has diameters of 2.0m and 2.5m, and is little over 0.25m in height.
GG. This mound, and Mound HH, are located south of the above mounds, and slightly higher upslope. Mound GG has diameters of 4.0m and 2.5m, and a height of over 0.30m. A number of stones are visible, but ther is no clear structure.
HH. A smaller circular mound, with a diameter of 1.5m, and a height of 0.15m. This also has stones visible.
Form of site: small group of mounds in the headwaters. One rectangular stone structure built into one of the mounds, and evidence of potential stone structures in at least two of the others.
Date of visit: 17.4.87; 2.1.90.
Photographs: GQ M16: -2-19: Plates: 6b-7b.

12. BURROO MOOAR (SC 2175 7360)
Location: this site lies in the south of the island, in the parish of Rushen. It is located alongside a small, now dry, valley, just to th west of the road. It is some 100m to the west-north-west of the s urce of one of the two major streams running into the Colby River. Features can be identified at the base of the r ky knoll, Burroo Mooar, and on its northern should r. This outcrop lies on a lower south facing sl l of Cronk ny Arrey Laa. On the west side of Burroo Mooar, th land

slopes steeply down to the sea. The site is thus in a sheltered location. It is at a height of 244m (800') O.D., and the slope is SSE facing. This is an area of short rough grass, and to the north is open moorland.
Geology: slate. The site lies at the border of the Barrule slates, and 'Agneash and other Grits'.
Features: a group of mounds, small banks and depressions.
A. A large, but low, mound at the foot of the rocky slope. It has diameters of 14.72m and 12.06m. It has three distinct hollows on its surface. There are stones both surrounding the mound and incorporated within it.
B. A flatter mound, with an irregular surface. It is roughly circular, and has
diameters of 8.54m and 8.56m. It is located alongside the dry valley. It has a slight central hollow.
C. A feature consisting of three slightly raised circular areas. From above it appears as three mounds. There is a hollow in the centre, and the feature incorporates a considerable amount of stone.
Hollows: there are eight of these features, consisting of depressions in the hillside, and surrounded on the lower side by an earth bank, a few centimetres high. These are to be found all the way up the slope on the west side of the site. The hollows are generally over 1m square, and sometimes as much as 0.5m in depth. Note that some of the stones are uprights.
Form of site: a mixture of potential hut circles, and features which are better described as mounds.
Reference: Excursion to South Barrule 1935:204; Excursion to the Sloc 1921:199-201.
Date of visit: 20.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M3:16 26; M9:20-23: Plates: 10a.

13. SLIEAU CURN (centred SC 3395 9025)
Location: the site lies on the south side of a small, virtually dry, valley, running from almost the top of Slieau Curn, a height of 305m (1000') O.D., in a westerly direction. It peters out at a height of c.192m (630') O.D. The site itself lies at c.299m (980') O.D., on a W facing slope. The area is one of open moorland, and the vegetation at the site is a mixture of rough grass and heather. The site lies some 116m (380') above enclosed land, and is in the parish of Michael.
Geology: slate.
Features: three small mounds, and three depressions.
A. A mound on the south side of the stream, with an oval central depression. It is just over 0.5m high, and has diameters of 4.0m and 3.0m. (Pl.10b).
B. This mound is located on the very edge of the stream, and has been truncated. It would have been of similar size originally to Mound A. There is no evidence of a central depression.
C. A very small mound, located further down-slope on the south side of the stream. It has a diameter of 2.0m and is 0.25m high. There is a depression in the centre, but it was difficult to decide whether this is a natural feature or the result of burrowing rabbits. This mound has also been slightly truncated, this time by a by a sheep track. (Pl.11a).
The Depressions: there are three, in close proximity, on the north side of the stream. They appear as grassy depressions in the heather covered hillside. They are roughly circular in shape, with very clear hollowed centres, and in size are some 4.0m by 3.0m.
Form of site: small cluster of mounds and hut circles, on opposite sides of the stream.
Reference: Gelling's 1963 distribution map - Fig.43.
Date of visit: 23.3.87.
Photographs: GQ M4:1-7 (hut circle - 6): Plates:10b, 11a.
Figure: 63.

14. JUAN NY CLARYS SITE 1 (centred SC 2355 7698)
Location: the site is located in the upper reaches of the Glen Rushen River, on its south bank, alongside a small tributary stream. To the north is the Slieau Mooar plantation, and to the west the Glen Rushen Plantation. To the south-west is Cronk ny Arrey Laa. The site is on a NW facing slope and is at a height of 213m (700') O.D. In this area,

the land has been enclosed to a height of over 244m (800') O.D., on the north side of the river (in the plantation), and further down the valley, to a similar height on the south side. The site, consisting of mounds, cultivation marks, and banks, is on an area of moorland, rough and heather covered. The mounds located on the bank of the river, have a dense heather and fern covering. Those on the raised plateau area to the south-east, together with the traces of cultivation, are in an area which has not got this dense heather cover, and they appear as slightly greener features. The site is in the parish of Patrick.
Geology: boulder drift.
Features: a group of eight mounds, a small bank, ridge and furrow, and a turf enclosure. Four of the mounds, the ridge and furrow and the enclosure lie on a slightly elevated area, away from the river. The other mounds lie on the lower side of this area, nearer the stream. They are large fern covered mounds.
A. This mound has an average height of just 0.84m. It has diameters of 9.5m and 6.5m. There is a small depression, roughly in the centre, some 50cm square, and there are a number of visible stones (quartz and slate).
B. An oval shaped mound, with a height of 0.65m, and diameters of 7.8m and 5.5m. This mound, and Mound A, are both heather covered.
C. This mound has a height of 0.56m, and diameters of 3.4m and 3.0m.
D. A slightly raised feature, in appearance like a truncated mound, 3.0m by 1.5m, and some 0.30m high. The hollow associated with this feature, has diameters of 2.4m and 2.0m, and a depth of 1.20.
E. The lowest of the riverside mounds, it has a height 0.88m, and diameters of 11.5m and 9.0m. To the south-south-east are the remains of a small bank, 0.25m high and 0.5m wide.
F. This is one of the truncated mounds, with a height 0.46m, and diameters of 6.9m and 3.0m.
G. A slightly truncated mound, with diameters of 5.7m and 5.5m, and a height of 1.08m.
H. A truncated mound, with a height of 0.80m, and diameters of 4.6m and 4.0m.
I. A complete mound, lying up-slope, with a height of 0.85m, and diameters 6.8m and 5.3m.
J. A small bank-like feature, 2.7m long and 1.0m wide, and 0.53m high.
The ridge and furrow: this runs from Mounds A and B to C and D in a NNW-SSE direction, and also runs along the slope beneath the former two mounds in a WSW-ENE direction. The ridges vary in size, but many are approximately 50-60cm wide and 10-15cm high, whilst the furrows vary also between, generally, 50cm-1m. (Pl.12a, 12b).
The Enclosure: three sides of a possible turf enclosure, lying on top of the ridge and furrow. Externally the banks have a height of 0.25m, and internally 0.15m. They have a width of 40-70cm. The banks potentially enclose an area of 80 square metres, but the raised ridge, roughly down the centre of the three-sided feature, would appear to divide this into two halves.
Section: section through Mound G. Top 70cm of the mound. 11.10.87. Section of 1. turf and heather. 2. grey brown soil with a few small stones. This is a soft brown crumbly soil with patches of grey clayey soil. In this layer are a number of pieces of slate, including one upright, and 5 smaller flatter stones. This section was compared with an exposed section of natural beneath Mound H. This is quite different in appearance, being largely composed of small stones, of which there was a considerable variety. There was much less soil, and few sizeable stones. (Pl.13a).
Finds: a small flint flake from this section. It is an orange flake of grav l flint. (pers.comm. E.Healey). Also, a second flint was discovered on the sheep track, some 100m to the SSW of the site. It is a large flint blade fragment, of white, opaque flint. There is no evidence of retouch. (SC 2350 7590).
Form of site: a fairly compact group of mounds of varying sizes, and a site which has been used for cultivation.
Reference: Gelling 1961; 1963a.
Date of visit: 4.8.87.
Survey: 20.8.88.
Photographs: GQ M8:1 3,7 8; M9:36-37; M12:9-20; M13:16 26; M14:10-14,20-22; RJB 77:17-19,37-38: Plates: 11b-13a.
Figure: 64, 65.

15. JUAN NY CLARYS SITE 2 (centred SC 2337 7563)
Location: this site is also located in the upper reaches of the Glen Rushen River. It is some 375m to the south-south-west of Site 1, and lies on the east bank of the east tributary. It is at a height of c.241m (790') O.D., and is on a NW facing slope. The site is c.25-30m from the rather steep bank of the stream. Here the banks have been seriously undercut, and there has been a considerable amount of collapse. The site is set back from this in a natural hollow. This provides it with much needed shelter in this exposed area of moorland. The site is largely heather covered, but this is less dense within the hollow, and the mounds show up as slightly elevated greener patches. All the mounds associated with this group are located in this hollow. The site lies in the parish of Patrick. The site covers an area of 2000 square metres.
Geology: boulder drift.
Features: there appear to be eight mounds in this hollow. Five are located on its slopes. It is difficult in some cases to determine whether they are all man-made or are natural accumulations of slipped material. The mounds are roughly circular, and all are fairly flat. Some of them have very slight hollows, but most are not of significant size. They are heather and moss covered, rather than grassy. Note the large pieces of quartz incorporated in three of the mounds. All are little more than 0.25-0.50m high.
A. A mound at the base of the slope, with diameters of 4.0m and 4.3m.
B. A similarly placed mound, 4.4m by 4.7m.
C. More oval in shape and built up against the slope. It has diameters of 8.3m and 6.0m.
D. A virtually flat mound, with two large stones visible. It is 4.5m by 4.2m.
E. A strange shaped mound, with diameters of 5.7m and 4.7m, and with three large stones visible.
F. Lying almost at the base of the slope, a circular mound, with a diameter of 5.3m.
G. Located more centrally, the mound has diameters of 3.8m and 3.1m.
H. In a similar location. It is 5.8m by 5.4m.
Finds: a sherd of a large nineteenth century manganese glazed domestic vessel, found in a small gully to the west of the site (W.G.Quine).
Test holes: an opportunity to examine the internal make-up of a number of the mounds, was afforded by the existence of rabbit holes. Investigation, produced evidence of a turf layer some 4 10cm, and beneath this, a light brown soil layer. Below this were thick peaty layers. Examination of a hole outside the site, produced evidence of a much grittier brown soil and peat layers. The gritty soil was similar in appearance to that exposed beneath Mound H of Juan ny Clarys 1.
Form of site: a small group in a sheltered hollow, with little evidence of a large build-up of material.
Reference: Gelling's 1963 distribution map; Fig.43.
Date of visit: 4.8.87.
Survey: 23.8.88.
Photographs: GQ M14:15-19; RJB 77:34-3: Plates: 13b, 14a.
Figure: 65.

16. ARCHALLAGAN (SC 3043 7802)
Location: this single mound lies in the Archallagan Plantation, on its south-east side. It is almost adjacent to the road. The mound is not in a clearing, but has been planted with trees. Despite this, however, the form is still clear. It lies at a height just under 183m (600') a.s.l., and is on a SE facing slope. The nearest source of fresh water is over 500m away. There are other mounds in the vicinity, the nearest are 175m and 400m to the south-east and south-south-west respectively, and the furthest over 2.5km to the north. The land all around the plantation is enclosed, and four of the holdings have place-names incorporating the word eary. The site lies in the parish of Marown.
Geology: boulder drift and slate.
Features: one elongated mound. This is higher at the north-north-east and tapers towards the south-west. Its dimensions are 11.50m and 5.50m, and it is roughly 0.5m high at its lower end and 0.75m at its highest point. There are no circular depressions in this mound, nor are there any stones visible. There is a similar mound on the north side of the

plantation.
Form of site: a single, elongated mound. Tumulus.
Reference: Kermode 1901:169; Excursion to Marown 1912:17 21; Gelling's 1963 distribution map - Fig.43.
Date of visit: 4.8.87.
Photographs: no.

17. INJEBRECK (centred SC 3645 8553)
Location: the site lies in the headwaters of the West Baldwin River above the Injebreck Plantation, and the West Baldwin Reservoir. It consists of a number of mounds, which are located in a gently sloping area, at the base of the section of land between the central and east tributaries. This general area lies to the east of Injebreck hill, and to the west of Carraghan. The site covers an area of c.125m by 100m at its widest point, and lies on a SSW facing slope, at a height of 244m-274m (800-900') a.s.l. The land rises steeply behind the site. The mounds appear as brighter, reed covered spots on the hillside, the vegetation of which is rough grass. The site lies in the parish of Braddan.
Geology: boulder drift.
Features: 21 mounds were identified, and the remains of a small rectangular structure. All the mounds are roughly circular and, in appearance largely of turf. There is considerable variation in size and height. A large number are very low, and can only be identified as slightly greener patches, often reed covered. The highest mound, however, is over 1m high. A number of the mounds (4) have central oval depressions, a few centimetres deep. There are also features at this site, other than the mounds. These are very slight, roughly rectangular depressions on the ground between the mounds. The mounds are fairly evenly spaced, with little distance between them. Note that at least one of the larger mounds appears to have an associated 'satellite' mound. A selection of mounds were recorded in detail:
A. (Gelling's possible corn-drying kiln). This mound is located at the junction of the main stream and the dry course of a small tributary. It is a small mound, 3.75m by 3.63m and just over 0.5m high, with the remains of a small stone structure, 1.22m square and with a narrow entrance passage 1m in length, in its centre. Four to five courses of stonework survive. There is a small entrance facing SW, c.50cm wide. The mound has an extension to the north-east. (Pl.14b).
B. and C. These mounds lie roughly in the centre of the flatter area between the two streams. They are part of a higher group, at a height of just under 274m (900') a.s.l. B is a large mound and C is one of its apparent 'satellites'. B is 10.60m by 8.34m, and about 0.5m high. There is a possible depression in its centre. There is a flatter extension of the mound to the west, c.7.0m in extent, virtually obscured by reeds. To the south-south-east is Mound C, 5.80m by 5.37m and less than 0.5m in height. (Pl.15a).
D. This is a large, roughly circular mound, 10.00m by 10.70m, and at least 1m high. It appeared to have suffered considerable disturbance. In the centre of it are a group of depressions, creating a very rough, and uneven surface. At the top of the mound is one of the few visible stones at this site, and there is a second at the base. There is no satellite mound associated with this one.
E. A roughly circular mound, 7.0m by 6.70m and less than 1m high. This mound, built up against the sloping hillside is only visible as a slightly raised greener patch of land. In the centre of the mound, is a depression, c.2.00m by 1.25m and a few centimetres deep. Around this hollow is a slightly raised area, giving the appearance of a bank.
F. A mound of roughly similar shape and size, 7.67m by 6.20m. This mound is reed covered. This one is slightly lower in height and lacks a central depression. (Note that the majority of the mounds at this site are of this size and shape).
G. This mound is similar in size and appearance to the above mound, but has a central depression, roughly circular in shape, and over 1.0m in diameter. This depression is only a few centimetres deep.
The Rectangular Structure: this small structure of turf lies on a relatively flat, small piece of ground on the north bank of the east tributary, immediately below the lower group of mounds. The land falls away quite steeply below the mounds and there are rocky outcrops. It is against one such outcrop that the small structure has been built, th

rock forming the west wall. Internally, the structure is 4.6m by 3.0m, and the walls would appear to have been created by the hollowing out of this area. Within the structure the surface is very uneven and sloping. The walls vary in thickness along their lengths between 0.5m and 0.9m, and stand to a height of 0.20-0.5cm. There is a clear entrance in the east long wall, in the north-east corner. In the small area between the structure and the stream, there are a number of other features, one of which is a raised bank, running roughly parallel with east long wall. In front of this there are a number of raised areas which may suggest activity. (Pl.15b; Fig.69).
Form of the site: a group of mounds covering a wide triangular spur of land between two tributaries. Also the small rectangular structure below the platform on which the mounds lie. This demonstrates not only different construction techniques, but also different locational influences.
Reference: Excursion 1930:431-2; Gelling 1963a.
Date of visit: 6.8.87.
Photographs: GQ M6:11-15: Plates:14b-15b.
Figure: 67-69.

18. LAXEY (centred SC 4063 8723)
Location: the site lies at the headwaters of the Laxey River, between the two major tributaries. It is immediately to the south-west of the disused mine workings, and in particular the spoil heaps. The slope is the SE facing one of Snaefell, and the site lies at a height of 250-268m (820-880') a.s.l. The valley of the nearest river is a small one, and the nearest mound is some 30m from it. The mounds are almost impossible to locate, having a dense covering of ferns. They are identified only by being slightly elevated above the surrounding area. They have been built up against the slope, which is fairly steep here. The land in the valley has been enclosed, on the north side, to a height of 213m (700') a.s.l. and the nearest enclosed section is some 900m down the valley from the site. The site lies in the parish of Lonan.
Geology: slate.
Features: at least six mounds, large and roughly circular. Being located on a hillside, they are slightly built up against it. These were fern-covered, when the site was visited, and difficult to distinguish. It was impossible to tell if there are any associated structures. The mounds are spread out along the hillside. One mound was recorded in detail, the others being virtually identical.
A. A roughly circular mound, 6.80m by 7.00m, and some 1m high. There is a roughly oval depression on the north side of the mound, probably caused by burrowing rabbits. On the east side at least three sizeable stones are visible. The mound is grass and fern covered.
Field walking: the top of the small valley was walked, but there was little evidence of mounds further up the stream. Much of this area is particularly damp under foot.
Form of site: small group of mounds on open hillside.
Reference: Gelling's 1963 distribution map; Fig.43.
Date of visit: 10.8.87.
Photographs: GQ M6:4-6: Plates:16a-b.
Figure: 70.

19. CORNAA (SC 4312 8927)
Location: the site lies just outside enclosed land, on the north side of the Cornaa valley, in the parish of Maughold. It is at a height of c.244m (800') a.s.l. The slope is a SSE facing one, and slopes quite steeply down towards the abandoned mine workings. The site lies to the east of a small tributary stream, and is within 25m of it. The is rough pasture land. At the time the site was visited, the area had a dense covering of ferns, thus making identification of the mounds difficult.
Geology: boulder drift.
Features: at least five possible mounds. These are small and fern covered mounds. All are roughly 6.00m by 5.00m, and 0.25-0.5m high. One notable feature of these mounds is the incorporation of a large amount of stone.
Form of site: small, compact group of mounds on open hillside.
References: opposite side of valley, Kermode 1901:159; Gelling's 1963 distribution map - Fig.43; Garrad 1978 and see Appendix 14.

Date of visit: 13.8.87.
Photographs: GQ M6:7-8.

20. SULBY RESERVOIR (SC 3770 8880)
Location: the site lies above the Sulby reservoir, and below Snaefell, on very rough, heather covered moorland, just outside the limit of enclosed land. It is at a height of c.265m (870') a.s.l., and on a NW facing slope. The slope is a fairly gentle one. The site is not located in the vicinity of a fresh water, the nearest source is over 300m away. The site is in the parish of Lezayre.
Geology: boulder drift.
Features: two mounds, at first difficult to identify amongst the heather. They are both roughly circular.
A. This mound is 5.89m by 5.50m and 1.25m high. There is no evidence of a saucer-shaped depression in the centre.
B. The shape of this mound is more easily discerned than that of A. It is 6.76 by 8.80m, thus slightly more oval in shape. It is less than 0.5m high. In the centre of the mound is an exposed patch of soil, but no clear depression.
Form of the site: tumuli.
Reference: Gelling's 1963 distribution map; Fig.43.
Date of visit: 9.8.87.
Photographs: GQ M6:10: Plates: 17a.
Figure:71.

21. GLION KERRAL (SC 30 82, SC 31 82)
Location: this small SSW running valley, with numerous tributaries, lies on the south side of the Beary Mountain, and to the west of Slieau Ruy and Greeba Mountain. In its upper reaches are the hill-farms of Cooilslieu and Kerrow Glass. The area consists largely of rough pasture land, and land has been enclosed right up to the heads of the tributaries. This is to a height of 244m (800'). This area is part of the parish of German.
Geology: slate.
Field walking: this involved scouring the banks of the streams flowing down to Cooilslieu, and the Glion Kerral river. Much of the land is extremely wet and marshy. It is heather and reed covered to the south-east of the second tributary, north of Glion Kerral. To the west of these, the land is more suitable for rough grazing, being firmer and grass covered. The stream channels are fairly steep-sided.
Features: only one potentially interesting structure was discovered, on the north-west bank of the third tributary from the Glion Kerral. This is a roughly rectangular structure, over 10m by 5m, which appeared to consist of two fairly square enclosures, and an encircling bank. The walls are of turf, are low and fairly narrow in form.
Form of site: a stock enclosure?
Date of visit:19.12.87.
Photographs: no.

22. KERROODHOO (SC 2302 7687)
Location: this single mound lies on enclosed land, on the north-east edge of the Kerroodhoo Plantation, opposite the footpath to Doarlish Cashen. It lies at a height of c. 213m (700') a.s.l., on a W facing slope. The land is rough grazing land, and the mound is some 100m from the nearest water source. It lies in the parish of Patrick.
Geology: slate.
Features: a single mound in the middle of the field. This is an an extensive mound, over 1m in height.
Form of site: Bronze Age burial mound (L. Garrad pers. comm.)
Date of visit: 11.10.89.
Photographs: GQ M13:29.

23. GLEN CHALTUN (c. SC 2295 7873)
Location: this site is marked as a cairn circle, at the head of the Glion Chaltun river. It lies at a height of just over 152m (500') a.s.l. and on a W facing slope. It lies on enclosed land some distance (approximately 150m) above the river. It is in the parish of Patrick.
Features: a single mound.
Form of site: burial mound.
Date of visit: 22.10.89.

Photographs: no.

24. THE LHAGGAN (SC 2434 7828)
Location: this site lies on land which is no the Lhargan Plantation, on the west side of the Glen Rushen river, on a NE facing slope of the Beary Mountain. The site is on rocky terrain, above the Glen Rushen slate quarries, at a height of c.213m (700') a.s.l. On the east side of the site, there is a large mass of white quartz, locally called Creg Bane, and some 800m to the north-east, are the ruins of Keeill Woirrey. The site is a considerable distance from the nearest water supply (some 500m). It lies in the parish of Patrick.
Geology: Barrule slate.
Features: identified five small mounds, which appeared to have, incorporated within them, a great deal of stone.
Form of site: tumuli.
Reference: Joughin *et al* 1928:231-232.
Date of visit: 22.10.88.
Photographs: GQ M8:5.
Figure: 72.

25. LHERGYRHENNY (SC 3845 8765)
Location: there are two groups of mounds possibly belonging to the one site. Generally, the site is located near the headwaters of the small river, running past the farm of Lhergyrhenny into the Sulby Reservoir. It is on open moorland, on a WSW facing slope of Snaefell, at a height of 274m (900') a.s.l. The mounds of the first group are located slightly further down the valley than the second, and are some 75m from the river. The second is at the base of the lowest arm of the large stone sheepfold. The area is grass and heather covered. The site lies in the parish of Lezayre.
Geology: Barrule slate.
Features: discovered evidence of at least four mounds in Group 1, all appearing as greener, and reed covered, eminences. The largest has a diameter of some 6.0m, and is over 1.0m high. All have a large amount of stone visible.
Group 2 consists of six mounds of varying size and shape:
A. A circular mound with diameters of 4.5m, and a height of 0.7m. It has been truncated by the arm of the sheepfold. There are a number of large blocks of stone visible, particularly around the base of the mound.
B. This mound has a diameter of some 8.0m, and is 1.25m high. The centre has been excavated, creating a roughly circular hollow, almost entirely composed of stone.
C. A roughly circular mound, with a diameter of 3.5m, and a height of 0.5m. There are the traces of a possible rectangular structure on the top of this mound. This takes the form of a roughly rectangular depression, 1.0m wide and some 1.5m in length, surrounded on three sides by slightly raised banks. The hollow has four large blocks of stone visible on three of its sides. The fourth side, at the up-slope end appears to be open, and possibly indicates an entrance. The walls would appear to about 1.0m wide, and survive only to a height of some 0.25m. (Pl.18b, Fig.75).
D. A mound of stones, with a diameters of 2.5m, and a height of 0.40-0.80m. There is only a turf covering at the down-slope end of the mound. The stones are large, many over 0.5m in length, and are largely slabs of granite.
E. A mound of earth and stone, roughly 4.0m by 2.0m, and 0.5m high. This mound also appears to contain the remains of a small, roughly rectangular structure of stone, of similar size to that described above.
F. A circular mound, 3.5m by 3.5m, and some 0.9cm high. There are a few large slabs of stone visible on the surface of the mound. On the top of the mound, in a fairly central position, are two small depressions, about 0.5m wide. The larger is some 1.0m in length, and the smaller 0.6m.
Other features: There are a number of other interesting features in this area, including a small mound of stone and turf further down-slope (G) (Pl.19a), potentially associated with a bank, forming two sides of a possible enclosure. The mound is 2.5-3.0m in diameter, and 0.8m high. It consists of large blocks of stone, with a thin covering of turf.

This bank is some 25cm in height, and 75cm wide, and consists of earth and stone. On the bank of the river, another small mound of stones was noted. This is 2.0m in diameter, and 0.6m high. A thin turf layer covers the stones. Slightly further up-stream, is a small depression, 0.6cm by 0.9cm, containing seven sizeable stones. There is another possible mound slightly further down towards the stream (see Fig. 4).
Rectangular structure: this is a long, narrow, rectangular structure of stone similar to that located at Druidale (SC 3835 8758), with two associated banks of earth and stone. The structure is internally some 8.0m long and 2.0m wide, and the walls are 1.0m high and almost 1.0m wide. The external measurements are 15.0m and 4.0m. The walls consist of large blocks of stone, similar to those incorporated in the mounds of Groups 1 and 2. There is a turf covering on the tops and the external faces of the walls, but the walling is completely exposed on the internal faces. There would appear to be two entrances, the main one lying in the north short end, 1.0m wide, and a second, much smaller one, at the opposite end. This is indicated by two uprights, set 1.6m apart. From the west, at the north end, a large bank, over 1.0m wide and almost 1.0m high in places, curves down the steep slope to the bank of the small tributary stream. It continues along the bank, almost to the main stream, but then curves, and heads in a southerly direction for a few metres. It then stops abruptly. (Pl.19b).
Form of site: two compact groups of mounds, possibly forming a single site. The incorporation of large amounts of stone in the mounds, and the fact that some appear to have more in common with cairns than with shielings suggests that this could be a different type of site altogether. The existence of the probable sheep enclosure on the other side of the valley, and the association of a similar structure with Druidale Site 1, suggests similar use of the area at least.
Reference: Kermode 1894a:27-9. Note that this area was used for mining purposes. There is a fine wheel-case on the west bank of the river, not far from the mounds. Activities associated with this should be borne in mind when dealing with the features identified in this area.
Date of visit: 23.10.87.
Photographs: GQ M8:6; M15:1-14; Rectangular structure M15:16-21: **Plates:** 17b-19b.
Figure: 73-75.

26. UPPER SARTFELL (SC 3328 8672)
Location: the site lies on a narrow ledge, on the north side of the small stream, flowing down to the sharp corner on the Upper Sartfield road. It lies some 300m up the small valley, on a drier area of ground to the east of a particularly damp section. The site lies on a SSW facing slope of Sartfell, at a height of c.299m (980') a.s.l. The site is within 25m of fresh water. It lies in the parish of Michael.
Geology: boulder drift.
Features: at least one circular mound, a rectangular enclosure, and a bank. On the sloping ground of the valley.
A. The mound is 4.93m by 4.90m and is 1m high. Examination of a rabbit burrow in the mound, showed the incorporation of a number of large stones. (Pl.21a).
B. The rectangular structure of turf and stone has long walls 23.13m and 18.50m, and short walls of 15.90m and 10.53m. The walls are, on th whole, 1.0-1.5m in width, and they survive to a height of from 0.25m to 1.25m. There is an entrance, 1.32m wide, at the west end. The structure has been built at the north side against the hillside. (Pls.20b,21a).
C. A narrow bank, located some 70m up the valley.
Other features: there are two possible mounds to the west of A; one within the enclosure; and one to the south of the east end of the enclosure.
Form of site: stock enclosure, and remains of a possible series of temporary huts (the mound). Also, a bank, acting perhaps as a boundary/enclosure.
Reference: Gelling 1963a; Johnson 1986: he noted the second mound b lo the flat ledge on which the enclosure lies.
Date of visit and survey: 8.10.89, and section.
Photographs: GQ M13:3-11,29; M15:30-31: **Plates:** 20 -21a.
Figure: 76 78.

27. SLIEAU DHOO (SC 3538 8988)

Location: the site, marked as hut-circles, lies on open rough grazing land, at the head of one of the Glen Dhoo tributaries. This group of mounds is on a NNW facing slope of Slieau Dhoo, looking down the valley towards Ballaugh and Jurby, and it is at a height of c.274m (900') a.s.l. There are mounds on both banks of the stream. The slope behind the site, to the south-east is steep, and there has been a certain amount of slippage here. This is a site which has both good grazing land, and is in a sheltered position. The site is in the parish of Ballaugh.
Geology: Barrule slate.
Features: potentially nine mounds. There is a mixture of large and small mounds, some with central hollows, and incorporating stones. One of the mounds is placed on a small eminence and has more visible stonework than the others. The mounds are 0.5m to 1m high, and most have diameters of over 5.0m.
A. A small mound located on a fairly steep bank on the east side of the site. It has a diameter of some 4.0m, and is 0.5m high. The mound has been built-up against the slope, and much of the material has slipped. A very small, slight depression was noted in the top of this mound.
B. A similar, but slightly smaller mound, to the east of A, also built-up against the slope. This mound has no distinguishing features.
C. This mound consists of a large spread of material, much of it probably natural slip rather than an accumulation of occupation material. The west end of this mound, however, is certainly similar in appearance to mounds encountered at other sites. This part has a diameter of some 5.0m, and is roughly 1.0m in height. A number of small depressions were noted on the surface of the mound, making it very uneven in appearance. One of the depressions contains a number of stones, and a structure similar to the small rectangular ones at Lhergyrhenny is possible.
D. Another sprawling accumulation of material, creating a platform. The only indication that this might have been a site of occupation is a slightly raised area on the platform, with a number of small number of pieces of slate visible.
E. and F. The two mounds furthest up-slope. Yet again there is a problem in identifying the mounds as occupation material rather than slip. They are between 4.0m and 5.0m in diameter, and 0.5m high. Mound F has a slight hollow occupying most of the area of the top of the mound.
G. Another large, sprawling mass of material, possibly having the remains of structures. The mound is over 1.5m high, and has a diameter of almost 7.0m. On the highest part of the mound, there is a slight hollow, and a small number of stones is visible.
H. This is one of the most interesting mounds at the site. It also consists of a large amount of material, and has the characteristic shape of mounds built-up against a slope. This mound has one of the best examples of what is described by Gelling as a 'saucer-shaped' depression. This is roughly 1.5m by 1.0m is almost 0.5m deep at its deepest point. The impression given by this feature is of central sunken area, encircled by a turf wall. On the photograph M11:27 (Pl.22a), it is almost possible to postulate an entrance at the point where the ranging rod is located. Two large stones were found in this area. The mound, itself, has a diameter of some 6.0m, and is almost 1.0m high in places.
I. This mound is also of considerable interest. It is located on a slight eminence, and has a marvellous view down the valley, over the western half of the northern plain. The build-up of material here is very slight compared with the other mounds, the mound only being some 3.0m in diameter, and just over 0.5m high. It is clear, however, from an examination of the sides of the eminence, that material has slipped down the sides towards the stream. On the summit of the mound three large slabs of stone were noted, and at the western edge, a large piece of quartz. These stones were much larger than those noted at the other mounds, and their distribution on the mound suggested a definite association with a structure. Examination of photograph M11-30 (Pl.22b) shows that stone for building purposes would have been readily available at this site.
Form of site: a compact group of mounds in the headwaters.
Reference: Gelling 1963a; Johnson 1986.
Date of visit: 23.4.89.

Photographs: GQ M11:21-32: Plates: 21b-22a.
Figure: 79.

28. GLION DARRAGH (SC 29 79, SC 29 80)
Location: a steep river valley in the parish of German. The source of it lies at Archallagan and it flows in a northerly direction down into Greeba village. This is a very steep sided valley, and all the land, on both sides, is enclosed farmland.
Field walking: walked up the west bank and back down the east, and paid particular attention to the land at the headwaters. No mounds were identified.
Date of visit: 23.12.87.
Photographs: no.

29. CRINGLE PLANTATION SITE 1 (SC 2548 7508)
Location: a potential site, lying on the west bank, and near the source, of a small tributary stream running down the lower SSW facing slope of South Barrule, into the Cringle Reservoir. The site lies at a height of 244m (800') O.D, on open moorland. The site, when visited was largely obscured by a dense covering of heather and ferns. The site is in the parish of Arbory.
Geology: boulder drift.
Features: a group of at least four small mounds, roughly 6.0m in diameter, and 0.5-1.0m high.
Date of visit: 21.10.87.
Photographs: GQ M9:4-6: Plates: 23a.

30. CRINGLE PLANTATION SITE 2 (SC 2415 7463)
Location: this site lies on open moorland, at the head of a small dry valley running south-south-east towards the Cringle plantation. It is on a SSE facing slope, at a height of c.293m (960') a.s.l. It lies within 25m of the dry valley. The site is in the parish of Arbory.
Geology: boulder drift.
Features: a rectangular turf structure. It appears as a bright grassy site on the heather-covered hillside. It is 4.50m by 5.0m and has two possible entrances c1m wide. The highest point of the walls is 0.5m.
Form of site: a stock-enclosure? Or a form of hut.
Date of visit: 15.10.89.
Photographs: GQ M13:30-32.

31. THE BLABER RIVER (SC 31 84, SC 32 83)
Location: this river valley lies between Beary Mountain, Slieau Ruy, and Colden, in the parish of German. The river is north-west flowing, and joins the River Neb. The area investigated consists of open moorland used for rough grazing, but the limit of enclosed land extends some distance up the valley, and there is the now deserted tholtan of Dreembeary on the south-west side of the river.
Geology: boulder drift.
Field walking: no sites were located. The dense fern covering on the banks of the river made potential identification of sites virtually impossible.
Reference: Gelling's 1963 distribution map; Fig.43.
Date of visit: 5.8.87.
Photographs: GQ M3:6-9.

32. GLEN DHOO (SC 349 895)
Location: the site lies in the parish of Ballaugh, on a small tributary on the west side of Glen Dhoo. There are two enclosures lying on the north and south banks of the tributary, at a height of some 250m (820') a.s.l. The land slopes steeply here
Geology: slate.
Features: two large enclosures and a number of mounds. On the south side there is a roughly rectangular enclosure, externally some 25m by 17m, with walls of turf standing to a height of 0.5m. There is no clear entrance. In the north-west corner there is a substantial mound and in a roughly central position within the enclosure there is a second, smaller mound. On the north side of the stream there is a much larger, roughly circular enclosure, with diameters of some 33m and 30m, lying in a natural hollow. The walls are again of turf, and stand to a height of 0.5m. There is no clear entrance, although one could be postulated

at the south corner. As in the first enclosure, there is an area of mounding within it, at the higher northern end, and there is also a clear depression, roughly 4m by 2m, between the highest part of this mounding and the enclosure wall which could have served as a pen. There is also evidence of mounding outwith the enclosure. There are two small accumulations of material on the north-east shoulder, and there is a much larger mound just to the north. The traces of a slight hollow on the summit were clear.
Form of site: two sizeable stock enclosures, and a small number of mounds which are associated with them.
Reference: Gelling 1963a; Johnson 1986.
Date of visit: 29.4.90.
Photographs: GQ M19:1-6: Plates: 23b-24a.
Figure: 80.

33. SARTFELL SITE 1 (centred SC 3274 8830)
Location: the site lies in the parish of Michael, on a spur of land between two small but deeply cut tributaries. It is on a steep west facing slope above the farm of Ballakilleyclieu at a height of some 180m (590') a.s.l..
Geology: Barrule slate.
Features: there are three sizeable mounds at the upper, east end, of the site. Below these there are possible traces of cultivation, although the ridges could be natural slip on this steep slope. Higher up the slope, beyond the modern fence are the remains of a substantial piece of stone walling associated with a drain or culvert. This channels water towards the north tributary and way from the mounds.
A. The mound located furthest upslope. This has diameters of 4.5m and 4m, and stands to a height of roughly 1m. There is no stone visible on the surface of the mound. (Pl.25b).
B. This is a lower mound with a diameter of some 4m, although material appears to extend for some distance on the north side. It stands to a height of 0.5m, and there are a large number of stones visible on its surface. (Pl.25a).
C. This is the largest of the mounds, with diameters of 6m and 4.5m. It stands to a height of over 1m. At the east side the mound rises steeply, but at the lower west end it fans out down the slope. There is no stone visible on the surface of the mound, although there is a fairly extensive scatter of large slabs immediately to the north. (Pls.25a-b).
The culvert: this consists of an extent of stone walling 8m in length, now much collapsed, and a number of small channels visible on the ground surface. These are not stone lined, although some of the stones associated with them could be edging as opposed to tumble from the walling. At the north end of the walling is a clear opening, 38cm wide and 15cm high, which is covered by a single slab. Within this opening the remains of a channel running east for at least 1m are clear, and there has been little collapse. This would not appear to be associated with the site. (Pl.26a).
Other features: possibly also part of this one site are three small mounds on a second, lower spur of land. These are much smaller than those described above, and cannot be identified as accumulations of occupation material with certainty.
Form of site: small group of mounds on a spur of land between two tributaries.
Reference: Mr. W.G. Quine pers. comm.
Date of visit: 26.4.90.
Photographs: W.G. Quine; G.Q. M19:6-10: Plates:24b 26a.
Figure: 81-2.

34. SARTFELL SITE 2 (centred SC 3234 8842)
Location: this site also lies in the parish of Michael. It is just under 0.5km to the south west of Site 1. It lies on open moorland at the point where two field boundaries join at right angles to each other, and is to the north-west of the track out along the hillside. The height is some 229m (750') a.s.l.. The slope is west facing.
Geology: Barrule slate.
Features: seven mounds, three of which are particularly large. No other features wer noted at the site.
A. Th most interesting of the mounds in that it has the clear outline

of a large rectangular feature on the top. The mound is 12m in length and 6.8m in width. The rectangular feature appears as a depression 6.4m in length and with a maximum width of 2.4m. The depression tapers towards the lower, north-west end. Surrounding this depression are slightly raised areas giving the impression of turf walling. No stones appear on the surface of the mound. It is 0.5-0.75m high. (Pl.27a).
B. A smaller mound, an irregular circle in shape. It has diameters of 6m and 7.4m, and stands to a height of less than 0.5m. There is a small depression in the summit of the mound.
C. One of the smaller mounds in diameter, being just over 4m, but standing to a height of 1m. Small mounds of such height are unusual. There are no clear depressions perhaps indicating a structure.
D. The shape of this mound was more difficult to detect, it being relatively flat (less than 0.5m), and having been damaged by sheep tracks. It has a diameter or roughly 6m.
E. Another large oval mound, 8.4m in length, and 3.4m in width. In profile the mound appears as two adjoining mounds of different height, a central depression giving it a stepped appearance.
F. The most extensive of the mounds, and the one which has suffered most from sheep damage. The hollow noted on the east side of the mound could be attributed to the sheep. The mound is 12m in length and 4.8m in width, and is some 0.7m on height. The hollow is semi-circular in shape, and has dimensions of 2m and 1.4m. It could, thus, be the outline of a small structure.
G. A small, barely detectable mound, some 3.0m in diameter.
Form of site: a group of mounds rather different in appearance from those encountered at other sites.
Form of site: cluster of mounds of varying sizes and shapes in small area.
Date of visit: 29.4.90.
Photographs: W.G. Quine: Plates: 26b, 27a.
Figure: 83.

35. SARTFELL SITE 3 (centred SC 3232 8852)
Location: on open moorland to the south of the above site, above the track. It lies between two small dry stream channels, at a height of some 244m (800') a.s.l.. The slope faces west. It is in the parish of Michael.
Geology: Barrule slate.
Features: a group of at least four large mounds, two of which are similar to Mound A of the above site.
Form of site: group of mounds of various shape and size between two tributary streams. Note that there appear to be a large number of mounds scattered over this slope of Sartfell.
Date of visit: 29.4.90.
Photographs: W.G. Quine: Plates: 27b.

CATALOGUE OF SITES RECORDED IN SKYE AND THE OUTER HEBRIDES 1987-1988

In the text, the sites are referred to by name and site number, e.g. Glen Conon A (H1), H representing Hebrides. The distribution of sites on Skye can be seen on Figure 52, for Lewis on Figure 53, and the Uists on Figure 54. Reference should be made to Appendix 12 for soil unit information.

SKYE

1. GLEN CONON A (NG 424 636) Shielings
Location: on the west side of Trotternish, in the smaller glen to the north of Glen Uig. It is sited high above the flood-plain of the River Conon, at a height of c.140-150m (459-492') O.D., on the edge of a steep and rocky scar. In this area three tributaries flow down to the Conon, two in the form of waterfalls. The slope is SW facing, and the site is less than 25m from the nearest stream. Exposed position. Access is by a track from the settlement in Glen Conon.
Soil unit: 158.
Structures: at least three. The mounds associated with them, from a distance, appear as bright green spots in a dark, heather-covered landscape.
A. The first feature, in the form of a mound c.8m in diameter, contains the remains of at least three attached, but not interconnecting, cells of stone, with a turf covering. These lie at a level slightly above the ground surface, probably not on a deliberately created platform, but on the remains of earlier structures. Each cell is roughly rectangular, and measured some 2m by 1m. The walls survive to a height of c.1.25m. (Pl.28b).
B. A short distance down-slope from this structure, are the remains of a second. This appears as a small, low, circular green patch of grass with a few stones, and a central hollow.
C. The third feature is located on the very edge of the scar. It is also low and circular, but covers a much larger area and has more visible stonework. Remnants of stone and turf walls point to the existence of at least two cells. Form of site: small group above scar.
Date of visit: 3.7.78.
Photographs: GQ H2:4-7;H8:26-28,31: Plates: 28b.

2. GLEN CONON B (NG 422 634) Structures
Location: at the foot of the scar mentioned above, immediately below Site 1. It lies on the edge of the flood-plain, at a height of c.80m (262') O.D. The slope is SW facing. This area had a very dense fern covering at the time it was visited. The nearest water supply is within 50m.
Soil unit: 158.
Structures: at least four large rectangular structures of stone, and one which appears more oval in shape, three located within a short distance of each other, on a slightly raised area. The unmortared walls survive to a height of c.1m in places, and consist of large rounded boulders. The corners are rounded rather than square. The entrances are clear, but there is no sign of any other openings, or internal cavities. There is no single pattern of orientation. At least two of the structures lie east-west, one with entrances at both its short ends, whilst two others have their long axis running north-south, with an entrance at the south end.
Form of site: township remains? The structures are similar to those identified as *tigh earraich*, 'spring dwelling', remains at Bilascleiter in Lewis.
Date of visit: 3.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H2:8-14; H8:29-30,32: Plates: 29a.

3. GLEN HINNISDALE (NG 4370 5878, NG 4376 5890, 4370 5884) Shielings
Location - at the head of the River Hinnisdale, between the two major tributaries which combine to form this river. The valley lies on the west side of Trotternish, and settlement extends as far as Glenuachdarach on the north side of the valley. Access to the site is by a track from the last croft, across the river, and along the edge of

the plantation for roughly 0.75km. The main group of huts (NG 4370 5878) lies on a piece of fairly level ground between the two tributaries, at a height of 140m (459') O.D., at the base of a SW facing slope. The second, one hut, (NG 4376 5890) is c.250m to the north-east, on the east side of the waterfall of the Lon Coire Chaiplin. The slope is SSW facing and quite steep at this point. The hut is located at a height of c.170m (558') O.D., and is in a relatively sheltered position. The third, another single hut, is to the west of the above waterfall, to the south-west of Hut 2 and immediately north of Group 1 (NG 4370 5884). It lies at a height of c.140m (459') O.D., on a SSW facing slope.
Soil unit: 158.
Structures: a mixture of sub-circular and rectangular structures, of varying sizes, and constructed of stone and turf.
A. This site includes a large mound, on the summit of which are the remains of a number of small structures of stone and turf. There are two rectangular huts with rounded ends, measuring c.1m sq, with walls surviving to a height of less than 0.5m. At the base of the mound is a much larger rectangular structure, at least 2m in length and 1m broad. At this site there are also the remains of small, sub-circular structures, located both on the sides of the mound and around the base. (Pl.29b).
B. The remains of one collapsed rectangular structure, c. 3m by 1m. The original centre is largely filled with rubble, with the result that the walls stand, at the most, to a height of 0.5m.
C. This is a circular structure, with a diameter of c.3.0m, and turf covered stone walls c.0.5m high in places. There are two clear openings, facing east and west. This is similar in form to one of the sub-circular structures noted at Site 1. (Pl.30a).
Form of site: a group of huts on and around a large mound, and two other structures.
Date of visit: 3.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H2:15-17,19-20; H8:33-37: **Plates:** 29b,30a.

4. RIVER RHA (NG 402 647) Shielings
Location: on a steep WNW facing slope of Ben Gorm, in the valley of the River Rha, on the west side of Trotternish, flowing south-south-west into the bay at Uig. It lies at a height of c.130m (426') O.D., in a damp area, around which a small tributary stream forks. There are also remains slightly further up the Rha, in a similar position, on the banks of a tributary, but lower down the slope, c. 125m. Access is difficult, as is the terrain. Note Settlement remains marked on both the 1:25,000 and 1:50,000 maps of the area.
Soil unit: 159.
Structures: rectangular structures of turf and stone, showing up from a distance as bright green spots on the hillside.
A. Three roughly rectangular structures lying on a slightly raised area between the two forks of the stream. These are roughly 3m by 1m, and have walls which survive to a height of c.1m in sections.
B. The remains of at least two small rectangular structures of stone and turf, of similar size to the above huts.
Form of site: small group, alongside a small stream, in a larger valley.
Date of visit: 3.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H2:21-22.

5. MAOLADH MOR (NG 440 680) Shielings
Location: located on the lower SSE facing slope of Meall na Suiramach, below the scar of Maoladh Mor, at a height of c.250m (820') O.D. Access to the site is from the hairpin bend on the minor road from Staffin to Uig. It lies virtually on the track that leads to the Quiraing, on the east bank of a tiny, virtually dry stream. The site is very exposed.
Soil unit: 4.
Structures: the remains of two roughly rectangular structures with slightly bowed walls, lying on slight rises, and appearing as green, grassy spots in this heather moorland. The walls of both structures are clear, although more stone is visible in Hut B, lying slightly down-slope from Hut A (Pl.30b). In both, the walls are c.0.5m high. The structures have their long axes running parallel with the slope, and have entrances in their shorter down-slope ends. They have internal

measurements of some 4m by 2m. There is a considerable build up of material at the upslope end of Hut B, giving the impression that the hut had been dug into an earlier accumulation of occupation material. There is a similar accumulation of material at the southern end of Hut A.
Form of site: small site in an exposed area.
Date of visit: 2.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H1:31; H8:14-16: Plates: 30b.

LEWIS

6. GLEANN ÁIRIGH NA GILE (NB 3880 4415, NB 3850 4420, NB 3835 4410) Shielings
Location: on the moorland, to the south of the A857, between Barvas and Stornoway. The site lies near the headwaters of the River Barvas, in a small valley, Gleann Airigh na Gile. The surrounding land was the centre of peat digging activities at the time the site was visited. The huts lie at a height of 50-70m (164'-230') O.D., 50m (164'), 59m (194') and 68m (223') O.D. respectively) and on a NNE facing slope. Structure A lies on the south bank of the river, on a slightly drier piece of ground, which appears as a small green knoll. The immediately surrounding land is rather damp and marshy. Structure B is located on the north bank of the river, and is again on a greener, slightly elevated patch of land. Structure C is also on the north bank of the river, and is situated on a small, green, reedy knoll, surrounded by heather. The huts lie some 25m from the river.
Soil unit: 4.
Structures: three small, rectangular huts of stone.
A. This is a rectangular structure of stone, with square corners, measuring 4.73m by 3.17m. The walls survive to a height of c.1cm, and are c.50cm thick. One of the walls is leaning outwards quite considerably, and is in danger of collapse. There are opposing doorways, 50-60cm wide, in the long walls of the structure, which face west and east, and inside the hut there is at least one, possibly two, ambries. Just outside the hut, to the west are the remains of a turf feature, in a very collapsed state, only a few centimetres high.
B. Another rectangular stone structure, with squared corners. Its external measurements are 4.35m by 3.0m, and the walls survive to a maximum height of 1.21m. There are opposing doorways in the long walls, facing north and south, c.60cm wide, and evidence of at least 6 ambries.
C. A third rectangular stone hut, the best preserved of the three at this site. It is 4.30m by 3.0m, and the walls, c.56cm thick, survive to a height of 1.70m. The orientation is east-west, with the opposing doorways, c. 75cm wide, being located in the long walls (facing north and south). At the east end is a fire-place of relatively recent construction - the top is mortared, and the stonework includes a number of bricks. Six ambries were identified (Pl.31b). Wooden slats could still be seen in the walls, and there are traces of timber on the ground inside and outside the hut. The walls, on the outside of the hut, are banked up with turf. (Pl.31a).
Form of site: small group, located in a valley, near the headwaters of a major river, and covering an area of 500m by 250m.
References: Miller 1967a:pl.5
Date of visit: 6.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H3:5-11,13-17; H9:9-17: Plates: 31a-b.
Figure: 86.

7. GREAT BERNERA (NB 1725 3587, NB 1744 3583 NB 1758 3555) Shielings
Location: o the island of Great Bernera, off the western shoulder f mainland Lewis. The huts recorded, part of a much larger group of huts in this area lie to the north-east of the road between the settlements of Kirkibost and Breaclete. Access to the moorland is by a track around the base of the hillside towards Loch Choirgarod. The huts lie on the hilltop, at the edge of the NE slope above Loch Gobhlach, an ar a of rocky outcrops, providing a good source of building mat rial. Th location is an exposed one. Hut A lies at a height of 60m (197') O.D., Hut B at c.63m (207') O.D., and Hut C at c.60m (197') O.D. They li within 150m of the nearest streams. All the structures are built int the hillside.

Soil unit: 394.
Structures: 3 of the number of stone structures in this area.
A. The hut is rectangular, 5m by 3m, with corners more rounded in form than those at Barvas, and is orientated east-west. The walls, c.70cm thick, are almost complete to roof level, a maximum height of 2.10m, and the door lintels are still in place. The wall is thicker at the short west end, and bows inwards. There is evidence of reconstruction here. It has opposing doorways, c.96cm by 65cm, located roughly in the centre of the long walls, and one internal ambry. Some huge blocks of stone have been incorporated in this structure. (Pl.32a).
B. Again a roughly rectangular structure, complete almost to roof level. The long axis is north-south. It has external dimensions of some 5.7m by 3.50m, the walls are 1.50-2.00m high, and 75cm thick. There are opposing doorways in the long walls, 95 by 70cm, located towards the north end of the hut. The ground is very uneven here, and the slope of the hut reflects this. Also of interest in relation to this structure, are the remains of two features to the south-east. These are in the form of oval depressions incorporating a few stones, possibly the remains of earlier huts.
C. This hut is in a very collapsed state, unlike the other two. It has a roughly rectangular plan, c. 4.20m by 3.20m. It is orientated north-east south-west. The walls have collapsed outwards, and now have a maximum height of 78cm. One entrance is clear, c.50cm wide, the probable opposing one is obscured by rubble. To the south-west of this hut is a large circular depression, larger than the hut itself, and with an unclear function.
Form of site: scattered huts on the crest of a hill.
Date of visit: 6.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H3:27-33; H9:22-25: Plates: 32a.
Figure: 87.

8. ÁIRIGH A BHEALAICH (centred NB 5450 5825) Shielings
Location: the Abhainn Dubh valley, south of the district of Ness, at the tip of north Lewis. The site lies at the western, and upper end of the Abhainn Dubh, in the headwaters, above Cuiashader. The huts are located on both sides of the rivers, that is, on SE facing slopes, at heights of 70-85m (229'-279') O.D. The majority of huts are within 25-50m of the nearest river. Access to the site is by tracks from either Skigersta, Habost, or Swainbost.
Soil unit: 4.
Structures: a collection of older stone bothies with turf roofs, and roofs of corrugated iron. Also more modern dwellings in the form of shacks and caravans. The older structures have a roughly rectangular shape, and the walls are the height of the small doorways, sometimes less than 1.5m high. Resting,
often on the inner parts of the walls, are the conical shaped roofs of turf. A large number of these huts have modern modifications, for example, breeze block entrances, and modern chimneys. The structures are built into the slopes, and have their long axes, generally, running down-slope. The majority are windowless, but some have skylights. There appears to be no general orientation of doors, and usually there is just one. A mixture of large boulders and small packing stones are used in the construction of the walls of older huts, whilst the more modern examples tend to use stones of a more uniform size, and the walling is consequently more regular. They vary in size, but are roughly 5.0m by 3.0m externally.
Form of site: concentration of huts at the headwaters of a river, in a fairly small area. There is a distance of some 25m between each hut. Note that the majority of huts of older appearance lie in this group rather than that at the site of Cuiashader.
References: local referring to site as a modern shieling. See Miller 1967a:216, Pl.10.
Date of visit: 7.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H7:10-16; H8:32-35: Plates: 32b.

9. CUIASHADER (centred NB 5450 5835) Shielings
Location: see above. The huts lie on both banks of the river, at heights from 50-70m (164'-230') O.D., and on ESE and ENE facing slopes. They are within 25m of the river.
Soil unit: 4.

Structures: similar to those described above, but there are more modern structures in this section of the valley, including caravans, wooden and concrete huts.
Form of site: small valley, with huts strung along the banks.
References: Miller 1967a :216, Pl.10, and local.
Date of visit: 7.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H4:5-6,9; H8:31.

10. ÁIRIGH NA GAOITHE (centred NB 5335 6025) And Tom Airigh na Gaoithe. Shielings
Location: to the south of the district of Ness, in an area where a whole maze of paths and tracks leads out from the settlements to the common moorland. The site (A) lies on the track leading towards the above sites from Habost and Swainbost, and is surrounded by tiny tracks. This site is a bright grassy spot in an otherwise dark peat landscape, and lies at a height of 90-100m (295'-328') O.D. The land undulates gently. The slope is a WSW facing one, and the site is within 250m of the nearest stream.
Soil unit: 4.
Structures: surface remains at Airigh na Gaoithe, but none located at Tom Airigh na Gaoithe.
A. There are no upstanding remains at this site, but there are a few traces of potential structures on the grassy surface. It was impossible, however, to distinguish any definite forms.
B. In proximity to this site, is the only turf hut which was found in Lewis. This is of recent construction, being built out of lately excavated peats, and having a sod roof. It is roughly 4m by 2m, and just over 2m in height. Its function is the storage of peat cutting implements, and other personal belongings. It is of solid construction, and surprisingly roomy and warm inside. (Pl.33a).
Form of site: small, compact site, some distance from the nearest water supply.
References: O.S. 1:25,000 map NB 46/56.
Date of visit: 7.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H4:18: Plates: 33a.

11. BILASCLEITER (NB 555 574) Shielings
Location: to the south-east of Cuiashader, roughly 1.25km further on. Access to this site is more difficult, there being no track to it across the moorland. It is located on a slight rise, appearing from a distance as a greener, much drier patch in an otherwise bleak, peaty landscape. It is on a SE facing slope, at a height of 90m (295') O.D., and is within 150m of the nearest stream.
Soil unit: 4.
Structures: nine large, rectangular stone buildings, grouped very close together on the knoll, and in various states of preservation. They lie on the south side of this, so are afforded some shelter. The structures are of a much more massive construction than the other sites visited, with walls standing to a height of over 1m, and in places 1.5m. The dimensions vary, but the larger are some 10m in length and 2-3m wide. They appear to have once been divided into sections. Each has one entrance, located a third of the way along one of the long walls, which faces into the centre of the group. At least one has evidence of a fireplace. There is little evidence of internal ambries.
Form of site: a very compact group, with massive structures, more like black-houses. These are examples of the *tigh earraich*, or 'spring dwelling'.
References: the site was pointed out as being a shieling by a local man. See A.A. Macgregor 1933:213.
Date of visit: 7.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H4:7; H9:30: Plates: 33b.

12. OLLASHAL (NB 1095 2993, NB 1090 2986) Shielings
Location: the site lies in the valley of the Abhainn Nhor a Ghlinne Ruaidh, south of Carishader, and on a slope above Loch Croistean. The slope is a steep E facing one of the hill, Ollashal, and the site lies at a height of 60-70m (197'-230') O.D. It is situated on flatter, slightly drier land, in a rather rocky, and poorly drain d area. The site appears as a diagonal splash of green across the hillside. Hut A is located slightly down slope, to the north of B. There are also the

remains of other very ruinous structures. The nearest source of water is Loch Croistean, 100m down the slope.
Soil unit: 395.
Structures: two standing structures, plus the very ruinous remains of at least two more. These were no more than small piles of rubble.
A. This hut appears from a distance to be a very well preserved circular hut, with tapering walls. In fact, it has an external plan which is more oval in shape, but inside it does appear more circular. Internally, the hut has diameters of 2.53m and 2.08m. The maximum height of the walls is 1.89m, and they survive to a height above the door lintel. Roofing and door timbers are still in evidence, inside and outside the hut, and the wooden door posts are still in position. There is now only one entrance in the structure, c. 1m high and 53cm wide, but at some stage there was another one, at the west end, which has since been blocked. This does not lie immediately opposite the other doorway. Six ambries were identified, roughly 40 by 50cm. (Pl.34b).
B. A rectangular hut, 3.5m by 2.3m, with slightly rounded corners. The walls survive to a height of c.1m generally, but are higher at both gable ends, and 1.7m at the highest point. Here, the door lintel has not survived. There is one clear entrance in the long wall, facing NNE, and there is a second possible one directly opposite it, now blocked and largely obscured by tumble. Form of site: small group, with huts located in a diagonal line across the hillside. It appeared that the two very ruinous huts had been robbed of stone for the construction of huts A and B.
Date of visit: 8.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H4:36-37; H5:10-17; H10:9-15: Plates: 34a-b.
Figure: 88.

13. UIG ROAD (NB 1845 2795) Shieling
Location. the site is located on a drier, but not sheltered spot, on the open moorland some 250m to the north of the B8011. It lies at a height of 90m (295') O.D., on a SE facing slope, and is roughly 100m from a stream flowing out of a small loch to the north-west. This is a very damp, peat covered area. The hut is, therefore, located on a slight rise, by a rocky outcrop.
Soil unit: 394.
Structures: one roughly rectangular hut in very good condition, the walls surviving on the up-slope side to a height of c.1.5m, thus above the door lintel. On the down-slope side, the walls have collapsed. It was originally probably c.4m in length, and has a width of 2.5m. There is a single, small, centrally placed doorway visible, facing south, a second may be obscured by the rubble. There are a number of ambries.
Form of site: a single hut.
Date of visit: 8.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H5:19,20; H10:16-17: Plates: 35a.

14. GREAT BERNERA ROAD (centred NB 1975 2938) Shielings
Location: the site lies on a W facing slope above the B8059 to Great Bernera, to the east-north-east of Loch Sgaire. It is at a height of c.50m (164') O.D., and shelters beneath a rocky outcrop, on a dry, roughly level piece of ground, above a wide expanse of peat and water to the west. It is some 350m from the loch. The huts are built against the hillside and, consequently, have sloping floors. They lie in a line above the road, and are recorded from south to north.
Soil unit: 394.
Structures: at least five very ruined stone structures on this ledge. All are similar, so only two are recorded in detail. They show up as green, stony mounds. Their long axes run parallel with the slope.
A. The best preserved of the huts. It is very roughly rectangular in shape, with slightly bowed long walls. The external dimensions are 5.66m and 4.52m, and the walls, c.90cm in thickness, survive to a height of little more than 0.25m. The centre of the hut is almost entirely filled with rubble. There are opposing entrances in th long walls, c.0.5m wide. (Pl.35b).
B. This hut is in a more ruinous state, but its roughly rectangular shape is clear. Its dimensions are virtually identical to those of Hut A. It has opposing doorways in the long walls, and noted for the first time are two rows of stones marking the passage between these two doors.

C. Associated with these huts, and the other three on this ledge, are the remains of potentially associated features. Some of these seem to be structures, possibly animal pens, whilst the others are the remains of lazy-beds, running down the slope, and continuing on the other side of the road.
Form of the site: compact group on a dry shelf of ground, some distance from a river or loch.
Date of visit: 8.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H4:33-35; H10:7-8: Plates: 35b.
Figure: 89.

15. CNOC DUBH, GARYNAHINE (NB 2320 3020) Shieling
Location: on the west coast of Lewis, c.1.75km SSW of the township of Garynahine. The site is located at the base of a rocky outcrop, and appears as a greener patch, on the heather covered hillside. It lies at a height of 40m (131') O.D., on a N facing slope, alongside the modern sheep pens. Access is by a rough track. The nearest source of fresh water is some 400m from the site, on the south side of the small hill. The site is over 0.5km from the Abhainn Dubh.
Soil unit: 394.
Structures: one standing stone hut, and the remains of at least one other in a very ruinous state.
A. A roughly circular stone structure, with corbelled walls, surviving to a height of c.1m. The hut was in a very sad condition at the time it was visited, having been used as a store for lengths of wire fencing, timber and various bits of rubbish. As a consequence of this, much of the walling has collapsed into the interior, obscuring many of the internal features. Externally, the hut has diameters of 4.45m and 3.87, but the original line of the west wall is now difficult to follow. The internal diameters are c.3.50m and 2.90m. The walls are c.90cm thick. The doorway, facing east, the lintel of which still survives, is particularly low, c.70cm high and 60cm wide. There is probably a second entrance, opposite this one and facing west, but this end of the hut is largely obscured by collapsed walling. The blocks of stone incorporated in the structure are particularly massive, for example: stone *x* is 80cm by 60cm; stone *y* is 86cm by 54cm; stone *z* is 100cm by c.50cm. (Pls.36a-b).
B. There are the remains of possibly two other structures at this site, both very ruinous, and largely grass-covered. These lie further upslope. It was impossible to obtain exact measurements for these, as much of the original stonework has tumbled down-slope, creating a large spread of material.
Form of site: small group, in a dry, sheltered position, some distance from water.
Reference: Thomas 1867:161, Pl.XXXI, Fig.8; W.M. Mackenzie 1904:179-182, Figs. 6-8.
Date of visit: 8.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H4:27-32; H10:1-6: Plates:36a-b.
Figure: 90.

16. LOCH TAIRBEART NAN CLEITICHEAN (NB 2645 3613) Shielings
Location: some 3.5km to the east of Breasclete, on the moorland. The hut recorded, similar to many in this area, lies at the north end of the small, shingly Loch Tairbeart nan Cleitichean. It is located on a small prominence, appearing as a bright green mound possibly built up deliberately, or formed from collapsed material. Construction on the mounds means that the hut is located on a dry spot in an otherwise damp landscape. It is not in a sheltered position. It lies at a height of just under 80m (262') O.D., on a very gentle SW facing slope. Note the distance between the huts.
Soil unit: 4.
Structures: a number of stone huts in this area, but only one was recorded in detail. A rectangular stone hut, with squared corners, roughly 3.5m by 2m. The walls survive to a height of just over 1m. It is orientated N-S, thus with its long axis running down the slope. There is a single, east facing, entrance, and a well preserved fireplace at the south end.
Form of site: a large number of huts in this area, surrounding th lochs. They do not cluster, and are fairly evenly spaced.
Reference: a resident of Breasclete. Area to which people went during

the summer until recently. Used caravans rather than the small, stone structures.
Date of visit: 8.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H5:21; H10:18-19.

17. BEINN BRAGAR-BEINN RAHACLEIT (NB 2796 4253) Shielings
Location: in a col between the hills Beinn Bragar and Beinn Rahacleit, lying to the west of the township of Carloway, and south of Shawbost. Access is by a track from Shawbost to the foot of Beinn Bragar, and then by foot. The site lies at a height of 190m (623') O.D., on a NE facing slope. The area is a particularly damp one, with sizeable peat hags. Consequently, this, and other huts in the area, are located on small rises, on slightly drier, more level ground. The hut recorded here, located on a sizeable mound, is in an almost inaccessible position, being virtually surrounded by water. The location is, however, a sheltered one. The hut is within 150m of the nearest stream.
Soil unit: 394/4.
Structures: one rectangular hut of stone. A roughly rectangular building from the outside, with a squarer interior, 3.92m by 3.75m. The exact original shape of this hut has been obscured by tumble from the walls, which are some 80cm thick. There are opposing doorways in the long walls, one still with its lintel in place, c.80cm high. The other has collapsed. Ambries are to be found inside.
Form of site: a single hut, in an upland location, but some distance from a stream.
Date of visit: 9.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H5:26; H10:25: Plates:37a.

18. BEINN FEUSAG (centred NB 274 420) Shielings
Location: around the summit and on the SE facing slopes of Beinn Feusag, to the east of Beinn Rahacleit, and also on the slopes of the hill mass between the two peaks. The huts lie at heights between 145-195m (476'-640') O.D., are located on drier, raised areas, above the damp peaty landscape. They are fairly regularly spaced along the hillside, occurring at intervals of 50-100m. They are not located next to a water supply, the nearest streams being those feeding Loch Galavat and Loch an Sgeireich Mhoir. They are within 500m of these.
Soil unit: 4.
Structures: about 9 huts. Most of the remains are substantial, although there are examples of huts where only a couple of courses of walling survive. Some have walling surviving to roof height. All of the huts are rectangular, but appear oval from a distance, because of the thicker end walls. Inside, there are, generally, ambries, and, in some cases, fireplaces and settings for chimneys. All have small, opposing doorways, which vary in width. Dimensions are similar to those of the hut recorded above.
Form of site: a loose grouping of huts, in an elevated position, but not near a stream.
Date of visit: 9.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H5:28-29.

19. BEINN RAHACLEIT (centred NB 2670 4190, NB 2605 4165, centred NB 2600 4200) Shielings
Location: on the steep SSE facing slope of Beinn Rahacleit. The huts, three in the first group, one in the second, and two in the third, are in similar locations to the above sites. However, the huts of the first and second groups are located alongside small streams. They range in height from 90m to 175m (295'-574') O.D., and are between 10m and 250m from the nearest fresh water supply.
Soil unit: 4.
Structures: six rectangular stone huts. A number of these are virtually complete, and have the appearance of being circular, or oval from a distance. Internally, however, they are all rectangular. They have opposing doorways in the long walls, and varying numbers of ambri s. They are of similar size and form to the huts recorded above.
Form of site: loose groupings of huts, in one case alongside a stream. Also a single hut.
Note: note that the huts of Gearraidh Choinnich could be seen in th distance to the east.
Date of visit: 9.7.87.

Photographs: GQ H5:29,31-33; H10:26-34.

NORTH UIST

20. BALESHARE (NF 7881 6202) Shieling
Location: the site is on the island of Baleshare, now attached to the mainland by a causeway, on the west coast of North Uist. It is located on croft land, good pasture, but this land has a tendency to become damp quickly. To the north-east of the site is Loch Mor. The area is one of flat land, at a height of less than 10m (33') O.D., but the hut-site is located on a low, grassy rise. It is within 50m of the loch. The area was not being grazed at the time the site was visited.
Soil unit: 262.
Structures: a single, rectangular hut of stone, roughly 5m by 2.5m, with three or four courses of walling surviving. There is one entrance, facing towards the coast.
Reference: local, Mrs. Rankin (pers.comm.). The hut was built over 40 years ago for the herdsman who looked after the cattle on Baleshare during the summer months.
Form of site: single hut near the edge of a loch.
Date of visit: 10.7.87.
Photographs: no.

21. SHIELING SITE (NF 8862 6327)
Location: the site is located on the south side of the large loch, Loch Eport, which stretches from the east coast of North Uist almost to the settlement of Clachan-a-Luib on the west, thus virtually dividing the island into two. It lies to the north of Drim Sidinish, and its associated crofts, at a height of 10m (33') O.D. and on a NW facing slope. It is 100m from the coast and 300m from the nearest loch.
Soil unit: 388.
Structures: two stone huts.
Form of site: both of these small, rectangular huts are similar in appearance to that at Baleshare. They appear to have a relationship with the coast rather than the loch.
Reference: 1:50,000 map.
Date of visit: 10.7.87.
Photographs: no.

22. BLASHAVAL (NF 8962 7145) Shieling
Location: the site lies on the lower slopes of the hill Blashaval, on the east side of North Uist, to the north-east of Lochmaddy. It is on an ESE facing slope, at a height of c.40-50m (131'-164') O.D., overlooking a wide bay in Loch Blashaval. The site, consisting of mounds, shows up as two bright green spots on an otherwise heather covered hillside. These are located at the head of a stream, within 50m of it. The location is an exposed one.
Soil unit: 394.
Structures: two fairly large green mounds visible form the road and from Minish.
Form of site: mounds located at the head of a stream.
Reference: bothies identified by Miller (1967a:214). 3 bothies crowning conspicuous knolls, formed by the debris of predecessors. Mentions 2 crofts being founded on improved land.
Date of visit: 11.7.87.
Photographs: no.

23. MINISH (NF 8975 7080) Temporary site
Location: the site lies some 700m to the south of the above, on a small promontory, extending into Loch Blashaval. The land is flat, and at a height below 10m (33') O.D. The nearest supply of fresh water is 250m to the west. There is also a ruined croft and barn/henhouse, and a circular stone setting on this promontory. The land is croft land.
Soil unit: 394.
Structures: two low mounds with the remains of tumbled rectangular structures on top.
A. This hut is in a very collapsed state, and the spread of material makes it very difficult to establish the original form and size of it.
B. This hut, c. 2m by 3m, is divided into two tiny areas, and has no clear entrance. The walls survive to a height of c.56cm-1m.

Form of site: coastal site, obviously the site of more permanent settlement.
Reference: the owner of the land, Mrs Macdonald (pers.comm.), remembered that her husband's grandfather had had the 'shieling huts' built to house his family while he built the croft house at Minish. She believed that the term indicated a structure of a temporary nature.
Date of visit: 11.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H6:9-10; H11:11-12: Plates:37b.

24. BEN AULASARY (NF 7945 7050)
Location: the site is marked by the cairn on the O.S. maps. It lies almost at the foot of Ben Aulasary, to the north-west of the small plantation. This hill is part of the series of hills slightly north of the centre of North Uist, and reaches a height of 217m (712') O.D. The easiest approach to the site is by the road between Ardheisker and Vallay Strand. The site is only 200m from here. It lies on a W facing slope, at a height of c.60-70m (197'-230') O.D., and is roughly 160m from the small river Abhainn a Charra. The area is very wet, which made access to the individual mounds difficult, despite the fact tha they could be easily identified as bright green patches. Mound C is marked as the cairn, and the two other mounds are located slightly down-slope.

Soil unit: 4.
Structures: 3 mounds with stone structures.
A. A roughly circular mound, 18m by 16.34m, and c.1.5m high. This one is located furthest down-slope. On the top of the mound are two hollows containing the remains of stone structures, possibly interconnecting cells. The hollows are approximately 3.2m by 3.4m, and 3m by 3.50m respectively, and up to 50cm deep. To the north are the remains of small turf banks, following the contour of the mound.
B. Slightly further up-slope than A, and again in a very soft, damp area. This mound is surrounded by reeds. It is roughly circular in shape, but to the north becomes slightly flatter and tapers. It is c.1m high, and has dimensions of 8m and 9.76m. Towards the south end is a depression, containing a number of stones. It is 4.40m by 4.58m, and there is a possible entrance visible, c.82cm wide. The mound consists of springier ground, uneven and turfy in the centre.
C. This mound is also located in soft, damp groud, and has reeds and irises growing around it. It has a flatter extension to the west, and there has been considerable slippage down the slope. There is a considerable amount of tumbled stone on the top of the mound, surrounding it, and on the flatter but sloping extension. The mound is 12.56m in extent north-south, but the flat area on top is only 4.58m by 4.96m. To the south there is evidence of walling, surviving to a height of c.80cm, and the curve of the wall can be seen quite clearly. This extends around to a large stone which would appear to mark one side of a small entrance. There is a stone opposite this, perhaps marking the other side. Thus, there is a curving structure, built against the hillside.
Form of site: group of mounds, near a small stream.
Reference: Miller 1967a.
Date of visit: 11.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H6:16-19; H11:13-17.
Figure: 91.

25. AISLED HOUSE, BEN RISARY (NF 7662 7290) Shielings
Location: the site of an aisled house, on the lower N facing slope of Ben Risary to the north of North Uist, which rise to a height of 120m (394') O.D. The site lies virtually opposite Airigh Mhic Ruairidh. It is at a height of 50m, and within 350m of the stream running into Loch nan Clachan. To the west is the Abhainn Drolla river. The area is peaty and damp. The site consists of a the aisled house and a number of small mounds, which are clearly visible as bright green splashes on the hillside. Presumably, there was much disturbance of the structures during excavation.
Soil unit: 392.
Structures: the remains of possible stone structures, of varying size, located in the remains of the aisled house. These would appear to b very small, rectangular huts. The stone is so tumbled that it is difficult to be certain. At this site there are also small knolls, or

mounds, with one or two stones visible.
Form of site: re-use of older settlement site.
Reference: Buaile Risary, partially excavated by E. Beveridge. Beneath several ruined shielings on a green mound was a wall etc. Pottery, Viking type iron rivets, stone and flint implements (Miller 1967a:214; Beveridge 1911:103). Norse hris-erg 'brushwood shieling', or possibly Hrings-erg, 'Hring's shieling'.
Date of visit: 11.7.87.
Photographs: GQ F6:5-8; H11: Plates:38a.

26. SOUTH CLETTRAVAL (NF 7490 7136 AND NF 7515 7101) Shieling
Location: the sites of two chambered cairns, on the hill, South Clettraval, which is located at the south end of the hilly part of west North Uist. There are two peaks, South Clettraval and North Clettraval, rising to a height of c.100m (328') O.D. for the former, and c.70-80m (230'-262') O.D. for the latter. The hills are to the east of the settlements of Tigharry and Hougharry. The sites both lie on the SSW facing slope of South Clettraval, in an area which is fairly steep. The sites stand out as large green, stone covered mounds on a dark, heather covered hillside. They are some 550m from the nearest water supply.
Soil unit: 392.
Structures: two large, and very extensive mounds. It is difficult to detect obvious traces of huts, although the outlines of the prehistoric structures are clear. There is too much tumble to be certain.
Form of site: re-use of older burial site.
Reference: A. Young 1966:45; Mackie 1971:39-71; Sir L. Scott 1948:46ff.; Lane 1983:261-2.
Date of visit: 11.7.87.
Photograph: GQ H6:2; H11:7-10.

27. UNEVAL (NF 8015 4658) Shielings
Location: the site is located at the base of Uneval, a solitary hill, c.2km from Claddach Kirkibost, and c.1km south of the Ben Aulasary and Marrival. It
rises to a height of 140m (459') O.D. The site, consisting of three sizeable mounds, is on the edge of Loch na Buall Iochdraich. The slope is SSE facing, and it lies at a height of 10m. Mound B lies on the very edge of the loch. The area, as a whole, is a very damp one, but the mounds provide dry, solid locations for the huts.
Soil unit: 392.
Structures: three large mounds with the remains of stone huts.
A. A large green mound, with diameters of 20m and 11m, with the remains of at least four quite well-defined huts. The huts are small, constructed of stone, internally rectangular in shape, and at least 2m by 2m in size. Much of the walling has collapsed, but is clear enough in the central structure to indicate two adjoining rooms. Here the wall stands to a height of c.45cm high. (Pl.39a).
B. This mound lies alongside the loch, 30m to the west of A. It is a large, roughly circular mound, with diameters of some 10m and 15.20m, with a lower extension to the north. There are two depressions, one on the summit of the mound, and one on the lower extension. These are 3.8m by 3m, and 2.3 by 1.8m respectively. In the lower hut, the walling has survived to the height of a single course.
C. This mound is furthest from the loch and some 50m from A. It is oval in shape, with diameters of roughly 40m and 15m, and has lower-lying extensions to the east. It also has a number of depressions on its surface, as well as a series of banks. Two of the hollows lie on the main body of the mound, and are 2.2m by 2.0m, and 4.1m by 3.85m. The latter is a particularly complex feature, having associated with it an outer bank. There are two possible entrances, and at the west end the walling survives to a height of 90cm. On the extensions at the east end, there are hollows, 3.7m by 4.0m and 3.1m by 2.6m respectively, ringed by banks of stone and turf. There are few visible stones.
Form of site: a small group of mounds, with the remains of more than one structure on each, on the edge of a loch.
Reference: this group pointed out by local resident, Mr. Hugh Matheson.

Date of visit: 12.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H6:25-27; H11:18-24: Plates:38b,39a.

Figure: 92.

28. CHAMBERED CAIRN, UNEVAL (NF 8004 6685) Shielings
Location: a chambered cairn at a height of c.80m (262') O.D., on the SW slope of Uneval, 350m up-slope from the above site. The nearest source of fresh water is the loch by the above site (some 400m away). The ground is very rough, heather covered, and there are numerous rock outcrops. This is an exposed site.
Soil unit: 392.
Structures: huts built into the remains of the chambered cairn. The huts lie on the east side of the remains, sheltering behind them, and nestling into the hillside. Two rectangular stone structures were identified in the rubble, with at least three courses surviving, on the north-east side of the cairn. These are difficult to distinguish and nothing can be said about their internal features, as much collapsed stone now fills both of the structures. They measure roughly 2m by 3m, but were possibly slightly larger.
Form of site: re-use of older site.
Reference: Sir L. Scott 1948:1-7; A. Young 1966:45; Lane 1983:262.
Date of visit: 12.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H6:28; H11:25.

29. VALLAY STRAND (NF 7610 7490) Settlement site
Location: this site is located on the north coast of north North Uist, on the south-west edge of Vallay Strand. It lies roughly 100m to the north of the A865, and just to the north-west of Airigh Mhic Ruairidh. It lies at a height of c.10m (33') O.D. in an area of rolling terrain, and the land slopes to the NE. This area is grass rather than heather covered, and is good sheep grazing land. Some 100m to the east, is the small Loch Beag nan Ian.
Soil unit: 392.
Structures: there are a large number of house remains in this area. They are fair-sized structures, of solid construction. It was not possible to identify the remains of potential shieling huts.
Form of site: deserted settlement site.
Reference: N.M.A.S. and Miller 1967a:214. (N.M.A.S. recorded that on the north side of this strip, overlooking Vallay Strand, are the remains of at least six of this type of structure, and cairns. Footings for at least 44 buildings, and associated enclosures, and fields. A kiln was found associated with at least seven of the smaller buildings. Also, possibly shielings, clearance cairns or small store-huts/henhouses.
Date of visit: 11.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H6:3-4; H11:3-6: Plates:39b.

BENBECULA

30. SHIELING SITE (NF 8070 5490)
Location: this site is located alongside the A865 to the west of Loch Olavat. It lies at a height below 10m (33') O.D. on flat ground. It is over 100m from the loch, the nearest supply of fresh water.
Soil unit: 391.
Structures: a derelict croft house.
Form of site: permanent settlement site.
Date of visit: 13.7.87.
Photographs: no.

31. SHIELING SITE (NF 7755 5435)
Location: it lies to the south-east of Balivanich, and to the west of Peinylodden, on the west coast of the island. It has a loch and stream on the east side, and another stream and rather marshy area to the west. The land is fairly level here and the site is at height just below 10m (33') O.D. It is 100m from the nearest stream.
Soil unit: 386.
Structures: a ruined croft house, and outbuildings.
Form of site: permanent settlement site.
Date of visit: 13.7.87.
Photographs: no.

32. SHIELING SITE (NF 7760 5240)

Location: this site lies some 2km to the south of the above. It lies to the west of a track, which connects the settlements of Nunton and Griminish, 50m north of river and small loch. The land is flat and marshy. It is at a height of less than 10m (33') O.D.
Soil unit: 388.
Structures: a ruined croft house and outbuildings.
Form of site: permanent settlement site.
Date of visit: 13.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H6:33; H11:29: Plates:40a.

33. SHIELING SITE (NF 7760 5225)
Location: 150m to the south of the above site. This one is 100m from the loch.
Soil unit: 388.
Structures: a ruined croft and outbuildings.
Form of site: permanent settlement site.
Date of visit: 13.7.87.
Photographs: no.

34. SHIELING SITE (NF 7925 5150)
Location: to the south-east of the above sites, south of the settlement strung out along the road east of Griminish. The site is on the west side of Loch Olaval, c.150m from it, and is at a height of less than 10m (33') O.D.
Soil unit: 392.
Structures: a ruined croft and outbuildings.
Form of site: permanent settlement site.
Date of visit: 13.7.87.
Photographs: no.

35. SHIELING SITE (NF 7713 5110)
Location: the site is on the east side of a loch, 250m from the west coast of Benbecula. It lies to the north of the crofts located around Borve Castle. It is at a height of less than 10m (33') O.D., and is 50m from the loch.
Soil unit: 262.
Structures: a ruined croft and outbuildings.
Form of site: permanent settlement site.
Date of visit: 13.7.87.
Photographs: no.

36. SHIELING SITE (NF 7985 4922)
Location: this site is on the south coast of Benbecula, on the B891, north of Creagorry. It is at a height of less than 10m (33') O.D., and is less than 50m from the small loch, to the north of which it lies. It is some 300m from the coast.
Soil unit: 392.
Structures: a ruined croft and outbuildings.
Form of site: permanent settlement site.
Date of visit: 13.7.87.
Photographs: no.

37. SHIELING SITE (NF 8212 4770)
Location: to the south-east of the small settlement of Hacklet, on a small, coastal promontory. It is some 40m from the coast and 50m from the croft house to the south-west. This is a flat area of land, the site is less than 10m (33') in height O.D., and is 350m from the nearest fresh water supply, which is a loch to the north-north-east.
Soil unit: 392.
Structures: this is a much smaller stone structure, which is more like the shielings encountered elsewhere. It is possible, however, that it is related to the croft house.
Form of site: a bothy.
Date of visit: 13.7.87.
Photographs: no.

38. SHIELING SITE (NF 8329 4706)
Location: on the rocky coast to the south-east of the above structure, on the island of Grimsay. The site has a relationship with the coast rather than the lochs to the north, being some 200m from the nearest

one Note the croft house to the east of th site. It is at a height just below 10m (33') O.D., and is on a SW facing slope.
Soil unit: 392.
Structures: a small stone building similar to the above. A shepherd's hut?
Form of site: a bothy.
Date of visit: 13.7.87.
Photographs: no.

39. SHIELING SITE (NF 8365 4669)
Location: also on the rocky south coast of the island of Grimsay, at a height of just under 10m (33') O.D. The land slopes to the SW. The nearest source of fresh water appears to be the small stream running into the loch to the north of the above site, and it is some 300m from this.
Soil unit: 392.
Structures: a small stone structure, similar to above.
Form of site: a bothy.
Date of visit: 13.7.87.
Photographs: no.

40. SHIELING SITE (NF 8426 5490)
Location: on the west coast of the island of Flodda, on the east coast of Benbecula. It lies above the rocky coast, in the Sound of Flodday. The site is at a height of 10m (33') O.D., and the slope is a W facing one. The nearest large supply of fresh water is the stream flowing into the island's loch, some 300m to the north.
Soil unit: 394.
Structures: two small stone structures similar to the above.
Form of site: bothies.
Date of visit: 13.7.87.
Photographs: no.

41. ÁIRIGH NA H-AON OIDHCHE (NF 8170 5250) Shieling site
Location: this is the site of a chambered cairn on the summit of a hill, overlooking Loch nan Clachan to the south-west, and Loch Ba Una to the north-east. The hill is one of three, slightly to the east of the centre of the island. The cairn lies at a height of just over 30m (98') O.D., on a NW facing slope. It has been placed on a green knoll, thus elevating it above the surrounding peaty, heathery ground. Hut A is located in the centre of what is left of the cairn, and B is on the west side, at the edge of the knoll. They are 200m from the nearest fresh water supply.
Soil unit: 392.
Structures: the remains of two stone structures.
A. There is little left upstanding of the structure in the cairn. All that is clear is a section of possible walling at the south end of the cairn, about 1m high. It is possible to postulate a structure of roughly 2.5 by 2m in the rubble.
B. The plan of the structure on the west side of the cairn is much clearer. It is a thin, rectangular structure, 2m by 1m. Six courses of walling survive. To the west of this is a large amount of tumble, but it appears to form another roughly rectangular shape, possibly indicating another structure here. (Pl.41a).
Form of site: reuse of an older burial site.
Reference: Miller 1967a:214.
Date of visit: 14.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H6:34; H11:30-31: Plates:41a.

42. CHAMBERED CAIRN (NF 8125 5264) Shieling site
Location: this is the site of a chambered cairn located at the base of the unnamed hill to the south-west of the highest hill, Rueval. It is some 500m to the west-north-west of Airigh na h-Aon Oidhche. It lies at a height of 25m (82') O.D., on SSE facing slope above Loch nan Clachan. The site is a dry patch in an otherwise peaty, heather covered area. There are three huts located around the cairn, Huts B and C built into it on the north side, and Hut A being located on a grassy knoll to th south. The site is some 100m from the loch.
Soil unit: 392.
Structures: three structures of stone, only one placed on a mound.

A. A fairly large rectangular structure of stone lying on top of a mound. Its large size is due to the fact that it consists of two smaller buildings sharing a central wall. They are not interconnected. The lower structure, 3.0m by 2.05m internally, has opposing doorways at its north end, and walls c.1 m wide surviving to a height of 75 cm in places. The internal features are obscured by a great deal of tumble. The second room is 2.05m by 1.05m internally. (Pl.41b).
B. The chambered cairn has been robbed to form a small, roughly rectangular building 2.75m by 1.75m internally. The walls survive to a height of two courses for the most part, but at one end reach a height of four to five courses, almost 1m high. The entrance is not clear.
C. Another small, rectangular shaped structure with rounded corners. The internal measurements are 3m and 2m. The wall at the south end survives to a height of 80cm. The centre of the structure is reed filled. There is a possible entrance in the east long wall.
Form of site: re-use of a chambered cairn.
Reference: Miller 1967a:214.
Date of visit: 13.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H6:35-36: H11:32-35: Plates:41b.

SOUTH UIST

43. ARINAMBANE (NF 7920 2850) Croft house
Location: the site is on the north side of Loch Eynort, on a SE facing slope of Beinn Bheag Deas, at a height of c.10m (33') O.D. This is a coastal site. It is to the south-east of the sites at North Locheynort. The nearest stream is within 50m.
Soil unit: 548.
Structures: an abandoned croft, and no trace of shielings.
Form of site: a coastal site, and one of permanent settlement.
Reference: Carmichael 1884:458. Carmichael recorded that this site was known as 'the shieling of the women'.
Date of visit: 15.7.87.
Photographs: no.

44. LOCH ÁIRIGH NA'H ACHLAIS (NF 8062 3860, NF 8065 3857) Shieling site
Location: the site is not located above Loch Áirigh na'h Achlais as possibly suggested by Miller's description. It lies to the south of the loch on the Lochskipport road, and is on the south side of a small stream flowing into Loch Hamasclett. The slope is NW facing. The first lies immediately above the stream, on a slight rise. The second hut is on another rise well above the stream, in a sheltered hollow, below a rocky overhang. The vegetation surrounding the two sites is very different, the first being almost obscured by a dense covering of ferns, and the second being a grass and reed covered patch standing out clearly on the heather covered slope. They lie at a height of 10-15m (33'-49') O.D.
Soil unit:- 391.
Structures: two stone structures located atop slight natural rises.
A. The stone structure is fairly well preserved, with clear walls of four to five courses in sections, a height of 95cm. The hut consists of two rooms. One is internally roughly rectangular, 1.96m by 1.65m, with opposing doorways, c. 50-60cm wide, in the east and west long walls, and has a very rounded north end. The wall here is the best preserved section of the hut, but is in imminent danger of an outward collapse. The second room is virtually semi-circular in shape, externally 1.62m and 1.50m, with a possible, but by no means certain, entrance in the east wall. The two rooms are not interconnecting. (Pl.42a).
B. This is a very well preserved hut. It is similar in form to A, consisting of two separate rooms, forming a rectangular structure with rounded corners. The first is a small, almost square room, internally 2.24m by 1.91m, with a single entrance in the south-west corner, 64cm wide. The walls survive to a height of max. 1.20m, 6 to 8 courses of stone-work. Attached to the east wall of this room is a smaller one, 2.40m by 1.80m, with such rounded corners that it appears semi-circular. This is in poorer condition, the walls surviving to a height of only 1 or 2 courses of stone-work. The ground inside is at a higher level than that in the first room. The two are again not interconnected, and the entrance to this room is not clear.
Form of site: two huts of similar form, a short distance from each

other, alongside a stream.
Reference: Miller 1967a:214.
Date of visit: 14.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H7:4-7; H11:36-37: Plates:42a.
Figure: 93.

45. HAARSAL SITE 1 (NF 7784 3685, NF 7785 3678) Shieling site
Location: this site is located alongside a small stream flowing north into Loch Druidibeg. It lies at the base of the small valley between Meall Hukarvat and Haarsal, at a height of 19-26m (62'-85') O.D. The slope is the NNW facing one of Meall Hukarvat. Two of the four mounds are marked as cairns on the O.S. 1:50,000. These are mounds B and C, described below. Of the other two mounds, A is located slightly nearer the river, and to the north of B, and D is located immediately to the west of C, on the bank of the river. The site covers an area of approximately 200m by 100m.
Soil unit: 394.
Structures: the remains of four very ruined stone structures on green, grassy mounds.
A. A green, reedy knoll, in a fairly marshy, heather covered area. This mound is roughly 6m by 8m, at its fullest extent, and is c.0.5m high. The structure is indicated by a tumble of stones on the summit of the mound. There are also a few stones around its base. The very tumbled nature makes it exceedingly difficult to work out the form of the hut. The stone is too scattered.
B. This mound is located on a slope, and much of the material has slipped and fanned out. At its greatest extent, the mound is some 17m by 16m and over 3m high. The flat surface at the top of the mound is, however, only some 4m across. There are the remains of at least two huts on this mound, located at its base on the north and north-east sides, thus, on the slip. That to the north is indicated by a rectangular setting of stones, enclosing an area of 4.50m by 2.0m. The other is indicated by a hollow, 5.19m by 2.60m. Above this is a second hollow, and above the rectangular structure is a raised bank. On the summit of the mound is another much larger depression. The stone on this mound is scattered.
C. This mound is roughly 6.0m in diameter, and some 1.8m in height. There is a scatter of stones over the whole mound, but a concentration on its summit. There is a slight depression, 2.80m by 2.50m, within which most of the stones are located. It is difficult to determine the exact form of the structure, but surface features point to the possibility of a two-roomed hut (Pl.42b)..
D. This mound, at least 5.0m in diameter, and only 0.5m high, has on its summit the best preserved hut of the group. The structure is roughly rectangular, 2.50m by 1.90m, and there are two to three courses of stone-work, reaching a height of c.50m. Many of the stones used in the construction of this tiny hut are very large. There is a small entrance to the west. Stones are also scattered on the edges and the sides of the mound.
Form of site: a fairly compact group of mounds located alongside a small stream.
Date of visit: 14.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H7:8,10; H12:3-6: Plates:42b.
Figure: 94.

46. HAARSAL SITE 2 (NF 7788 3622) Shielings
Location: the site is a that of a chambered cairn, at the head of one of the small tributary streams feeding the river flowing north into Loch Druidibeg. It lies between the hills Meall Hukarvat and Haarsal, at a height of 50m (164') O.D., and on a NNW facing slope. It is som 60m to the east of the nearest tributary, and being located at the headwaters, this is a particularly damp area. However, it also means that the grass is particularly lush here.
Soil unit: 394.
Structures: at least three small structures built into th remains of the chambered cairn. The huts lie on the south and south-east side f the cairn, and are identifiable by the fact that there are clear lin s of walling, on the whole two to three courses high, and a cleared ar a within this walling. One of the structur s on the south side is roughly square, 2.64m by 2.40m, whilst that adjoining it is slightly m re

oblong in shape, 2.40m by 2.0m. That to the south-east is of similar size and shape to the latter. All of the huts incorporate large, angular blocks of stone. Only the structure to the south-east has a clear entrance, which is east facing, in the short wall.
Form of site: re-use of an older burial site, and location at the headwaters of a small river.
Reference: Miller 1967a:214.
Date of visit: 14.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H7:11-12; H12:7-8,10: Plates:43a.

47. NORTH LOCHEYNORT (NF 7777 2968) Shieling
Location: centred on the cairn marked on the O.S. 1:25.000. It lies on the lower WNW facing slope of Beinn Bheag Deas, at a height of 12-13m (39'-43') O.D. To the north-east is the craggy hill called Beinn Beag Tuath. The site is to the south-west of the small stream running between the two hills, into a small loch, and is to the east of the stream which flows out of this loch into Loch Eynort. The site is 150m from the nearest stream. The area is very marshy, and was particularly wet when visited. Mound B would appear to be the cairn, and Mound A is located some 200 metres to the south.
Soil unit: 391.
Structures: the remains of stone huts on the top and sides of two mounds, appearing as green splashes in this very damp heather covered landscape.
A. A fairly extensive mound, with a diameter of over 10m, and a height of some 0.8m. There are the remains of potentially four, very small, rectangular huts. These are indicated by slight hollows and concentrations of tumbled stone. On the top of the mound are the clearest structures, two rectangles, sharing a central short wall and possibly being the two rooms of a single hut. The entrances to these rooms and internal features are not clear, having been obscured by tumbled stone. In sections two courses of walling survive, to a height of c.50cm. The two other possible huts lie at the base of the slope, and are less clear in outline. (Pl.43b).
B. This mound is located on more sloping land, and material has, thus, slipped, giving it the characteristic fanned shape. It has diameters of 15m and 11m, but the relatively flat area on top of the mound is less than 6m across. The mound has a height of 1.5m. On the summit of this second mound, are the remains of a single, small rectangular hut of stone. Its dimensions are 3.45m by 3.0m. The walls are clearer here, standing to a height generally of 70cm, and at the east end three courses are still standing. The walls are some 1.05m thick. Any internal features have been obscured by tumble. There is also a possible structure on the lower slopes of the mound.
Form of site: a site consisting of two mounds, with huts on their summits and sides, located some distance apart.
Date of visit: 15.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H7:14-15; H12:14-16: Plates:43b.
Figure: 95.

48. KILDONAN GLEN (NF 7489 2760) Shieling
Location: the site lies on the west side of South Uist. Kildonan Glen, is the valley to the east of the settlement, Kildonan, and lies between Ben Corary to the north, and Sheaval and Beinn Mhuilinn to th south-east. The valley is a wide, open one, with the central river, having on both sides large expanses of very wet marshy land. Much of this area was being dug for peat at the time the site was visited, and little appeared suitable for grazing. The site is located on the lower NW facing slope of Beinn Mhuillin, at a height of c.20m (66') O.D., thus just above the point where slope and valley base merge. The land here is much drier, and is much more suitable for grazing. The site is some 400m from the nearest source of fresh water.
Soil unit: 394.
Structures: four large green mounds with the remains of very tumbled stone structures. All covered with rough tussocky grass.
A. A roughly circular mound, 9.3m by 8.25m, and some 1.5m high. On the top is a small hollow, with a number of stones lying on the west side of it. It is roughly 1.5m by 1m in size. It is not possible to say anything more about its original form.
B. A much larger mound, c.20m to the north-east of A. It has dimension

of 11.7m and 10.8m, and a height of roughly 2m. On the top of this mound, slightly to the east, is a hollow, 3.8m by 2.0m by 50cm, ringed by stone. There is little left of the structure which stood here. (Pl.48b).
C. This a much smaller and flatter mound, virtually adjoining B. on its south-west flank. It is 5.75m by 5.50m, and has a central depression, c.1m square and some 40cm in depth. There are no stones in this hollow, or fringing it. These are instead scattered over the lower parts of the sides of the mound.
D. The largest of the mounds and with the greatest amount of stone. This is another roughly circular mound, with dimensions of 17.3m and 15.3m. It stands to a height of over 3.0m. On it, however, there appear to be the remains of perhaps four structures. These take the form of slight hollows surrounded by, and containing, stones. There are two such features on the top of the mound, roughly 3.3m by 2.8m and 2.6m by 2.4m respectively, and there are smaller settings on the lower east and west slopes. It was noted that some of the stones on this mound are set in an upright position.
Form of site: compact group of mounds. Site which appeared to be most similar to those in Man.
Date of visit: 16.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H7:19-22; H12:17-22: Plates:48a-b.
Figure: 96.

49. LOCH DRUIDIBEG (NF 7725 3835) Shieling
Location: roughly 400m from the A865, on land which belongs to the Loch Druidibeg Nature Reserve, on the west side of South Uist. The structure lies on a small promontory, on the very edge of the loch. This is a very flat and damp area. It is at a height of less than 10m (33') O.D.
Soil unit: 391.
Structures: a single small rectangular hut of stone, not unlike some of the structures described as shielings in Benbecula, and similar to the structure described as a shepherd's hut on Baleshare, North Uist.
Form of site: single, relatively modern looking structure.
Date of visit: 14.7.87.
Photographs: no.

CATALOGUE OF EARY SITES ON THE ISLE OF MAN

In the text, the sites are referred to by name and site number, e.g. Thie Eary (E1), E representing *eary*. Figure 108 shows the distribution of sites. In the photograph section MG represents M. Goldie (Kniveton and Goldie n.d.). Early forms of the names are taken from Kneen (1925-29) unless otherwise indicated.

RUSHEN

1. THIE EARY - the 'shieling house'. (c. SC 190 673). Quarterland.

1867-69 THIE EARY

A field-name at the small village of Cregneash, in the southern part of the parish. The area consists of a patchwork of small fields. The land is not very high here, between 91-122m (300-400') O.D., but is exposed. It is SSW facing, and slopes gently down towards the Sound. It is used for rough grazing by sheep. The field was potentially within 100m of the nearest river. Cregneash is c. 1km from the coast. To the north of Cregneash are the remains of the prehistoric settlement site on the Mull Hill.
Geology: boulder drift.
Date of visit: 20.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M9:30; RJB 77:6.
Shieling potential: fairly good in this area of rough grazing, but clearly must recognise a different type of site from those in the central valleys.

ARBORY

2. ARESTEYNE/EAIRYSTANE - 'Stein's shieling'. (c. SC 231 725) Treen name.

1511 Man. Roll	ARESTEYN
1643 Man. Roll	ARISTINE
1705 Reg. Deeds	ARISTYNE
1787 Mons. Ins.	HARYSTINE
1822 Reg. Deeds	ARISTYNE
1882 Brown's Direct.	EARYSTEEN

Large working farm incorporating both lower-lying arable land, and higher pasture, most being used for the latter. Also rough hill pasture on slopes by Eairystane Plantation. The farm lies at a height of c.152m (500') O.D., on a long SSW facing slope. It is some 440m from the Colby river, and is c. 3.75km from the coast. Note the number of Balla- farms in this area.
Geology: boulder drift.
Date of visit: 17.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M2:2-5.
Shieling potential: poor where the farm is sited, but good higher up the Colby River, to the west of Eairystane Plantation.

3. ARDARY - 'high shieling'. (centred c.SC 254 714). Treen name.

1511 Man. Roll	ARDARY
1643 Man. Roll	ARDARRY
1703 Man. Roll	ARDARRY
1822 Man. Roll	ARDERY

Again an area of mixed arable and good grazing land, supporting fairly large farms. These include Ballastroke, Ballacarine, Balladuke, Ballavarkish (Lower and Upper), and Ballamaddrell. The treen also includes the village of Ballabeg. The treen is located almost immediately south of the treens of Aryssynnok and Aryeuzryn at a height of between 60.1m and 122m (200 and 400') O.D. The slope is south facing. The area includes the river flowing south into Ballabeg. Ballastroke and Ballacarine are located at the headwaters, the former less than 10m to the west of it, and the latter c.70m from it.
Geology: boulder drift and slate.
Date of visit: 22.4.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: poor in the area generally, but higher in the location of Ballastroke and Ballacarine.

4. ARYSSYNOK/RONAGUE - 'shieling of the foxes'. (c. SC 245 726). Treen name.
1511 Man. Roll ARYSSYNNOK
1643 Man. Roll ARISHONICK
1703 Man. Roll ARONAG
1736 Dio. Reg. ARRONOCK
1822 Man. Roll ARONICK, RONICK
1840 Tithe Plan RHONNAG
Modern Ronague. Some cultivated land, but most being used for the pasturing of cattle. Higher slopes used for sheep grazing. The main settlement lies at a height of c.152m (500') O.D., on a SSE facing slope of the same hill on which the treen of Eairystane lies. The nearest stream is some 500m from Ronague. The area contains a number of Balla- farms.
Geology: boulder drift and slate.
Date of visit: 22.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M3:12,13; MG 71.
Shieling potential: poor, but possible at the heads of the tributaries of the Santan Burn.

MALEW

5. ARYEUZRYN/ARERNA - 'shieling' plus personal name? (c. SC 269 731). Lost treen name. Now Moaney Moar farm.
13th century Limites ARYEUZRYN
1511 Man. Roll ARERNAN
1643 Man. Roll ARERNA
The farm is located in the area north of Grenaby, on the lower SSE facing slope of South Barrule. It lies on the west bank of the Awin ny Rheash river, some 100m from it, at a height of 91m (300') O.D. The area is one of mixed arable and pasture land, the higher land being used for rough grazing. Note chapel site at SC 269 729.
Geology: boulder drift.
Date of visit: 22.4.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: poor.

SANTAN

6. EARY LIAUYR - 'long shieling' ? Located approximately on Ballaquiggin farmland (c. SC 326 716). Quarterland. Large farm with large fields. Mixed arable and stock farming. It lies on a SSW facing slope, at a height of 61m (200') O.D. The farm is c. 1.25km from the coast, and 100m from the nearest river. Note the round house site at SC 325 722 and cairn at SC 322 720.
Geology: boulder drift.
Date of visit: 22.4.87.
Photographs - no.
Shieling potential: poor.

MAROWN

7. EAIRY NY SUIE - 'Shieling of the seat'. (SC 338 823) Quarterland.
1792 Dioc. Reg. AIRY NA SOIE
1867 Wood EARY NY SOOI
1870 ORD. SUR. MAP. EAIRY NY SUIE
This site lies on the lower slopes of Slieau Ruy, at a height of c. 213m (700') O.D. It consists of a very small, exposed tholtan, the surrounding planted trees providing only a little shelter, and lies c. 250m from the Awin Darragh river. It is about 150m from the tributary to the north. The slope is SSE facing, and the farm faced south. The area is now divided into large fields used for sheep grazing. The land is comparable with that at the 'eary sites' in the parish of Arbory. To the north, up along the river, the land changes to moorland, and also behind the tholtan to the west. Note that there is a tholtan further up the valley, Bolrenny, located on the north side of the east flowing tributary.
Geology: boulder drift and slate.
Date of visit: 21.4.87.

Photographs: GQ M2:29, MG 47: Plates:45a.
Shieling potential: poor, in that the site lies some distance from the nearest water supply. The general area has a high shieling potential. Would suggest that the site of Bolrenny has a much higher potential.

8. EAIRY VANE - 'White shieling'. (SC 336 819). Intack land.
1867-69 EAIRY VANE
Also on the lower slopes of Slieau Ruy, at a height of c. 244m (800') O.D. The large deserted farm lies about 0.25 km to the south-west of Eairy ny suie, slightly higher up the SSE facing slope. It is approximately 650m from the Awin Ruy river, and c. 350m from the tributary to the south. The land is again a mixture of good and rough grazing, the latter occurring over 274m (900'), and to the south of the farm.
Geology: boulder drift.
Date of visit: 21.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M2:30,31, MG 48: Plates: 45b.
Shieling potential: poor, in that the farm is located some distance from both the river and its tributaries. This area however, has a high potential.

9. EAIRY - 'The shieling'. (SC 298 777). Intack land.
1643 Man. Roll NEYREY, ARY
Also associated with this name is EAIRY PLOYDWELL, 'Ployd well's shieling', (SC 303 775). Both lie in the eastern part of the parish, between Glen Vine and Foxdale. Eairy Ployd well is immediately to the south of the southernmost tip of Archallagan plantation, and Eairy lies to the west of it. Although the former is now merely a house-name, the latter is associated with the whole settlement fringing the southern end of the reservoir. This settlement consists of a handful of houses, and is some 0.75m from the Santan Burn. The area by the reservoir is now rather marshy and rough, but is sheltered. To the north-east, the land rises, and this WSW facing slope is used as rough grazing. It was gorse and bracken covered at the time of visit. The land at Eairy Ployd well did not appear to be of superior quality, but was being used for cattle grazing. This site is some 0.50km from the Santan Burn. Note the presence of farm names in Balla- and with Garth-. Also, the chapel sites at SC 307 767 and SC 297 770 and the numerous tumuli in and on the fringes of the plantation. Both sites lie at a height of 152m (500') O.D.
Geology: boulder drift.
Date of visit: 16.4.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: good. Eairy is located high up the Santan Burn, in a sheltered hollow. Eairy Ployd well - unlikely.

10. EAIRY KELLAG - 'Kelly or O'Kelly's shieling'. (SC 310 784). Intack land.
1703 Man. Roll ARI KELLAG, ARY'HELLAG
Associated with this site is the name EARY KELLY, a house name at SC 308 787. Both the farm and the house lie on the east side of Archallagan plantation, the former about 0.50km from the plantation edge, and the latter virtually adjoining it. The fields in this area are large and used for both arable and grazing purposes. At the time of the visit, most was being used for the grazing of sheep. Th land consisted of undulating terrain, sloping towards the east. On a SSE facing slope, Eairy Kellag lies at a height of c.122-152m (400 500') O.D., and Eary Kelly at 165m (540') O.D. The former is some 100m from the nearest river, whereas the latter is some 400m. Note, as with the above, the tumuli in and around Archallagan plantation.
Geology: boulder drift.
Date of visit: 16.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M1:11.
Shieling potential: fairly good, being located near the head of a water supply, but nature of land does not make rating high.

11. EAIRY JORA - 'stranger's shieling'. (SC 309 780). Intack land.
1703 Man. Roll ARYJORA
Another working farm about 0.50km to th east of Archallagan plantation. The undulating land around the farm was being used large

for grazing purposes. The site is at a height of c.152m (500') O.D., on an SSE facing slope, and is 350m from the nearest river.
Geology: boulder drift.
Date of visit: 16.4.87.
Photographs: none.
Shieling potential: poor, considering its distance from the nearest water supply, and the nature of the terrain.

12. CURRAGH NA AARY - 'marsh of the shieling' Kneen.
1703 Man. Roll CURRAGH NA AARY

BRADDAN

13. EARY VEG - 'little shieling'. (SC 358 818). Quarterland?.
1867-69 ARY BEG
A fairly large working farm, lying on a SE facing slope at the foot of Creggan Mountain, almost 0.50km from the West Baldwin River. The farm lies on the opposite side of the river from Eairy ny suie and Eary Vane, and the size of the surrounding fields contrasts well with those around the tholtans. The field lay-out on the land beneath the farm is fairly regular, the fields all being of similar size. The fields behind and above the farm are larger and were being used for arable purposes when the farm was visited. Above the 183m (600') O.D. contour, the fields become smaller and were being used for the grazing of both cattle and sheep. The farm lies at a height of 134m (440') O.D., and is only some 10m from the nearest stream. Note the farms in Balla- in this area, and the tumulus at SC 345 824.
Geology: boulder drift.
Date of visit: 22.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M2:32-34.
Shieling potential: very good. The farm lies alongside a small tributary, and is located quite high up the Baldwin river valley.

14. EARY WEEN - 'smooth, or fertile, hill pasture'. (SC 374 836). Quarterland?.
1643 Man. Roll NARY WEEN
1739 Paroch. Visit AIRY WIND
The farm lies immediately below the road running along the west side of the East Baldwin river, on the lower slopes of Carraghan Mountain, at a height of 183m (600') O.D. The land slopes steeply to the south-east, and the farm lies approximately 225m from the river. The land was completely given over to rough grazing. Note that this is not the highest farm in the valley, Dhoon and Creg-y-cowin being located virtually at the headwaters, and at the 213m (700') O.D. contour. On the opposite side of the road from Eary Ween is the tholtan Booiley-vane. To the south, down the valley, are farms with names in Balla-.
Geology: slate.
Date of visit: 22.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M2:35.
Shieling potential: very good in that the farm is located high up a large river valley. However, the valley is steep at this point.

ONCHAN

15. ADDERRY - 'high shieling' ? (SC 372 826/7). Abbey land.
1643 Man. Roll ARDARRY
This farm lies on the lower slopes of Slieau Ree, on a tributary of the East Baldwin river. It is at a height of c.152m (500') O.D., and is on a NW facing slope. The farm is within 30m of the tributary stream. The area is one of largely rough grazing. There are few farms on this side of the river, probably because of the nature of the slope. c.1km upstream from the site is Eary Ween (13).
Geology: boulder drift.
Date of visit: 22.4.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: very good. General location, and proximity to a water supply.

16. TREMSARE - personal name and 'shieling' ? (centred SC 395 781).

Treen land.
1511 Man. Roll TREMSARE
1703 Man. Roll TREMESSARY
The land of Ballacurry, Bemehague and Ballavinch, now occupied by the town of Onchan, and in particular Onchan Park. The area has a height of roughly 61m (200') O.D., the slope is a SE facing one.
Geology: boulder drift and slate.
Date of visit: 22.4.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: poor.

17. EARY LOUR - 'long shieling' ? (SC 390 780). Tiemsare treen. Quarterland. This is the land of Ballavinch farm, now occupied by Government House in Onchan. The area is at a height of 91m (300') O.D., and the slope is SE facing.
Geology: boulder drift.
Date of visit: 22.4.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: poor.

LONAN

18. GREDARY RIVOLETT - located approximately (SC 416 805). The parish boundary - Begoade. The latter is quarterland, but on either side the land is intack. The area is at a height of c.122m (400') O.D., and the river flows in a SSE direction.
Geology: boulder slate.
Date of visit: not visited
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: poor.

MAUGHOLD

19. CRONK EAIRY - 'hill of the shieling'. (SC 437 891). Intack. Located approximately in the Cornaa valley, at a height of c.229m (750') O.D. Kermode (1901:159) recorded that Cronk Airadh (Sheeling's Hill) was located opposite Keeill Woirrey, near the Hut Dwellings. This site is some 250m from the river.
Geology: boulder drift and slate.
Date of visit: not visited.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: good.

PATRICK

20. EARY CUSHLIN - 'Cosnahan's shieling'. (SC 224 757) Quarterland?
1867-69 BALLACOSNAHAN
The site, with a house, lies at a height of c.229m (750') O.D., on the exposed west facing slope of Cronk-ny-arrey-laa. Here the slope is fairly gentle, compared with that to the south of the site. The dwelling is located near the head of one of the tributaries of the Glion Mooar river, c.25m from it. In the immediate area, there is evidence of only a couple of fields, the rest of the area being open moorland, heather and bracken covered, and used as rough grazing. Not the sheepfold at SC 224 760. The old packhorse track ran south along the cliffs here, and the chapel site, Lag-ny-killey, is at SC 216 745.
Geology: boulder drift and slate.
Date of visit: 15.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M1:10; Lag-ny-killey GQ M7:6,7. Plates:46a.
Shieling potential: fairly good, in that the site is located at tl headwaters of a river in an area of grazing land. However, the exposed coastal situation reduces its potential.

21. NEARY - 'the shieling'. (c.SC 250 798?) Intack.
1703 Man. Roll NEARY
The site is located up the Mullagh Bane road, near Rheabymoar and Garey, on a NW facing slope, at a height of c.213m (700') O.D. Located near the headwaters of a fairly large river, c.75m from it. It is on this river that Rheabymore is located. This is an area of grazing land of mixed quality.

Geology: boulder drift and slate.
Date of visit: 15.5.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: good, considering location near the headwaters.

22. EARY PHOYLLWOOAR AND THIE EARY - 'shieling of the big pool' ? and the 'shieling house'. (c. SC 218 771). Quarterland.
1867-69 EARY PHOYLLWOOAR and THIE EARY
Located on Cregganmooar, on the south side of the Lagg River, and to the west of Kerroodhoo Plantation. The site is just over 1km from the village of Dalby, and lies at a height of 61m (200') O.D. It is thus, a coastal site (Cregganmooar c.0.50km from it), on a west facing slope. The river rises steeply to the east in a small wooded valley, and the site is some 50m from it. Access to it would be difficult. Land used for grazing purposes.
Geology: boulder drift and slate.
Date of visit: 16.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M1:12,13.
Shieling potential: poor. Height and coastal location reduce the likelihood of a shieling site here. More likely in the headwaters of the river.

23. EARY BRAID - 'shieling of the gorge' ? Unlocated.

24. SLIDARY - 'pit, or hollow, of the shieling' ? Unlocated.

25. SLOUGH EARYS - 'shieling of the slough or pit' (final 's' of earys is the English plural). See above translation of SLIDARY. Unlocated.

GERMAN

26. ARYRODY - 'shieling of ..' personal/surname? Treen comprising EAIRY MOAR and EAIRY BEG. See below.
1515 Man. Roll ARYRODY
1703 Man. Roll AIRYRHODY
Marstrander (1934:320) suggested that the name was Ui Rodaidhe. The treen is located on a NNW facing slope of Beary Mountain, from the Rhenass River to a height of c. 213m (700') O.D.
Shieling potential: good in this area.

27. EAIRY MOAR - 'big shieling'. (SC 303 842). Quarterland.
1867-69 EAIRY MOAR
Kneen (1925-29:394) noted that this was anciently BELLATRUAN. The farm is located on a lower WNW facing slope of the Beary Mountain, at a height of 183m (600'). It is about 0.35km to the east of the Eairy Beg plantation. The land slopes quite steeply to the Glen Helen river, and the farm is located astride one of the tributaries. The land is suitable only for grazing, and cattle were being pastured at the time of the visit. Above the 213m (700') O.D. contour, the land becomes very rough grazing.
Geology: boulder drift and slate.
Date of visit: 19.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M3:5: Plates:46b.
Shieling potential: very good. Height, location on tributary, and good grazing.

28. EAIRY BEG - 'little shieling'. (SC 297 804). Quarterland.
1703 Man. Roll NARRY VIG
1806 Dioc. Reg. NEARY VEGG
This site now lies within the Eairy Beg Plantation, at a height of 152m (500'), O.D., c. 0.60km from Eairy Moar. There are the remains of a farmhouse located in a clearing on a NW facing slope. Stone and turf field boundaries were discovered associated with the buildings. The tholtan is c.200m from the nearest tributary.
Geology: boulder drift and slate.
Date of visit: 19.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M6:1-2.
Shieling potential: fairly good, although the distance of the farm buildings from the nearest water source points to the vicinity having potential rather than the farm location itself.

29. EARY GLASS - 'green shieling'. (SC 313 847). Quarterland.
1643 Man. Roll NARY GLASS
A large ruined farmhouse and outbuildings lying to the south of the Rhenass river, at the E end of Glen Helen. The site is at a height of 183m (600') O.D., and on a NW facing slope, c. 175m from the river. A distance of only 0.25km separates this ruined farm from that of Airy Sayle. It, like Eairy Moar and Eairy Beg, is located near the edge of the farmland limits in this area. Th land is used for grazing purposes. Note the chapel site at SC 305 845.
Geology: boulder drift.
Date of visit: 21.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M3:4,5,9, MG 53: Plates:46b.
Shieling potential: poor potential for the site itself, as access to the river valley is difficult.

30. AIRY SAYLE/BALLASAYLE - 'shieling of the Sayles'. (SC 314 849). Quarterland. Part of the land of Eary Glass on Wood's Atlas, and not recorded separately.
1643 Man. Roll PHILIP SAILE
1703 Man. Roll JO SAILE
1882 Brown's Direct. BALLASAYLE
E. Megaw (1978:343) AIRY SAYLE
The ruined farm of Ballasayle lies at the NE end of Glen Helen, at a height of 183m (600') O.D. It is on a NW facing slope, c.200m from the Rhenass river. The land slopes gently, and is used as pasture. The farm, with its ruined horse mill, lies on the edge of the farmland limits in this area. Just below 213m (700') O.D., the land becomes very rough open moorland.
Geology: boulder drift.
Date of visit: 21.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M3:1-3,9, MG 53.
Shieling potential: poor for the same reason as above. It would have been necessary to water the animals at the point where the tributary flowing past Ballahimmin joins the Rhenass River.

31. ARYHIMMIN/BALLASHIMMIN - 'Shimmin's shieling'. (SC 319 852). Quarterland.
1515 Man. Roll JENKEN SYMYN
1703 Man. Roll JO. SHIMMIN
1703 Man. Roll ARYHIMYN
1870 Ord. Sur. Map BALLASHIMMIN
1882 Brown's Direct. EARY HIMMON
The changes in this name should be noted.
This working farm lies in a very similar situation to the above sites. It is c.175m from the tributary flowing NNW to join the Rhenass River. At a height of 213m (700') O.D., the farm is located on a lower SW facing slope of Colden mountain. Fields stretch up to the 274m (900') O.D., but from 244m (800') O.D., it is largely very rough grazing. Note that mediaeval pottery was found beneath the floor of the keeill here (SC 314 854). The keeill is located on a tumulus.
Geology: boulder drift and slate.
Date of visit: 21.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M3:10: Plates:47a.
Shieling potential: very good.

32. DREEMBEARY - dreem, 'ridge'; beary, ?. (SC 318 835). Intack.
1643 Man. Roll BERY
Kneen (1925-9:382) translates this as 'farm of the shieling'. This would appear to be a very doubtful translation of the name, but the site is included nonetheless as a possibility. This ruined farmhouse is located on a NE facing slope of the Beary Mountain, at a height of 244m (800') O.D. It is some 250m from the Blaber River. The situation is remote, and the land is now used only as rough grazing - dense heather and bracken covering. Traces of small fields around the buildings are, however, still clear.
Geology: boulder drift.
Date of visit: 20.4.87; 5.8.87.
Photographs: GQ M3:6-9: Plates:47b.
Shieling potential: poor at this site, because of its location so high

up the hillside.

33. EARY LHEAN - 'broad shieling'. (c. SC 309 817). Quarterland.
1643 Man. Roll AIRY LAINE
1867 Wood EARYLHANE
This farm lay above Greeba, on the WNW facing slope of Greeba mountain, at a height of c.183m (600') O.D. On Kneen's map (1925-9), it is the land below that belonging to the farm of Cooilslieau. The site is some 150m from the nearest river.
Geology: boulder drift.
Date of visit: 20.12.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: good given height and general location.

34. EARY GARROW - 'shieling of the ?' Unlocated, but possibly near Cronk Bane, Cronk-y-voddy (SC 304 882). Quarterland? Located at the headwaters of the river flowing down into Glen Mooar, at a height of c.177m (580') O.D. The slope is NNW facing. The distance to the nearest water supply is 250m. Note proximity to sites bearing names including Mx. moaney, 'turbary'.
Geology: boulder drift and slate.
Date of visit: 22.12.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: good given its location near the headwaters of a river.

35. EARY NY CHEAYN - 'shieling of the ..?' Unlocated.

MICHAEL

36. ARYHORKELL/EARY KELLY - 'Thorkell's shieling'. (SC 367 887). Lost treen. Large block of intack on Wood's Atlas.
1511 Man. Roll ARYHORKELL
Later known as Eary Kelly (Megaw). The large farm on this land is now known as Druidale farm, and lies on the W side of the Sulby reservoir, at a height of 213m (700') O.D. The slope is an E facing one. All the land around the farm was being used for grazing purposes. There was no sign of cultivation. This has not always been the case, however, as is clear from the evidence of ridge and furrow at the now derelict farm at SC 354 882. The distance to the nearest river is some 75m. Note the 18th century corn-drying kiln at SC 367 890, and fact that there was a chapel (SC 371 888), excavated by Morris (1983).
Geology: boulder drift and slate.
Date of visit: 18.4.87.
Photographs: W.G. Quine: Plates:48a.
Shieling potential: very good.

37. EARY/EARY NY KIONE - 'shieling'/'shieling of the head or ends'. (SC 325 864). Quarterland?
1867-69 EARY, EARY NY KIONE?
A working farm, 0.45km NE of Little London. It lies on the N side of one of the valleys of Sartfell, in a hollow on a west facing slope, at a height of 213m (700') O.D. It is situated between this tributary and the Rhenass river, at a distance of less than 75m from the nearest. There is little level land at this site, most of it sloping quite steeply down to the river. Fields extend beyond the 274m (900') contour, but most of the land is rather scrubby grazing.
Geology: boulder drift.
Date of visit: 18.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M3:11; M15:32: Plate:48b.
Shieling potential: very good. Location between the two rivers ideal.

38. EARY NE GOWIN - 'shieling of the Gawnes (smiths)'. (SC 325 863) Quarterland?
1515 Man. Roll HENRY MCGAWNE
1703 Man. Roll AREGAU
Compare the forms of this name with those for Aryhimmin.
This land lay on the south side of the Rhenass river, opposite the above site, and was bounded on the south by the Glionn Gill. It at a height of 213-244m (700-800') O.D., on a lower WSW facing slop f

Slieaumaggle. Much of the land is now rough, and is used exclusively for sheep grazing. The river is some 75m from the above grid reference.
Geology: boulder drift.
Date of visit: 18.4.87.
Photographs: none.
Shieling potential - very good. Location in the fork of the rivers ideal, and access to water easy.

39. ARY DOOIL - ? unlocated.

40. ARY JOAN - ? unlocated.

41. ARY LHINNEY - ? unlocated.

BALLAUGH

42. ARIJ COTTIMAN - 'Cottiman's shieling'. Unlocated. Intack?
1703 Man. Roll ARIJ COTTIMAN
Possibly near the Forester's Lodge. c.152m (500') O.D.
Shieling potential: potential of this general area is high.

43. AIREY WEEN - ? unlocated.

44. ARY DOOIL - ? unlocated.

JURBY

45. NARY DRESSAGH - ? unlocated.

LEZAYRE

46. NARRADALE - possibly 'shieling dale'. (SC 339 935 & SC 401 937). Abbey land?
1703 Man. Roll NERINDALE, ARRIDALL
1714 Mons. Ins. ARIDALE
1742 Dioc. Reg. AIRYDALE
1755 Dioc. Reg. AIRY-DALE
1760 Dioc. Reg. NARDALE
There are two large working farms bearing this name, lying between two tributary rivers. The first lies above the road (SC 339 935), and the second on the road (SC 401 937). Both are on NNW facing slopes beneath the mountain Slieau Managh, and lie above the village of Sulby. Sheep and cattle are of prime importance in both areas, none of the land being used for arable purposes. Around both farms the fields are small, but become even smaller further up the tributaries. The farms lie at c. 152m (500') O.D. They are 75m and 125m from the nearest river respectively. Note that these are the highest working farms in the valleys. There is the ruined tholtan Cronkgarroo at a height of 221m (725') O.D. This land would once have belonged to the monastery at Myroscough - see Grange at SC 394 942.
Geology: boulder drift.
Date of visit: 23.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M3:27,28.
Shieling potential: low in the area in which the farms are located. Possible at the top of the valleys, towards Ballaneary.

47. HATH ARYGEGORMANE/EARY GORMAN- 'the ford of Gorman's shieling'. Located approximately. This name appears in the thirteenth century document, the Abbeyland Boundary. It is recorded (Broderick 1979:f.54r.) that the boundary of Kirk Christ and the monks land at Myroscough descended from the 'place which is called Duppolla', by 'the stream and Hath Arygegormane', and 'thus descends by the same stream to the river at Sulaby and thus descends by the river at Sulaby to the thicket at Myroscough...'. Kneen (1925-9:529) noted that in a chart of Magnus, son of Olave, drawn up at Ramsey in 1257 on the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, the parson Gormand was one of the witnesses. He concluded that this man was probably the vicar of Kirk Christ Lezayre at this time, and that he, or his family, held a shieling. He further postulated that this site was somewhere on the Block Eary stream. Could it have been the site excavated by Gelling?

However, it has also been suggested that the name refers to a site somewhere near Ballanaah (entry 48 below), where a ford is known. A study of the names mentioned in the boundary document favours the former conclusion - note the name Duppolla, for example, possibly referring to a black pool. It is particularly significant if this does indicate personal possession, especially when considering the size of the Block Eary site.
Geology: boulder drift and slate.
Shieling potential: the potential of either of the areas mentioned above is very good.

48. BALLANEARY/BALLANAAH - The former is 'shieling farm', the latter 'ford farm'. (SC 396 923). Intack. The fact that there was a ford here is of interest in connection with the above. Could this be the ford that was being referred to in the document? This is the site of a sprawling ruinous tholtan. It is located on the lower slopes of the mountain Slieau Managh, at a height of 244m (800'). The slope is SW facing, and grazed by sheep. Most of the grazing is fairly rough and above 244m (800') becomes open moorland. The site is roughly 125m from the river running west past the Ballakerka Plantation down to the Sulby River.
Geology: slate.
Date of visit: 23.4.87.
Photographs: GQ M3:29; MG 27
Shieling potential: very good.

49. BLOCK EARY - 'black shieling'. (SC 396 896). Intack.
1703 Man. Roll BLOCKAYRY
1741 Dioc. Reg. BLOCKIREY
1794 C.R.P. BLOCK EIREY
Marstrander (1934) suggested that Block may be related to Irish blocc, and the translation, thus, be 'the (flag-) stone of the shieling'. The name is attached to the ruined farm, rather than to the site excavated by Gelling. It is about 0.50km downstream from the latter, and is at a height of 259m (850) O.D. The slope is a SW facing one, and is fairly steep. The farm is about 125m from the river, and the land around it is suitable only for rough grazing. A remote site, hidden in this valley. There are no other farms in the valley.
Geology: boulder drift and slate
Date of visit: 22.12.87.
Photographs: GQ M7:4.
Shieling potential: very good.

50. EARY KELLUE - 'Kellue's shieling' ? (SC 372 926). Quarterland?
1643 Man. Roll ARIKILLEW
1703 Man. Roll ARY KILLOE
1760 Dioc. Reg. AIRY KELLEW
Ruined farm lying at a height of 177m (580') O.D., on an E facing slope, above Ballacuberagh Plantation. It is about 125m from the nearest river. This river is a northerly flowing tributary at this stage, which joins the Sulby River at the base of Mount Karrin. There is a second tributary stream to the south of the site. A track leads from the farm to this stream, and then onto open moorland. The land is good grazing.
Geology: boulder drift and slate.
Date of visit: 21.12.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: very good in vicinity. Only a small tributary.

51. EARY BEDN - 'white shieling'. (SC 370 929). Quarterland?
1867-69 EARY BEDN
Slightly to the north and higher up the slope than Eary Kellue. The ruined farm is on an E facing slope, at a height of 207m (680') O.D., and is some 125m from the stream nearest to it.
Geology: boulder drift and slate.
Date of visit: 21.12.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: very good in vicinity. Only a small tributary.

52. NEARY - 'the shieling'. Neary more and Neary beg. (SC 421 920).

Quarterland.
1756 Mons. Ins. NARY
The farm lies on a steep E facing slope above the Glen Auldyn river valley, at the head of a small tributary. It is at a height of 244m (800') O.D. George Quayle (1973:80) wrote that this farm grew such good quality barley for pearling that it was always in local demand. With the importation of cheap grain, especially maize, the revenue from this source collapsed. Note that this is the only surviving tholtan marked on the map in this upper part of the valley. The farm is some 25m from the tributary.
Geology: boulder drift and slate.
Date of visit: 2.1.88.
Photographs: MG 28.
Shieling potential: very good. At head of a small tributary.

ANDREAS

53. EARY LHONE - 'broad shieling', or incorporating personal name Lewin? Located approximately, near Ballacamain (SC 436 992). Quarterland.
1867-69 EARY LHONE
Area to the east of the disused airfield, at a height of approximately 30m (100') O.D. A mixture of arable and grazing land. The nearest stream is within 500m.
Geology: boulder drift and slate
Date of visit: 4.1.88.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: very poor.

54. THE AREY, OR FERN GROUND - 'the shieling'. Unlocated. Note that Cregeen (Manks Dic.:20) translated Area or Arey s.m. as a mill-race.

CATALOGUE OF SITES IN SKYE AND THE OUTER HEBRIDES WITH NAMES CONTAINING NORSE AND GAELIC ELEMENTS TRANSLATED AS 'SHIELING' -

In the text, the sites are referred to by name and site number, e.g. Elishader (N1), N representing *names*. This was chosen as a general term because of the variety of elements translated as 'shieling' in the Isles. In the case of -shader, it should be noted that the element can be translated either as farm (from Old Norse setr), or as shieling (from Old Norse sæter). Figures 109, 110 and 111 show the distribution of sites. Reference should be made to Appendix 6 for soil unit information.

SKYE

1. ELISHADER - O.N., 'cave shieling' (Forbes 1923:185), (NG 500 655). The site lies c.250m from the northern edge of Loch Mealt on the east side of Trotternish. It consists of some ten, rather dispersed, crofts, and a number of ruinous buildings. Here there is a mixture of old and new. The area is rather damp and marshy, with rocky outcrops, and is quite exposed. The land is used for sheep grazing. The settlement lies at a height of c.70-80m (229-262') O.D., and is on a SE facing slope. The coast here is rocky and steep. Note the proximity of Marishader and Herishader, and the number of duns in the area.
Soil unit: 483.
Date of visit: 2.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H8:17: Plates:49b.
Shieling potential: possible, located at the edge of the loch.

2. MARISHADER - O.N., 'mare's shieling' (Forbes 1923:263), (NG 490 639). Settlement lying to the SSW of Elishader, and c.4km south of Staffin. The site is fairly centrally placed between Maligar and Garros, on the east side of the Kilmartin River. This is a settlement similar in size to Elishader, in this case with the crofts strung out along the one road, situated on an NNW facing slope, on the lower slopes of the central mountainous belt of the Trotternish peninsula. It lies some 250m above the Kilmartin River, at a height of c.75 90m (246-295') O.D.
Soil unit: 483.
Date of visit: 2.7.89.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: possible, located between two tributaries of the kilmartin River, in an inland location. Up-river from settlement on the south-east side of Staffin Bay.

3. HERISHADER - O.N., 'lord's shieling' (Forbes 1923:214), (NG 510 629). This site also lies on the east coast, west of the Staffin to Portree road, below Dun Connavern. On the 1:25,000 map the place-name did not appear to be associated with the crofts slightly north of Culnaknock, but with a stream running in an easterly direction from Dun Connavern. It was assumed that the name was given to either the general area, or to the hill here. The general area, good grazing land, consisted of rolling terrain, but it was steeper, with rocky outcrops, to the west. Herishader is on an E facing slope, and at a height of c.100m (328') O.D. (Possibly within 100m of stream).
Soil unit: 483.
Date of visit: 2.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H8:18-19: Plates:50a.
Shieling potential: good, alongside small stream, in an upland location.

4. ARMISHADER - O.N., 'eagle's shieling', (Forbes 1923:51), or O.N. personal name Arni (Fraser, pers.comm.), (NG 503 503). A bl ak and desolate area in east Trotternish, to the south-east of Stori Loch . The only way of reaching this site was on foot. At least three rivers run down into the loch, making it a damp, as well as bleak location. There was no permanent settlement here now, but there were at l ast five relatively modern r ctangular stone structures, below a ro ky outcrop, at a height of 151-159m (495-522') O.D. The presence os a

single non-coniferous tree should be noted. Only one of the structures lay on the banks of a stream, but the others were within c.125m of it. The steep slope was NW facing. The area was used for rough grazing purposes, and also for peat collection.
Soil unit: 4.
Date of visit: 2.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: very good in this area of exposed moorland. Location between tributary streams, and height increase the possibility. The use of this site for settlement in more recent times points to its potential use previously as a summer site.

5. DUN GERASHADER - O.N., 'dun of the small shieling' (Forbes 1923:165), (NG 489 452). This is the site of a dun, again on the east side of Trotternish, c. 1.5km north of Portree, and west of the settlement, Scorybreck. The dun is clear at the top of a small rocky outcrop (Royal Comm. 1928:182-83, Fig. 257-60), which is not part of enclosed croft land, and has streams on three sides (within 100m). It appears that this place-name is not associated only with the dun. The area, consisting of rough grazing, was being used for the pasturing of sheep. The land immediately surrounding the dun was rather marshy and reed covered. The dun has a spot height of 116m (380') O.D., and the land surrounding it is c.96m (315') O.D. The slope is W facing. Note that within the fort are the foundations for a number of small stone-walled structures, and for a semi-circular enclosure. The origin and purpose of all these is uncertain.
Soil unit: 158.
Date of visit: 2.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H8:22: Plates:50b.
Shieling potential: potentially a very good location. The rocky outcrop on which the dun stands, and this structure itself, would have provided a good, elevated position for a shieling site. The proximity to a plentiful water supply, good grazing, and a location on the River Chracaig, which flows south into the bay at Portree, also make it favourable.

6. SHULLISHADER - O.N., 'pillar shieling' (Forbes 1923:418), (NG 478 434). Built-up area to the south-west of the town of Portree, on the east coast of Trotternish. It is located c.250m to the south of the large river flowing into the bay. The location of this site is coastal. It lies at a height of c.8-16m (26-52'), on a NE facing slope.
Soil unit: built-up area.
Date of visit: 2.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: poor.

7. SULISHADERBEG - O.N., 'small pillar shieling', (NG 473 435). There was a problem in locating this site, as Sulishaderbeg is sited on the 1:25,000 map at 471 442. On the ground, it is in the position marked as Sulishadermore. The site is now occupied by a housing estate, on the outskirts of Portree. It lies at a height of c.48m (157') O.D., on a NW facing slope. The nearest river is within 175m.
Soil unit: built-up area.
Date of visit: 2.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: poor, but it should be noted that the site is located on the edge of the town (this is also the case if one takes its map location).

8. SULISHADERMORE - O.N., 'large pillar shieling', (NG 473 435). Th exact site of this place-name, was not located on the ground.
Soil unit: built-up area.
Date of visit: 2.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: poor.

9. BEN CULESHADER - 'hill of the remote shieling'? (Forbes 1923:171), or Gaelic cúl 'black' plus O.N. setr/sáetr (Fraser, pers.comm.), (NG 465 416). This site lies above Glen Varragill Forest on the A850, c.2.5km south of Portree, on open moorland. Note that the name is n t

that of a peak, but perhaps a ridge. It is within 75m of the Dubh Allt, a tributary flowing into the Varragill River. There is no indication of any shielings in the area. This could be due to the its steep nature, with the name being located at c.300m (984') O.D. Below this height, the land falls very steeply down to the Varragill River. The slope is a SE facing one.
Soil unit: 160.
Date of visit: 2.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: possible, although access to this site would have been difficult. This would have been a site occupied for some length of time, thus, a mountain rather than spring/autumn shieling.

10. ANNISHADER - O.N., personal name, Arni ?, plus setr/sæti (Fraser pers.comm.), (NG 432 511). The settlement lies on the west side of Trotternish, on a minor road, south of Rhenetra, between two tributaries of the River Haultin. There are a few (about 5) crofts strung along the road, two of which are located on the very banks of the rivers. The others lie within 100-150m. The slope is a NW facing one, and the settlement lies at a height of 30-50m (98-164') O.D. The area is devoted to sheep grazing.
Soil unit: 155.
Date of visit: 2.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential - good. Location between the tributaries of the Glen Haultin river. Height makes it less favourable. Spring shieling for a settlement located in the area of Rhenetra?

11. UIGSHADER - O.N., 'shieling of the bay', (NG 430 464). This settlement lies to the south of Skeabost and Carbost, on the west side of Trotternish. It is located on the minor road from Carbost to Glengrasco, and is on the edge of the valley of the River Snizort. It consists of some five crofts, and its land abutts, to the west, that of the settlement of Peiness. It is situated between the River Snizort and the Lon an Eireannaich, and is some 500m from the former. The slope is a N facing one, and the settlement lies at a height of 48-72m (157-236') O.D.
Soil unit: 30/31.
Date of visit: 2.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: good. Note that this is the furthest extent of croft land in this area, extending from the bay up the River Snizort.

12. SHEADER - O.N., 'the shieling', (NG 406 634). This settlement lies in Glen Uig, on the west side of Trotternish. The slope is a N facing one of Ben Brogaskil. The crofts are strung out along the road. The land, parts of which are rocky, is given over to sheep grazing. The settlement lies between two tributaries of the River Conon, and within 50-100m of them. It is at a height of c.100m (328') O.D. Note that there is a settlement further up this valley, Balnaknock. This is located in the area just below the headwaters of the River Conon. In Glen Conon, on the opposite side of the valley, settlement also extends further in than Sheader.
Soil unit: 149.
Date of visit: 2.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H8:24.
Shieling potential: good, given its location between the tributaries, but this would have been no distant shieling.

LEWIS

13. LINSHADER - O.N., 'flax farm' (Oftedal 1954:383), (NB 210 320). Also Rubha Linshader. This straggling settlement is located on the west coast of mainland Lewis, to the north of the Uig road, and south of Callanish. Crofts stretch along the coastal road, and continue inland, along a short promontory. The land, sloping NE towards the i land, Eilean Trosdam, is divided into strips, forming a grassy infield with more rugged land behind. The settlement lies at a height of 10m (33'). The area is exposed despite being behind the Callanish peninsula to th north, and Eilean Kearstay. The site is within 500m of the nearest

river. It is clear that its location is related more to the coast than to this river. Note also in this area: Grimersta (NB 216 303), Beinn Scarista (NB 194 317), Eilean Scarista (NB 195 326) and Lundale (NB 188 326).
Soil unit: 394.
Date of visit: 4.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: location on the coast would argue against a high potential. Nothing was discovered in the immediate area to suggest that the area had recently been used as a shieling site. The lack of black-house remains may point to a shorter history of permanent settlement at this site than at others.

14. SHADER - O.N., 'the shieling', (NB 390 547). Shader, Lower Shader and Upper Shader. Also, Shader River and Glen Shader. A township located to the north of Barvas, and south of Five Penny Borve, on the west coast of Lewis. A sizeable settlement, with a large number of small holdings located along five roads. Here there is a mixture of old and new buildings, with a large number of ruinous black-houses pointing to the use of the area for permane t settlement for some considerable time. The land is fairly low-lying, with the hills and glens behind to the east. The settlement is on a WNW facing slope, at a height of c.20-30m (66-98') O.D., and is within 25m of water. The infield is used for both cattle and sheep grazing. Note the presence of the dun in Loch an Duin, Steinacleit stone circle, Clach Stei Lin, Teampull Pheadair, and the Ballantrushal stone in this area, pointing to a long history of activity. Note also the place-name in áirigh-, ÁIRIGH AN TUIN.
Soil unit: 390.
Date of visit: 5.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H2:29: Plates:51a.
Shieling potential: poor. Would expect from the location of this site that it would have been settled permanently rather than on a seasonal basis during the Norse period.

15. BEN HORSHADER - ?, (NB 246 430). Peak on the west coast of Lewis, immediately to the east of Carloway. The hill has a height of 140m (459') O.D. Damp, peat covered area, with potentially a loch, and rivers to cross before reaching the summit. Plentiful grazing and water supply here, but no obvious signs of shielings.
Soil unit: 394.
Date of visit: 5.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: fact that the name refers to a hill, and the area is one of plentiful grazing and a good water supply would suggest that this would be a favourable location for shieling sites. However, the lack of identified sites would argue against this.

16. AIRD LAIMSHADER - aird, Gaelic 'promontory'; O.N. lamba, 'lamb', plus setr/sáetr ? (Fraser pers.comm.), (c. NB 175 428). A promontory on the west coast of Lewis, west of Carloway and Borrowston. This is a rocky and apparently barren area, used for sheep grazing. The promontory has a central higher area, reaching a height of 115m (377') O.D. However, it appears that this area has not always been as inhospitable as it looks, for there is clear evidence of more intensive use of the lower lying area to the east of the raised belt. For example, there is evidence of cultivation in the form of lazy-beds, and settlement in the form of stone boundary walls, and ruined buildings. In fact, every available fairly level surface of this area is covered in run-rig. The buildings are rectangular, and the walls survive to a height of c2.0m. They are now used as sheep shelters. The shore near the buildings is a small, rocky one. There is, however, no river here, the nearest is over 500m from this site.
Soil unit: 395.
Date of visit: 5.7.89.
Photographs: GQ H2:30-33; H9:5: Plates:51b.
Shieling potential: coastal situation would reduce the potential of the area, as would the lack of a good supply of fresh water. The nature of the site would suggest a different function for the shieling?

17. SHULISHADER - O.N., 'pillar shieling', (NB 535 350). This sizeabl

settlement lies on the Eye Peninsula, on the east coast of Lewis, to the east of the capital Stornoway. The Eye is connected to the mainland by a narrow causeway. The site is on the north coast of the peninsula. There is is a fairly flat area between it and Sheshader to the south-east, and the settlement is located on the edge of this. It is some 750m from the rocky coast. The land, on the peninsula, reaches its highest point of 88m (288') O.D. at Bayble Hill. At Shulishader, the settlement covers an area ranging in height from 40-70m (131-230') O.D. It is on a NW facing slope, and is centred on a small river (within generally c.100-200m of it). The croft distribution is, however, related to the roads rather than to the river. Note the names of other settlements, such as Swordale and Garrabost on the peninsula.
Soil unit: 385.
Date of visit: 6.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: poor in that this is a relatively low-lying area. The coast here, however, is rocky, and there is not much of a bay. This would make the site less attractive as a permanent one.

18. SHESHADER - O.N. sae 'sea' ?, plus setr/sætr, (NB 550 342). Also Sheshader Bay. Another sizeable settlement located on the Eye Peninsula, to the south-east of Shulishader, on the east coast. This settlement has more of a relationship with the coast than Shulishader, the secondary roads along which the crofts are strung, curving round the bay. It lies between Dibidale Burn and the Abhainn Ghlas river, the centre of it being some 500-750m from them. It is on an E facing slope, at a height of 20-50m (66-164') O.D. The landscape is a gently undulating one. This settlement is located further down-slope from the central plateau than Shulishader. See above Note.
Soil unit: 392.
Date of visit: 6.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: see above.

19. EARSHADER - O.N., possibly 'Aevari's shieling' or 'ewe's shieling' (Oftedal 1954:383), (NB 165 338). Also Aird Earshader and Sgeir Earshader. The small settlement is located on mainland Lewis, at the point where a bridge connects it with Great Bernera. The area appears as a rather greener one in a very barren, rocky landscape. This is most definitely the only part suitable for use as a settlement site in quite a large area. The nature of the terrain has forced the few croft houses to be built virtually on the coast. These overlook a small, rocky bay. The settlement is on a NE facing slope, at a height of 10-20m (33-66') O.D. The nearest river is that flowing into a second small bay to the south, c.250m from the main group of crofts. There are also small structures located on the promontory, Aird Earshader, and sheep pens. Note the settlement names Crulivig (NB 175 334) and Lundale (NB 188 326). Also Beinn Scarista (NB 194 317), and Eilean Scarista (NB 19[illegible] 326).
Soil unit: 395.
Date of visit: 6.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H3:24; H9:21: Plates:52a.
Shieling potential: lack of available settlement sites would suggest that this may have been utilised as a permanent rather than temporary site. Note the presence of shieling remains on the B8059, at NB 197 294.

20. CAIASHADER - ?, (NB 554 607). Also Druim Caiashader, Caiashader River and Caiashader Shore. Located in the district of Ness, south of the Butt of Lewis. On a more local scale, it is north-east of Airigh na Gaoithe, and south-east of Skigersta. This is a rolling peaty moorland area, very difficult terrain. The site is not one of permanent modern settlement, but there have been at least three rectangular, turf buildings here in the past. These are located at a height of 40m (131'), c.200m from the Caiashader River. The slope is ESE facing. (It looks more like Bilascleiter). Note the track leading from Skigersta in the direction of the site. Note Skigersta (NB 545 616), and Eorabhal (NB 536 626).
Soil unit: 390.
Date of visit: 7.7.87.

Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: good, considering its moorland position, location near the river, and its potential relationship with Skigersta.

21. CUIASHADER - O.N. kví 'cattle-fold' ?, plus setr/sætr (Crabtree pers.comm.), (NB 545 583). Also Cladach Cuiashader and Cuiashader Island. The site is located in the Abhainn Dubh valley, c.1km long, about 8km south-south-east of the Butt of Lewis. It is south of the settlement of Skigersta, and south-south-west of Caiashader. Tracks lead from the district of Ness, to a peaty valley, and at the time the site was visited, the whole area was being dug for peat. Only a few sheep were being grazed there. The moorland is barren with fescue patches, the landscape rolling, and not hilly. There are few rocky outcrops in this area, if any. The buildings marked on the 1:25,000 map, proved to be a collection of modern, and more ancient, structures strung out along the banks of the river, on the drier, greener patches of land. These spots are also more sheltered. Their function was clearly a seasonal one, and they were described by a local as shielings. The buildings lie on both sides of the river, but the majority are on the north bank. The slope is an E facing one, and the structures are at a height of c.50-70m (164-230') O.D. Those above 70m (230') O.D. would appear to belong to ÁIRIGH A' BHEALAICH. Many of the buildings are within 25m of the river. Note the number of ruined shielings in this area, also the names Habost (NB 520 630), Swainbost (NB 513 625), and Skigersta (NB 545 616), the settlements to which these are linked, being connected to Cuiashader by a network of paths. See Cat.4.
Soil unit: 34.
Date of visit: 7.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H4:5-6,9; H9:31-32.
Shieling potential: high. The site is located some distance inland, alongside a good water supply, and is even today used for the purposes of seasonal settlement.

22. GESHADER - O.N., 'goat shieling' (Oftedal 1954:385), (NB 118 318). This rather exposed settlement site lies between Ungeshader and Carishader, off the Uig road, on the west side of Lewis. It is on the west shoulder of the steep, rocky hill, Sgrithir, overlooking Loch Geshader rather than Loch Roag. The croft land is strung along the west edge of the loch, and rises to a height of 40m (131') O.D., and covers an area from Cnoc Breac to the small bay in Loch Roag. The site is a W facing one. The area appeared to be less damp than a number of those visited. Surrounding the collection of crofts were the remains of ruined black-houses and stone boundary walls, and traces of cultivation. There is plenty of infield land in an area, which at first site appears to have limited potential. As well as the loch, there is a stream flowing down Sgrithir, through the main part of the settlement, and there are at least two more to the south of the loch. The main part of the settlement is within 150-200m of water. Note that the nearest settlements also have names in -shader, Ungeshader (NB 123 297) and Carishader (NB 100 330).
Soil unit: 386.
Date of visit: 8.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H5:9: Plates:52b.
Shieling potential: possibly a good site, taking into account its location alongside the loch, and centred on a stream, but land for permanent settlement is in such short supply in this area that it may have been of more value than as summer pasture.

23. UNGESHADER - possibly O.N. personal name Ungi, or Ungr, both from of the adjective ungr - young, plus setr/sætr (Oftedal 1954:385), (NB 123 297). Also Loch Geshader. A tiny, remote, exposed settlement, south of Geshader, and north of Enaclete. It lies on the east side of Little Loch Roag. The few crofts lie above and below a small loch. The land to the north rises steeply, forming the hill mass of Stromaclait, and is steep also to the west of the settlement. The slope is a ENE facing one, and the crofts lie at a height of 10-40m (33-131') O.D. Access to this settlement is difficult, being by rough track rather than by road. It is, however, an area of quite rich pasture, used for sheep grazing. It was less peaty and wet than some of the sites visited. The croft

are within 25-50m of the nearest fresh water supply. See above Note.
Soil unit: 395.
Date of visit: 8.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: the situation is neither upland nor inland as might have been expected, but this is not a site which would be a first choice for permanent settlement. Proximity to the loch, and the nature of the terrain, steep and rocky, could point to use as a shieling.

24. CARISHADER - O.N., 'Kari nn's shieling' (Oftedal 1954:385-86), (NB 100 330). This is the third settlement site with a place-name in -s ti/-sæter, in this hilly, rocky part of west Lewis. It lies on the road to Uig Bay, on Loch Roag, to the south of Valtos and opposite the island of Floday. It is at the base of the hill, rising to a height of 90m, around the east side of which flows the Uasaig River. This is a larger settlement than either Ungeshader or Geshader. The slope is an NNE facing one, and the crofts lie at a height of c.20-30m (66-98') O.D. The central part of the settlement is within 500m of the river. See above Note.
Soil unit: 395.
Date of visit: 8.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: the area for settlement is very limited here, and the situation is coastal. There appear to be few features which would point to its use as a shieling site.

25. KERSHADER - O.N. personal name Kari ?, plus setr/sæter, (NB 340 200). A settlement on the south side of Loch Erisort, on the west coast of the southern part of mainland Lewis. It lies opposite Laxay, east of Habost, and west of Garyvard and Caversta. This fairly sizeable collection of crofts, larger than the other settlements on this side of the coastal loch, is strung out along the road, at the base of a hilly, and loch covered area. The slope is NW facing, and the crofts lie at a height of c.20m (66') O.D. The settlement clusters around three rivers running into the loch. Note the aforementioned settlement names: Laxay (NB 335 217), Habost (NB 324 196), and Caversta (NB 366 200).
Soil unit: 395.
Date of visit: 8.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: would appear to be poor in this area, especially when noting the occurrence of other Norse settlement names in this area. It has no features which would lead to the automatic conclusion that it was used for seasonal grazing.

HARRIS

26. DRINISHADER - ?, (NG 173 947). Also Loch Drinishader and Ben Drinishader. A settlement on the east coast of Harris, above a small bay, in East Loch Tarbert. It is afforded some protection by the island of Scalpay to the east. This is a small settlement lying at the foot of Ben Drinishader, which rises to a height of 86m, in a rather steep and very rocky area. The land looks barren and inhospitable, and settlement all along this east coast is confined to the coast. The crofts are on a NNE facing slope, and are centred on a small stream, running down to the bay from one of the numerous lochs. Only sheep were being pastured here. The site lies at a height of 10-20m (33-66').
Soil unit: 394.
Date of visit: 9.7.89.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: the first reaction is to dismiss this site on the basis of its coastal location. However, the landscape of Harris on its side is so harsh, that it is difficult to imagine that there would have been any advantage in taking animals to pastures in the interior. Not only is the land rocky, and barren, but it covered in a myriad of small lochs and rivers, making it virtually impossible to negotiate. Hence, of necessity, any shieling site would have been located fairly near the coast.

NORTH UIST

27. LOCH EARSHADER - possibly 'loch of Aevarr's shieling', or 'loch of ewe's shieling' (see Oftedal above), (NF 806 726). This loch is located to the north of mainland North Uist, south of the excavated settlement site of the Udal, and of the current settlements of Middlequarter and Sollas. Access is by a track from Middlequarter. It lies in the low-lying area between Knock Mugary and Druim Airigh na Creige to the north, and Ben Aulasary (217m: 715' O.D.) and Marrival (230m: 754' O.D.) to the south. It is at a height of 35m (115') O.D. Note the names in -ary and -airigh mentioned above, also Loch Sandary, and the fact that only in the case of Ben Aulasary, shieling remains have been located on it (NF 7945 7050).
Soil unit: surrounded by 4
Date of visit: 11.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: good, considering the location of the loch, and the other evidence in the are pointing to its use as a seasonal pasture site.

SKYE

28. OSMIGARRY - ? plus O.N. gerði 'enclosure', (NG 395 719). The settlement to which this name is attached is located next to Clachan, north of Hungladder in north Trotternish, on the edge of a rocky outcrop which marks the lower boundary of the central upland massif. The settlement, consisting of a handful of crofts, is very near the coast, and here the coast is less steep than in other places. There is a rocky shore. The meadowland surrounding the settlement showed no traces of being, or having been, used for the cultivation of crops. At the time the site was visited, there were sheep, and a few cattle, grazing in the infield area. The settlement lies at a height of circa 80m (262') O.D. The slope is a WSW facing one, and the site is over 500m from the nearest fresh water supply.
Soil unit: 483.
Date of visit: 2.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H8:6.
Shieling potential - poor, given coastal location, and distance from nearest river.

29. FLODIGARRY - O.N. fljót, 'flat enclosure' (Fraser pers.comm.), (NG 462 717). This name is attached to a settlement on the east coast of north Trotternish. This part of Trotternish is particularly steep, the upland massif extending right to the coast here. Note that there is also an island bearing this name - Eilean Flodigarry. At this settlement site, comprising a number of crofts spread out over quite a wide area and a hotel surrounded by woodland, the land is much steeper than at Omisgarry, and slopes quickly down to the shore. The settlement lies between 10-60m (33-197') O.D. in height, and the area consists of rich grazing land. Forbes wrote that land here was both fertile and plentiful. The slope is an ENE facing one, and the settlement is located on the banks of a stream, within 50m of it.
Soil unit: 158.
Date of visit: 2.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: poor, given the coastal location, but the settlement is focused upon a stream.

NORTH UIST

30. PAIBLESGARRY - O.N. gerði, 'enclosure', of Paible (papar-ból) (Fraser pers.comm.), (NF 730 683). This settlement name is to be found on the west coast of North Uist, on a large flat promontory-type feature just north of Kirkibost Island. The area is part of the township of Paible. The land is very low-lying machair, at a height of circa 10m (33') O.D. The area is not damp and boggy, in contrast to the land to the north-east. There is little sign of cultivation in the area. The settlement is a small, straggly one, located very near the coast. The land is sloping to the SW, and the nearest water supply is within 250m. Cattle and sheep were grazing on the meadowland, and th appearance of large numbers of cattle in the infield was quite different from the general situation in Lewis, Harris and Skye. Note

Loch Sandary (NF 736 683).
Soil unit: 388.
Date of visit: 11.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: coastal location, on infield land, argues against the site having a high potential.

31. HOUGHARRY O.N. haugr, 'mound enclosure' (Beveridge 1911:78), (NF 710 710). A settlement on the west coast of North Uist. This area is different from Paible, there being a greater number of lochs, and it being considerably damper. This would account for the fact that the settlement is located on a slight promontory, on the rockier coast, at a height below 10m (33') O.D. This is a more compact settlement than Paible, but there are few crofts. The flat ground surrounding the settlement was being used for the grazing of cattle rather than sheep. The land slopes to the SW, and there is a fresh-water supply within 50m. Note Géarraidh Thougéarraidh (NF 734 712), at a height of c.15m, the outer grazing land of the settlement, in an area which would suggest its use once as a possible half-way shieling.
Soil unit: 259.
Date of visit: 11.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: see above. High for Géarraidh Thougéarraidh.

32. TIGHARRY - Gaelic Tigh a' Ghéarraidh, 'house of the enclosed arable land' (Beveridge 1911:95; Fraser pers.comm.), (NF 710 719). This settlement is almost 1km north of Hougharry. It lies slightly inland from the coast, on higher land. The land begins to rise just north of Loch Grogarry, and it is here that Tigharry is located, at a height of circa 20m (66') O.D. The settlement is strung out along the road. Cattle were grazing on the infield. The site is on a SW facing slope, and the nearest fresh-water supply is some 400m away. Note Géarraidh thigh' ghéarraidh (NF 730 717) at a height of c.10m (33') O.D., presumably connected with this settlement, and lying in an position which indicates its use as the outer grazing land, and perhaps marking the site of a spring/autumn type of shieling. Also, the settlement Hosta, (NF 725 724) and Géarraidh Hosta (NF 733 722) at a height of 20m (66') O.D.
Soil unit: 259/388.
Date of visit: 11.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: poor for Tigharry, but higher for Géarraidh thigh' ghéarraidh.

33. HORISARY - O.N. personal name, plus Norse loanword ary, 'Thori's shieling' (Beveridge 1911:106), (NF 762 677). A settlement name, on the west coast of North Uist, between Claddach-knockline and Claddach Kirkibost. Two crofts alongside a stream, flowing from Loch Trosavat into the sea. The site lies at a height of less than 10m (33') O.D., and is less than 25m from the stream. The land slopes to the SW.
Soil unit: 388.
Date of visit: 11.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: coastal location, and height reduces its potential.

34. BEN VANISARY - O.N. personal name, 'Magnus' shieling' (Beveridge 1911:103), (NF 749 734). Name of a hill in northern North Uist, forming part of a western group of hills. It lies on the northern edge. It has a spot height of 102m (335') O.D., and has fairly gentle slopes. It is divided from neighbouring hills by tributaries of the Abhainn Dì lla and Abhainn Eik rivers.
Soil unit: 392.
Date of visit: 11.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: good. Inland, upland location.

35. BEN RISARY - O.N. hrís, 'hill of the brushwood shieling', (NF 767 724). Name of a hill in northern North Uist, forming part of a western group of hills. It has a spot height of 120m (394') O.D., and fairly gentle slopes. This hill also lies on the northern edge of the group,

overlooking Vallay Strand. It is cut on its east and west flanks, by the Abhainn Rosgay and the Abhainn Diolla. On its northern slope are the remains of an aisled house (NF 767 729) and shielings built in and around these remains.
Soil unit: 392.
Date of visit: 11.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H6:3-4; H11:3-6.
Shieling potential: good, given nature of site, and the location of remains.

36. BEN AULASARY - 'hill of Olaf's shieling' ? (Beveridge 1911: 105), (NF 804 705). Name of the second, slightly lower peak of the highest hill, Mairival, in the northern half of North Uist. It is located a fraction more centrally than the above hills, and is both steeper and more extensive. The spot height of Ben Aulasary is 217m (712') O.D. Its slopes are cut by the Abhainn a' Chaira and Abhainn Ceann a' Bhaigh. On the W facing slope, between these two rivers, are the remains of shielings (NF7940 7050), and a cairn.
Soil unit: 392.
Date of visit: 11.7.87.
Photographs: GQ H6:15-18; H11:13-17.
Shieling potential: good.

37. LOCH OBISARY - loch 'shieling of the bay' (Fraser pers.comm.), (NF 89 61). A large loch at the foot of the north and west slopes of the steepest, and highest hill in North Uist, Eaval. The loch is an extensive inland one. There is no permanent settlement in this area, on the east coast of North Uist. The nearest settlement is that of Cladach Carinish (NF 885 589). There are, however, the remains of shielings in the vicinity of Ceann Airigh an Obain (NF 875 598). This is a remote area, studded with small lochs and rivers, making it difficult to traverse. It lies at a height of 5m (16') O.D.
Soil unit: surrounded largely by 391.
Date of visit: this site was viewed from a distance 11.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: probably good in this area.

BENBECULA

No place-names were noted on Benbecula which possibly indicated the existence of seasonal upland settlement in the Norse period.

SOUTH UIST

38. GROGARRY - O.N. gróf, 'enclosure of the pit, ravine' (Fraser pers.comm.), (NF 770 396). Also Grogarry Loch. A settlement name. This is a tiny settlement, consisting of a single farm, on the machair land, on the west coast of South Uist, between Drimore and Stilligarry. It lies at a height of c.13m (43') O.D., on a WSW facing slope, to the west of Rueval. Note that the sites of A' Cheardach Mhor and A'Cheardach Beg are located in this area. The site is within 500m of a fresh water supply.
Soil unit: 388.
Date of visit: 15.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: poor.

39. STILLIGARRY - O.N. sturla, stulli '? enclosure', (Fraser pers. comm.), (NF 765 386). A settlement name. This is a larger settlement, lying to the west of the Loch Druidibeg Nature Reserve, again on flat machair land. It lies between Loch Grogarry and Loch Stilligarry. The area is lower-lying than that at Grogarry, but there is more open water in the immediate vicinity. It is within 10m of the nearest fresh water supply, and is at a height of under 10m (33') O.D.
Soil unit: 388.
Date of visit: 15.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: poor.

40. MINGARY - O.N., mickil-garth 'great enclosure' (Fraser pers.comm.),

(NF 747 266). A small settlement on the west side of South Uist, on the east side of the A 865, opposite Milton (Aiii-mhuillin - Carmichael 1884:460). It consists of some four crofts, and lies on the lowest extension of the NW facing slope of Reineval, at a height of c.13m (43') O.D. It is one of the few settlements located to the east of the road, and is in an area which is used almost exclusively for pasture. It is within 250m of fresh water. Note the track leading up past the remains of the chambered cairn (NF 755 259), and note the dun (NF 748 259).
Soil unit: 391.
Date of visit: 16.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: a possible site, taking into account the shieling remains in Kildonan Glen (NF 7489 2760).

41. BEN CORARY - ?, (NF 756 284). A hill on the western flank of the hilly belt. Its spot height is 97m (318') O.D. It has a steep, rocky SSW facing slope, and a more gentle NNE facing one. To the south it is cut by the Kildonan Glen, which in its lowers sections is a wide, marshy valley. Potential shieling sites were not located on the slopes of Ben Corary, but were found on the south side of the glen at NF 7489 2760.
Soil unit: 548.
Date of visit: 16.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: this would seem a likely area for shieling sites, but none were located.

42. UNASARY - Norse personal name ?, 'Uni's shieling', (NF 772 277). A croft located near the end of the minor road passing through South Locheynort. It lies at the foot of the NE facing slope of the hill Sheaval, which rises to a height of 223m (731') O.D. The croft is located almost midway between two streams, and is within 150m of the nearest. It overlooks a rocky bay of Loch Eynort, and is situated at a height of 20m.
Soil unit: 548.
Date of visit: 16.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: would appear to be a possible site.

BARRA

43. EOLIGARRY - '? enclosure', (NF 703 077). Also Ben Eoligarry. A sizeable, straggling settlement located on the promontory extending from the northern coast of Barra, opposite the island of Fuday. It is strung along the foot of Ben Eoligarry, at a height of c.10m (33') O.D., on a NE facing slope, and extends to a second hill, Ben Scurrival. The nearest source of water is within 500m.
Soil unit: 260.
Date of visit: 18.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: a possible site, but potentially a permanently, rather than a seasonal site.

44. EARSARY - Norse personal name ?, 'Aevarr's shieling', or 'ewe's shieling' ?, (NL 704 998). A settlement consisting of a number of small crofts, on the east coast of Barra. The land rises quite steeply here, and the crofts are sited at a height of 10-30m (33-98') O.D. The slope is a lower ne of the mountain Heaval, and is SE facing. The Allt Heiker river marks the north-eastern extent of the settlement, and there are two smaller streams running through its centre. There is thus, a fresh water supply within 25m.
Soil unit: 395.
Date of visit: 18.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: a possible site, but is coastal.

45. SKALLARY - O.N. skāli ?, plus 'shieling', (NL 698 995). This smaller settlement is located just south-west of Earsary. Here, a number of crofts are located between the tributaries of a small river

flowing south-west into the sea. The foot of the mountain is further inland than at Earsary, and the crofts are located only a little higher at 30-40m (98-131') O.D. The slope is S facing, and the crofts are within 25m of fresh water. Note the standing stones at Brevig (NL 689 991).
Soil unit: 395/386.
Date of visit: 18.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: a possible site, it is located slightly further from the coast.

46. BEN GUNNARY - O.N. personal name, 'hill of Gunnar's shieling', (NF 696 010). A hill name to the north-north-west of Earsary, north of the Allt Heiker. The hill rises to a height of 151m (495') O.D. Its north, east and west slopes are fairly gentle, but that to the south is steeper and cut by the above river. There is no evidence to suggest the presence of shielings.
Soil unit: 395.
Date of visit: 18.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: would appear to be a likely candidate.

SITES VISITED WITH NAMES IN GAELIC ÁIRIGH- WHICH DID NOT HAVE THE REMAINS OF SHIELINGS

LEWIS

47. ÁIRIGH AN TUIM - Gaelic tom, 'shieling of the hillock' (Fraser pers.comm.) (NB 400 544). This site is located at Lower Shader, near Clach Stei, north of Steinacleit circle and cairn. There were no shielings visible, and no trace of any remains. This area is very close to the settlement. The site lies at a height of 50m (164') O.D., is on a NNE facing slope, and is some 300m from the nearest water supply.
Soil unit: 390.
Date of visit: 9.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: poor.

48. ÁIRIGH LINNGAIL - Norse ling-fjal, 'shieling of the heath ry fell' (Fraser pers. comm.), (NB 526 622). Place-name associated with permanent settlement at the southern edge of the district of Ness, north Lewis. It lies at the border of croft and moorland, just north of Allt Horrabolo. The crofts lie at a height of 50-60m (164-197') O.D., and the slope is SW facing. The site is within 200m of fresh water. Note the other settlement names in this area (see above 22 and 23). Also, Airigh na Gaoithe (NB 534 603).
Soil unit: 390.
Date of visit: 7.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: in this position, if this site was a shieling, it was a spring/autumn shieling.

NORTH UIST

49. ÁIRIGH MHIC RUAIRIDH - 'MacRory's shieling' (Miller 1967:214) 'shieling of the son of Roderick' (Beveridge 1911:46). (NF 768 748). This is the site of a deserted settlement on the north coast of North Uist. It lies in a sheltered position behind the island of Villa, virtually opposite Vallay House. The ground is very level and gently undulating, and slopes to the W. It is peaty in areas near the lochs, but much firmer where the clachan is located. This settlement, located at a height of 10m (33') O.D., and overlooking the strand, consists of the remains of longhouses, barns and a corn-drying kiln (Miller 1967:214). The site is 150m from the nearest fresh-water supply.
Soil unit: 392.
Date of visit: 11.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Shieling potential: possibly poor given this coastal position, and the fact that the site has been permanently settled from prior

50. ARINAMBANE - 'shieling of the women', (NF 7920 2850). The site of an abandoned croft, at the end of the minor road which passes through North Locheynort, and round the base of Beinn Bheag Deas. It is located on the edge of the inland loch, Loch Eynort, and is also on the edge of the hilly eastern half of South Uist, at the foot of the south-east shoulder of the hill, overlooking a rocky coast. The SE facing slope is a steep one, and the hill rises to a height of 160m (525') O.D. The croft is at a height of c.10m (33') O.D., and is some 50m from the small stream, running down the side of the hill. Note the existence of shieling sites in the general area (NF 7777 2968; NF 800 287; NF 803 296).
Soil unit: 548.
Date of visit: 15.7.87.
Photographs: no.
Reference: Carmichael 1884:458.
Shieling potential: a possible site given its distance from other settlements, and proximity to known shieling sites.

CATALOGUE OF RECORDED AND REFERENCED SHIELING SITES IN SKYE AND THE OUTER HEBRIDES, AND THOSE INNER HEBRIDEAN SITES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

In the text, the sites are referred to by name and site number, e.g. Duirinish (R1), R representing recorded and referenced.

SKYE

1. DUIRINISH (NG 2395 3732)
Location: at the foot of the steep SE facing slopes of Ben Idrigill, at a height of 213m (700').
Structures: about seven ruined shielings, scattered amongst the scree. Twin-cell type, constructed of stone, and in a fair state of preservation. Possibly others at the west end of the site, but now merely heaps of stones.
Reference: N.M.A.S., 12.5.61.

2. DUIRINISH (NG 231 454)
Location: on the banks of a small stream on the north side of the Osdale Burn, at a height of c.198m (650') O.D.
Structures: about 13 ruined shielings. Double-cell type. Show mainly as green mounds with hollows in the centre, some with dry-stone walling visible.
Reference: N.M.A.S., 9.5.61.

3. DUIRINISH (NG 2447 3780)
Location: on the lower SE facing slopes of Ben Idrigill, at c.198m (650').
Structures: nine ruined shielings in the angle of a small burn. They are of the twin-cell type, but have been reduced to turf covered mounds.
Reference: N.M.A.S., 12.5.61.

4. NEAR WATERNISH HOUSE (NG 269 578)
Location: on a W facing slope, 1.5 miles north-east of Waternish House.
Structures: a group of c. fifteen shielings. They are of stone construction, but are in a very collapsed state. Reduced to shapeless turf-covered mounds, with central hollows.
Reference: N.M.A.S., 3.5.61.

5. WATERNISH (NG 288 572)
Location: Allt Slugain Meadhain - upon the banks immediately below a small waterfall, c.152m (500') O.D.
Structures: eight large ruined shielings. Twin-celled, but now reduced to green mounds up to 2.0m in height, two with dry-stone walling exposed.
Reference: N.M.A.S., 9.5.61.

6. WATERNISH (NG 285 575)
Location: Allt Slugain River. Located at the junction of two streams, at a height of 152m (500') O.D.
Structures: six well-defined twin-cell huts, in a collapsed state and reduced to turf covered mounds, and the remains of others among them, with dry-stone walling exposed.
Reference: N.M.A.S., 9.5.61.
Figure: 50.

7. WATERNISH (NG 256 626)
Location: in the Abhainn a' Ghlinne valley, on the east side of Waternish. A relatively dry site.
Structures: a group of ten, possibly eleven, shieling huts. Three huts had developed mounds between 90cm and 1.2m (3-4') high.
Reference: Macsween and Gailey 1961:77-79.

8. WATERNISH (NG 254 623)
Location: Abhainn a' Ghlinne valley, on the east side of Waternish. The group is about 0.5km (0.33 miles) upstream from the major group. Located on upper break in slope. Same sort of position as that of the

main group.
Structures: a group of two huts. Both had developed mounds between 90cm and 1.2m (3 4') in height.
Reference: Macsween and Gailey 1961:77-78.

9. WATERNISH (NG 255 629)
Location: on the same escarpment as above, but on the tributary stream which joins the Allhainn a' Ghlinne on its north bank.
Structures: two hut sites.
Reference: Macsween and Gailey 1961:78.

10. WATERNISH (NG 259 627)
Location: group, 0.5km (0.33 miles) downstream from the main group above.
Structures: two huts.
Reference: Macsween and Gailey 1961:78.

LEWIS

11. TOM NI BHARABHAIS (NB 157 251)
Location: a small, round, rocky pasture hill.
Structures: two bothain ruins on the summit of the knoll. Of the larger, there were sufficient remains to show characteristic construction and circular shape. Diameter 2.1m (7'), between narrow entrances which look north and east-south-east. The companion ruin was c.1.8m (6') in diameter. Farther to the east were other ruins, one of which was in summer occupation less than half a century ago. It has been supplanted by a larger modern dwelling to the construction of which the older buildings paid tribute.
Reference: N.M.A.S.; W.M. Mackenzie (1904) recorded that the knoll derived its name from the successful pursuit of the Macaulays of Uig by the Morrisons of Barvas, the Uig people having stolen some cattle.

12. CARN URRAHAG (NB 3720 4820)
Location: on edge of Loch Urrahag, Arnol, north Lewis.
Structure: shieling.
Reference: N.M.A.S.

13. CHICKEN HEAD, EYE PENINSULA (NB 507 292)
Location: small enclosure on the left bank of a rivulet near the cliff edge.
Structures: there are the foundations, in this enclosure, of a stone and mud building c.5.5m by 4.6m (18' by 15'), orientated west-north-west and east-south-east, the remains of a teampull. Other foundations nearby appear to be those of shielings.
Reference: RCAHMS 1928:14.

14. ÁIRIGHEAN TIGHE DUASTAL (NB 099 213)
Location: Ceann Resort, Uig.
Structures: one both, a double structure, dwelling and dairy attached. Beehive shape, constructed of moor-stones and covered with turf. A very humbling doorway. Inside, on the right hand side, close to the door, was the fire. Smoke escaped through a hole in the dome. Long and thin undressed stone projected from the wall, over the fire, and on this the pot was suspended. In front of the fire was a row of stones, the *beinge* (bench). Behind, there was a litter of hay and rushes for a bed. In the circular wall were three *cuilteann* (niches), containing a comb and two or three drying cheeses. There was a very low interior door into the dairy. This was about 1.8m (6') square on the floor, but roundish in shape externally. In this structure was: a stoup for water; a heap of chickweed; a cream-tub; three milk or cheese-tubs, covered by slaty stones; a churn.
Reference: Thomas 1867:161-2, Pl.XXXI:Fig.9. The both was occupied when Thomas visited, by three young women. He described the site as the garry of the tenants at Crolista, some 19.2km (12 miles) away.

15. BOTH STAESEAL (NB 307 374)
Location: midway between Stornoway and Carloway. The both of the *garry* of the tenants of Skeabost.
Structures: a both, an irregular cross in plan. The main body had three

alcoves, or arms, radiating from a central beehive chamber. The doorway was covered by an advanced chamber, or *fosgalan*. There were two doorways, to enter the *fosgalan*, opposite each other. The fire was located between the two doors, and in front of it was an inner entrance, c.1.2m (4') wide, to the main building. Across the entrance was a row of stones for seats. The dome of the structure as 2.1m (7') high at the centre. From the centre to the end of the cells was 2.1m (7'). The cell was 0.6m (2') wide, and 37.5cm (15'') high at the inner end, and 1.5m (5') long and 0.8m (2.5') wide at the head, where it was 40cm (16'') high.
Reference: Thomas 1867:164, Pl.XXXII:Fig.14. Note that Thomas recorded that the man who pulled the building down said that a fourth sleeping chamber had existed behind the fire-place, which would have completed the crucial figure.

16. WEST OF LOCH CHOIRIGEROD (NB 174 210)
Location. where the gently sloping meadow terminates abruptly at the foot of a rocky ridge.
Structures: a compact group of seven bothies. Two were in a fairly good state of preservation. The entrances were generally towards the south-east. The proportions and main features were, although varying, on the whole similar to those at Garry-na-Sguir. Three of the huts still have a partial covering of turf. One is marred only by a hole in the back wall.
Reference: Mackenzie 1904:178, Fig. 5.

17. EILEAN FEAR CHROITHIR (NB 139 418)
Location: on the east side of small island outside Little Bernera, at the mouth of Loch Roag.
Structures: a single both, complete, except for the turf covering, until a few years before it was recorded. Has since collapsed. The floor had a diameter of 1.8m (6'), and at the top of the standing area it was 1.4m (4'8''). At this point it was some 1.2m (4') high. The entrances faced east. The both was very small, compared with other structures.
Reference: Mackenzie 1904:182, Fig. 9. Note that Mackenzie recorded that the crofters of the farm at the northern extremity of Great Bernera came to the island to collect shell-fish and use it as a patch of pasture.

18. GLEN MARSTAIG (NB 185 233)
Location: on the hillside above Glen Marstaig.
Structures: several shielings, in a better state of preservation than many. One of these showed traces of adaption to a more modern type, in that the top had been adjusted to permit of rafters and a roof of heather.
Reference: Mackenzie 1904:174-5, Fig.1.
Figure: 97:A.

19. GARRY-NA-SGUIR (NB 167 230)
Location: on the lower slope of the hill, Calltraseal Mhor, overlooking Loch a Sguir. Across the valley from the Glen Marstaig group
Structures: a group of some five bothies, three of them located on open ground in a rather exposed location. The bothies were in various states of preservation, but it was clear that they were of corbelled construction. The principal stones were long and flat, and each course projected over that below, until the round converged sufficiently at the top to be closed. The weight of the heavier stones also bound the structure. The gaps were filled with smaller rubble. The material for these huts was supplied from schistose gneiss of the district, which in many places had weathered, or was easily quarried to use as suitable slabs. One of the mounds was nearly perfect. It lay in a shallow gully. It had a low, narrow door, facing south-east, and apparently sheltered by a detached wall of its own height. Opposite the door were thr small chambers or ambries rising in th thickness of the lower wall, on above another, each separated from the one below by a single flat stone. Three more ambries were found in the hut. The diameters of the floor were 2.5m (8'4") and 2.3m (7'7"). The greatest height of the structure was 2.52m (8'5"). At least one other mound had evidence f ambries, and of two doorways. One of the huts had diameters of 2.32m

(7'9"), and 2.62m (8'9"). The greatest internal height of this hut was 2.0m (6'8").
Reference: Mackenzie 1904:176, Fig.3.

20. GARY-NA-HINE (NB 237 317)
Location: on Cnoc Dubh, at Ceann Thulabhig, Uig.
Structures: Thomas: a both of beehive form, c.5.5m (18') in diameter, 2.7m (9') high, and covered with green turf outside. There were two doors, opposite to each other, 90cm (3') high. The chamber inside was dome-shaped, and had a floor area of 2.1-2.4m (7-8') square. A row of stones, c.15cm (0.5') high cut off one half of the floor, forming a bed area. There were several small recesses in the wall, and a chimney over the fire-place.
Mackenzie: a shieling. The longest diameter of the hut floor was 2.32m (7'9"), and at right angles 1.9m (6'4"). There were two doorways, facing roughly east and west, and three ambries on the level. The doorways were 98cm (3'3") high and 56 cm (1'9") wide. The ambries were about 91cm (3') deep and 45cm (18") wide. A straw and heather bed, banked up by a line of stones, lay against the wall, opposite the fireplace. The slabs of the building were unusually long, c.1.2m (4'). The roof was closed on the top by three stone slabs. The longest, in the centre, had a span of 80cm (2'8") and a width of 28cm (11").
Reference: Thomas 1867:161, Pl.XXXI:Fig.8. Thomas recorded that a woman was living in this both when he visited it. It was built for the shieling of a man living at Linshader. He concluded that it was built about ninety years previously. Mackenzie 1904;179,181-2, Figs.6-8.
Figure: 90.

21. FIDIGIDH IOCHDRACH, UIG (? Cleite Fhidigidh NB 061 225)
Location: along the burn of Fidigidh, for about 0.8km (0.5 miles).
Structures: about twenty dwellings scattered along the burn.
Reference: Thomas 1860b:137-8, Pl.XII. The plate shows a collection of beehive houses, of conical form. They have more of an appearance of being caked in mud than turf. Note the proximity of the huts.

22. BOTH URA, UIG, LEWIS
Location: near Loch Thealasbhaidh.
Structures: the eastern most both, a ruined hut with walls, in some parts, still 1.8m (6') high. There was a porch, which was probably roofed, formed by the extension of one of the side walls.
Reference: Thomas 1860b:144, Pl.XIII:Fig.7.

23. ARIDH, NEAR LOCH SHNAITHEBHALL, UIG
Location: near the above loch, Uig
Structures: a hut, approaching rectangular form, and perhaps partly roofed with wood.
Reference: Thomas 1860b, Pl.XI: Fig.3.

24. LOCH AN ATH RUADH, AIRD MHOR, UIG (Aird Mhor NB 030 174)
Location: on the west side of the loch.
Structures: a both. An irregular circle, 1.8-2.1m (6-7') in diameter, the walls rising perpendicularly for 91cm (3'). The structure was corbelled. The size of the rooms was limited. A *farlos* (smoke-hole) was left open in the apex of the structure. There were two doors, 76cm (2.5') high and 61cm (2') broad. They were placed so that the line joining them cut off one side, approximately two-thirds of the enclosed area. From door to door, there was a row of flat stones, a few centimetres in height, forming a *being* (bench), and, behind, a bed. In front of the bench, and midway between the two doors, was the fire. A longish stone above it was used to hang the pot from. There were also cuphoards in the walls of the hut. On the outside, chinks in the stone were stuffed with grass and moss, and then the whole lot was covered with a thick turf layer.
Reference: Thomas 1860b:136-7, Pl.XI:Fig.4. See also Figs.1-2.

25. AIRD MHOR, UIG (NB 030 174)
Location: on Aird Mhor, the southernmost of the boths, near Loch na Caillich.
Structures: a complete both, cased with turf. It stood at the steep face of a small brae and the back was formed by the side of the hill.

There was mor than one chambei: the main one, 1.91m (6.25') high under the farlos; next to this was a smaller chamber, with a flat roof, 1.4m (4.5') high at the centre; then, a small irregular chambei, 99cm (3.25') high, entered by a step 76cm (2.5') above ground level In the main chamber a gap between two naturally placed rocks, was filled in behind to form a *cuiltean* (cupboard).
Reference: Thomas 1860b:143-4, Pl.XIII:Figs.4-6 .

26. AIRD MHOR, UIG (c. NB 049 183)
Location: the northernmost both, near Loch na Caillich.
Structures: one both. This was entire but deserted. On one side was the native rock. The plan was square, with doors at alternate sides, and in front of one of them was a short passage at ninety degrees to break off the force of the wind (*fosgalan*).
Reference: Thomas 1860b:138, Pl.XIII:Figs.1-3

27. GEARRAIDH, AIRD MHOR, UIG (c. NB 030 174)
Location: Gearraidh na h-Airde Moire, on the shore of Loch Resort.
Structures: described as the most singular and probably unique of structures. There were twelve individual beehive huts, all built touching each other, with doors and passages from one to the other. The diameter was 14m (46'), and it was nearly circular in plan. The height of the doors and passages was 76cm (2.5'). Two of the chambers had a maximum height of 1.98m (6.5'). There were three distinct suites of chambers, perhaps the dwellings of three separate families. The chambers were scarcely larger than any of the other bothan recorded. Two chambers were still roofed, but in a ruinous condition, and both fell in after Thomas' men had finished digging the floor of the chambers. No finds were made, other than red ash marking the position of the fire, and a large number of scattered shells. A both near this one, was one of the most complete found by Thomas. There was one large chamber, and a small, irregular store or churn-room, still entire. Attached, was another good-sized both that served as a dairy.
Reference: Thomas 1860b:139,144, Pl.XIV:Figs.1-4; Pl.XV; Pl.XVI.

28. BEINN-A-CHUILLEIN (? NB 204 244)
Location: the eastern extremity.
Structures: ruined structures, which were utilised as shielings by the crofters of Bernera up to little more than 30 years previously. After the grazings were incorporated into the deer-forest, they were abandoned.
Reference: Mackenzie 1904:174.

29. AVON SUIDH, UIG
Location: near the lake form which runs the Avon Suidh, 3 miles (4.8km) to the west of Loch Meabhag.
Structures: a combination of circular beehive hut and oblong, square or ordinary form. The square part contained a chamber 2.9m (9.5') by 1.7m (5.6'), with small cuphoards on three sides. It was roofed with timber. The walls were 1.5-2.4m (5-8') thick, and were very rudely built. To one side of this oblong chamber was a circular, stone-roofed building. This contained the sleeping place. The doorway was 30cm (12"), and led into a square chamber. The remains of thatch and rafters were still there.
Reference: Thomas 1860a:129.

30. CARN A' MHARC, GRESS
Location: some 3.2km (2 miles) north-west of Gress Lodge. A chambered cairn on the southern hillside slope of Druim a Chairn, lying at a height of 84m (275').
Structures: two small circular or oval settings of stone in the immediate vicinity of the chambered cairn, probably the remain of shielings.
Reference: RCAHMS 1928:16.

HARRIS

31. LOCH MEAVAIG
Location: about 0.8km (0.5 miles) from the head of Loch Meavaig, on the moor.

Structures: 2 beehive huts, 1 of which was complete and one 1 in ruins. They lay but a few yards apart, and were situated under the shelter of a land cliff. They were also near good pasture. The ground was rugged, and scattered across it were large blocks of gneiss. Thomas noted that it was difficult to distinguish the huts. Hut 1 was 5.5m (18') in diameter and 2.7m (9') in height. The ground plan was an irregular circle. The walls at the base were 1.5m-1.8m (5-6') thick. The thickness was filled with a jumble of stones and turf. Above a height of 0.9m (3'), the walling was in a singl course, and formed a b ehive. A single stone covered the spa e at the top. The doorway was a rude square, 90cm (3') high, and some 61cm (2'). The interior chamber was sub-circular, with diameters of 2.4m (8') and 2.1m (7'). At its centre, the structure stood to a height of 1.8m (6'). There were four recesses or cuphoards. The second hut differed slightly from this, in that the walls began to close in from the base of the structure, and it had a prolongation on the west side, probably forming a sleeping chamber. The chamber was 1.8m (6') in diameter. The cell was 1.4m (4.5') long, from 46-61cm (1.5-2') wide, and 71cm (2'4") in height.
Reference: Thomas 1860a:127-8. Thomas noted that the man who first saw the light in one of these boths was supposed to still be alive.

32. BAC A' GHAILL (NB 167 049)
Location: in a col.
Structures: two v ry ruined huts.
Reference: Miller 1967a:215. Miller postulated that these had one been refuges for travellers.

33. (NB 108 965)
Location: near Loch Laxdale.
Structures: one hut, which became a croft and was then abandoned.
Reference: Miller 1967a:215.

34. (NB 145 044)
Location: the road north of Tarbert.
Structures: three bothies with one dairy roofed with a single slab. Miller described it as being 'menhir-like'.
Reference: Miller 1967a:215.

35. (NB 152 051)
Location: Cnon Leathan.
Structures: four bothies.
Reference: Miller 1967a:215.

36. (NB 109 046)
Location: Teilesnish Bay.
Structures: a ruined bothy surrounded by lazy-beds, and there is evidence of an abandoned clachan by the shore.
Reference: Miller 1967a:215.

NORTH UIST

37. ÁIRIDHAN AN T' SRUTHAIN GHAIRBH (NF 7956 6938)
Location: Ben Aulasary.
Structures: six shielings lie around a cairn, and there is a seventh to the SW.
Reference: N.M.A.S., 1965.

38. ÁIRIDHAN AN T-SRUTHAIN GHAIRBH (NF 795 694)
Location: Marrival.
Structures: at least a dozen shielings built of stone robbed from the chambered cairn. They lie on the summit and side of the mound as well as in the immediate neighbourhood. One of the huts was much better preserved than the rest. It was rectangular with rounded corners and internally 2.7m by 1.8m (9 by 6'). The walls were of dry-stone construction and stood to a height of 1.2m (4'). There were two doorways almost opposite each other in the long walls.
Reference: RCAHMS 1928:78.

39. LOMBAIDH (NF 7610 7560)
Location: this is an island in Vallay Strand, on the north coast.

Structures: excavations revealed a group of buildings. Five or six separate chambers survived with walls 46cm (1.5m) high, and 75 112.5 m (30 45") thick. The interior measurements of two were 3.7m (12') by 2.4m (8'), and 3.2m (10'5") by 3.1m (10'). Some coarse pottery was found.
Reference: Beveridge 1911:214.

40. MACRORY'S SHIELING (NF 767 744)
Location: Vallay Strand.
Structures: the vestiges of a clachan of no less than twelve longh uses and seven bairns, some with kilns.
Reference: Miller 1967a:214.

41. BEN RISARY (NF 7667 7291)
Location: slopes of hill.
Structures: Buaile Risary, a large green mound, was partially excavated by Beveridge. Beneath several ruined shielings (at least 10), a wall 9.8m (32') in diameter, enclosed a central rectangular chamber, 3.1m (10') by 2.6m (8.5') internally. This had a central hearth. There were a number of other chambers and small, probably secondary cells. An annexe on the east side contained part of another, but in a complete enclosure. Near the centre were the traces of a second hearth. Pottery, Viking type iron rivets and stone flint implements were recovered. On the north summit of Buaile Risary were the foundations of a well-built dry-stone house of no great age. Modern pottery fragments were found. Also a small pebble with incised lines, believed to be an amulet.
Reference: Beveridge 1911:209-12; RCAHMS 1928:61; Miller 1967a:214.

42. TOROGHAS (NF 7636 7052)
Location: half way up the slope of the hill.
Structures: two green mounds some 30m apart, an each from 10.7 12.2m (35 40') across. Although overlain by modern shielings, both sites contained large stones and to Beveridge had the appearance of having been occupied by large circular structures of much earlier origin. Fragments of coars pottery and wood charcoal were found. Later inspection of the sites suggested that the mounds were typical shieling mounds, with superimposed structures.
Reference: Beveridge 1911:189; N.M.A.S. 1965.

43. (NF 794 704)
Location: Ben Aulasary.
Structures: two groups of bothies, the upper five huts possibly being formed from a prehistoric structure.
Reference: Miller 1967a:214.

44. (NF 747 714) (NF 750 713)
Location: South Clettraval.
Structures: Bronze Age tombs converted to shieling huts.
Reference: Miller 1967a:214.

45. ÁIRIGH NA GAOITHE (NF 828 677)
Location: rise on north side of Loch nan Eun.
Structures: no less than twenty-six buildings.
Reference: Miller 1967a:214.

46. (NF 897 714)
Location: Blashaval.
Structures: 3 bothies crowning conspicuous knolls formed by the debris of their predecessors. Two crofts were founded on the improved ground.
Reference. Miller 1967a:214.

47. ÁIRIGH AN OBAIN (NF 873 598)
Location: west of Eaval and Loch Obisary.
Structures: ruins of both shieling bothies and houses of clachans that superseded them.
Reference: Miller 1967a:214.

BENBECULA

48. BAILE FHLODAIDH

Location: the island of Flodday.
Structures: a slightly larger both than those in Lewis, with a second chamber which should have been a dairy but may have been a sleeping apartment. The communication entrance was only 45cm (18") wide.
Reference: Thomas 1867:163.
Figure: 99.

49. (NF 838 517)
Location: rocky east side of Benbecula.
Structures: poor crofts, now abandoned, presumed to have once been shielings.
Reference: Miller 1967a:214.

50. (NF 813 526)
Location: Loch nan Clachan.
Structures: prehistoric chambered cairn reworked to form a shieling both.
Reference: Miller 1967a:214

51. ÁIRIGH NA H-AON OIDHCHE (NF 817 525)
Location: Loch nan Clachan.
Structures: shieling located in the remains of a Bronze Age tomb.
Reference: Miller 1967a:214.

SOUTH UIST

52. (NF 7979 2644)
Location: Loch Lynort.
Structures: a group of at least eight dry-stone walled shieling-type structures. The walls survived to a maximum height of 1.3m, and there was possibly an associated enclosure. It had been suggested that this was an Early Christian site, but there was no evidence of occupation belonging to this period.
Reference: N.M.A.S. 1965.

53. (NF 7449 2713)
Location: c.100 yards south of the dun in Loch Greanabreck, on a shelf of ground between the loch and a bank which rises 1.8-3.1m (6-10') above it.
Structures: group of four hut-circles were identified. The largest was almost circular, with diameters of 5m (16.5') and 4.6m internally, and an entrance facing SE. To the SE was an oval foundation, 2.4m (8') by 1.8m (6'). In 1914 some of the circles were overgrown with grass, but the stones of the largest stood 30-46cm (1-1.5') above the ground. A re examination of the sites pointed resulted in the identification of some forty structures, formed by very slight stony banks. These varied in diameter. The oval foundation noted above was not located.
Reference: RCAHMS 1928:115; N.M.A.S. 1965.

54. (NF 7766 3696: 7782 3667)
Location: Meall Hukarvat.
Structures: footings of ten oval and circular shielings.
Reference: N.M.A.S. 1965.

55. (NF 8129 2277)
Location: an earth house situated on a stony mound some 300 yards, NNE of Loch nan Arm.
Structures: three circular stone chambers on the slope of the mound. They were some 2.4m (8') in diameter and their domical roofs had collapsed. From the highest chamber in the mound, an underground passage could be traced for 10.1m (33') until it entered a sub-oval beehive shaped chamber, 1.8m (6') by 1.5m (5'). It was believed that some of the remains at this site represented shielings.
Reference: RCAHMS 1928:118.

56. (NF 749 267)
Location: little over 0.8kms (0.5 miles) from the birthplace of Flora Macdonald.
Structures: Miller thought that this may have been the shieling where Flora Macdonald concealed Prince Charles. This hut formed part of a

series of huts, for example NF 784 337, NF 776 330, and others further along the road, such as the group of seven huts at NF 801 352 and the four huts at NF 802 215, aligned at the foot of the hillside, clear of the bogs on the flat ground.
Reference: Miller 1967a:213.

57. (NF 779 294, NF 803 296, NF 800 287)
Location: in the E-W valley.
Structures: groups of shieling huts. Ainambane later became a croft.
Reference: Miller 1967a:213, 214.

BARRA

58. (NF 685 050)
Location: on low ridges above a stream, and showing up as green patches on the hillside. Dun Chlif.
Structures: eight green mounds surrounded by heather and outcrop rock, each containing the remains of a shieling. These were round, oval and rectangular in form, and varied from 2.0m in diameter to 6.4m by 4.0m. The footings stood to a height of 40cm. There was no trace of pottery or shell-midden, as had been noted in 1959.
Reference: N.M.A.S. 1965.

59. (NF 6996 0490, NF 7009 0483, NF 6957 0499)
Location: Ben Vslain.
Structures: green mounds and fallen stones. Three shielings, one oval and two rectangular.
Reference: N.M.A.S. 1965.

60. HELLISAY (NF 7641 0375)
Location: close by the east shore of Hintish Bay.
Structures: three alleged burial cairns. One of these is a D-shaped shieling, 3.0m by 2.5m, and 0.6m high. It was built against the west face of a large boulder, 2.5m by 1.7m and 1.4m high. A similar structure was found to adjoin the boulder to the south-east.
Reference: N.M.A.S. 1965.

ISLAY

61. MARGADALE (NR 405 739)
Location: on the south facing slopes of the hill, at a height of c.75m a.s.l., in a fairly sheltered natural hollow in the middle reaches of the Margadale River.
Structures: a group of some twenty-five huts. The majority of the huts are on the left bank of the river, on low ridges and terraces. They form a clear linear pattern extending over more than 200m from NW to SE. Generally the huts were round-angled oblongs or sub-circular in form with an internal diameter of c.2m upwards. The stone and turf walls measured c.1m thick. Six bicameral structures were identified.
Other features: there are the remains of a turf and stone dyke, possibly an associated boundary, about 50m to the N of the northernmost hut. Later peat workings have destroyed much of the dyke and possible cultivation traces to the NE of the sites. Some 300m to the west of the site, there is another cluster of huts, about ten in all, grouped around the crest of a hill.
Reference: RCAHMS 1984:314. Note that it appeared that this upland tract may have been shared by two neighbouring farms.
Figure: 100.

COLL

62. CARNAN DUBHA (NM 200 576)
Location: lying at a height of c.60m a.s.l..
Structures: the remains of a two-chambered hut. The walls had survived on the whole as turf covered foundations, but an inter communicating doorway linking the two sub-circular chambers had two massive slabs standing to a height of about 1m. Each chamber measured a maximum of 5m in length, and the walls were about 1m thick.
Reference: RCAHMS 1980:239-240.
Figure: 101.

63. COIRE BHORRADAIL (NM 628 501)
Location: at the foot of Coire Bhorradail, near a number of tributaries, on a path of fairly level ground some 250m a.s.l..
Structures: remains of at least fifty huts, of various shapes and sizes. These were represented by either turf or dry-stone footings. The smaller huts were, on the whole, circular in plan and appeared to have been mainly of turf. Most were single-chambered. The stone-walled huts were sub-rectangular and could measure up to 6-7m by 4.9m. Some possessed opposed doorways, and it was suggested that they were possibly of later date than the turf-walled huts which were found to underlie them.
Reference: RCAHMS 1980: 240. The unusually large size of the shieling was probably due to the fact that the site lies astride two farms.
Figure: 102.

COLONSAY

64. BEINN BHEAG (NR 406 986)
Location: group lying within a fairly sheltered gully close to the summit of Beinn Bheag, at about 90m a.s.l..
Structures: at least four buildings of turf and dry-stone onstruction. Two had round angled walls and were oblong in shape. They were 5m and 4m long respectively. The former incorporated two small oblong intramural chambers. A third structure, lying across the gully, was of similar shape and onstruction to the main chambers of the above, and the fourth a an open-ended chamber, 5m by 2m, backing on to the north west enclosure.
Other features: at each end of the site, which extended over 56m, turf and rubble dyke remains blocked it off. The boundary survived in some places as a well defined boulder stone kerb, but was elsewhere either a line of stones or a band of rubble. Outside, were the remains of an oval building with turf covered stone footings. Lower down the slop was another group of huts and a hut circle.
Reference: RCAHMS 1984:305.
Figure: 103.

65. CARNAN EOIN (NR 410 985)
Location: in a natural holl w on the rocky east shoulder of Carnan Eoin, at a height of over 100m a.sl.. The site covered an area of about 50m N-S and 30m E W.
Structures: the remains of at least five roughly circular structures. Two lay near a marshy pond, whilst the rest were in the SE quarter. Each building, except one which was a smaller mounded platform, measured some 2m in internal diameter. The walls, generally over 1m thick, were of turf and drystone construction. Two of the buildings showed signs of possibly having small annexes, the rest were single chambers with a single entrance, in most cases facing N or W.
Reference: RCAHMS 1984:305.

IONA

66. LARAICHEAN (NM 261 221)
Location: on the summit of a knoll about 300m north of Laraichean, at a height of 45m a.s.l..
Structures: the remains of an oval structure, 4m by 3.3m, with an entrance marked by two large orthostats.
Reference: RCAHMS 1982:254.

67. MAOL NAN VAN (NM 264 225)
Location: some 600m to the north of the above stru ture, n the ea t slope of Maol nan Van. Lying at the edge of an area of form r arabl cultivation.
Structures: a single sub-rectangular hut, 4.5m by 3.3m, ith walls constructed of rounded granite boulders. There was an entran e in th north wall.
Reference: RCAHMS 1982:254.

KINTYRE

68. GARTAVAICH (NR 869 607)
Location: on the banks of the Abhainn Leum nam Meann, at a height of 210m a.s.l..
Structures: the buildings varied not only in size and shape but also in their state of preservation. One of the largest was some 6.1m by 3m. Most were sub-rectangular in shape and were constructed of stones laid either with mud mortar or on their own. It was suggested that the upper parts of the walls may have been formed of turf. In some cases, the entrances were marked by large stone slabs set on edge. No evidence was found to indicate the roofing arrangements, but it appeared likely that they were of rough timber construction with a turf covering.
Reference: RCAHMS 1971:197.
Figure: 104.

69. TALATOLL (NR 778 528)
Location: lying on open moorland, 1.6km SE of Talatoll, at about 140m a.s.l.. The majority of huts were grouped around two rocky hillocks on the left hand side of a burn.
Structures: an extensive cluster of huts - 43. Variations were noted in size and shape and state of preservation. They appeared to have been built of stone and turf, and possessed entrance doorways frequently formed by stone slabs on end. The majority consist of a single chamber. Only a few had two chambers and two or three were three-chambered. The smallest of the single-chambered was 2.7m by 2.1m, and the largest 6.1m by 4.9m. 0.9m appears to have been the average wall thickness.
Other features: about 180m to the S were the remains of a smaller group on the other side of the burn.
Reference: RCAHMS 1971:200.
Figure: 105.

CATALOGUE 6

CATALOGUE OF SHIELING SITES RECORDED IN THE MANX MUSEUM SITES AND MONUMENTS RECORD, APRIL 1988

1	0058.10	THE SLOC, RUSHEN	SC 2174 7732
2	0144.20	CLOUGHWILLY, GRANITE MOUNTAIN, MALEW	SC 2915 7664
3	0301.21	ARCHALLAGAN, MAROWN	SC 304 781
4	0301.11	ARCHALLAGAN, MAROWN	SC 304 781
5	0301.31	ARCHALLAGAN, MAROWN	SC 304 781
6	0409.20	GLEN DHOO, BALLAUGH	SC 353 899
7	0440.00	GLEN DHOO, BALLAUGH	SC 353 902
8	0443.00	LHERGYRHENNY, LEZAYRE	SC 377 888
9	0477.20	LHERGYRHENNY, LEZAYRE	SC 384 879
10	0488.00	LHERGYRHENNY, LEZAYRE	SC 386 887
11	0466.00	BLOCK EARY, LEZAYRE	SC 403 894
12	0550.00	GLEN TRAMMAN, LEZAYRE	SC 402 913
13	0551.00	SLIEAU MANAGH, LEZAYRE	SC 402 913
14	0552.00	SLIEAU MANAGH EAST, LEZAYRE	SC 419 910
15	0553.00	GLEN AULDYN, LEZAYRE	SC 418 906
16	0554.10	CORNAA VALLEY; CRONK EARY; LIEN EAYST, MAUGHOLD	SC 4244 8894
17	0554.20	CORNAA VALLEY; CRONK EARY; LIEN EAYST, MAUGHOLD	SC 4305 8916
18	0554.30	CORNAA VALLEY; CRONK EARY; LIEN EAYST, MAUGHOLD	SC 4319 8938
19	0554.40	CORNAA VALLEY, MAUGHOLD	SC 4324 8938
20	0554.50	PARK LLEWELLYN, MAUGHOLD	SC 4328 8937
21	0560.50	THE BARONY, MAUGHOLD	SC 461 875
22	0624.00	WINDY CORNER; HAIRDWILLAGH, LONAN	SC 399 845
23	0637.00	SNAEFELL; LAXEY GLEN, LONAN?	SC 403 872
24	0638.00	CLOSE MOOAR; MULLAGH OUYR, LONAN?	SC 408 856
25	0711.00	SLIEAU MAGGLE, BRADDAN	SC 348 852
26	0712.00	INJEBRECK, BRADDAN	SC 3615 8555
27	0713.00	INJEBRECK, BRADDAN	SC 359 851
28	0714.00	GLEN CRAMMAG, BRADDAN	SC 3698 8727
29	0715.00	CLOSE FARM, DRUIDALE, BRADDAN	SC 364 879
30	0716.00	GLION FEEAGH; EAST BALDWIN	SC 377 852
31	0717.00	EAST BALDWIN, BRADDAN	SC 387 855
32	0721.20	BALDWIN, BRADDAN	SC 365 836
33	0725.00	INJEBRECK, BRADDAN	SC 358 849
34	0785.00	SLIEAU FREOAGHANE, MICHAEL	SC 347 874
35	0797.00	SLIEAUMAGGLE PLANTATION	SC 333 851
36	0798.00	SLIEAUMAGGLE PLANTATION, MICHAEL	SC 335 859
37	0799.00	UPPER SARTFELL, MICHAEL	SC 328 867
38	0800.00	SARTFELL, MICHAEL	SC 336 879
39	0801.00	SLIEAU FREOAGHANE, MICHAEL	SC 334 883
40	0802.00	SLIEAU FREOAGHANE, MICHAEL	SC 345 883
41	0803.00	SLIEAU FREOAGHANE, MICHAEL	SC 333 885
42	0804.00	SLIEAU FREOAGHANE, MICHAEL	SC 343 888
43	0807.20	THE RHEAST, MICHAEL	SC 351 872
44	0808.00	DRUIDALE, MICHAEL	SC 3518 8771
45	0811.20	DRUIDALE, MICHAEL	SC 354 876
46	0816.00	SLIEAU DHOO; DRUIDALE, MICHAEL	SC 362 890
47	0817.00	SLIEAU DHOO; DRUIDALE, MICHAEL	SC 357 888
48	0818.00	SLIEAU DHOO; DRUIDALE, MICHAEL	SC 354 889
49	0830.20	SLIEAU CURN; MICHAEL	SC 3388 9042
50	0851.00	SLIEAU CURN, MICHAEL	SC 345 901
51	0861.31	SHUGHLAIGQUIGGIN, MICHAEL	SC 3200 8672
52	0983.20	BEARY MOUNTAIN, GERMAN	SC 302 822
53	0987.00	EAIRY MOOAR, GERMAN	SC 302 836
54	0988.00	BLABER RIVER, GERMAN	SC 322 834
55	0989.00	BALLAHIMMIN STREAM, GERMAN	SC 326 845
56	1001.20	DOARLISH CASHEN, PATRICK	SC 2351 7826
57	1002.00	THE LHARGHAN; GLEN RUSHEN, PATRICK	SC 243 785
58	1018.00	GLEN RUSHEN, PATRICK	SC 241 765
59	1019.00	UPPER GLEN RUSHEN, PATRICK	SC 235 760
60	1020.00	UPPER GLEN RUSHEN, PATRICK	SC 234 755
61	1061.20	MULL HILL, RUSHEN	SC 190 678
62	1070.00	BLOCK EARY, LEZAYRE	SC 401 895

63	1568.00	EARY CUSHLIN, PATRICK	SC 2238	7577
64	1623.00	EARY BEDN; EARY KELLUE, LEZAYRE	SC 370	929
65	1628.00	BALLANEARY, LEZAYRE	SC 400	920
66	1629.00	EARY GORMAN, LEZAYRE	SC 396	922
67	1630.00	NEARY, LEZAYRE	SC 427	921
68	1721.10	COOILSLIEAU, GERMAN	SC 316	821
69	1721.20	COOILSLIEAU, GERMAN	SC 316	821
70	1722.00	BEARY, GERMAN	SC 312	829
71	1873.00	EARYSTANE, ARBORY	SC 2300	7259
72	1874.00	ARDAIREY; BALLACURPHEY, ARBORY	SC 2300	7259
73	1875.00	ARYSSYNOK; RONAGUE, ARBORY	SC 24	72
74	2099.00	EARY VEG; WEST BALDWIN, BRADDAN	SC 3520	8187
75	2414.00	GLION GILL, BRADDAN	SC 330	854
76	2433.20	RIVER GLASS, BRADDAN	SC 365	858
77	2479.00	BALDWIN, BRADDAN	SC 365	835
78	2500.00	LOWER SULBY, ONCHAN	SC 384	808

FIGURES

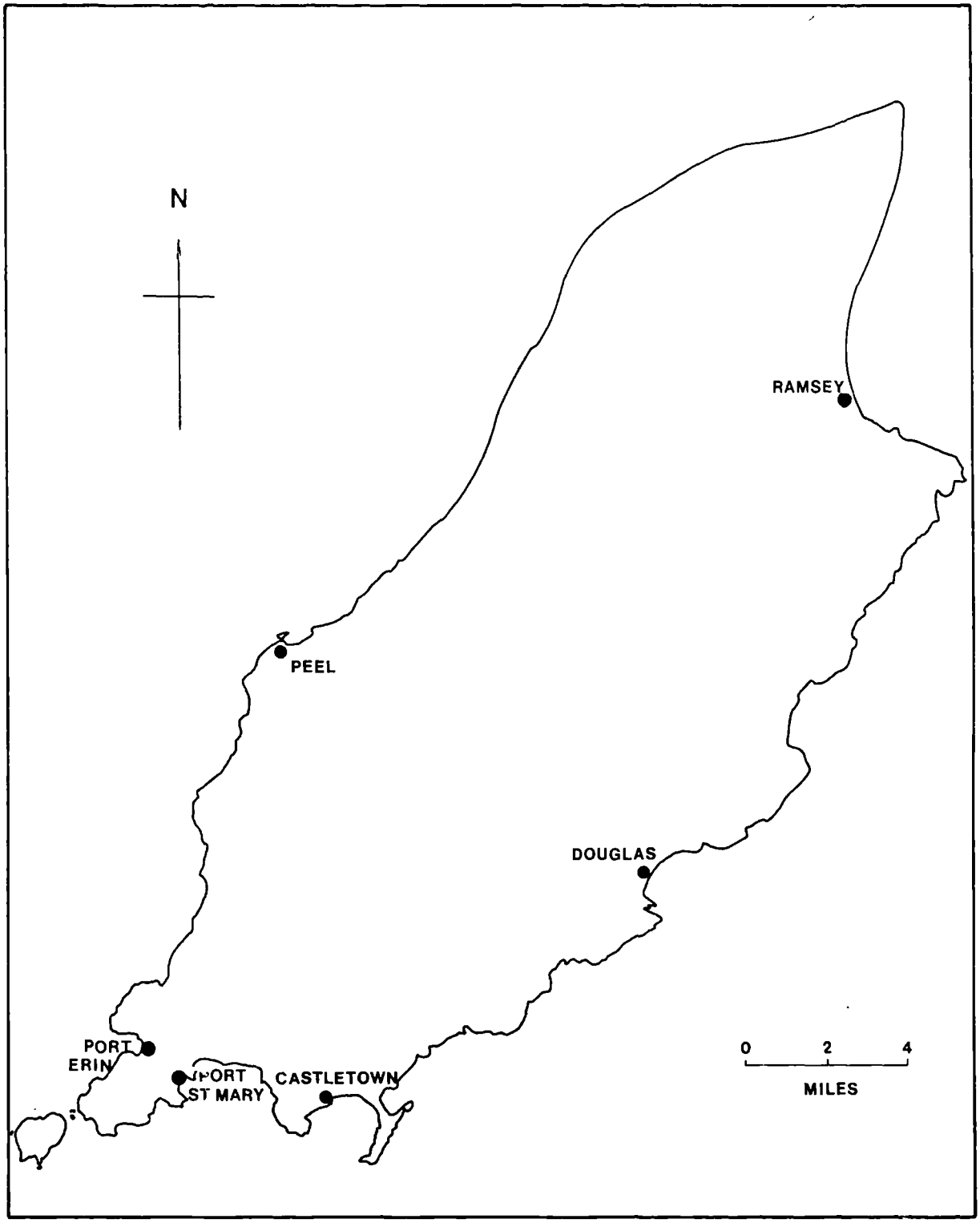


FIG. 1 ISLE OF MAN

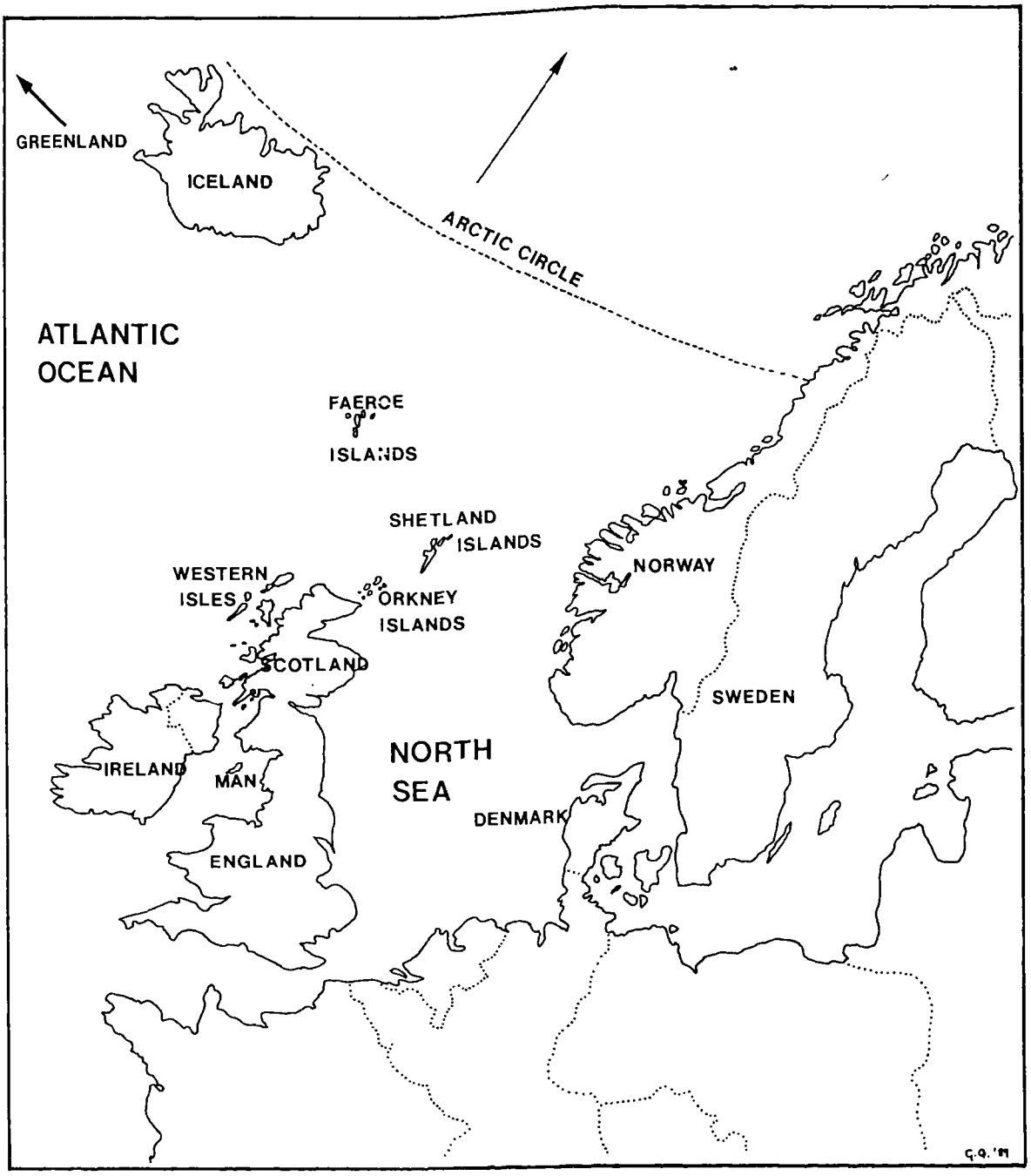


Fig. 2: The North Atlantic Norse Colonies

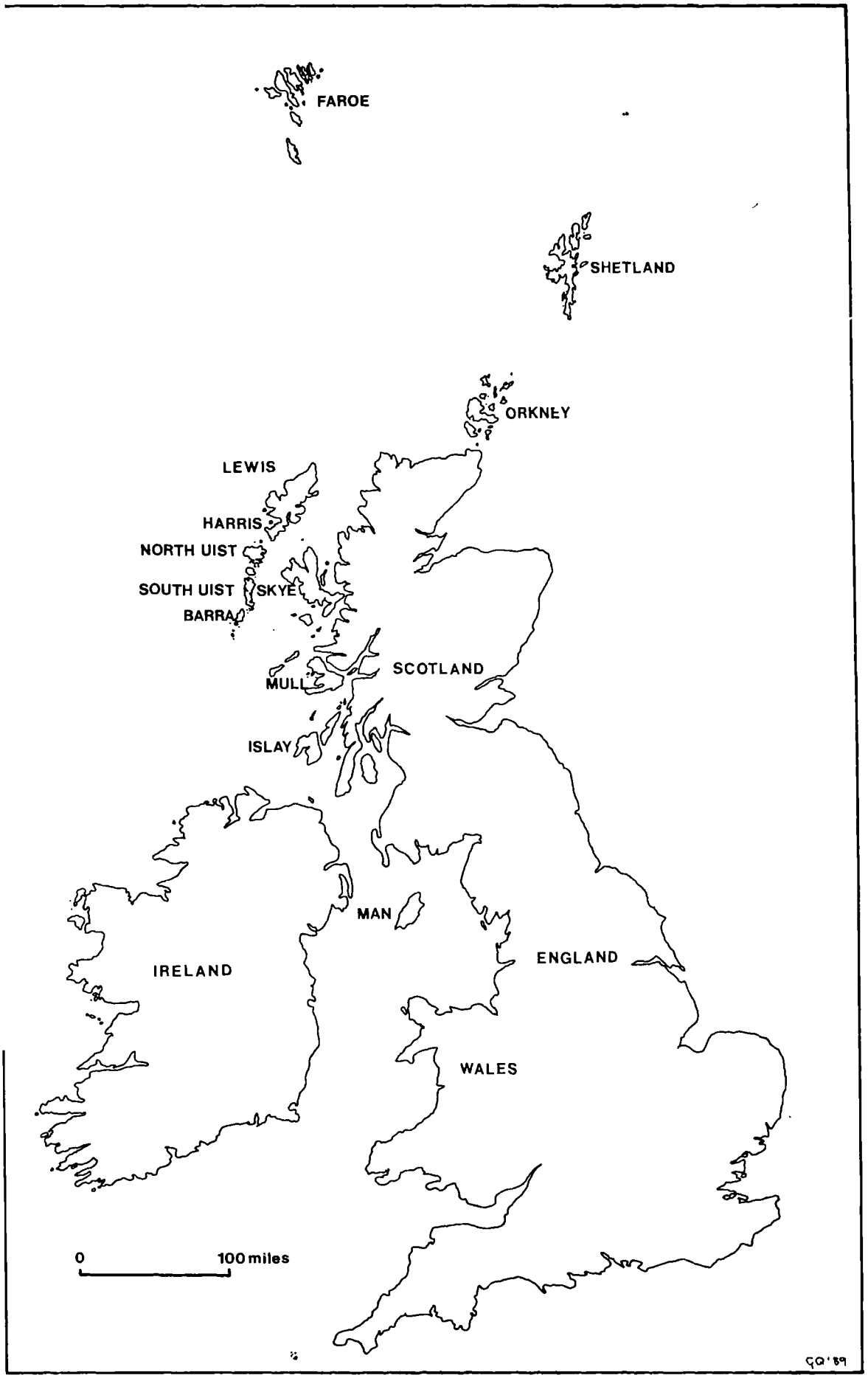


Fig. 3: The British Isles and the Faroe Islands

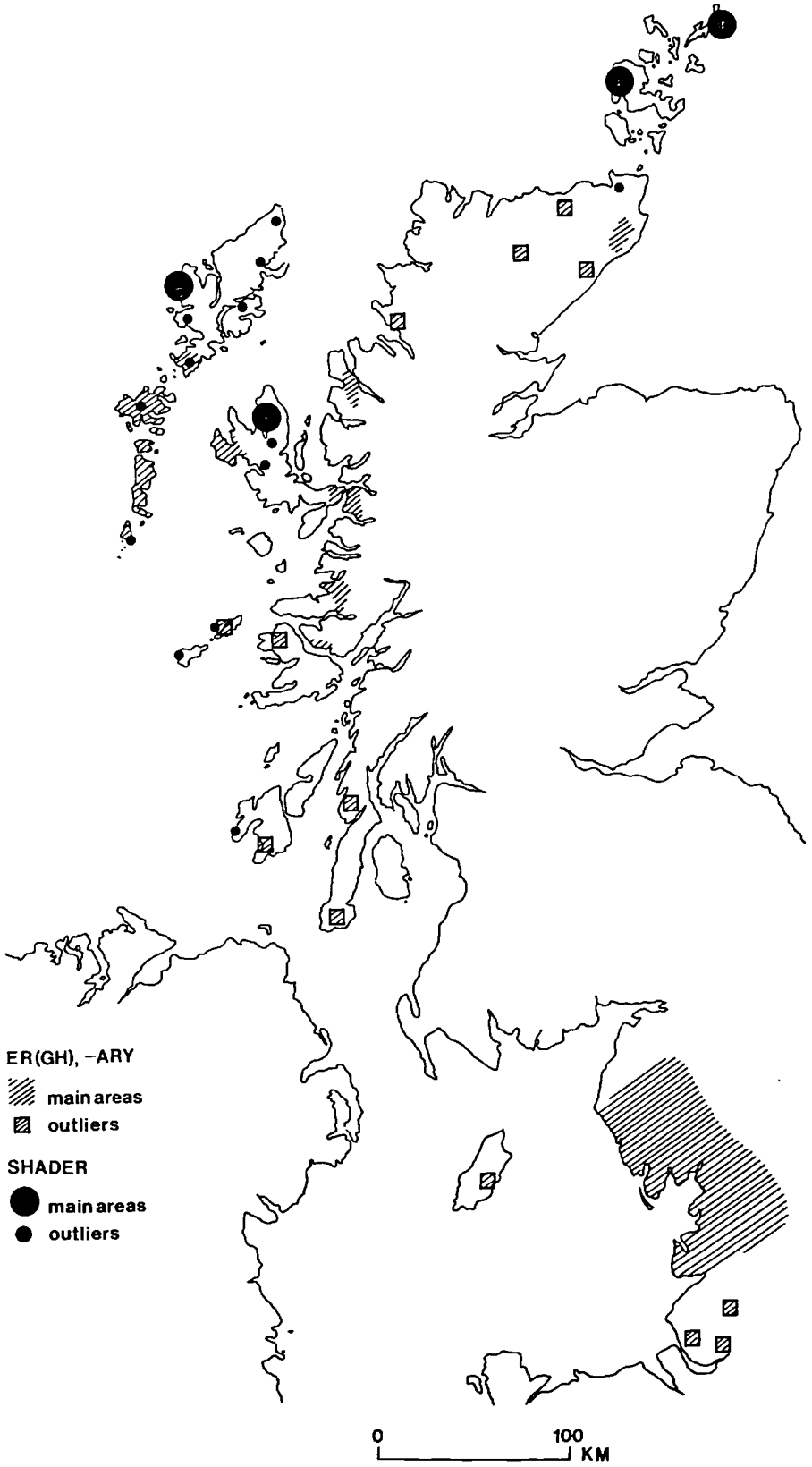


Fig. 4: Norse Place-Names in '-Ary', 'Er(gh)' and '-Sætr' (after E. Megaw 1978)

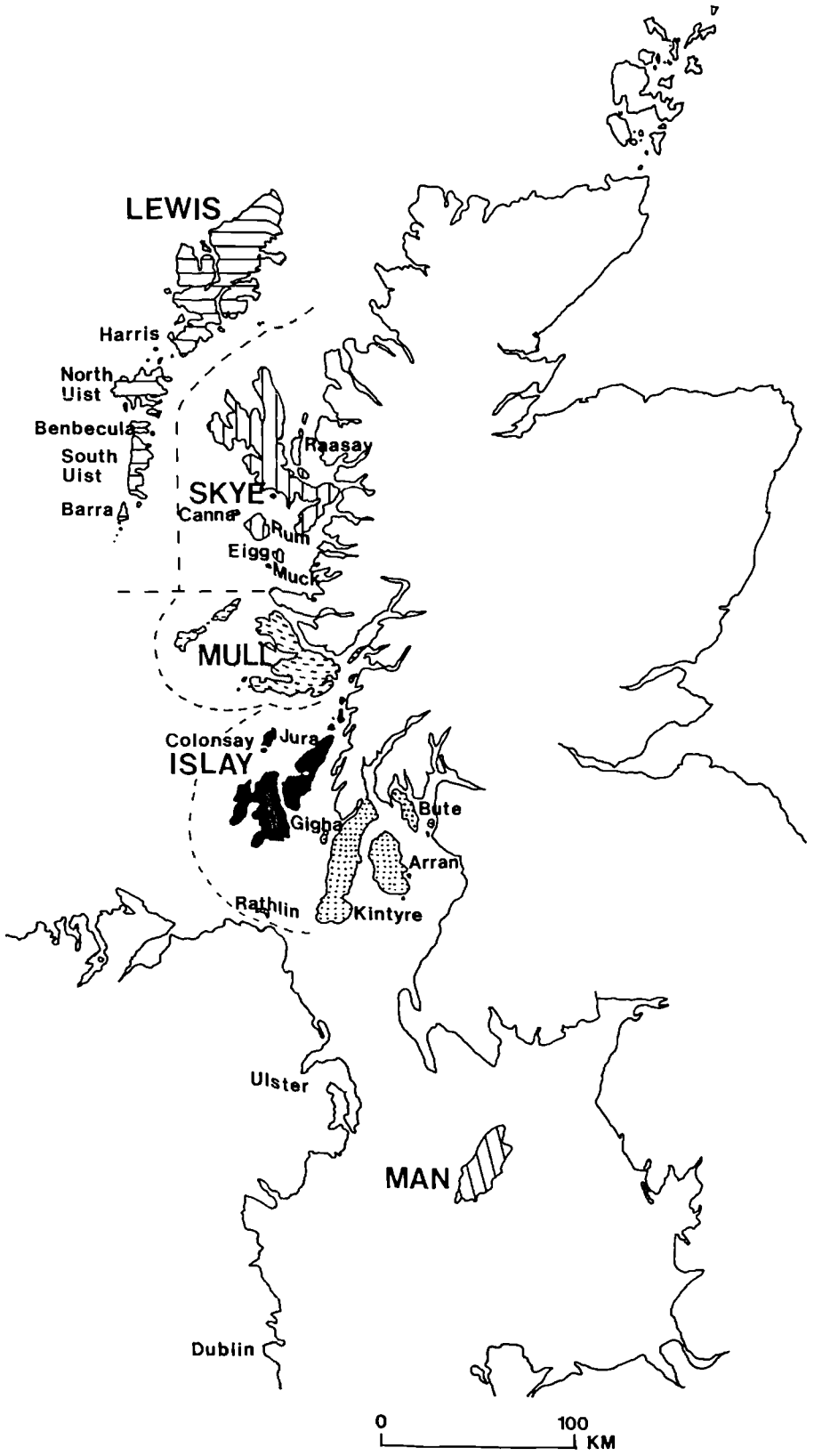


Fig. 5: The Norse Kingdom of Man and the Isles (after B. Megaw 1978). The map shows the division of the Hebrides into four administrative groups, as recorded in a sixteenth-century survey.

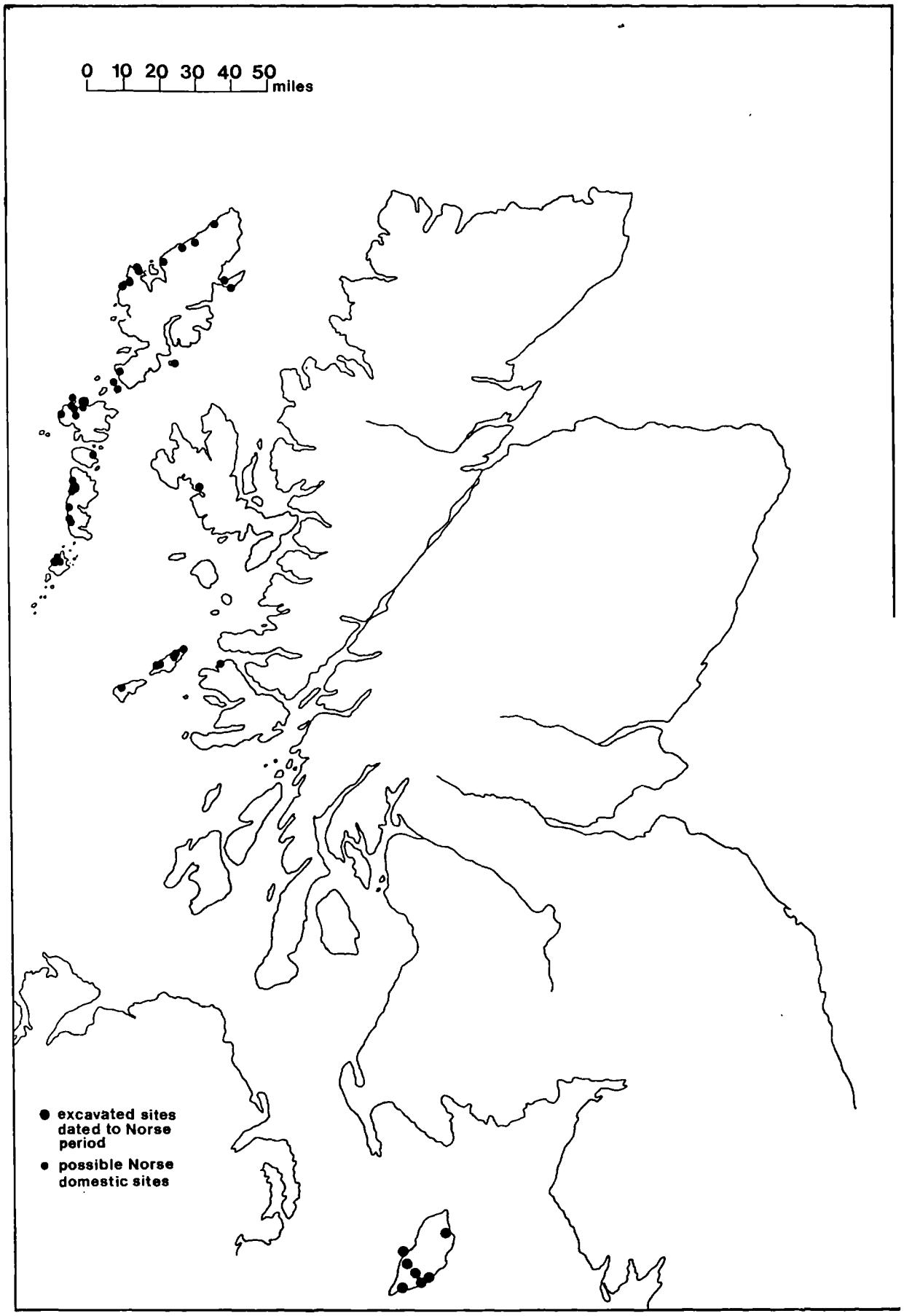


Fig. 6: The Distribution of Domestic Sites Dated to the Norse Period, including Possible Sites Identified on the Basis of Pottery Finds by A. Lane (1983).

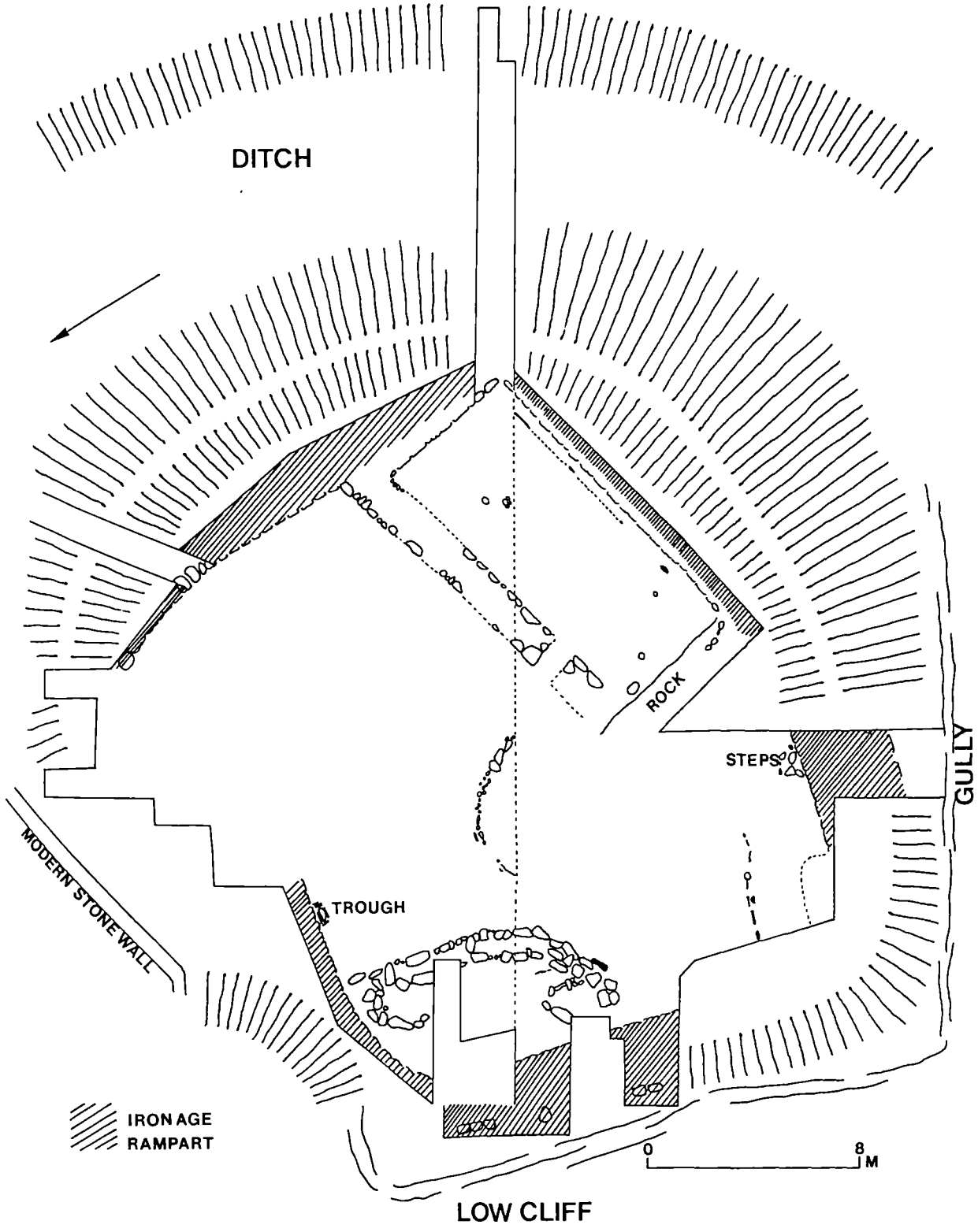


Fig. 7: Close ny Chollagh (after P. Gelling 1956)

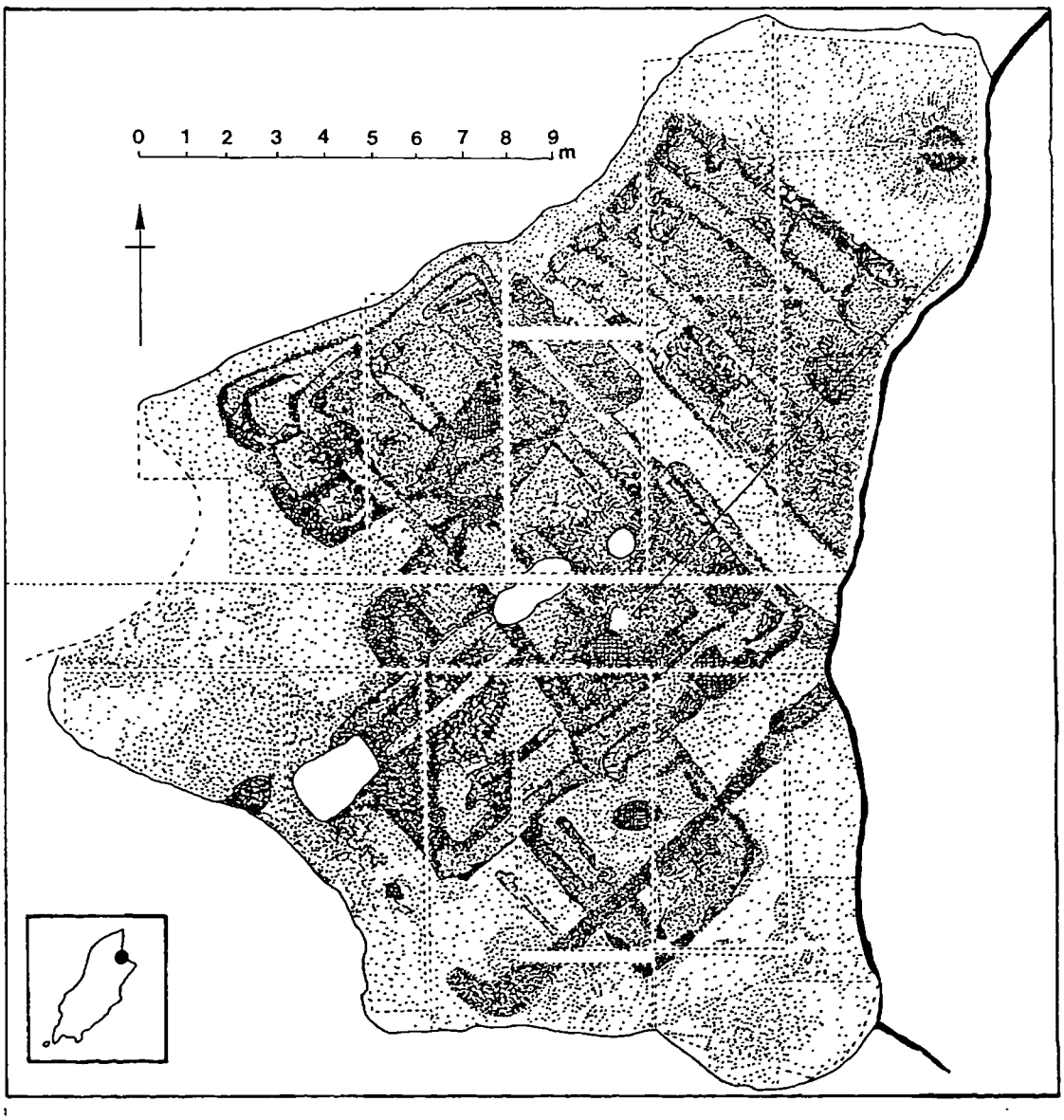


Fig. 8: Vowlan - excavated area inside the promontory (after Bersu 1949)

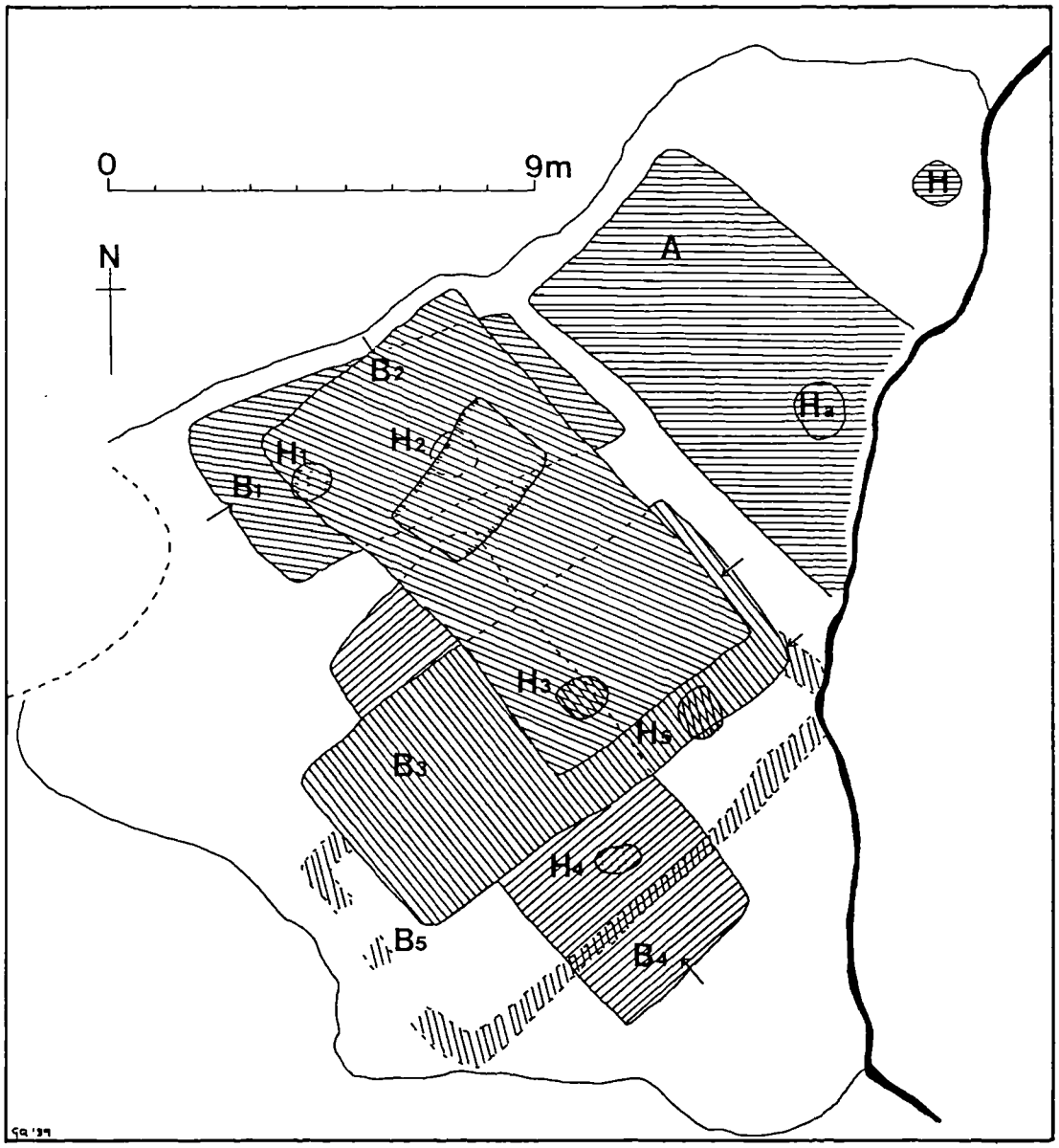


Fig. 9: Vowlan - diagram of houses (after Bersu 1949)

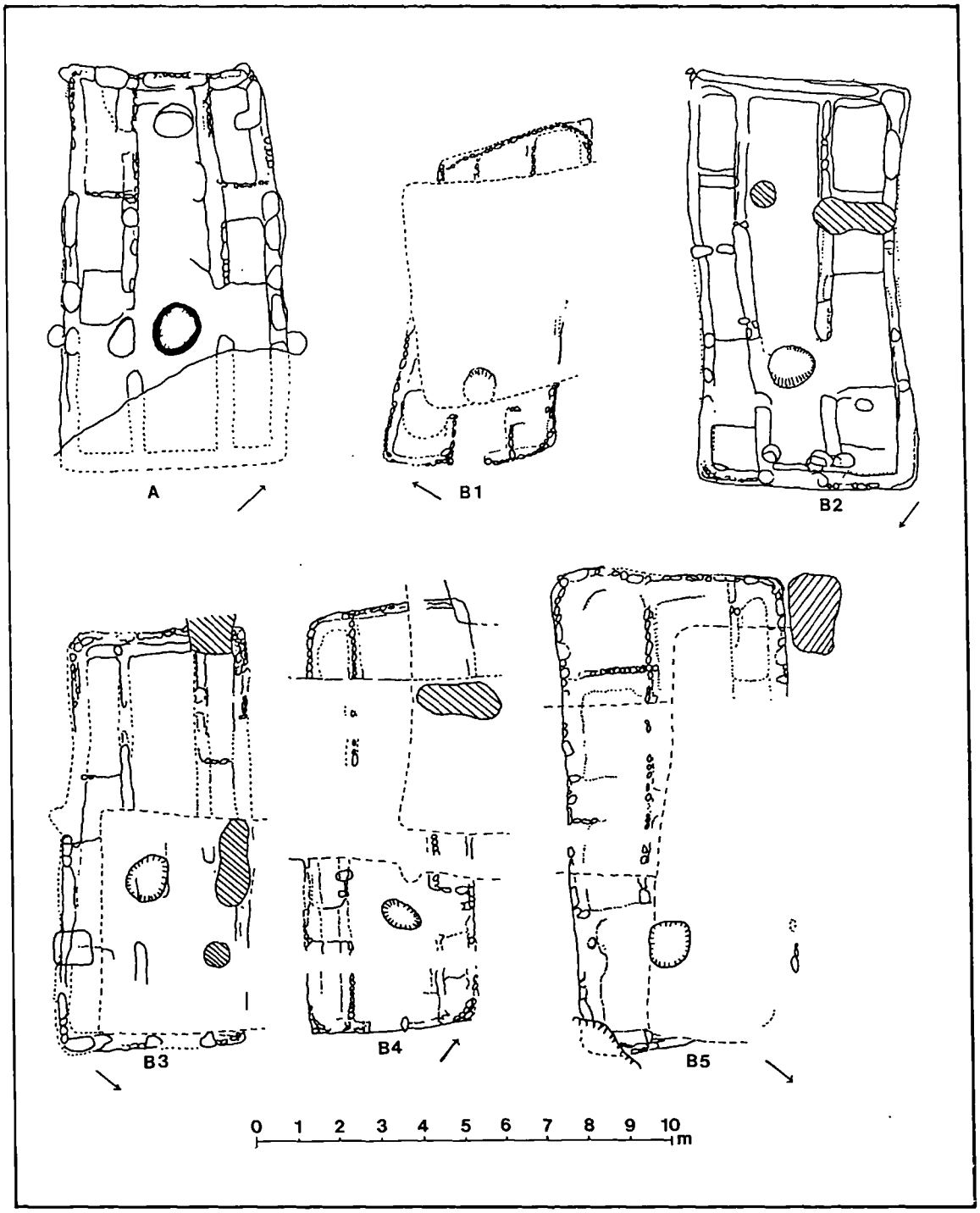


Fig. 10: Vowlan - ground plan of houses (after Bersu 1949)

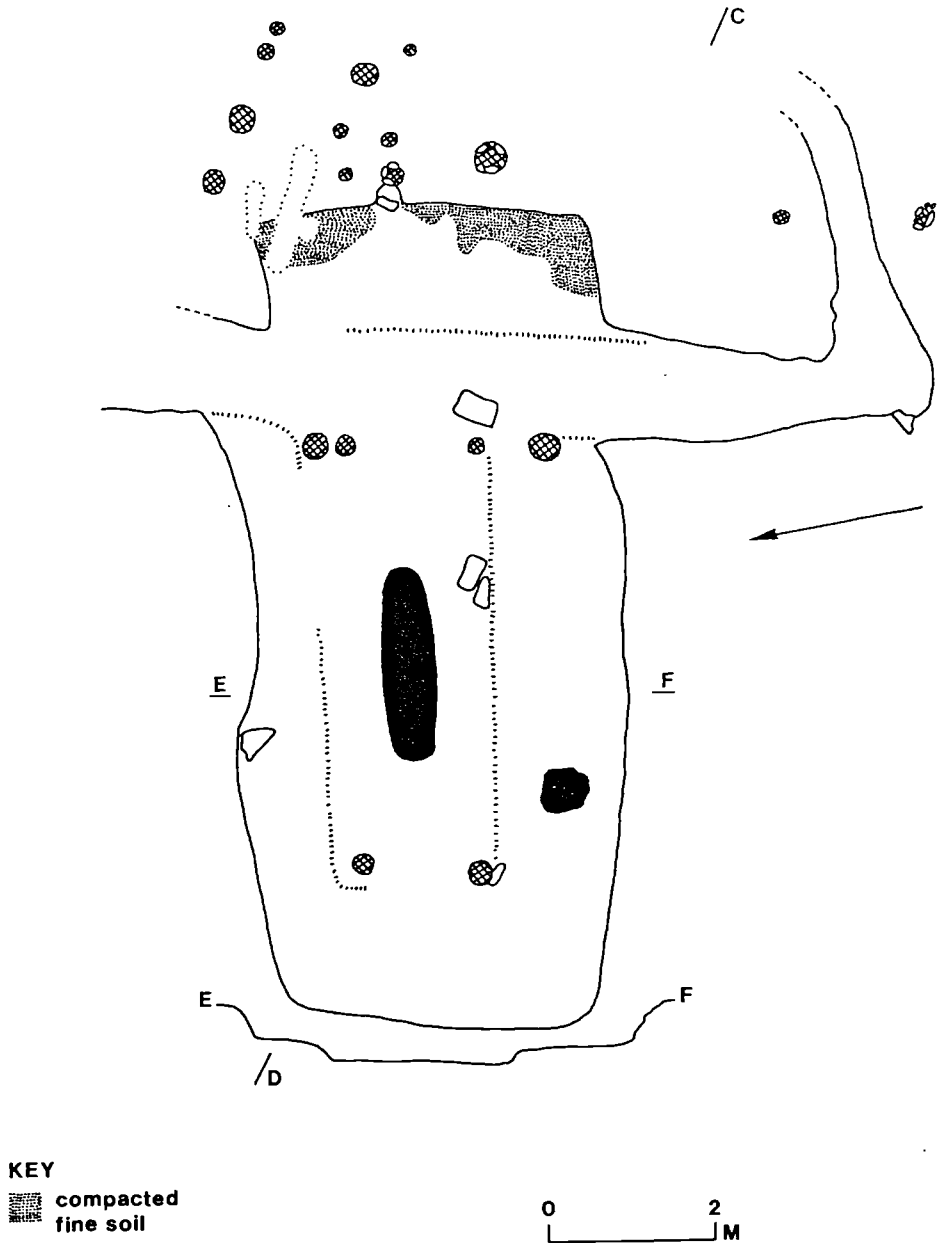


Fig. 11: Cass ny Hawin House (after P. Gelling 1958c)

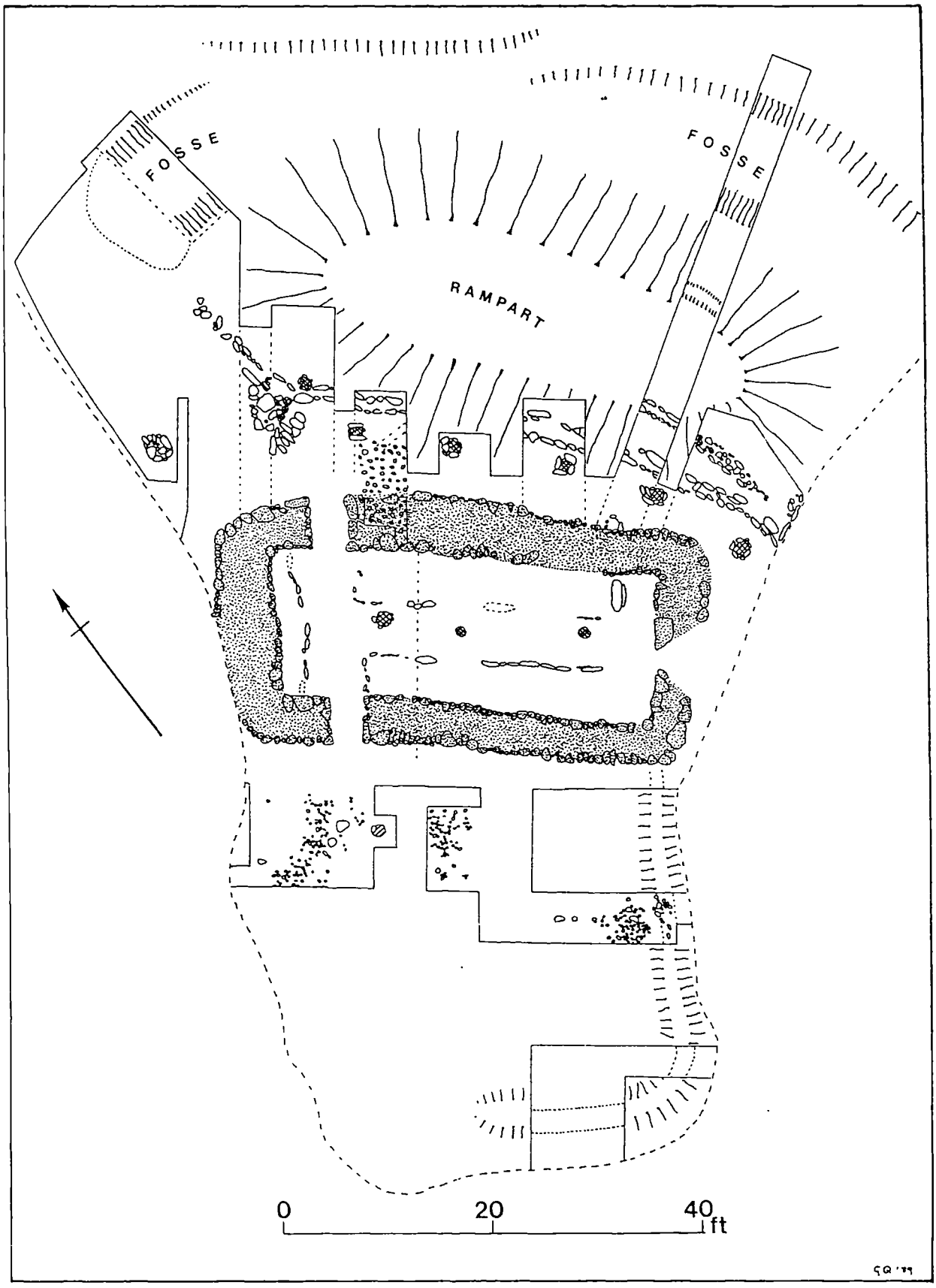


Fig. 12: Cronk ny Merriu (after P. Gelling 1952)

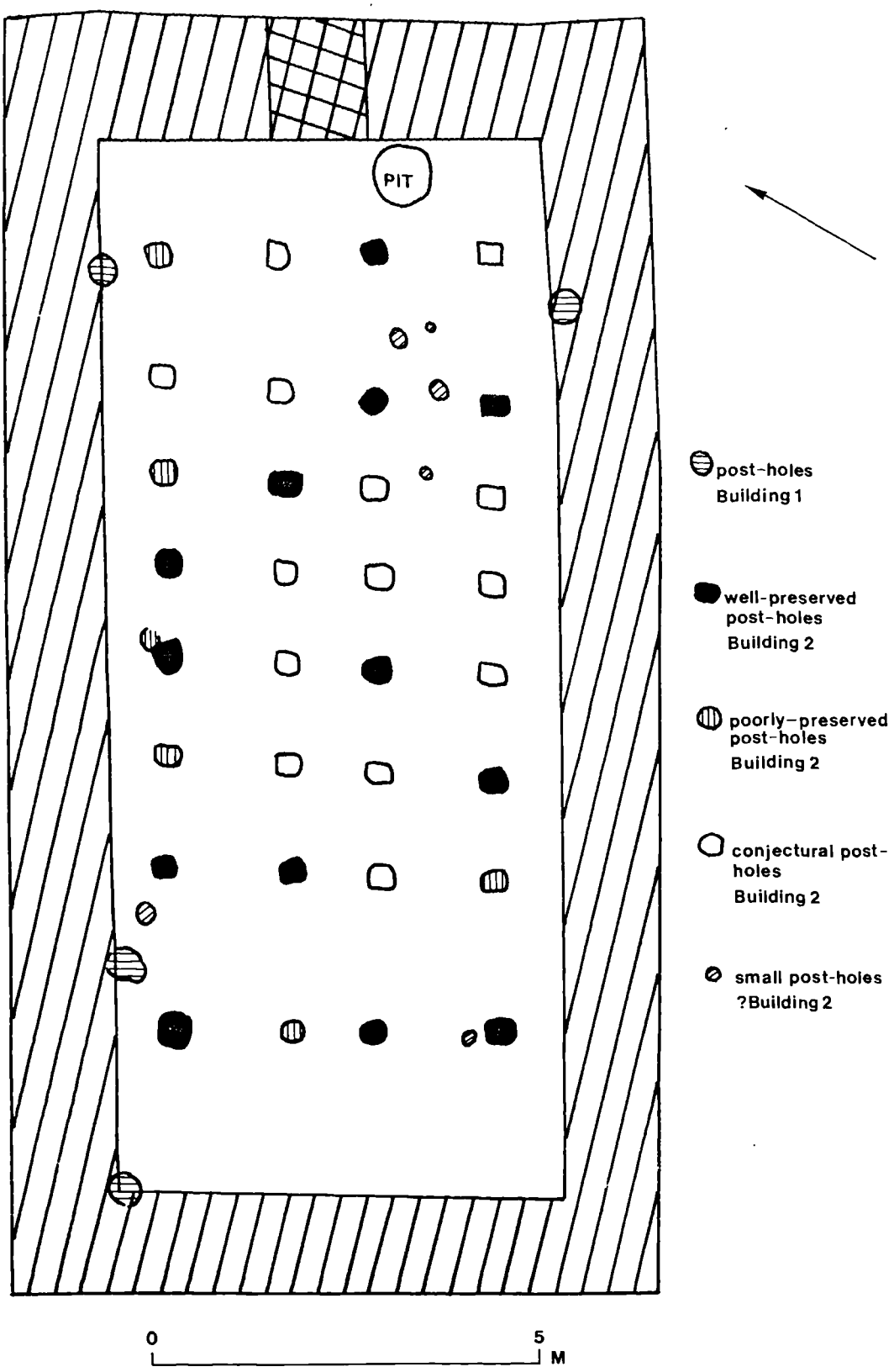


Fig. 13: Schematic Plan of the Structures at the Cashtal, Ballagawne (after Bersu 1966)

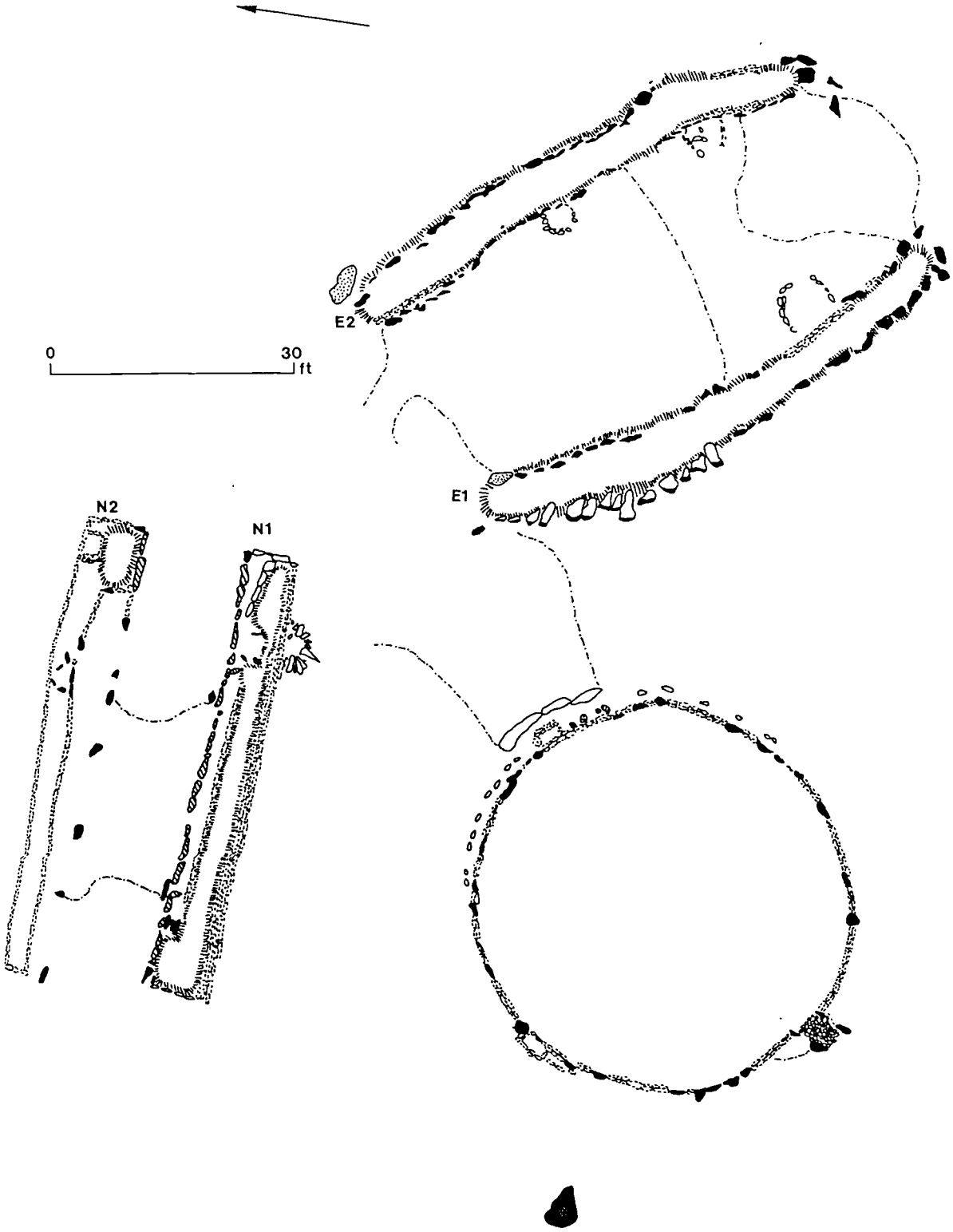


Fig. 14: The Braaid (after Fleure and Dunlop 1942)

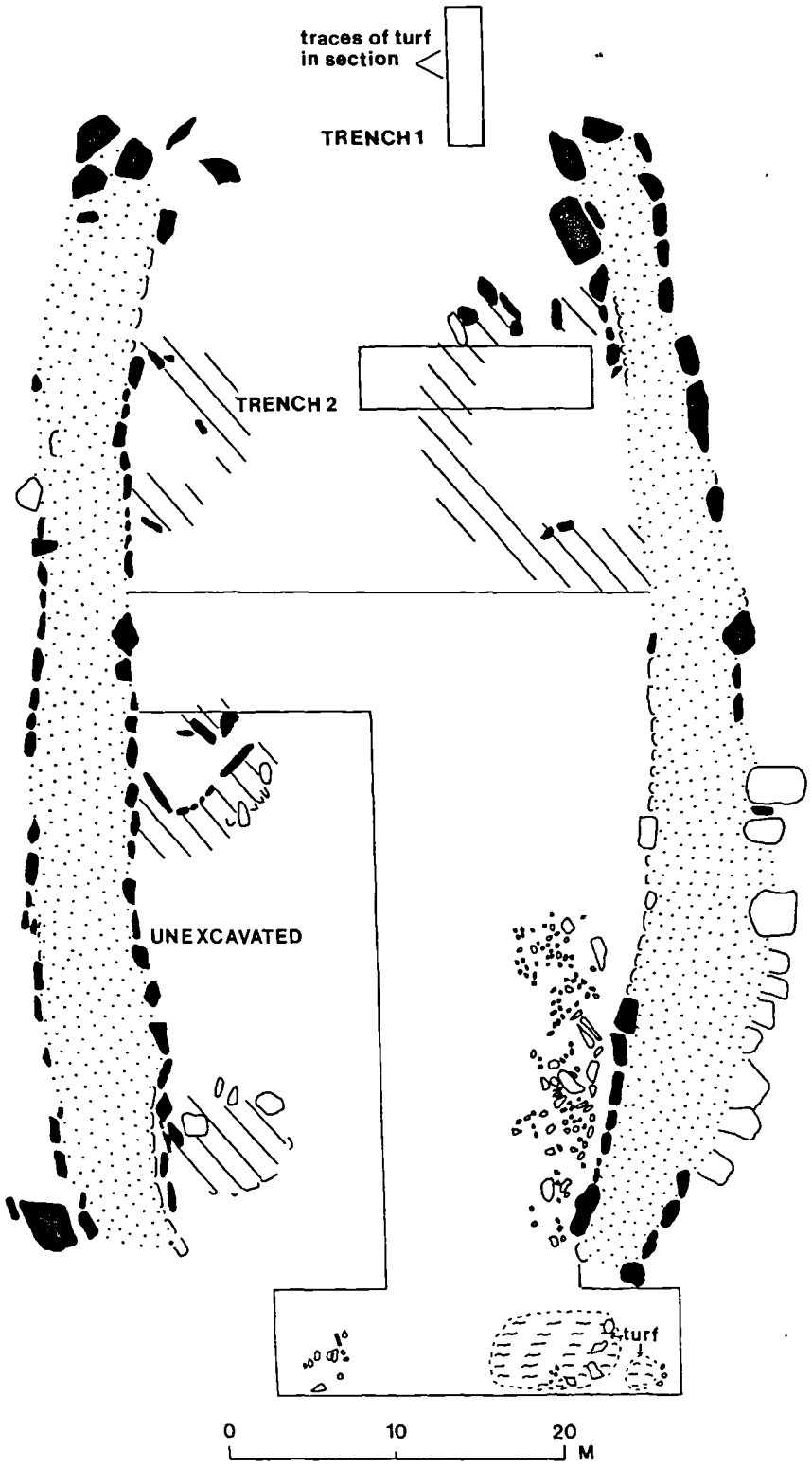


Fig. 15: The Braaid - the Re-Excavated House (after P. Gelling 1964)

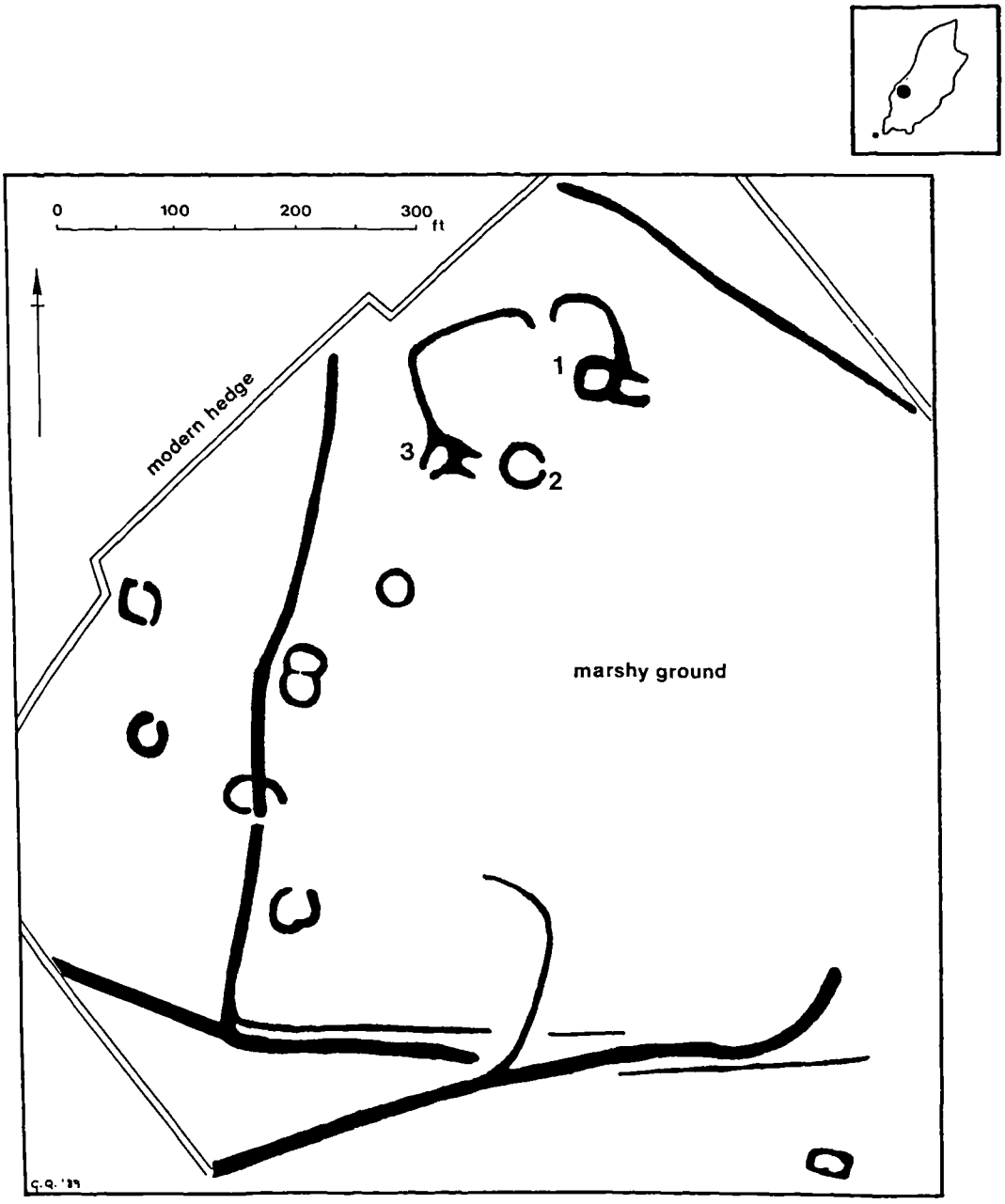


Fig. 16: Doarlish Cashen - the Site (after P. Gelling 1970b)

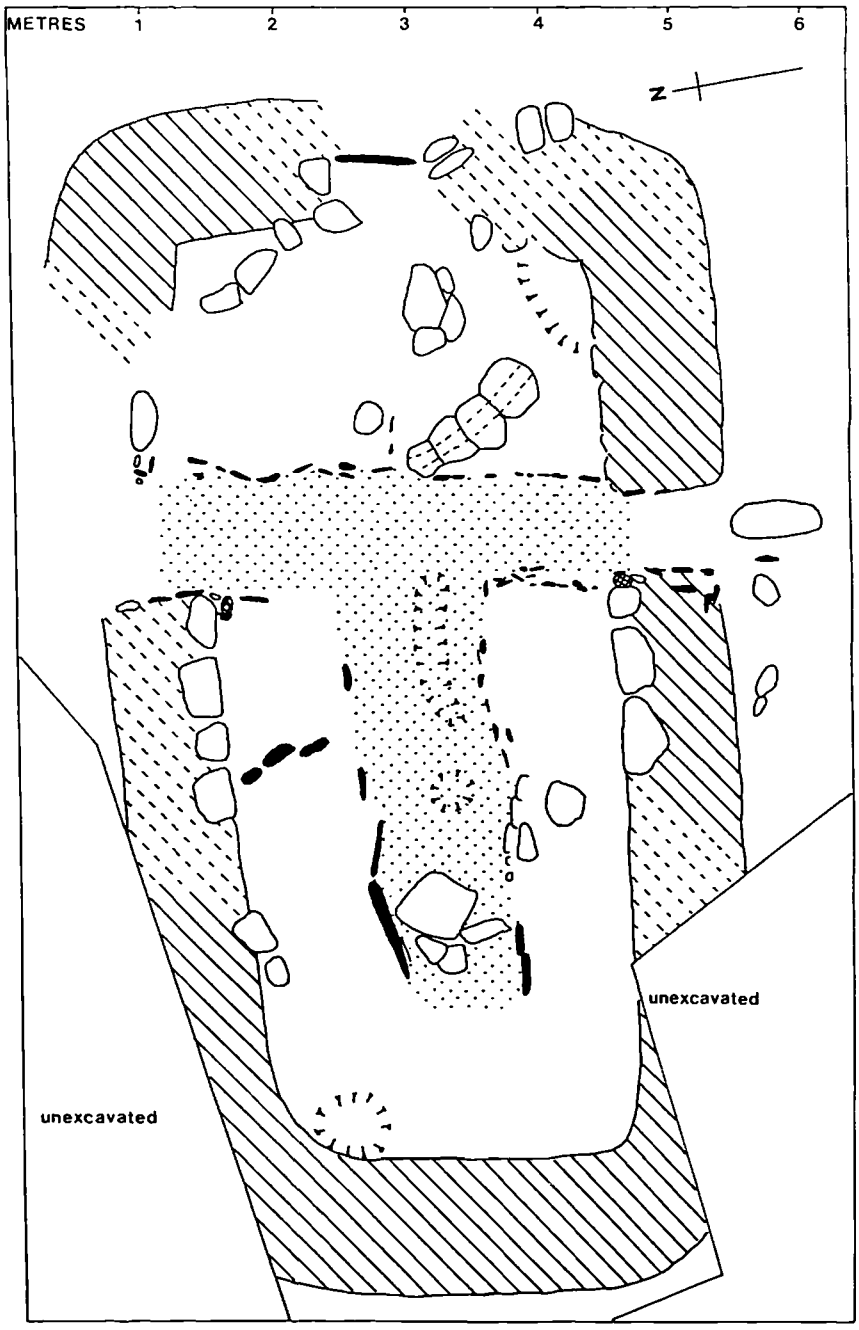


Fig. 17: Doarlish Cashen - the Possible Norse House (after P. Gelling 1970b)

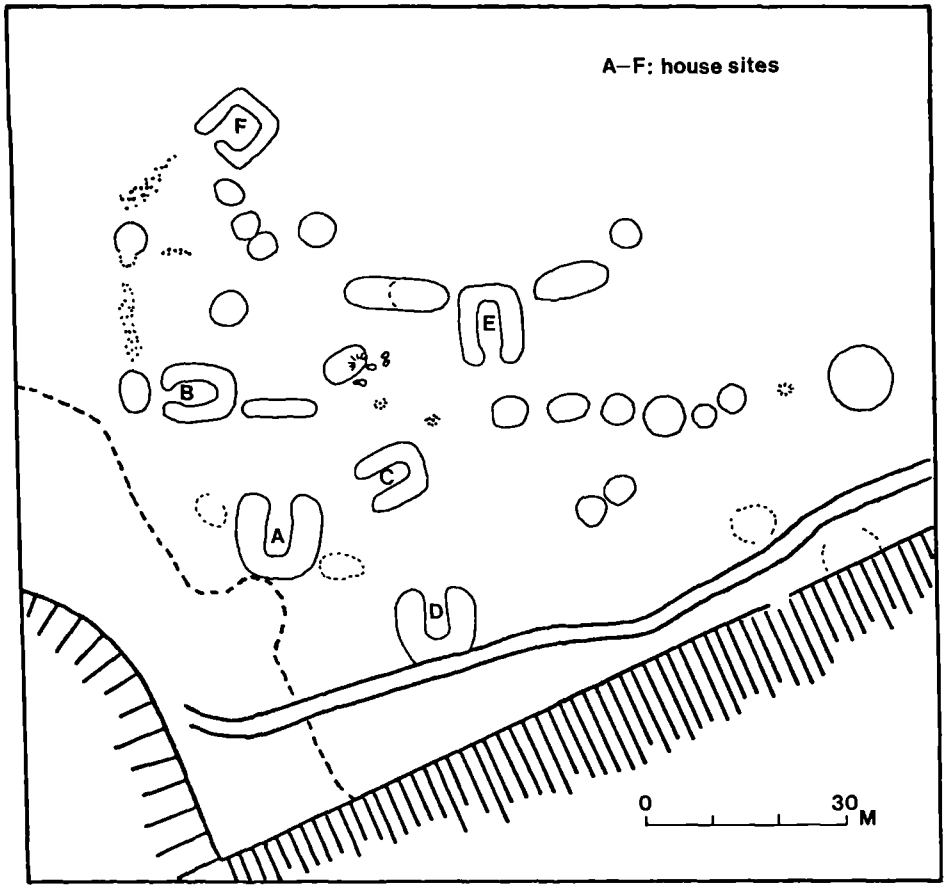


Fig. 18: Ytre Moa, Norway - the Site (after Bakka 1965)

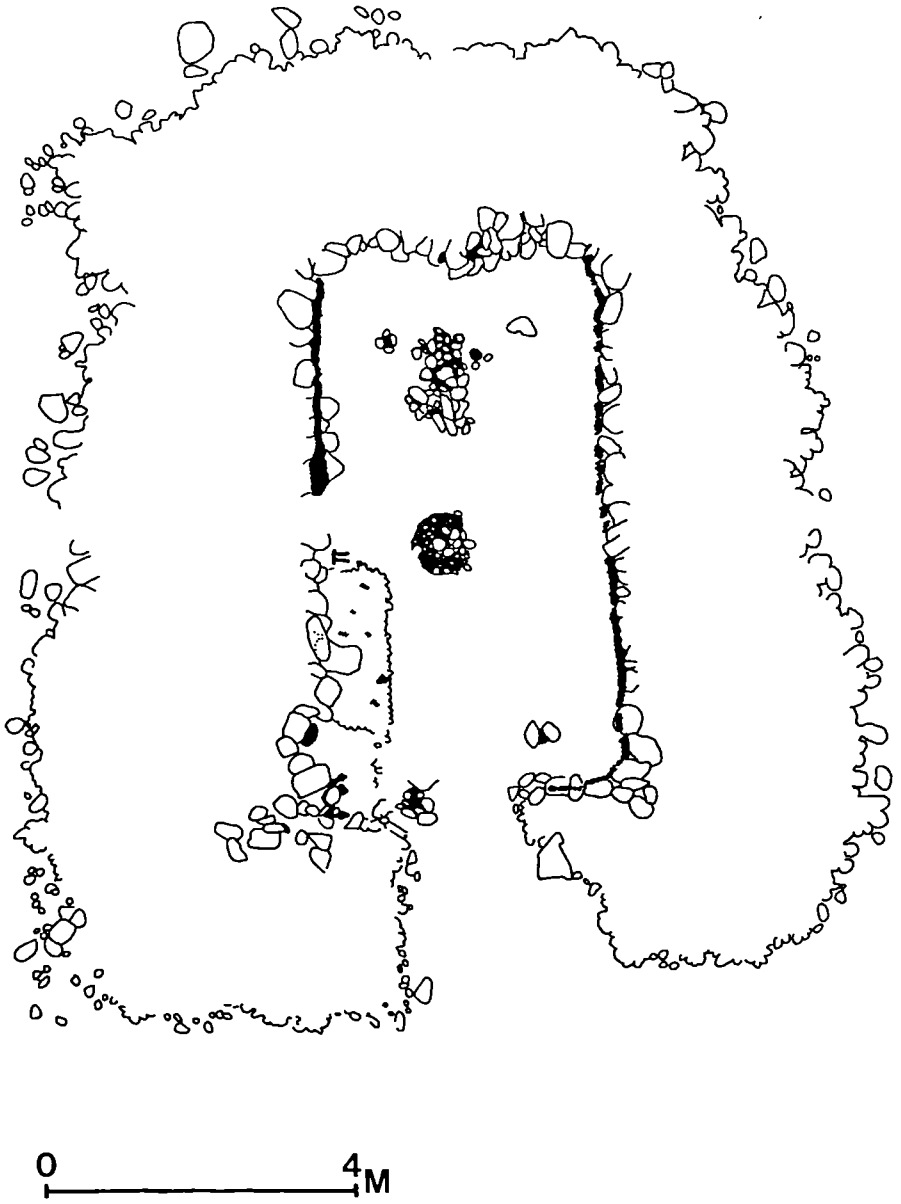


Fig. 19: Ytre Moa, Norway - Hut A (after Bakka 1965)

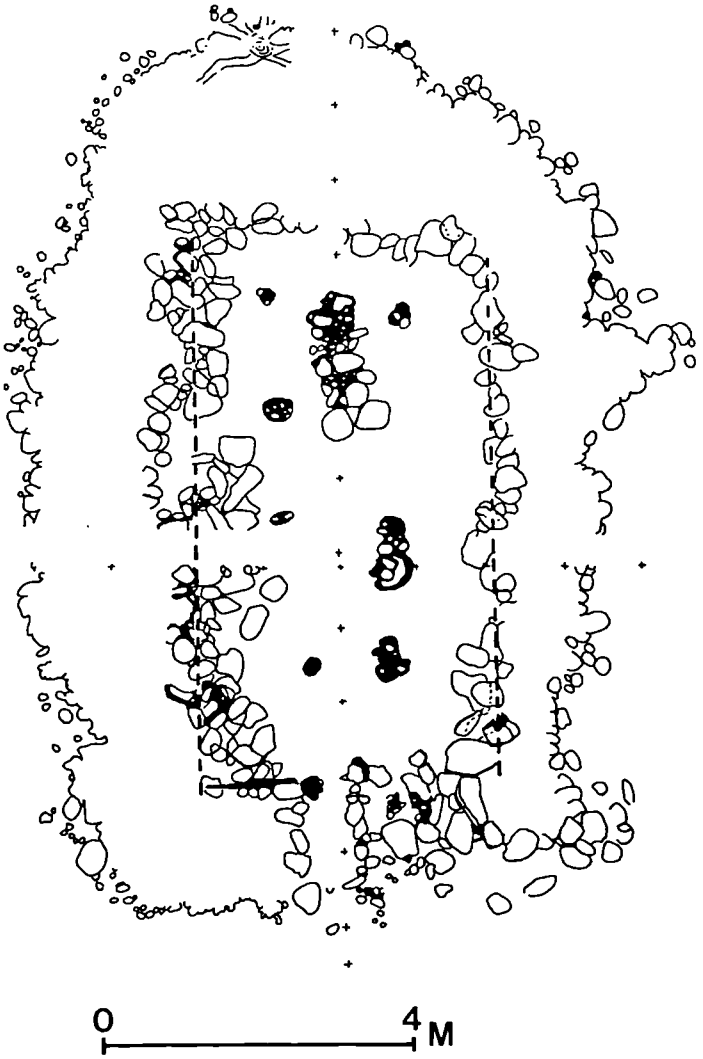


Fig. 20: Ytre Moa, Norway - Hut B (after Bakka 1965)

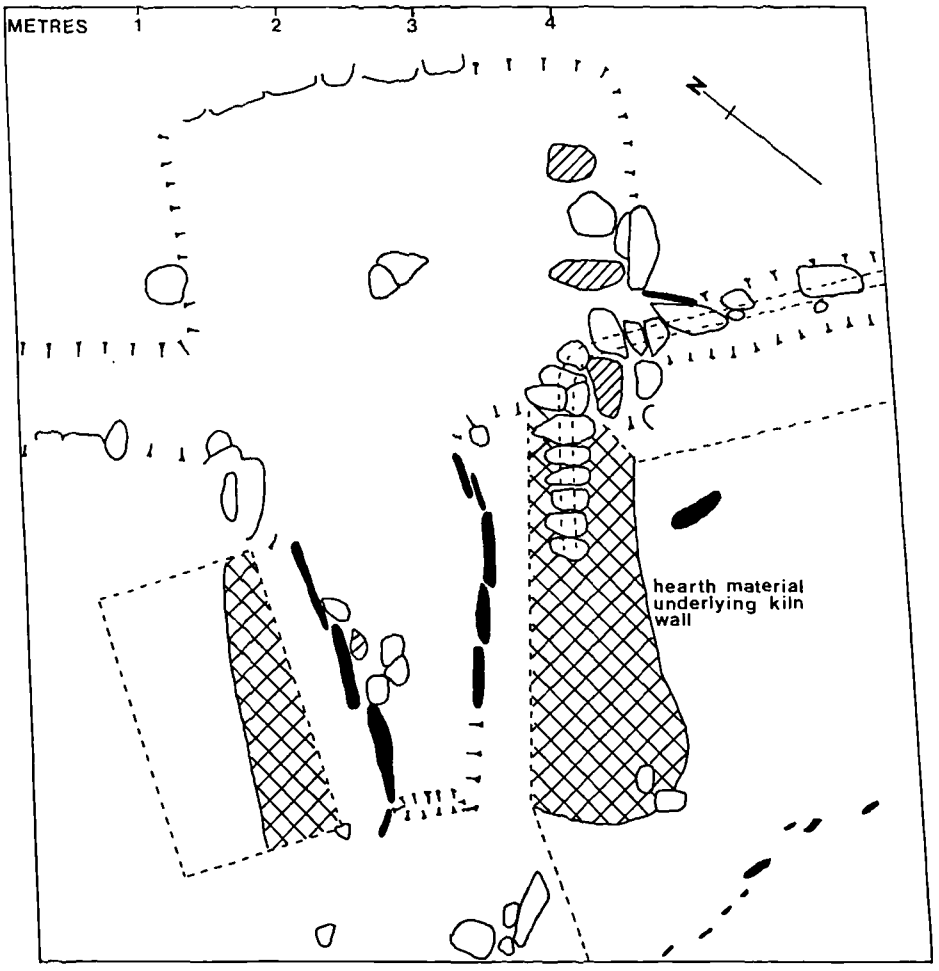


Fig.21: Doarlish Cashen - the Corn-Drying Kiln (after P. Gelling 1970b)

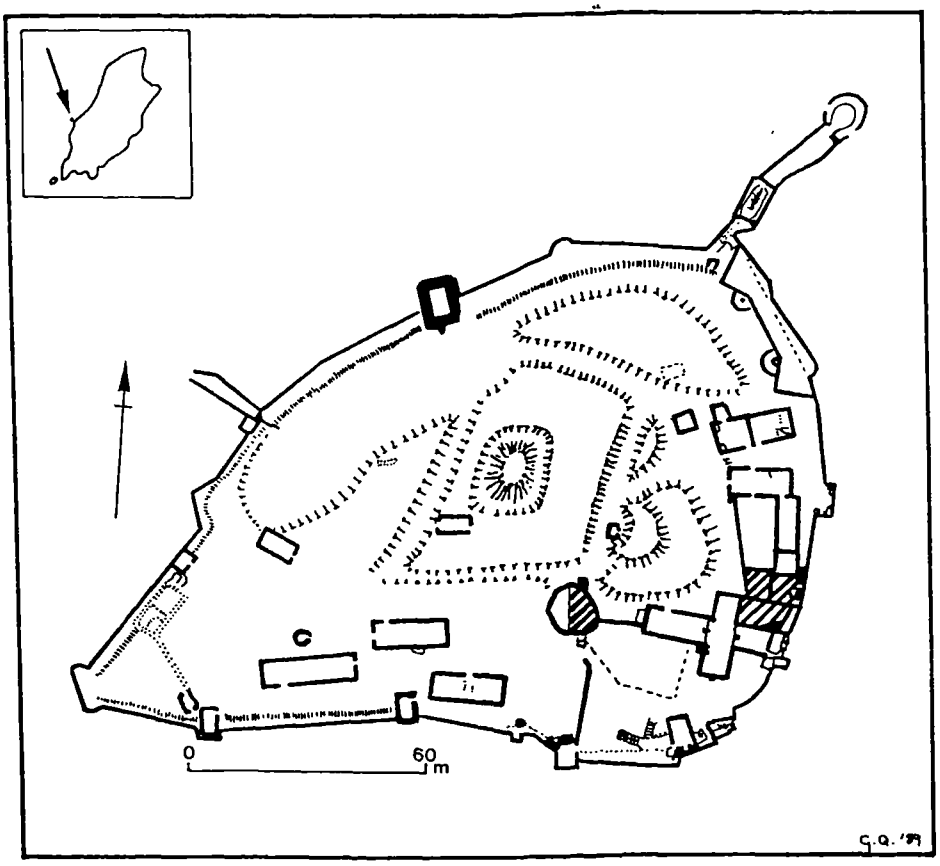


Fig. 22: Peel Castle, St. Patrick's Isle (after Freke 1986)

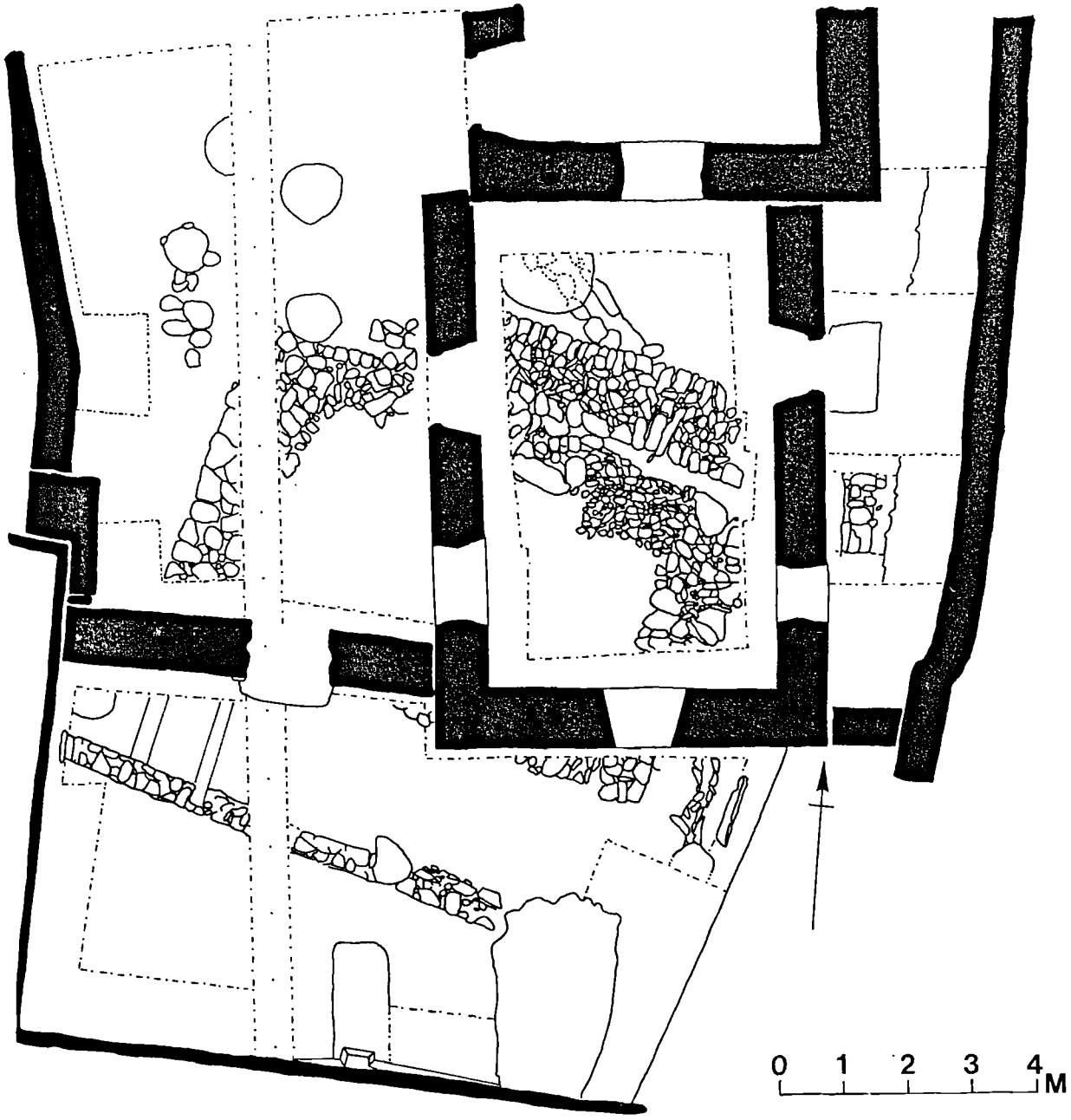


Fig. 23: Peel Castle - the Norse Building (after Freke 1983)

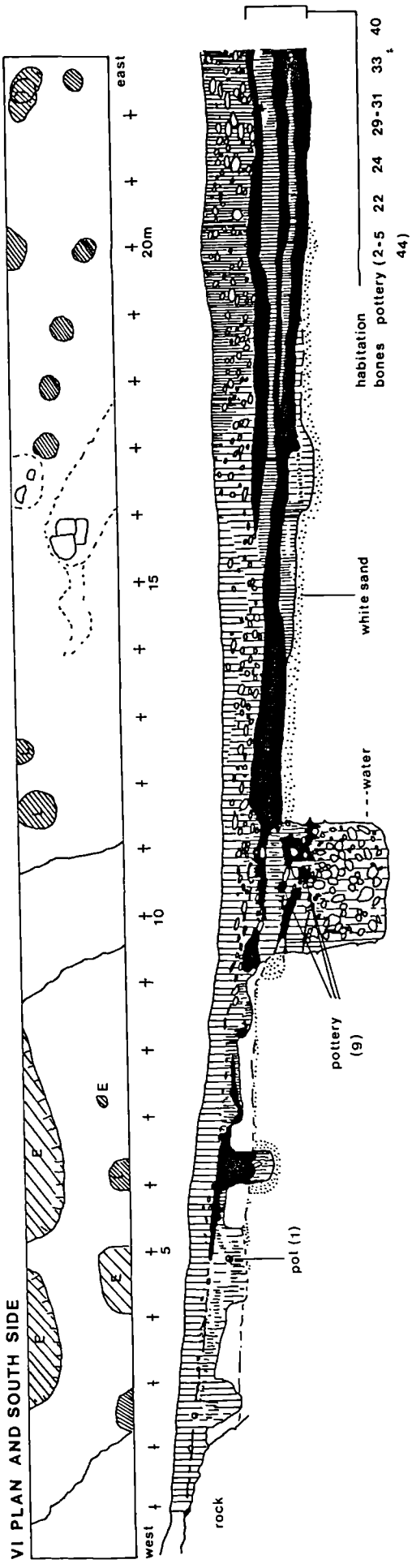


Fig. 24: Peel Castle - Cutting 6, 1947 (after Wright 1982)

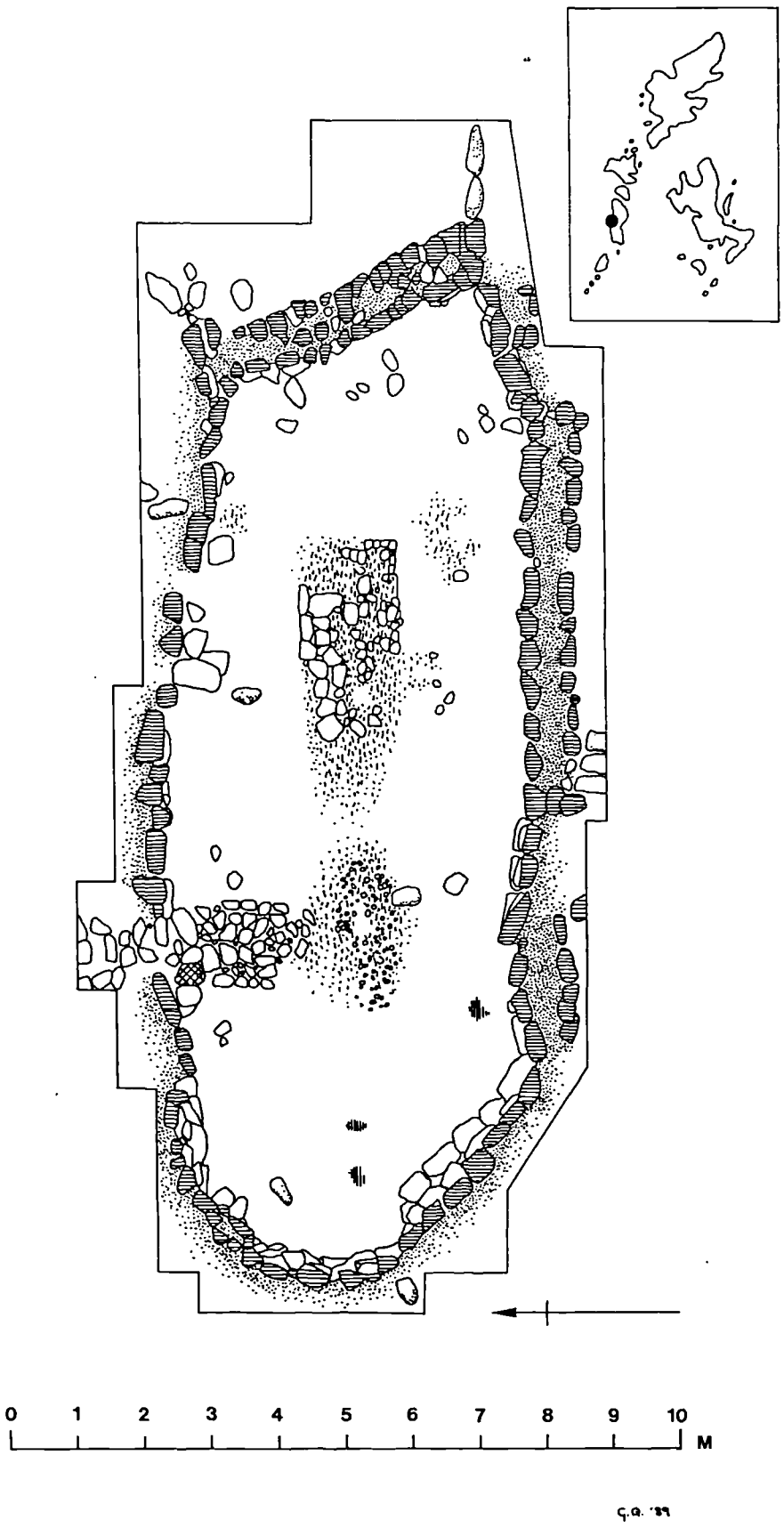


Fig. 25: Drimore, South Uist (after Maclaren 1974)

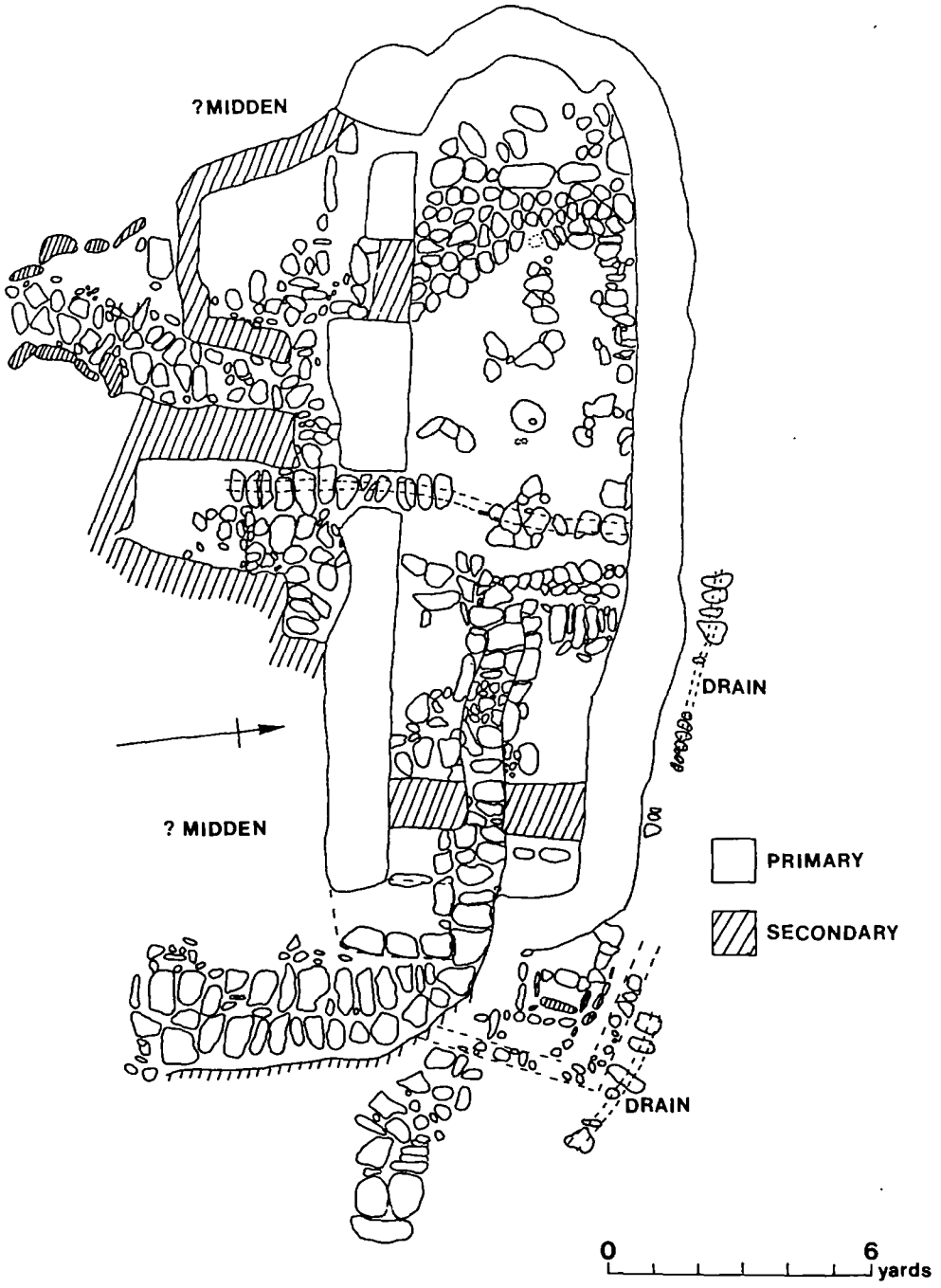


Fig. 26: Underhoull, Unst, Shetland (after Small 1966)

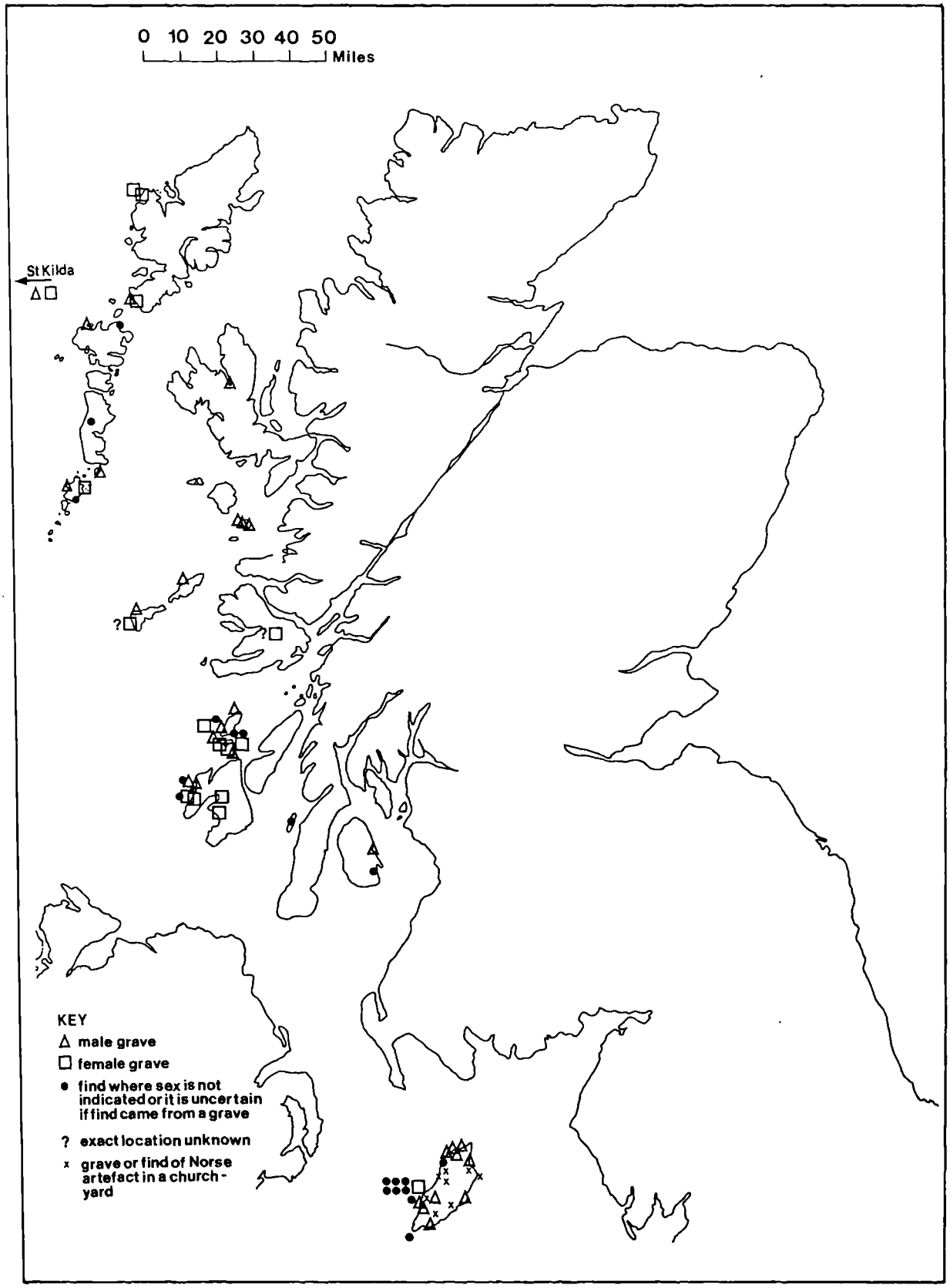


Fig. 27: The Distribution of Pagan Graves in Man and the Isles

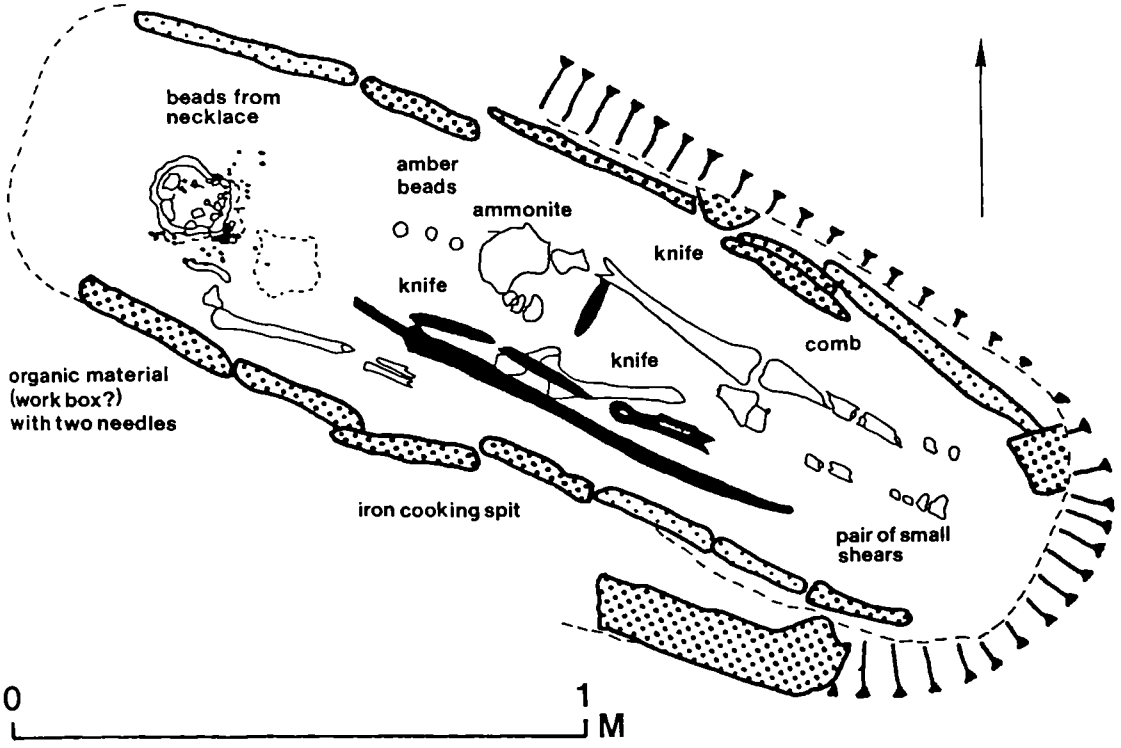


Fig. 28: The Pagan Lady, St. Patrick's Isle (after Freke 1985a)

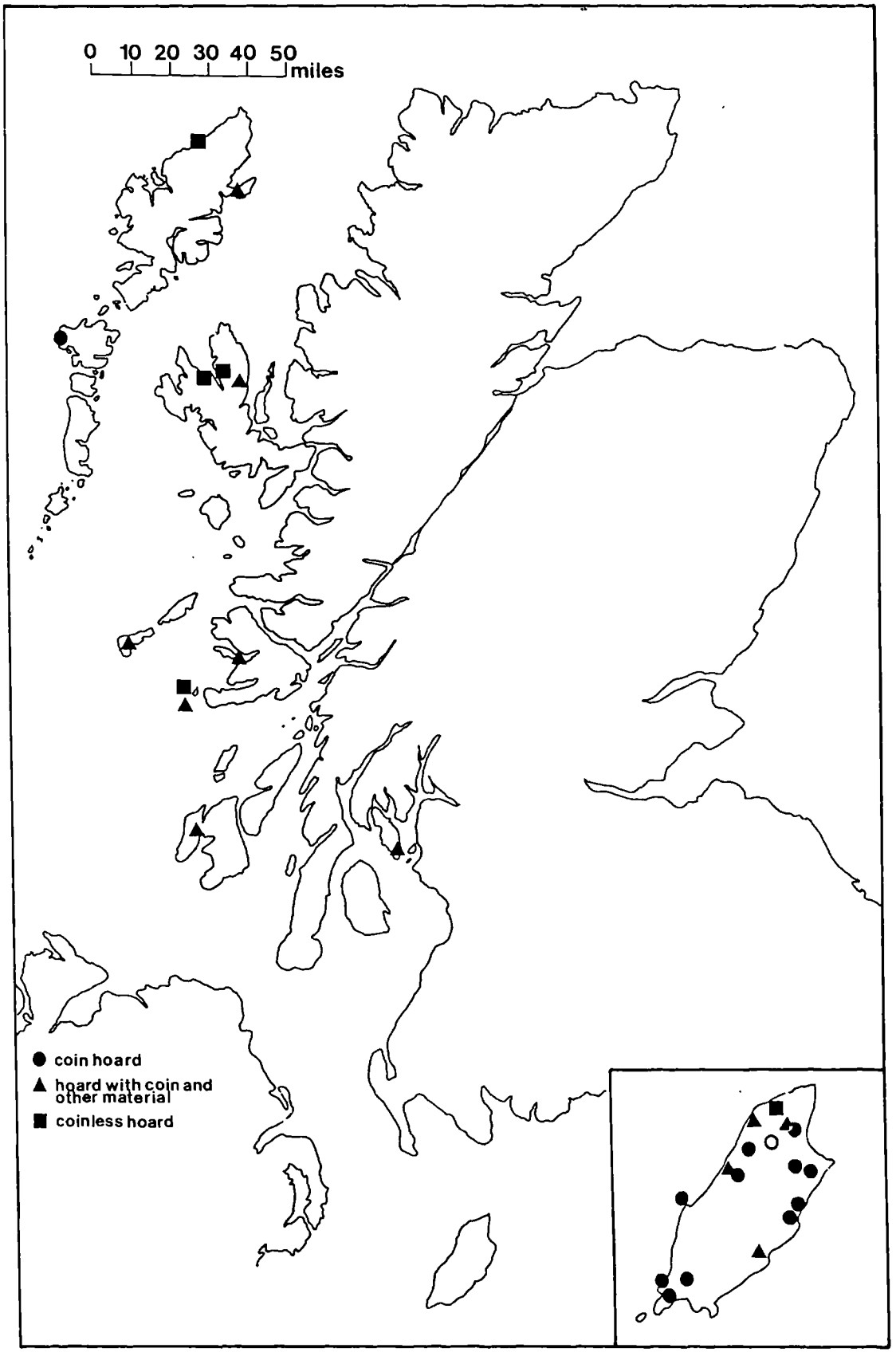


Fig. 29: The Distribution of Norse Period Hoards in Man and the Isles (after Graham-Campbell 1976a, 1983b, pers. comm.)

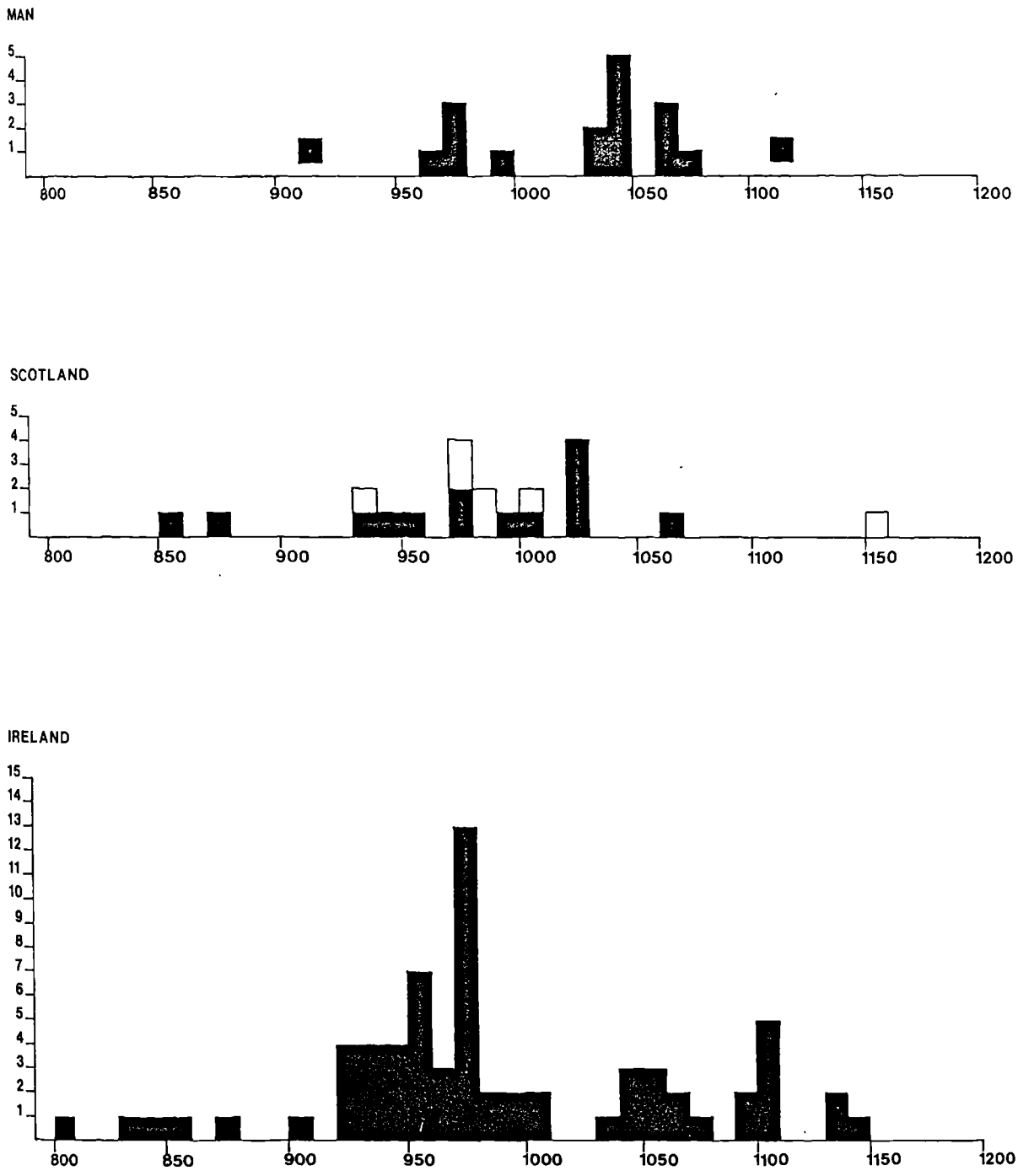


Fig. 30: Hoard Deposition Charts for Man, Scotland and Ireland (after Graham-Campbell 1976a, 1976b, 1983b)

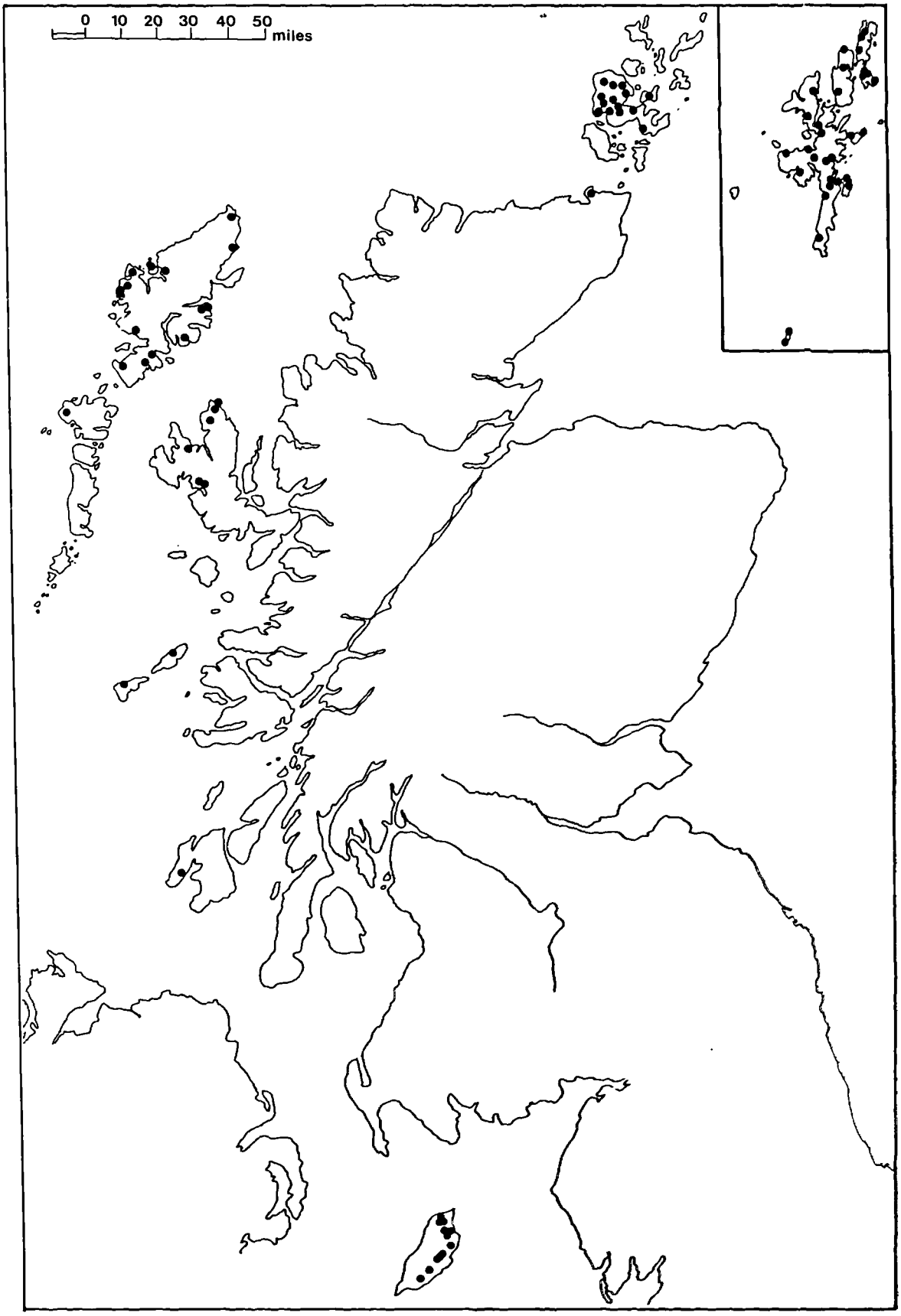


Fig. 31: The Distribution of Place-Names in Norse '-Staðir' in Man and Scotland (after Nicolaisen 1976b; Fellows Jense 1983)

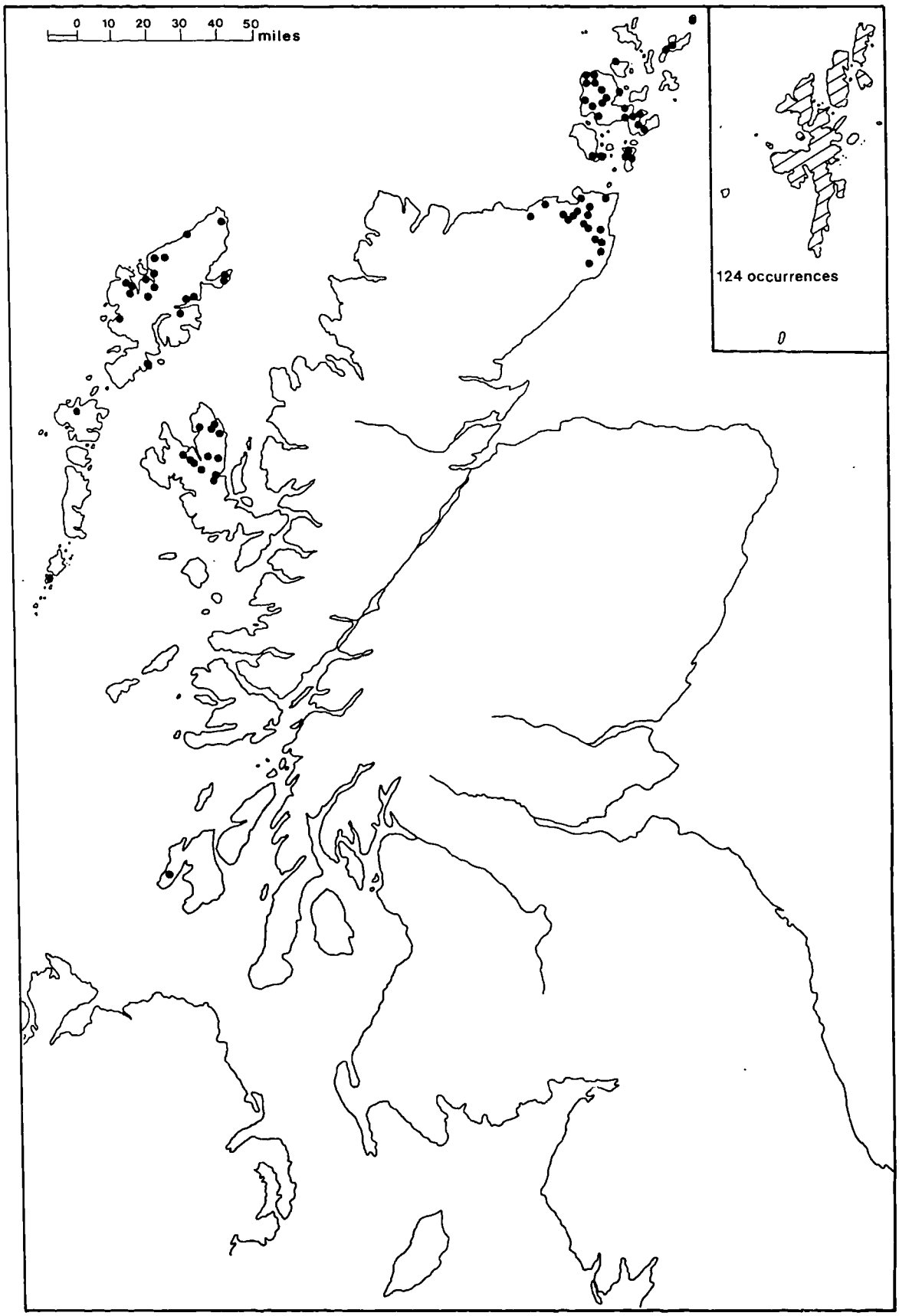


Fig. 32: The Distribution of Place-Names in Norse '-Setr/-Sætr' in Man and Scotland (after Nicolaisen 1976b)

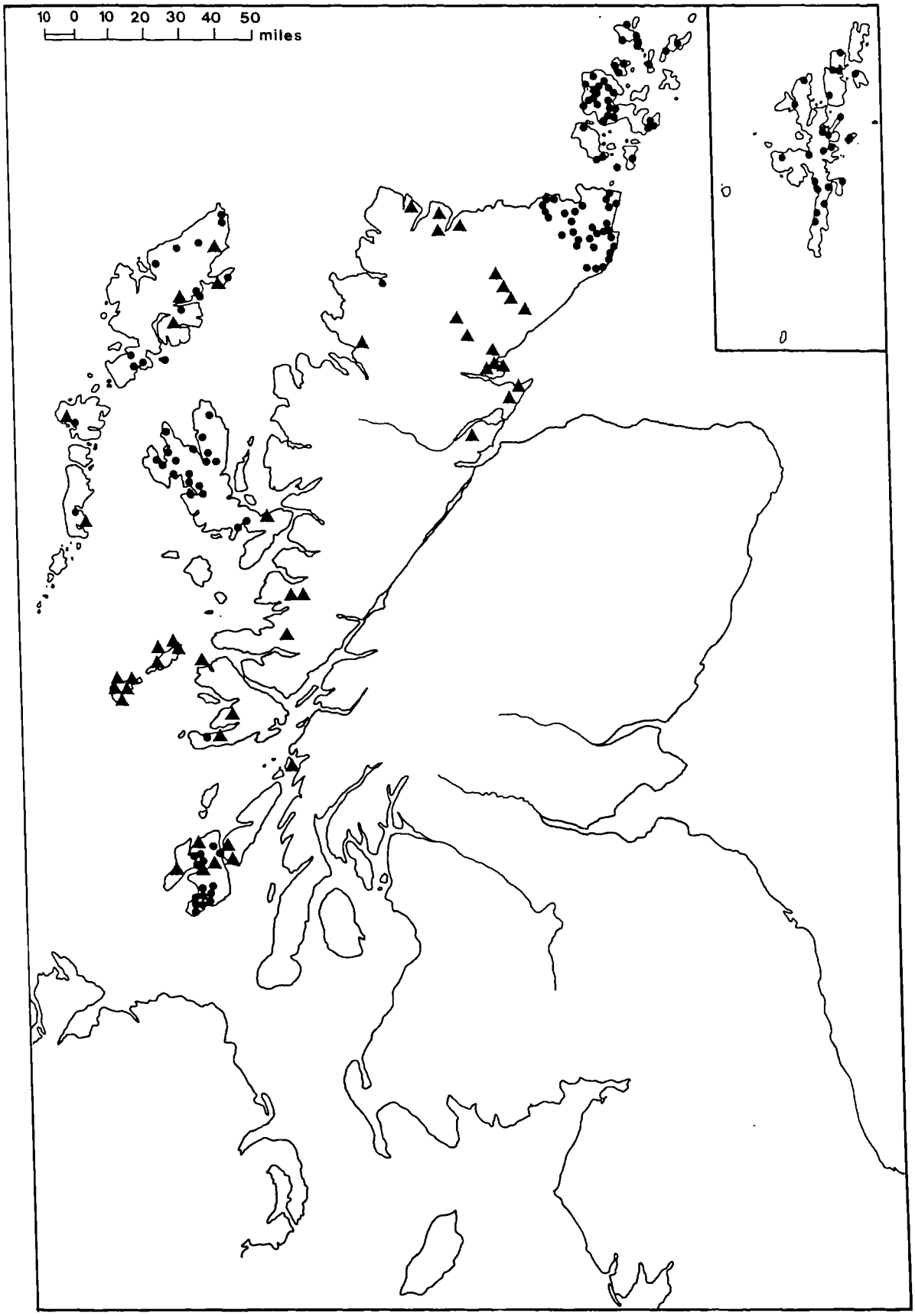


Fig. 33: The Distribution of Place-Names in Norse '-Bólstaðr' in the Isles and Northern Scotland (after Nicolaisen 1976b) Triangles represent the form 'boll, pol', and circles 'bister, bɔster, bost, bus'.

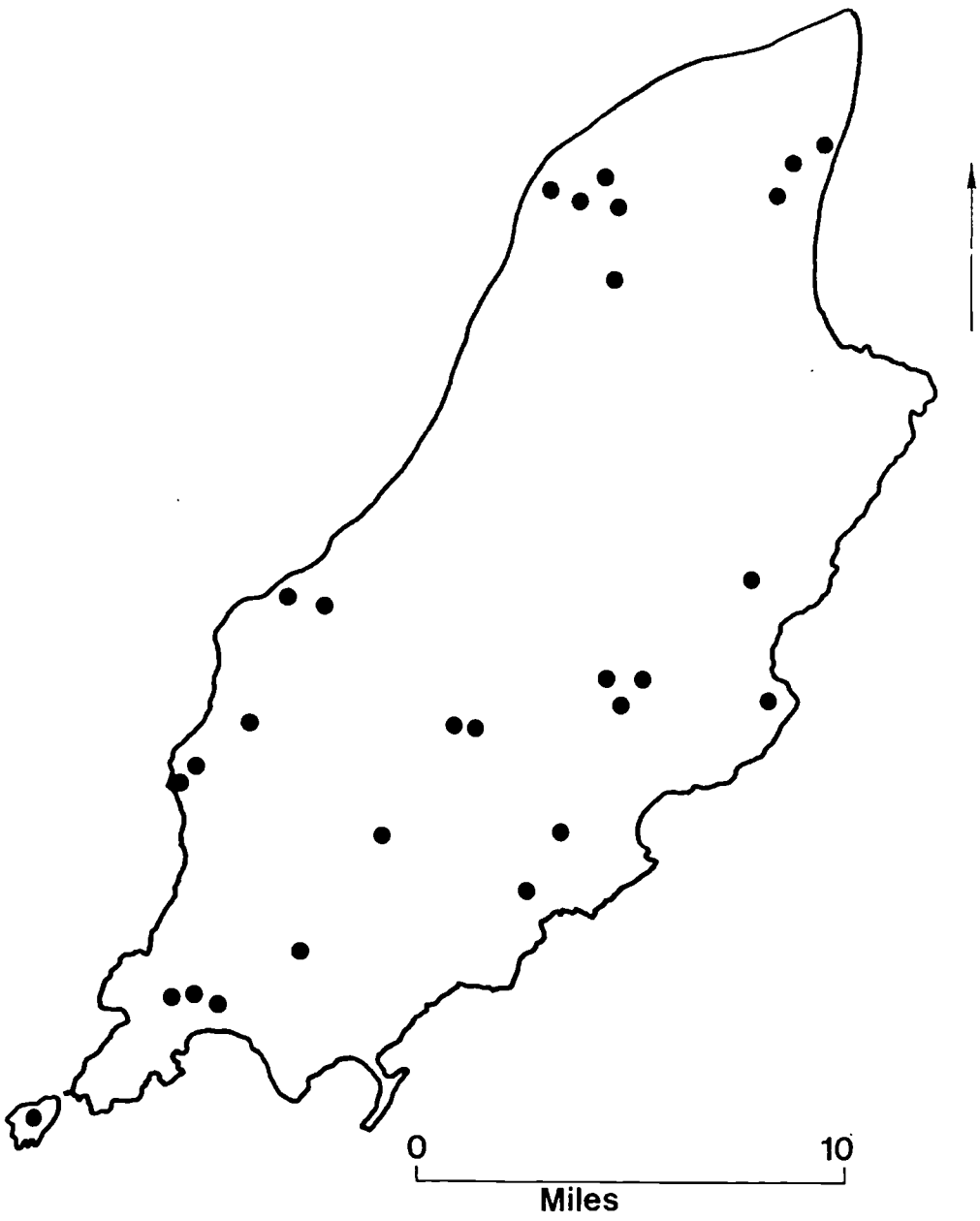


Fig. 34: The Distribution of Place-Names in Norse '-Bý' on Man (after Fellows Jensen 1983)

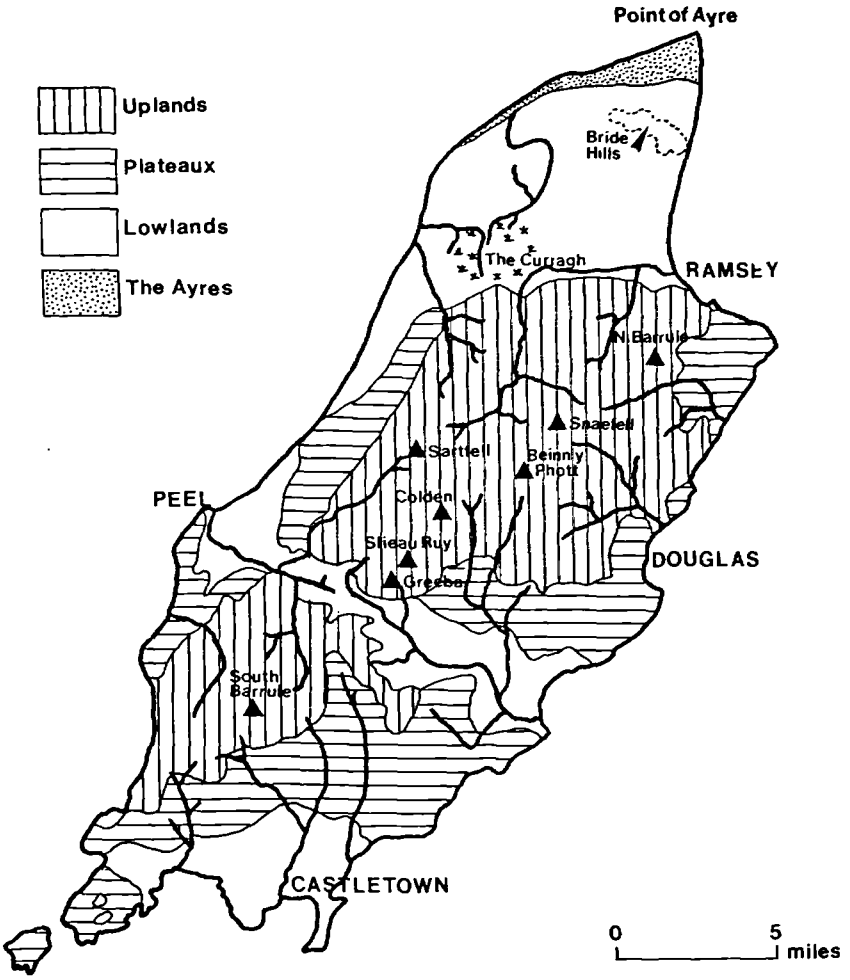


Fig. 35: The Geography of Man (after Kinvig 1966)

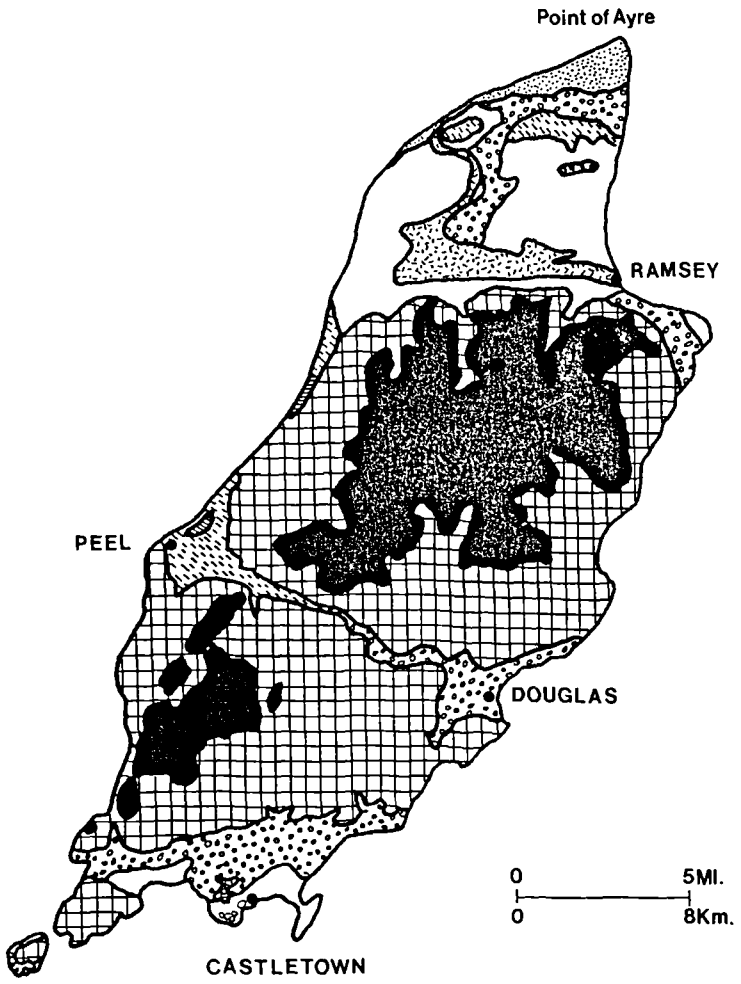


Fig. 36: Soils of the Isle of Man (after Kear 1976)

	PARENT MATERIAL			
PARENT MATERIAL	SOIL GROUP	SOIL SUBGROUP	SOIL SERIES	WELSH SERIES EQUIVALENT
PEAT	RAW PEAT SOILS	Raw oligofibrous peat soils	BEINN Y PHOTT	CARON
SLATE, HARD SHALES	RAW SKELETAL SOILS			
	RANKERS	Humic ranker Podzolic ranker		POWY
	STAGNOPODZOLS	Iron pan stagnopodzol	MOUNTAIN GATE	HIRAETHOG
	PODZOL	Humo-ferric podzol	AGNEASH	
	BROWN PODZOLIC SOILS	Typical brown podzolic soil	SARTFIELD	
		Gleyic brown podzolic soils	EARY	
	HUMIC GLEY SOILS	(Non-calcareous) humic gley soil	GLENCRAMMAG	YNYS

Fig. 37: Soil Series in the Upland Zone of Man (after Kear 1976)

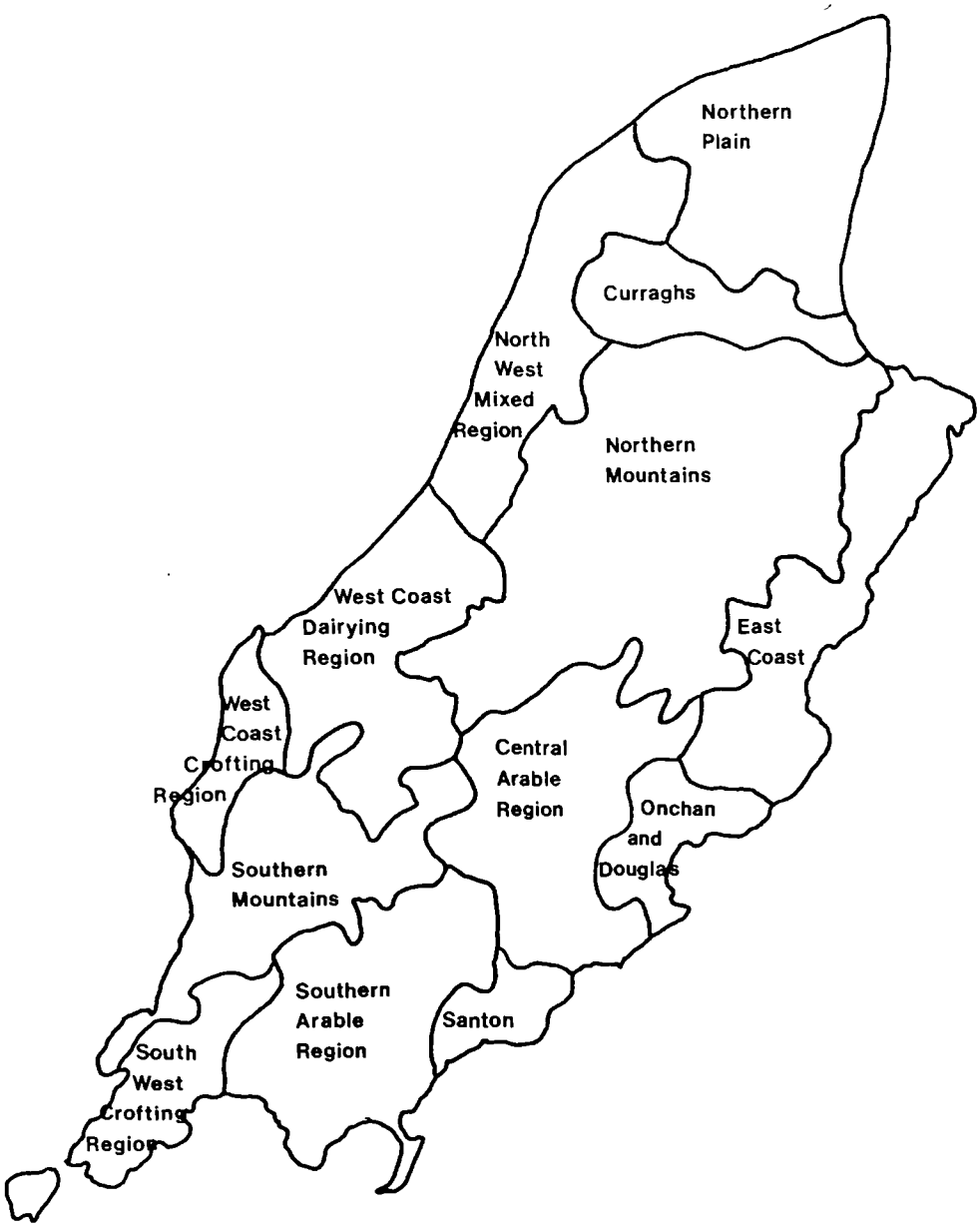


Fig. 38: Land Use Regions on Man (after Pye 1941)

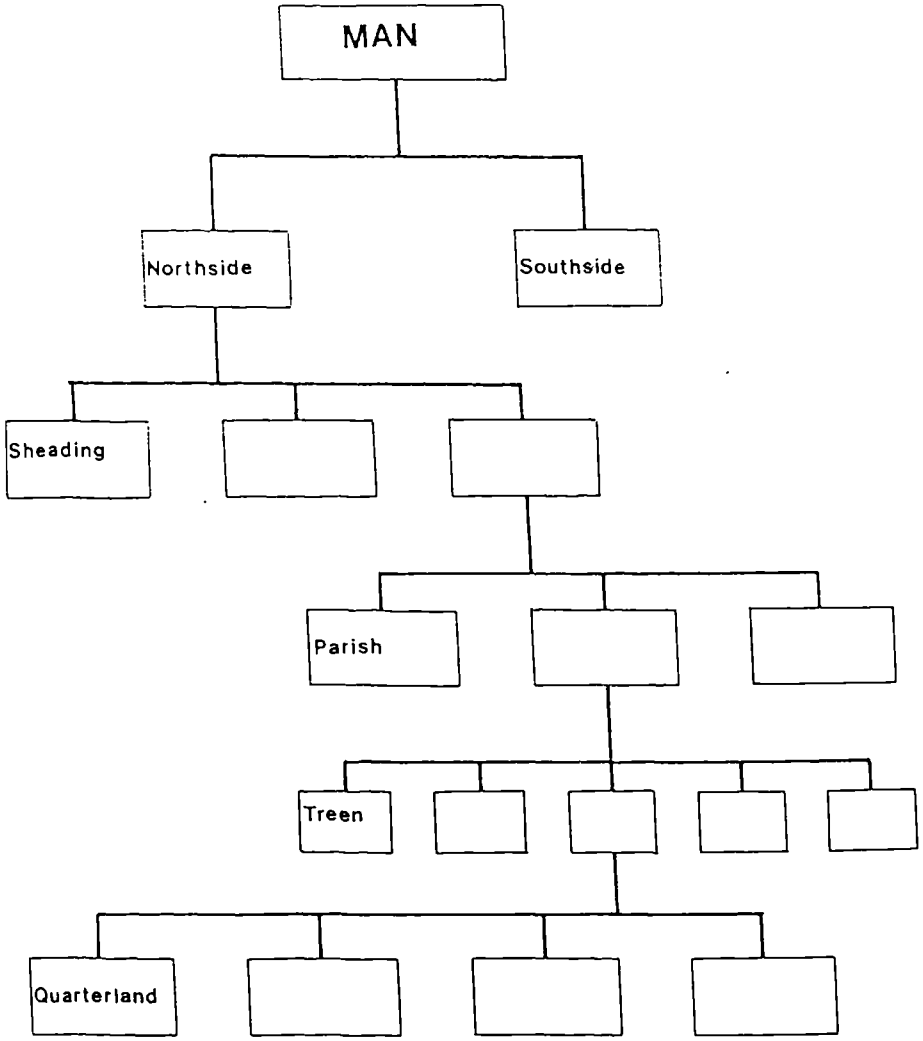


Fig. 39: The Land System of the Isle of Man (after Reilly 1988)

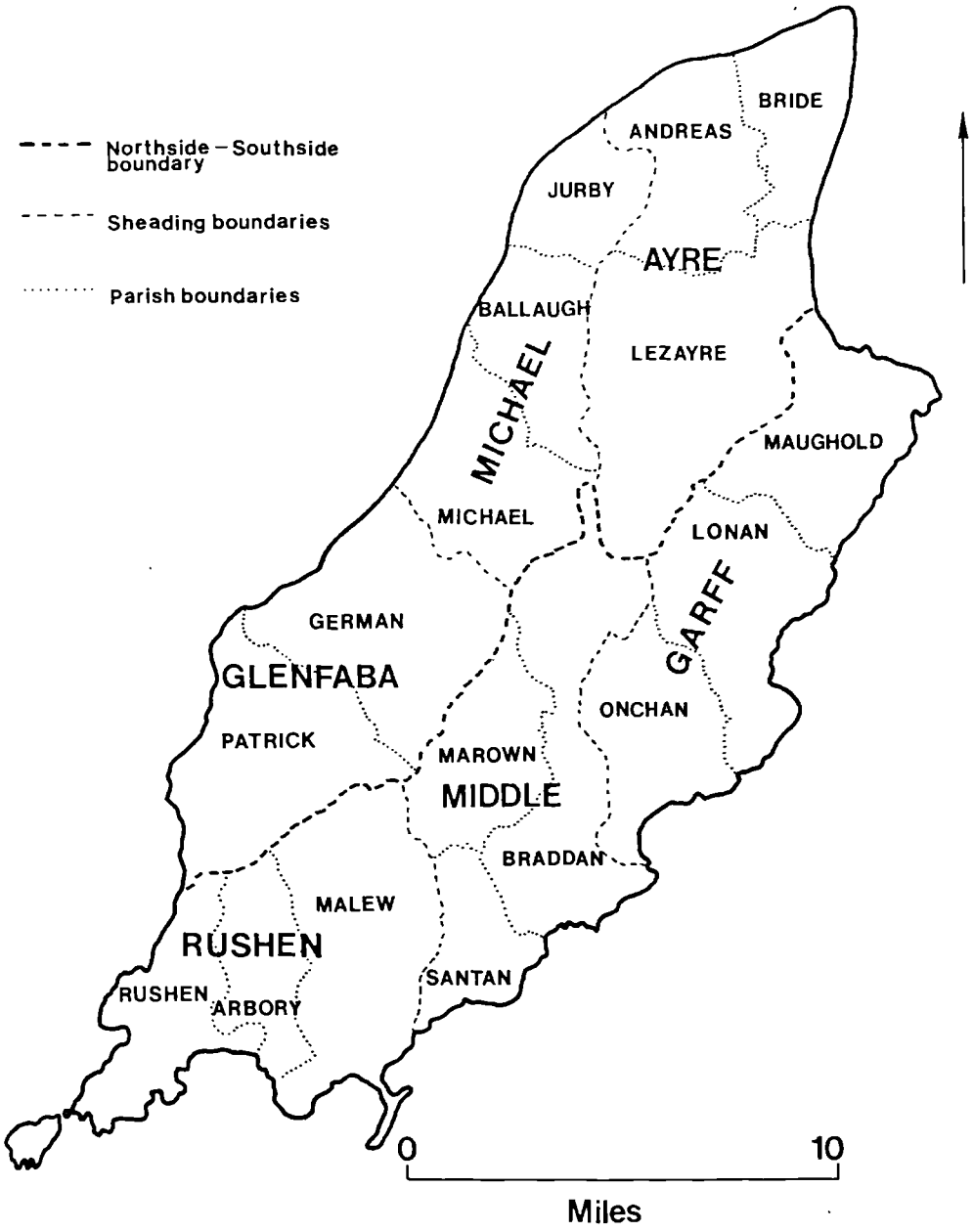


Fig. 40: The Parishes of the Isle of Man (after Megaw and Megaw 1950)

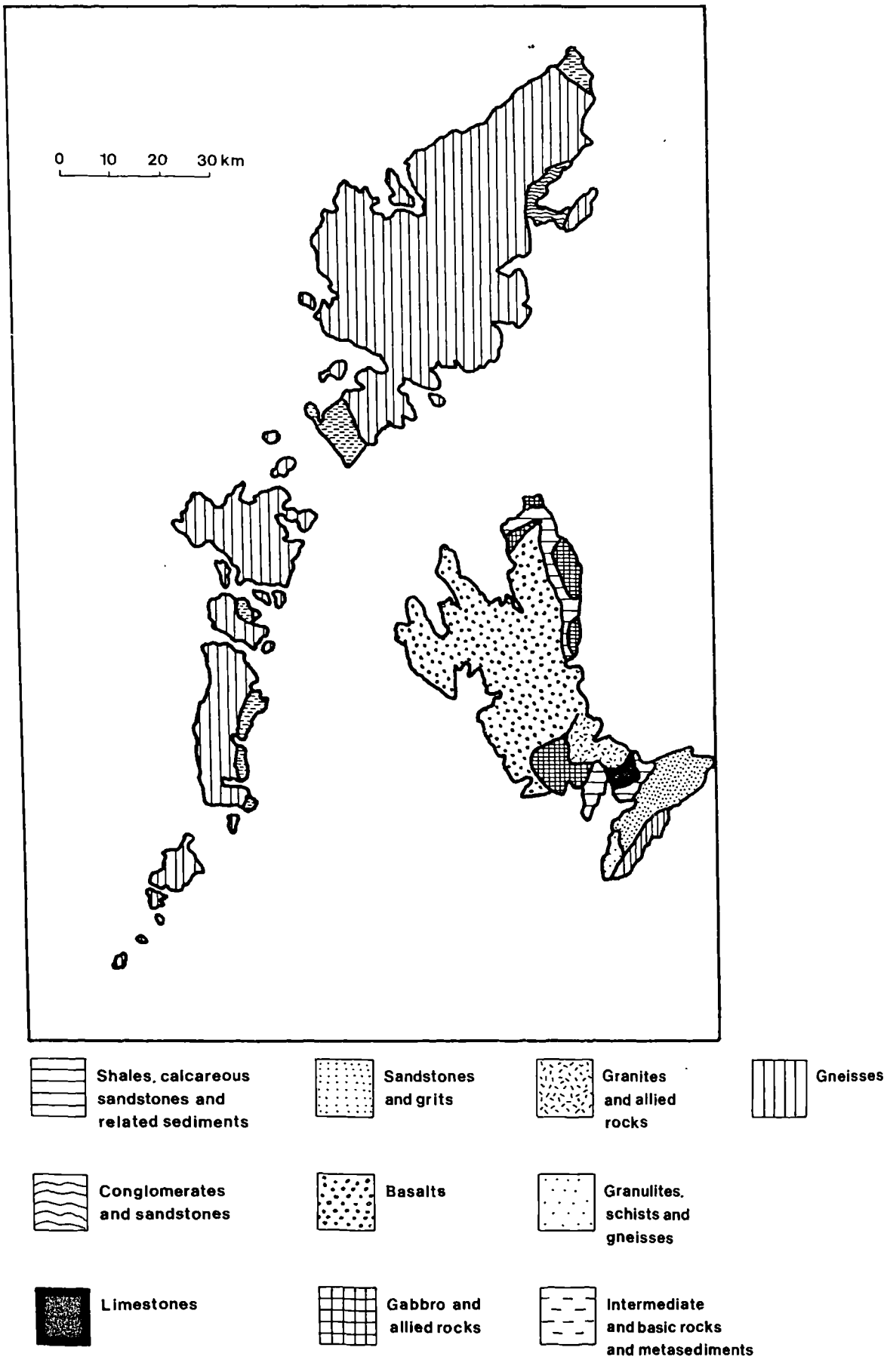
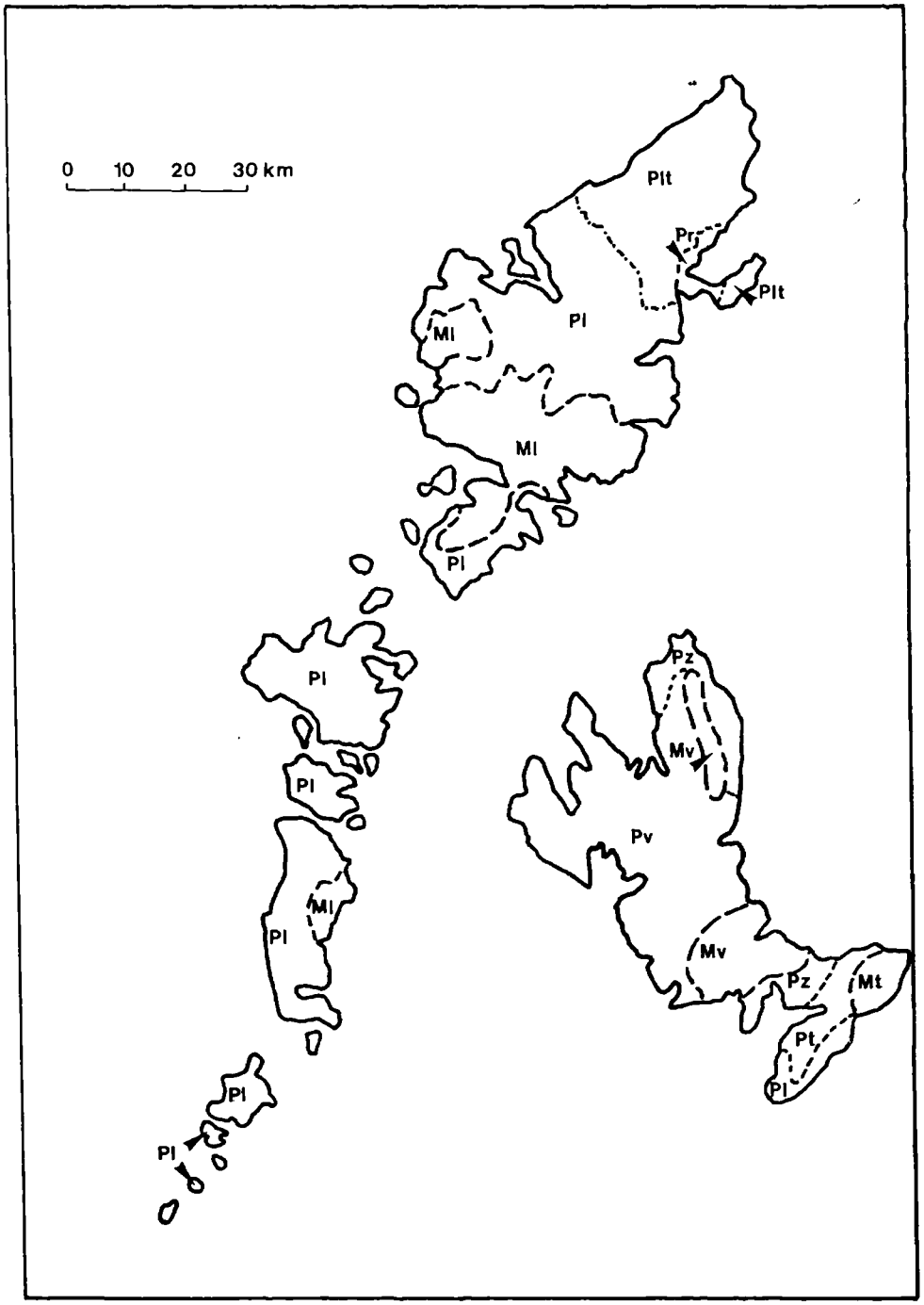


Fig. 41: The Geology of Skye and the Outer Hebrides (after Bibby 1982)



WESTERN PLATEAUX, FOOTHILLS AND LOWLANDS

- Plt Lewisian till plain
- Pl Lewisian
- Pt Torridonian
- Pm Moine
- Pv volcanic
- Pz Mesozoic
- Pr Triassic

DISSECTED MOUNTAINS

- Ml Lewisian
- Mt Torridonian
- Mm Moine
- Mv volcanic

Fig. 42: Physiographic Regions of Skye and the Outer Hebrides (after Bibby 1982)

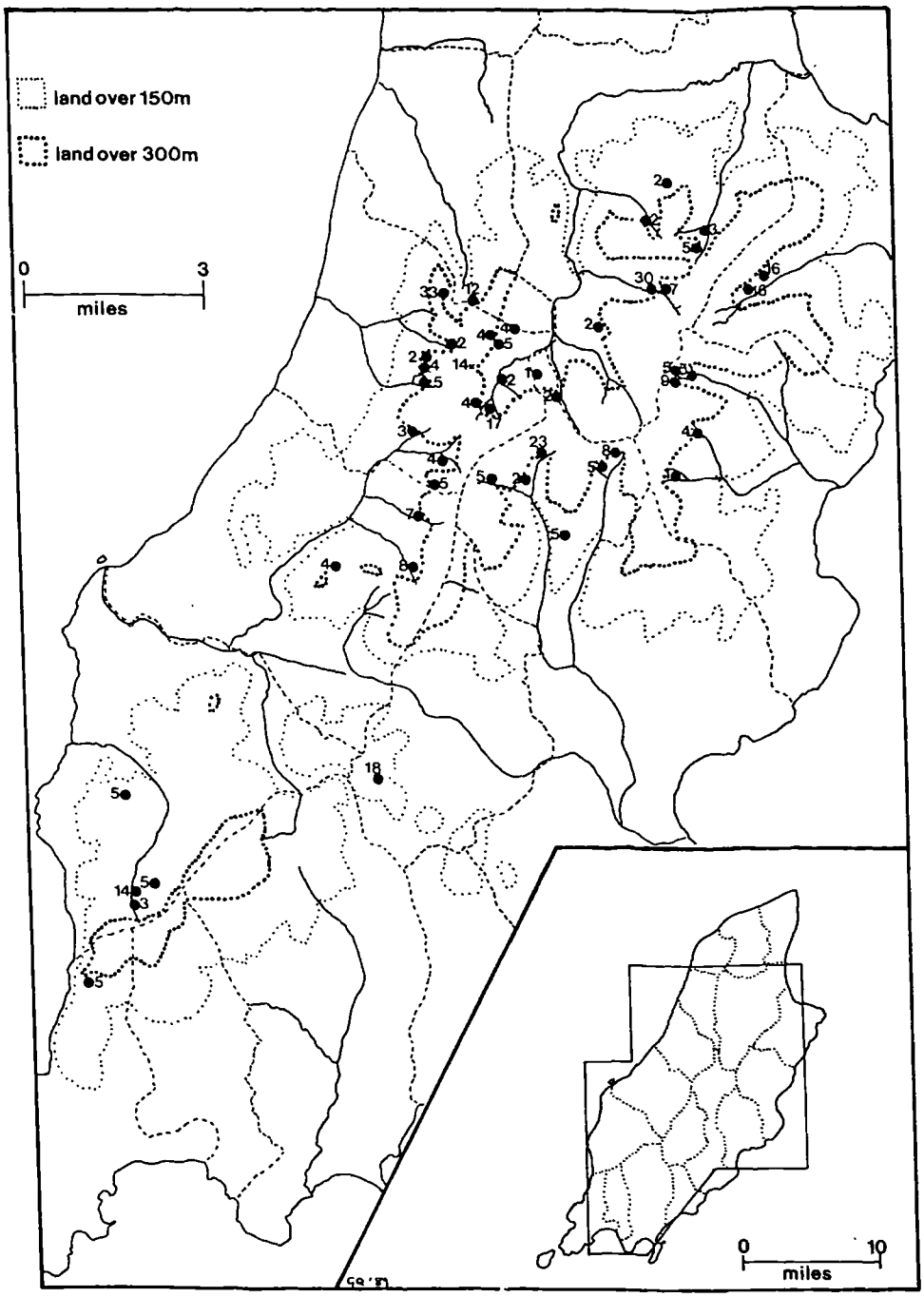


Fig. 43: The Distribution of Sites Identified as Shielings on Man (after P. Gelling 1963a)

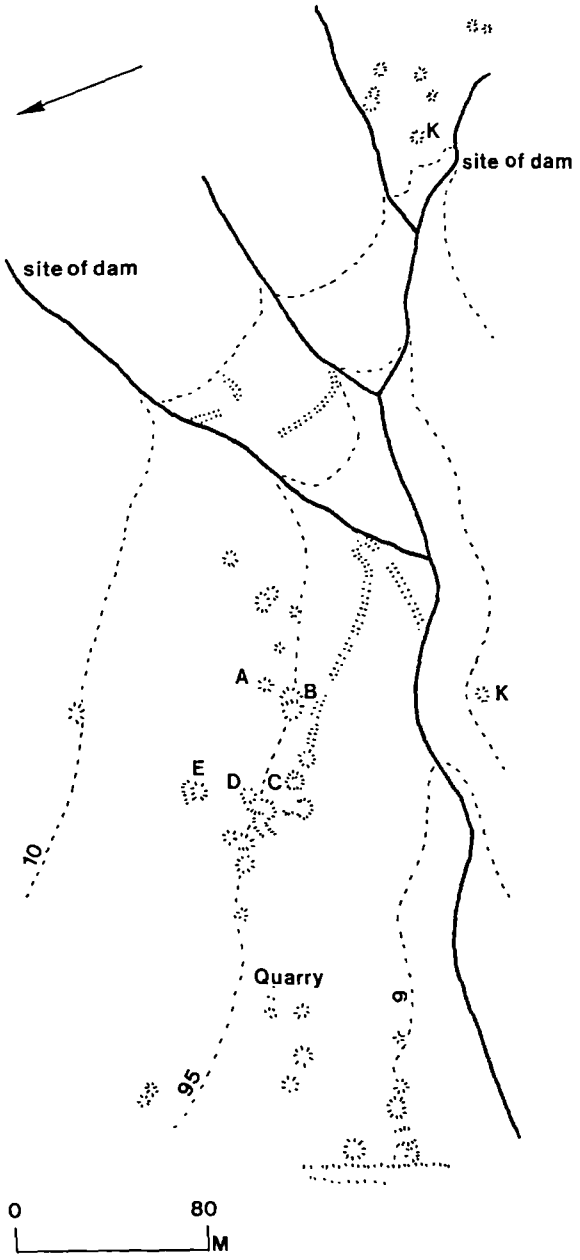


Fig. 44: Block Eary - the Site (after P. Gelling 1963a)

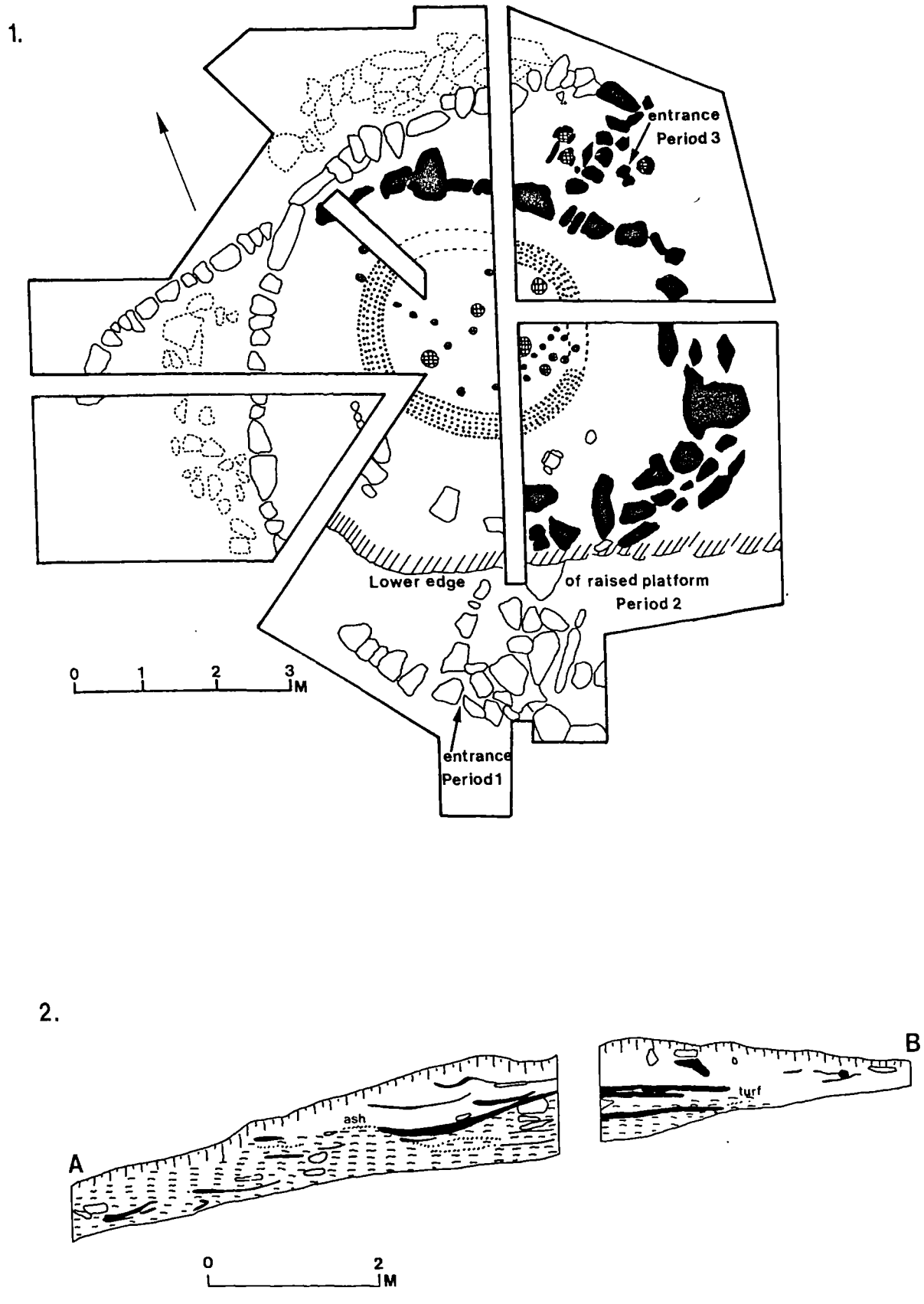


Fig. 45: 1. Block Eary, Mound A; 2. Block Eary, Mound B - Section (after P. Gelling 1963a)

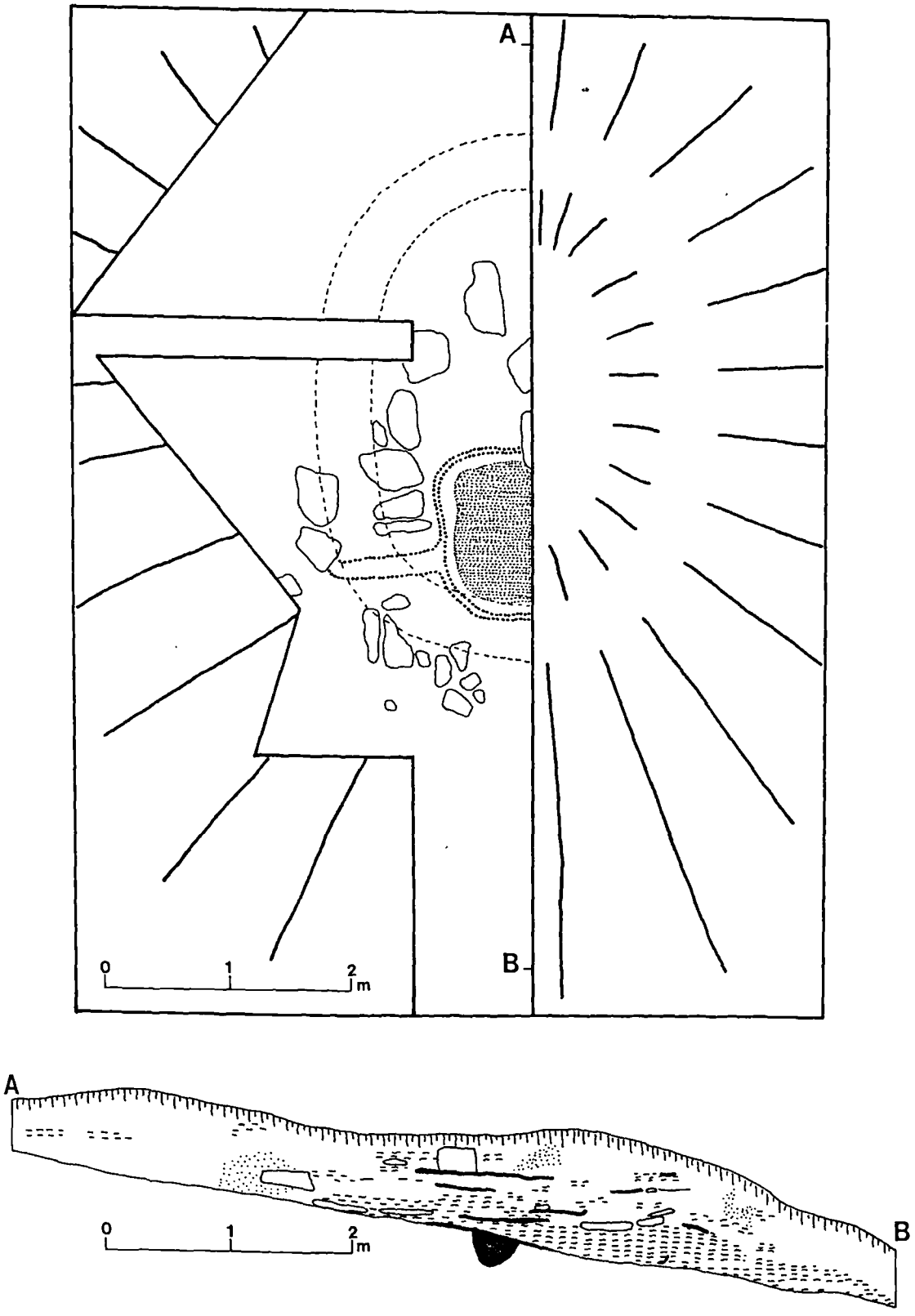


Fig. 46: Block Eary, Mound C - Plan and Section (after P. Gelling 1963a)

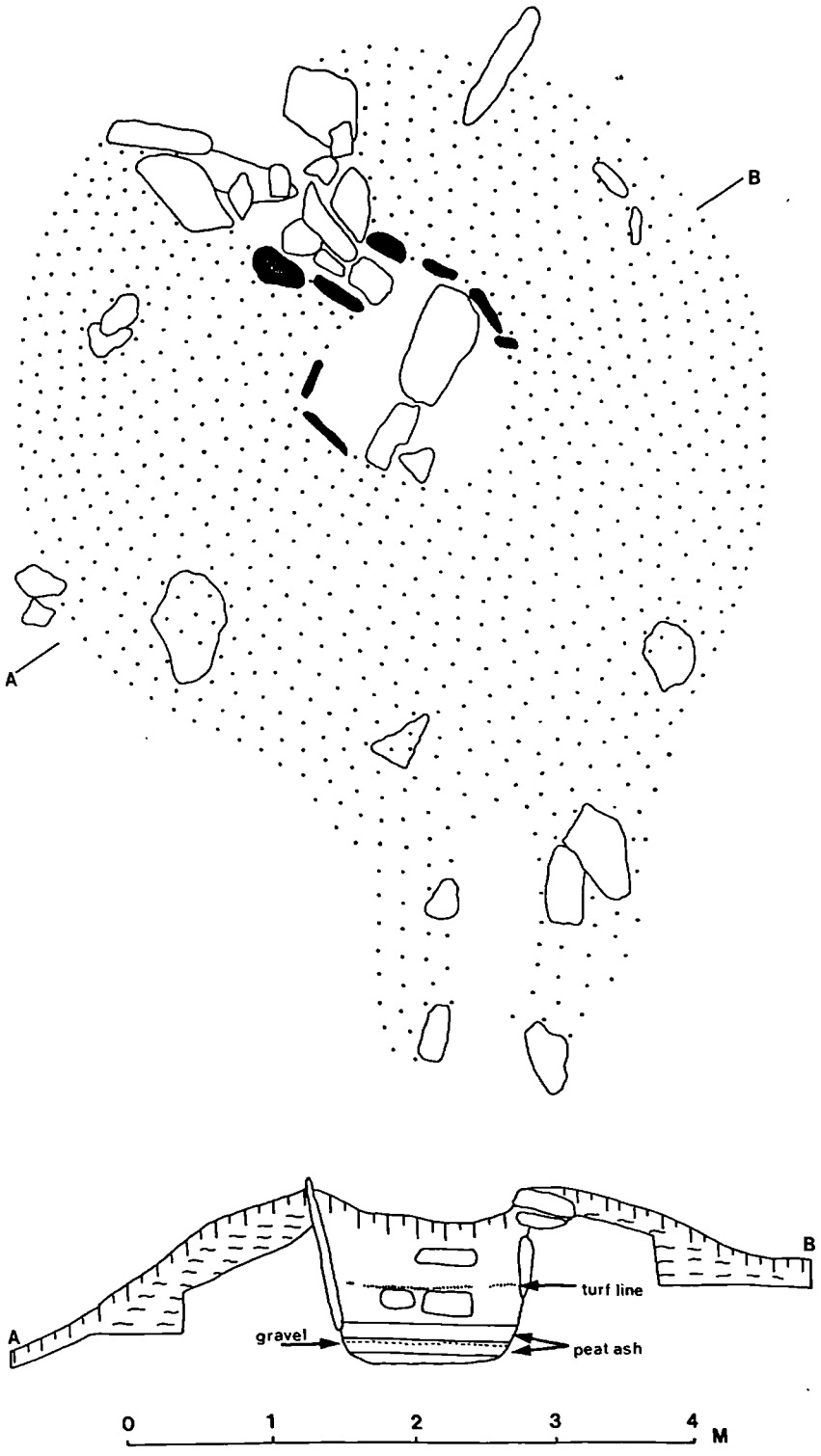
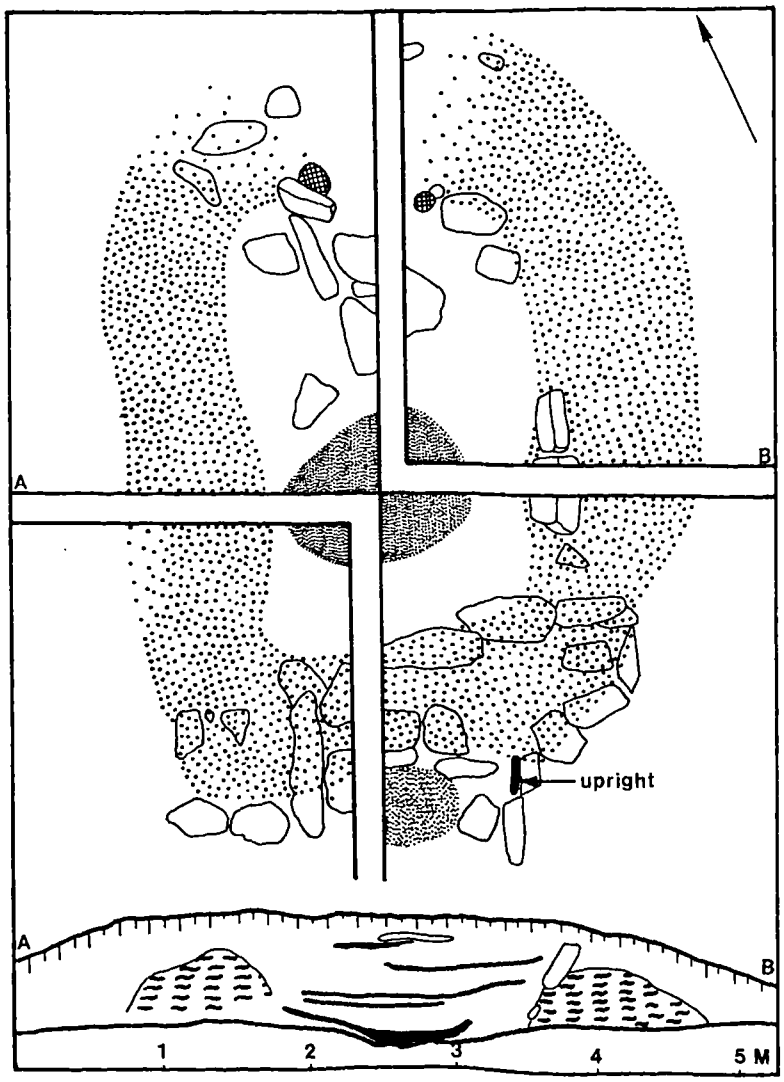


Fig. 47: Block Eary - Plan and Section of Supposed Corn-Drying Kiln (after P. Gelling 1963a)



KEY

TURF

HEARTH

Fig. 48: Injebreck, Mound - Plan and Section (after P. Gelling 1963a)

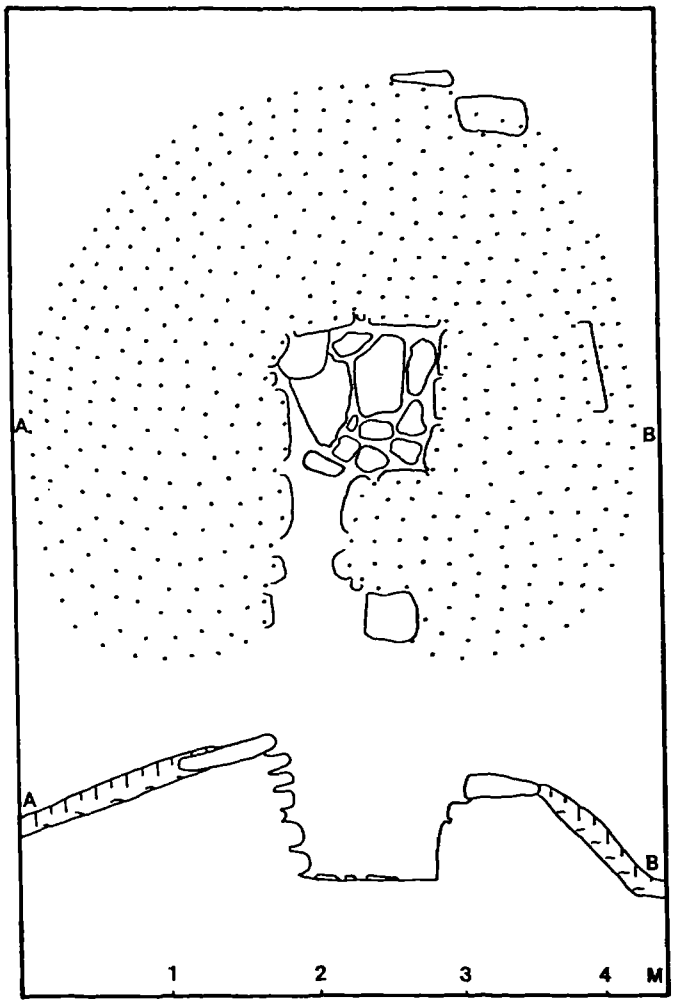


Fig. 49: Injebreck - Plan and Section of the Supposed Corn-Drying Kiln (after P. Gelling 1963a)

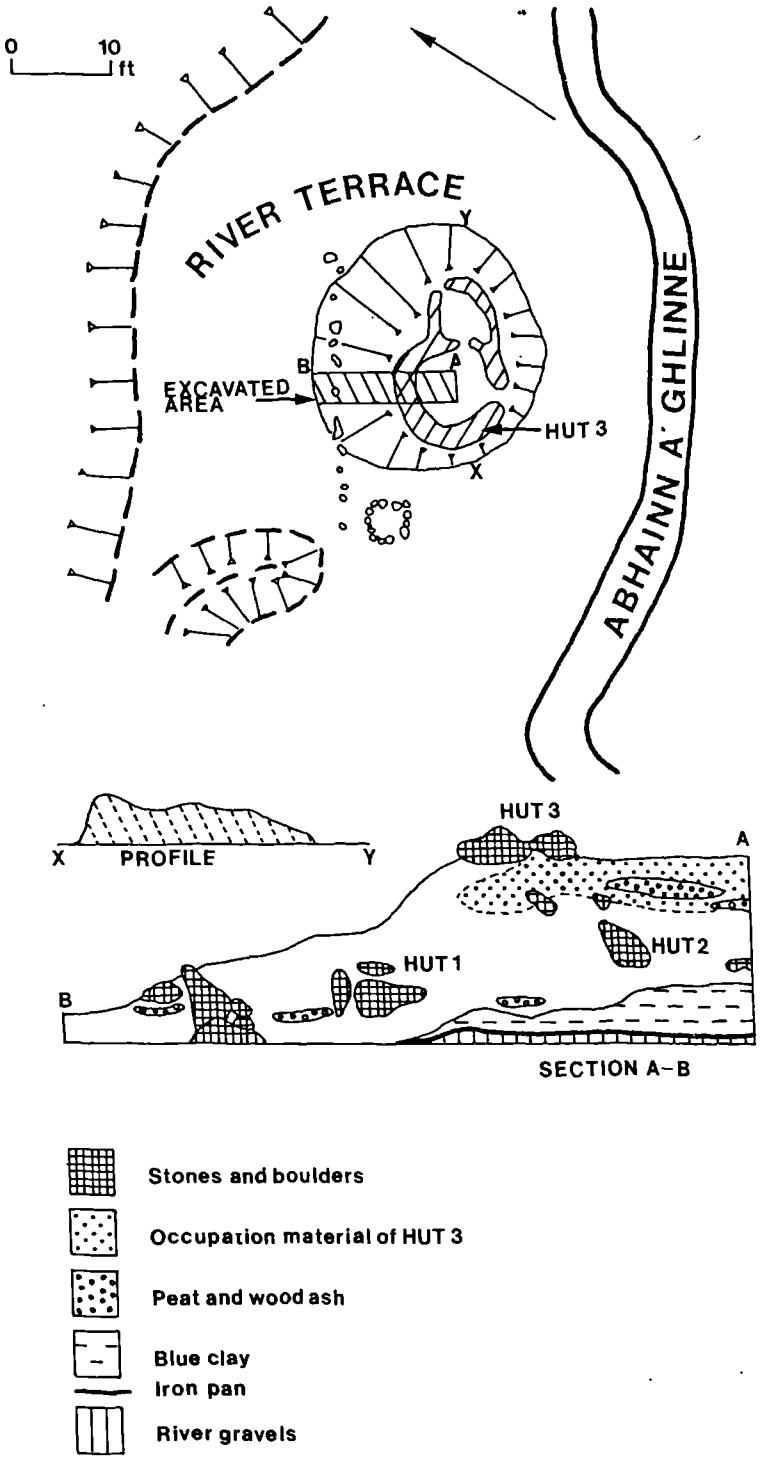


Fig. 50: Abhainn a' Ghlinne, Skye - the Excavated Mound (after Macsween and Gailey 1961)

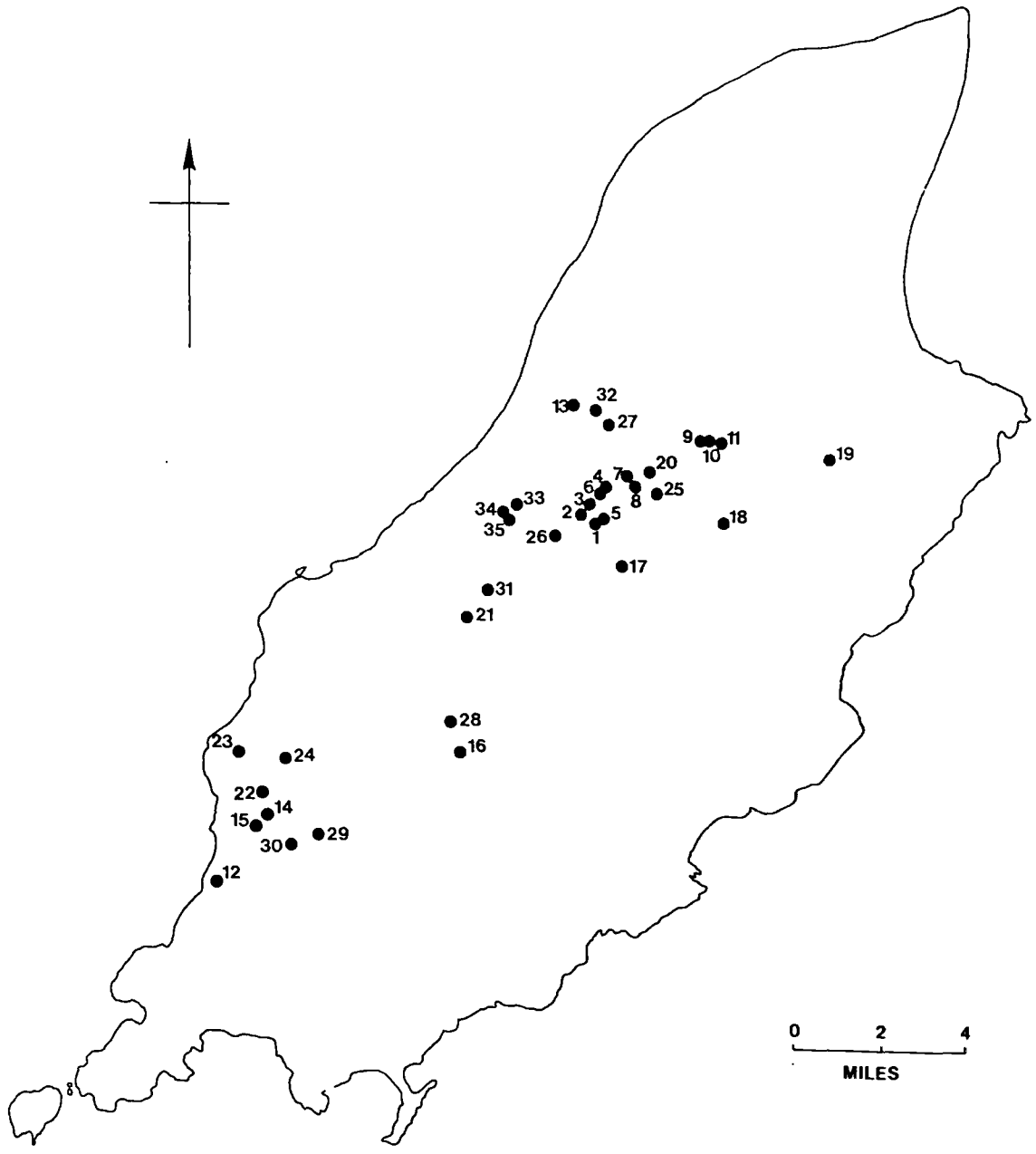


Fig. 51: The Distribution of Sites Examined on Man, 1987-1990



Fig. 52: The Distribution of Sites Examined on Skye, 1987-1988

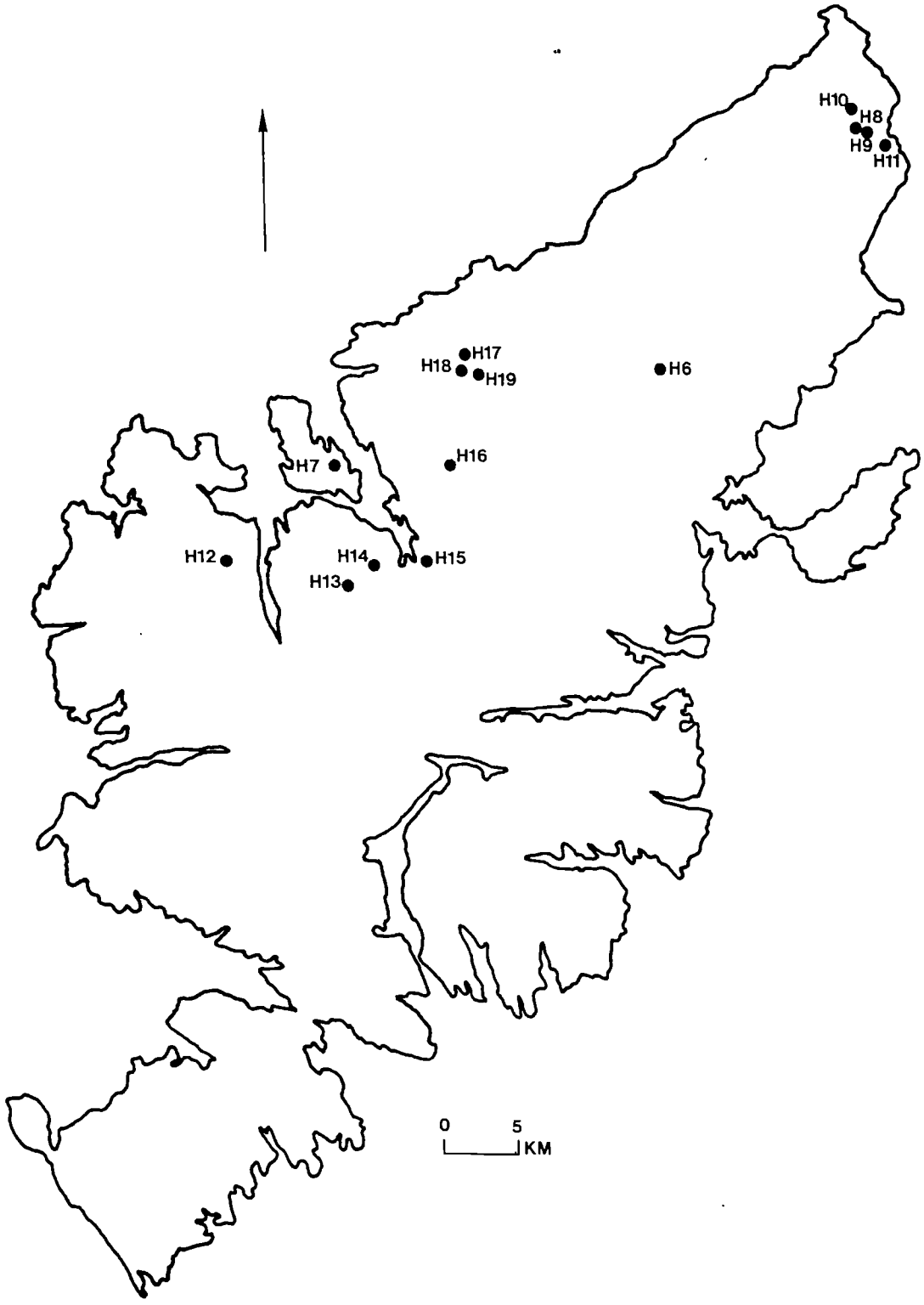


Fig. 53: The Distribution of Sites Examined on Lewis, 1987-1988

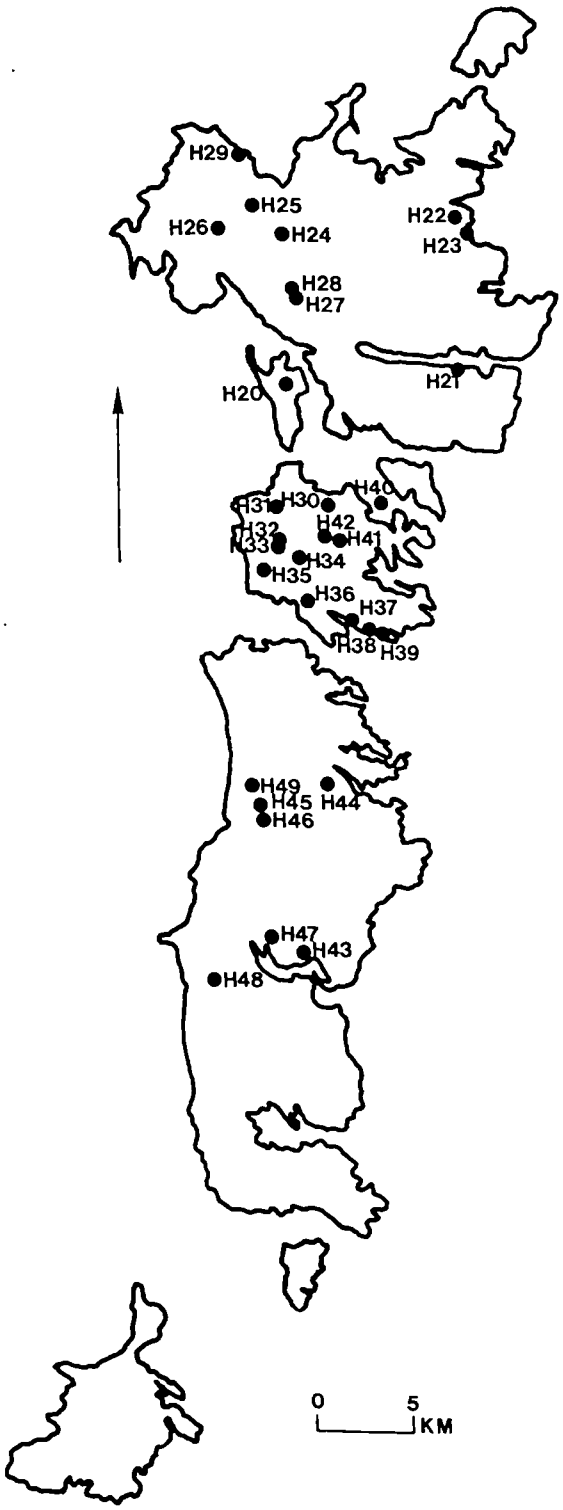


Fig. 54: The Distribution of Sites Examined on the Uists, 1987-1988

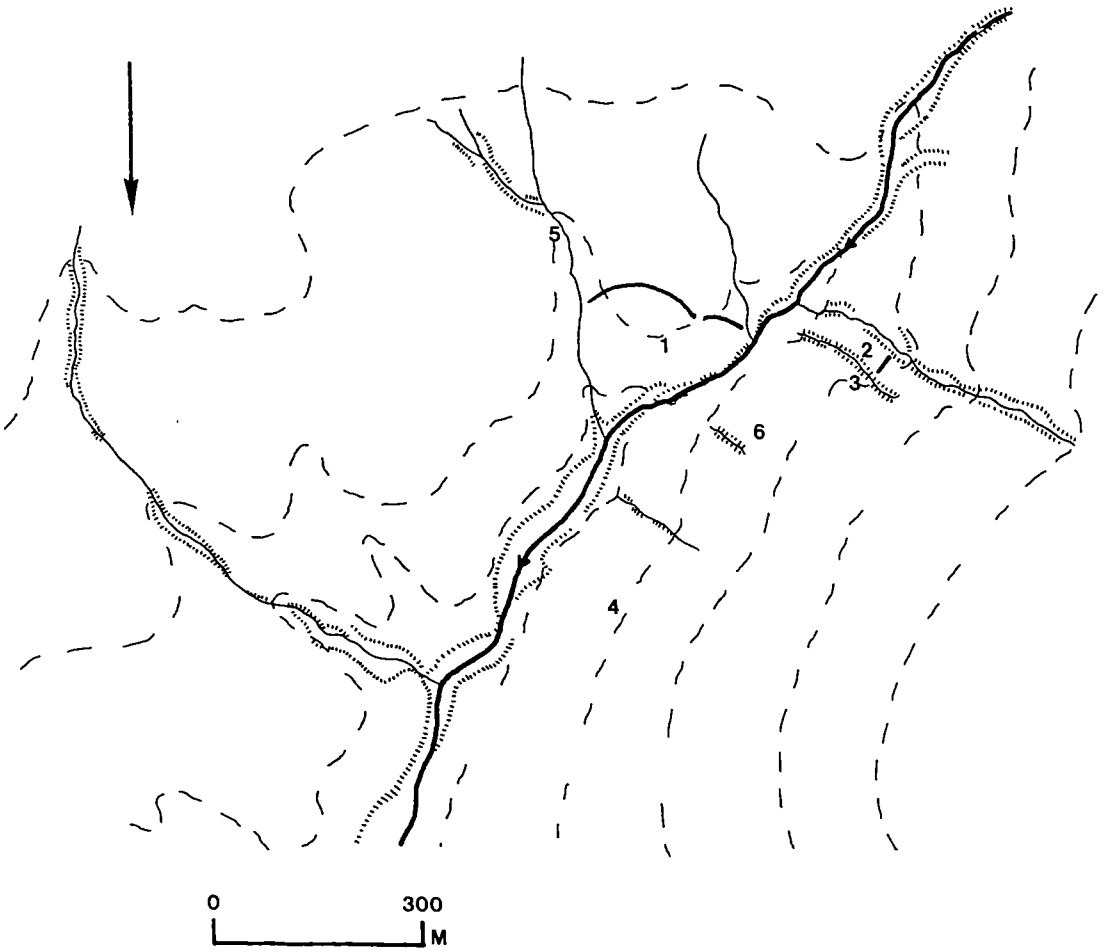


Fig. 55: Druidale, Isle of Man - Site Location Map

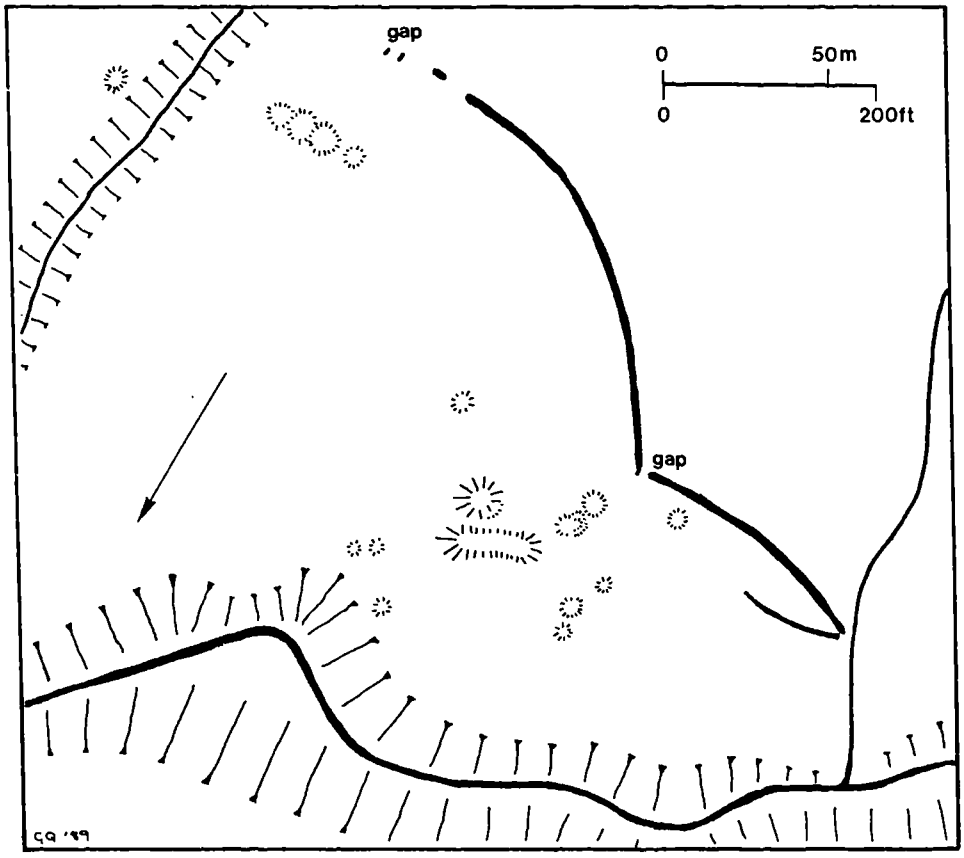


Fig. 56: Druidale Site 1 (after Gelling 1961)

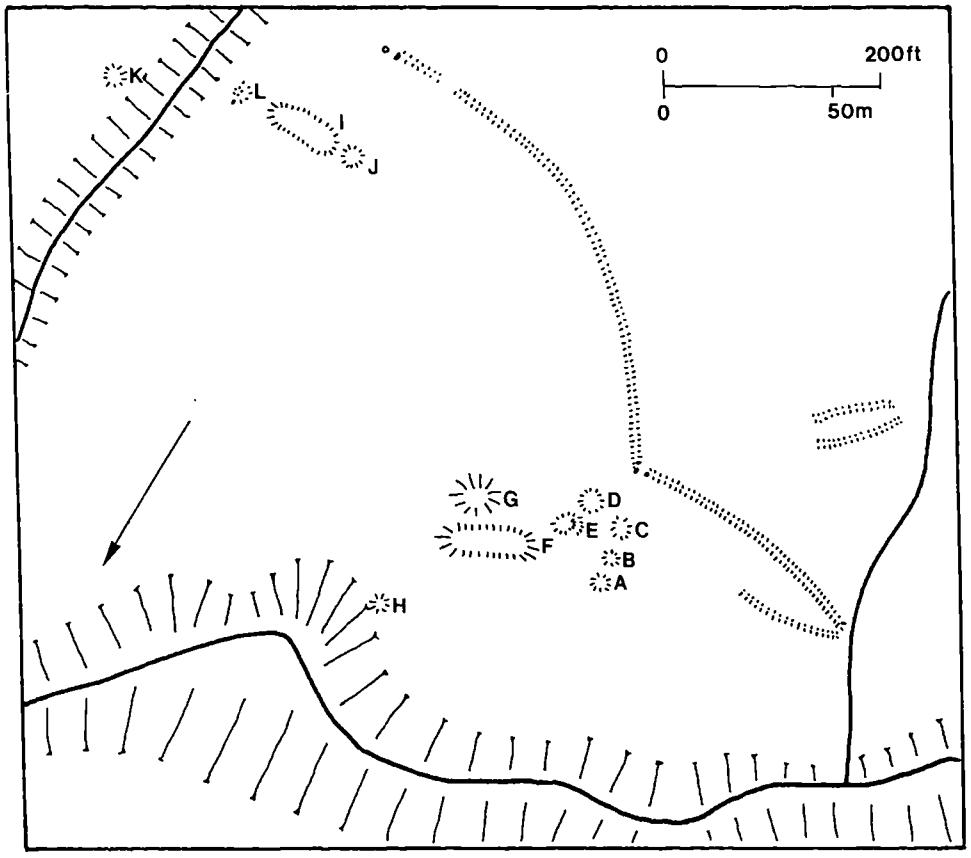


Fig. 57: Druidale Site 1 (M1), 1987. Surveyed at 1:200

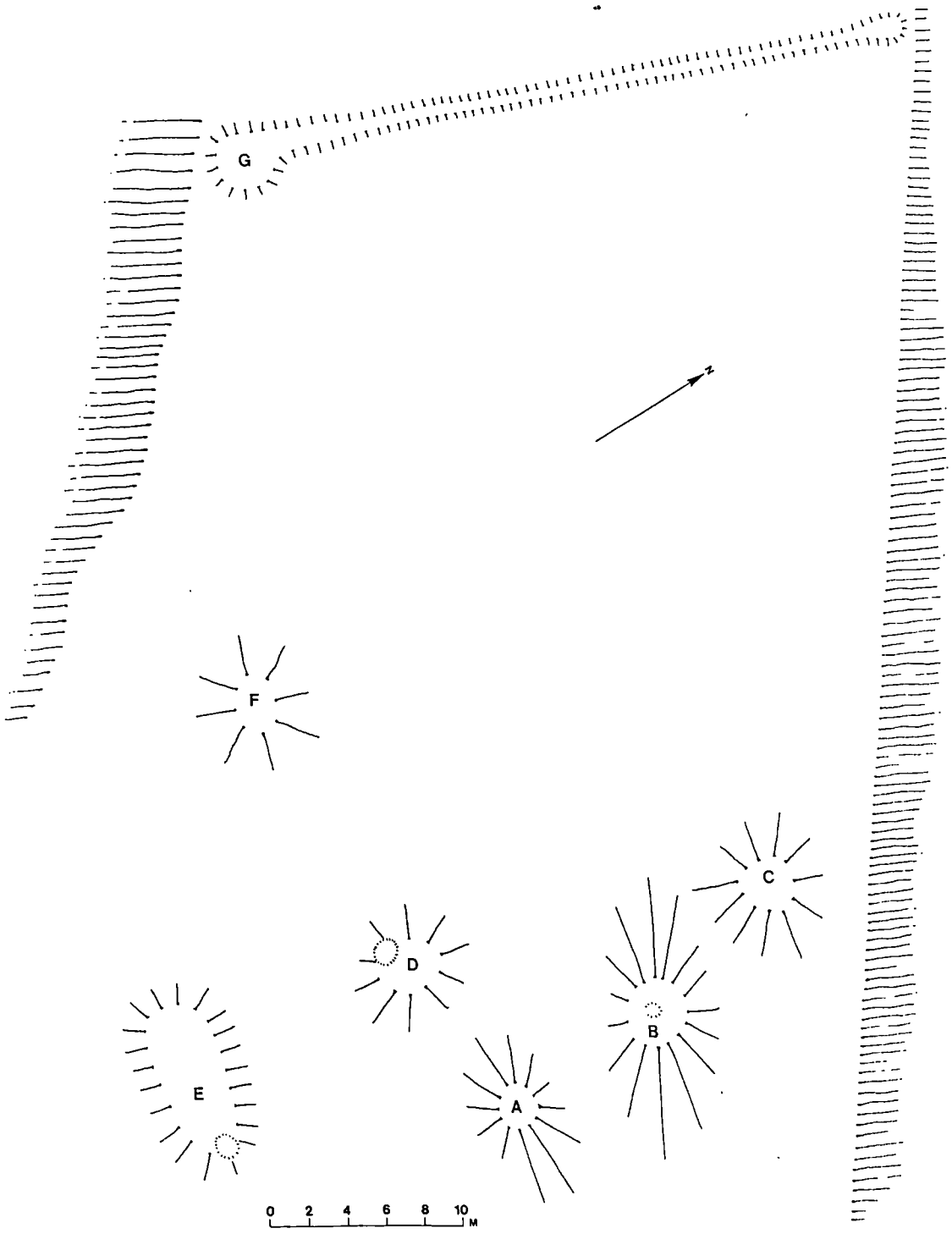


Fig. 58: Druidale Site 2 (M2). Surveyed at 1:100

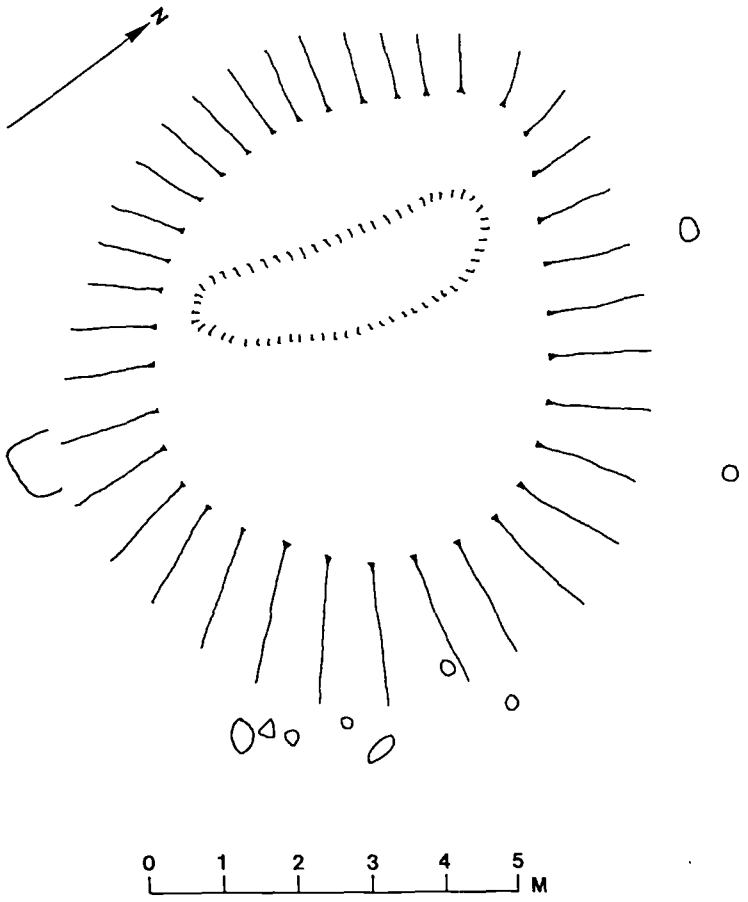


Fig. 59: Druidale Site 4 (M4). Surveyed at 1:100

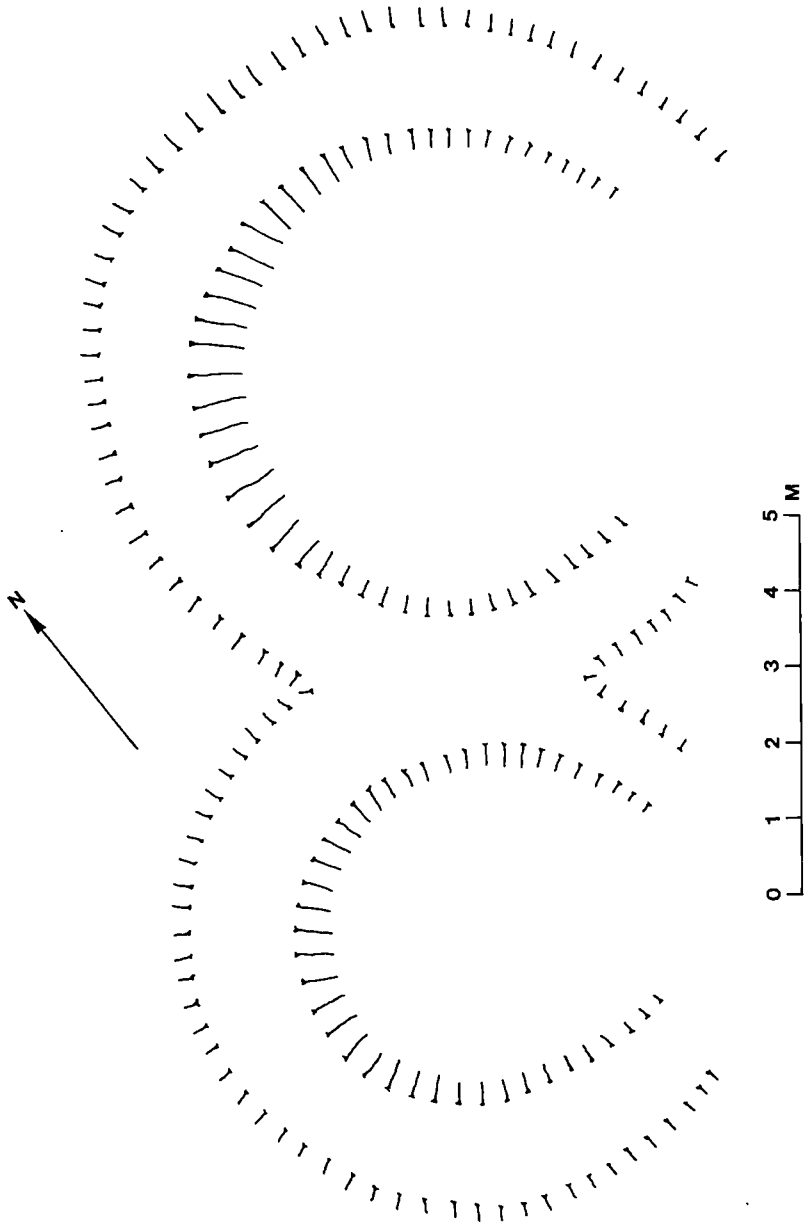


Fig. 60: Druidale Site 6 (M6) - Feature A (Sketch Survey)

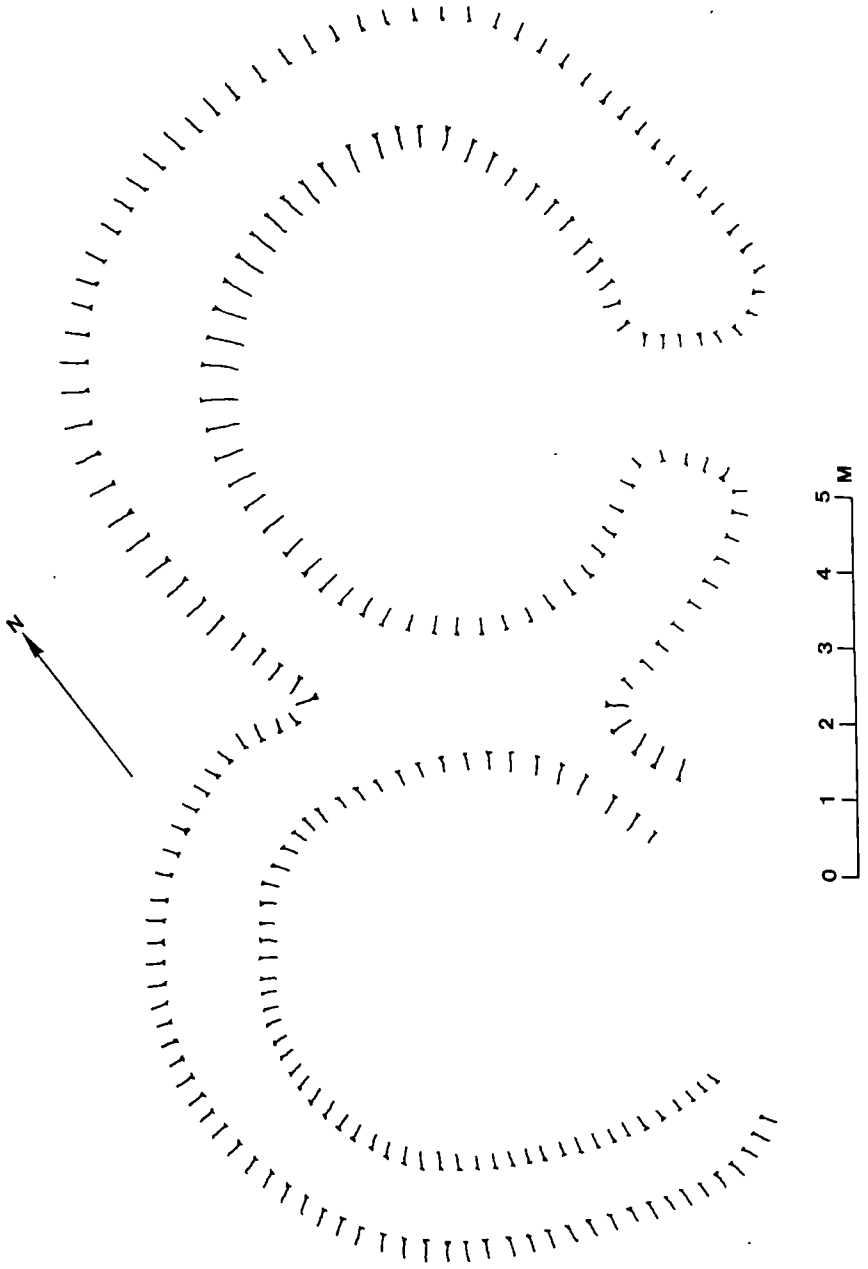


Fig. 61: Druidale Site 6 (M6) - Feature B (Sketch Survey)

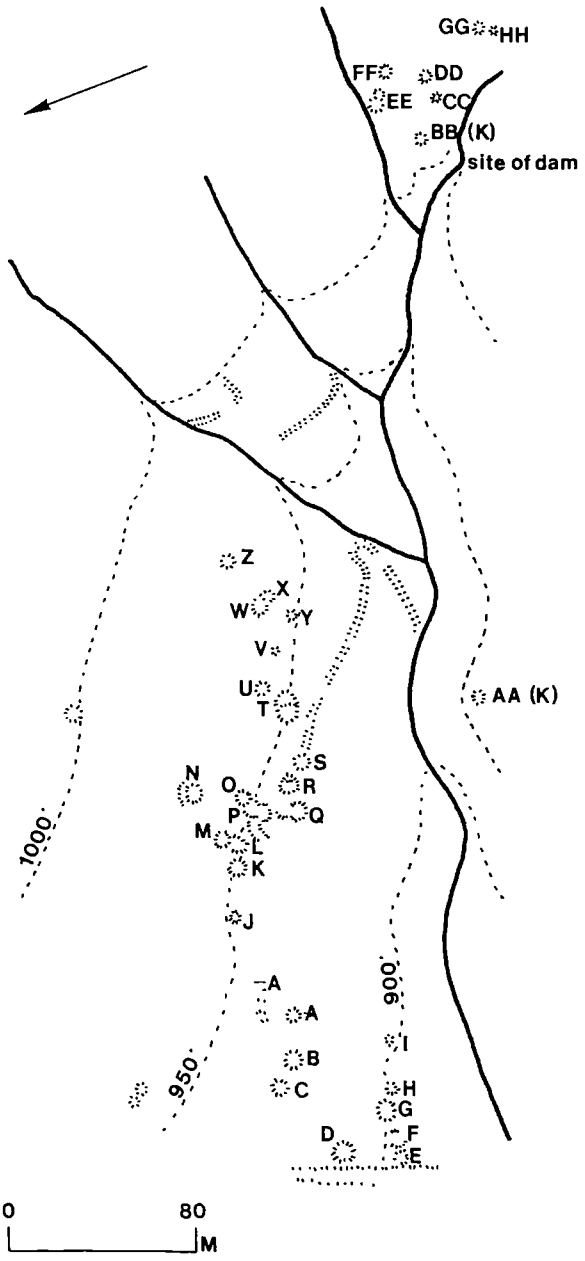


Fig. 62: Block Eary (M9-11) - the Site

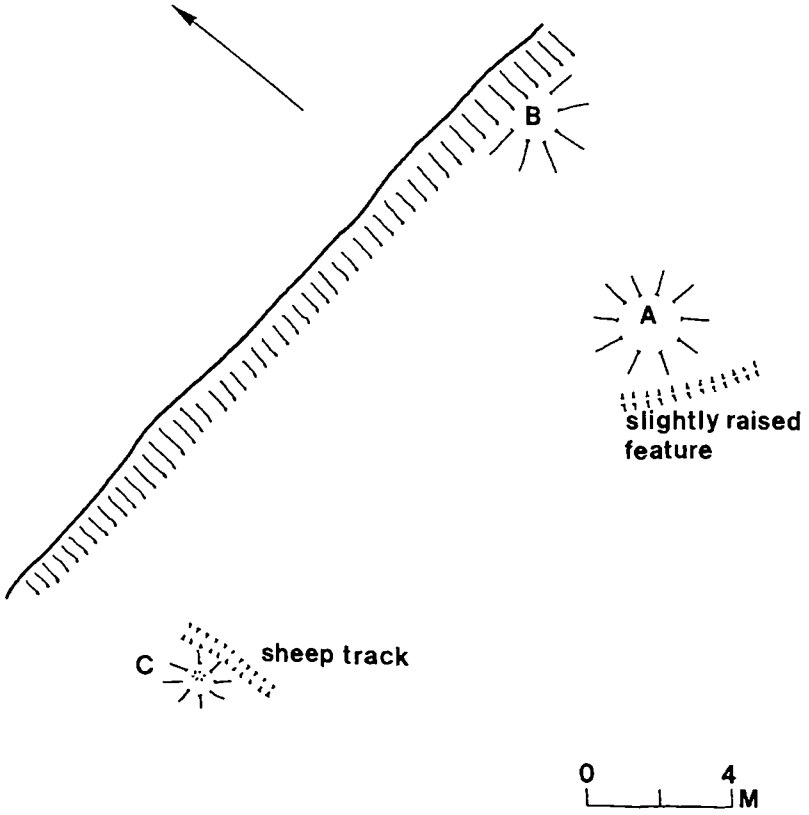


Fig. 63: Slieau Curn (M13) - Sketch Survey

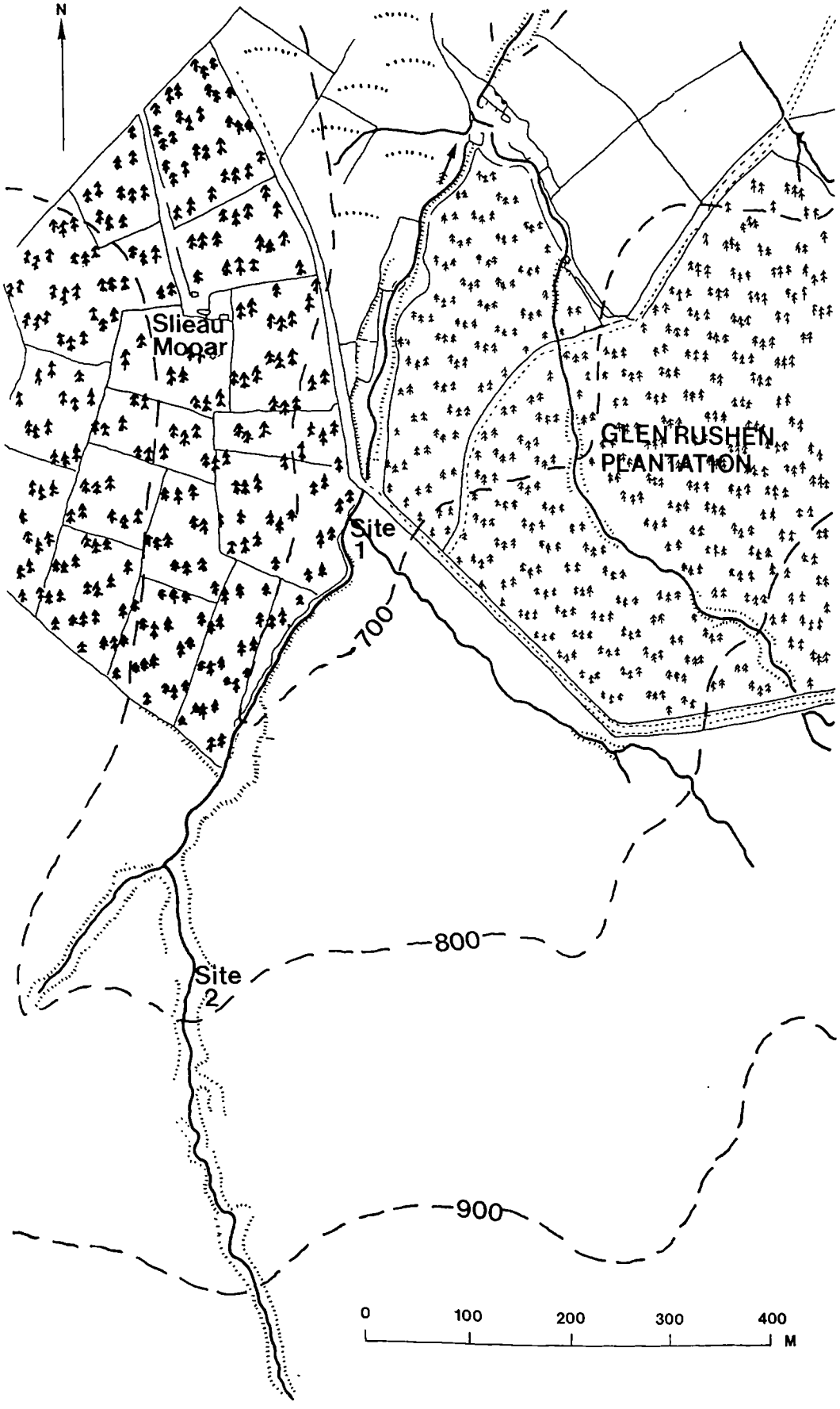


Fig. 64: Juan ny Clarys - Site Location Map

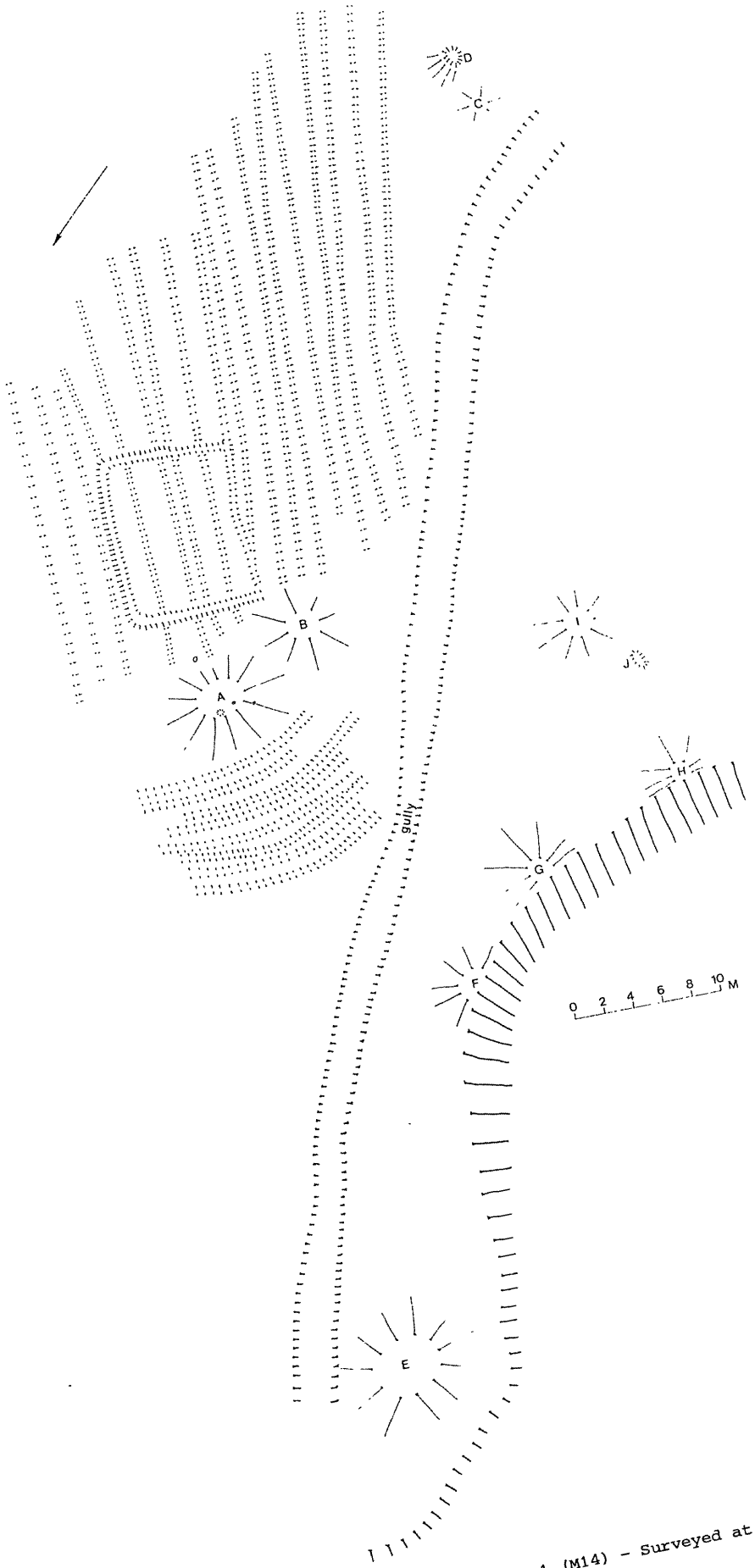


Fig. 65: Juan ny Clarys Site 1 (M14) - Surveyed at 1:100

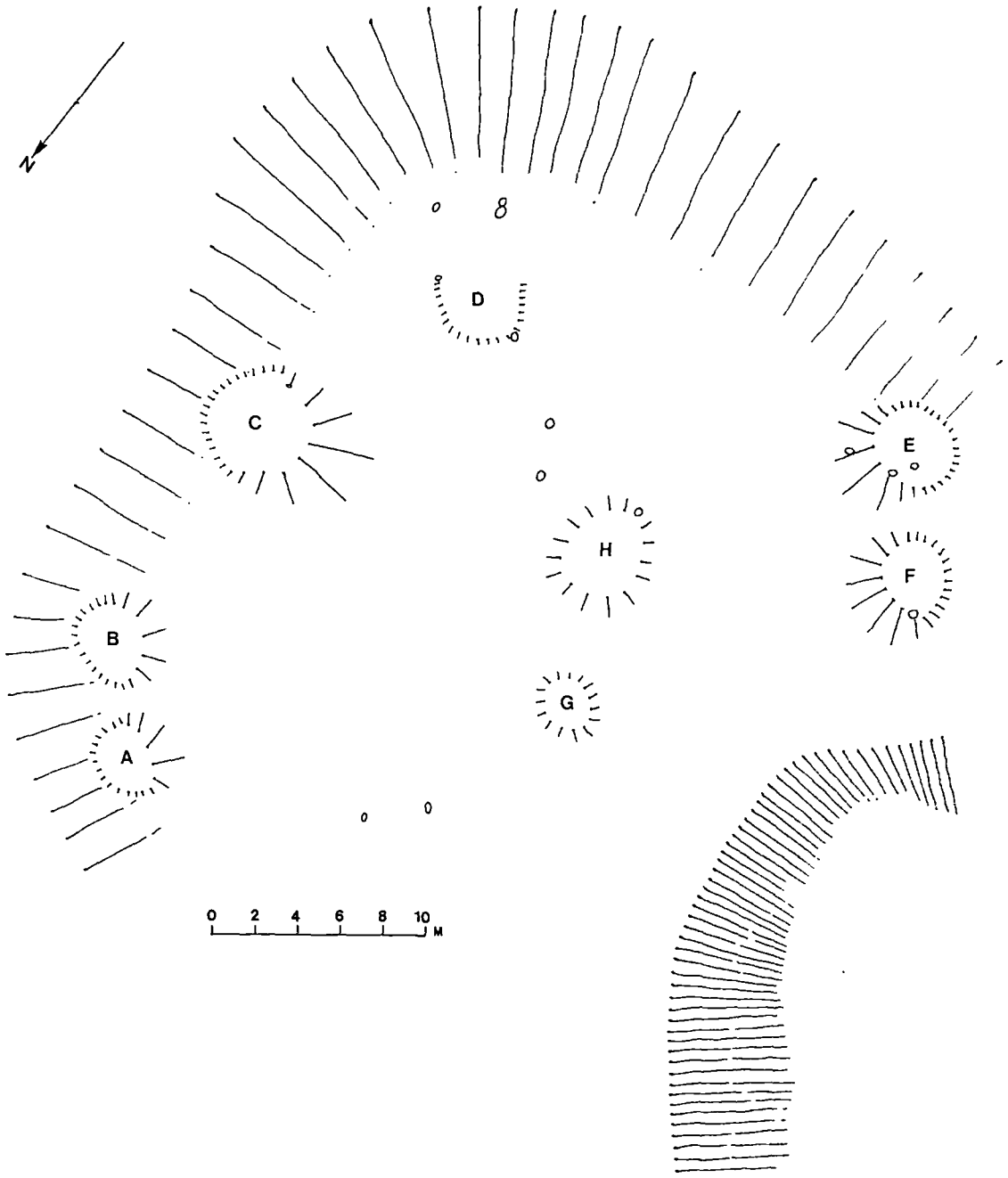


Fig. 66: Juan ny Clarys Site 2 (M15) - surveyed at 1:100

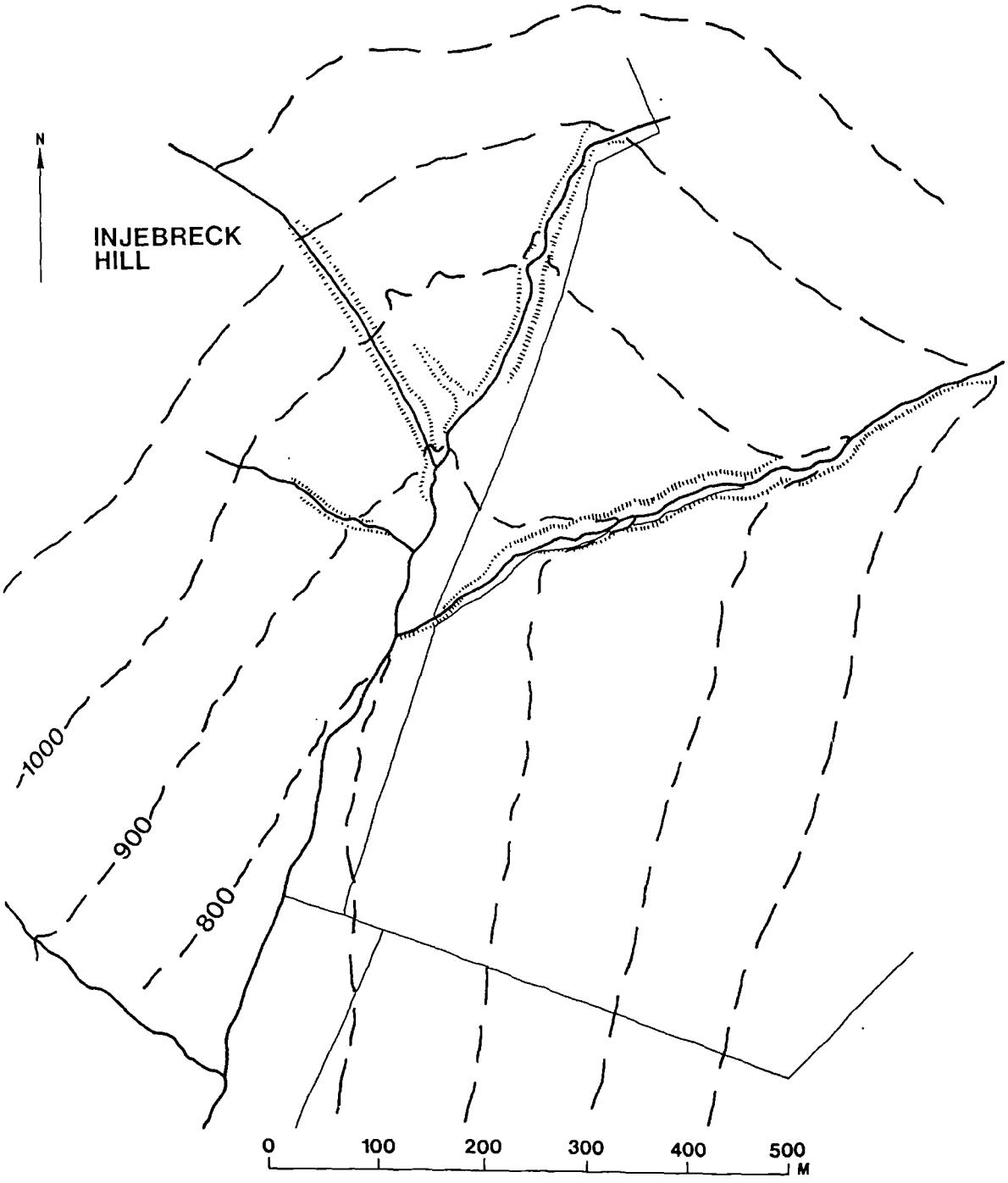


Fig. 67: Injebreck - Site Location Map

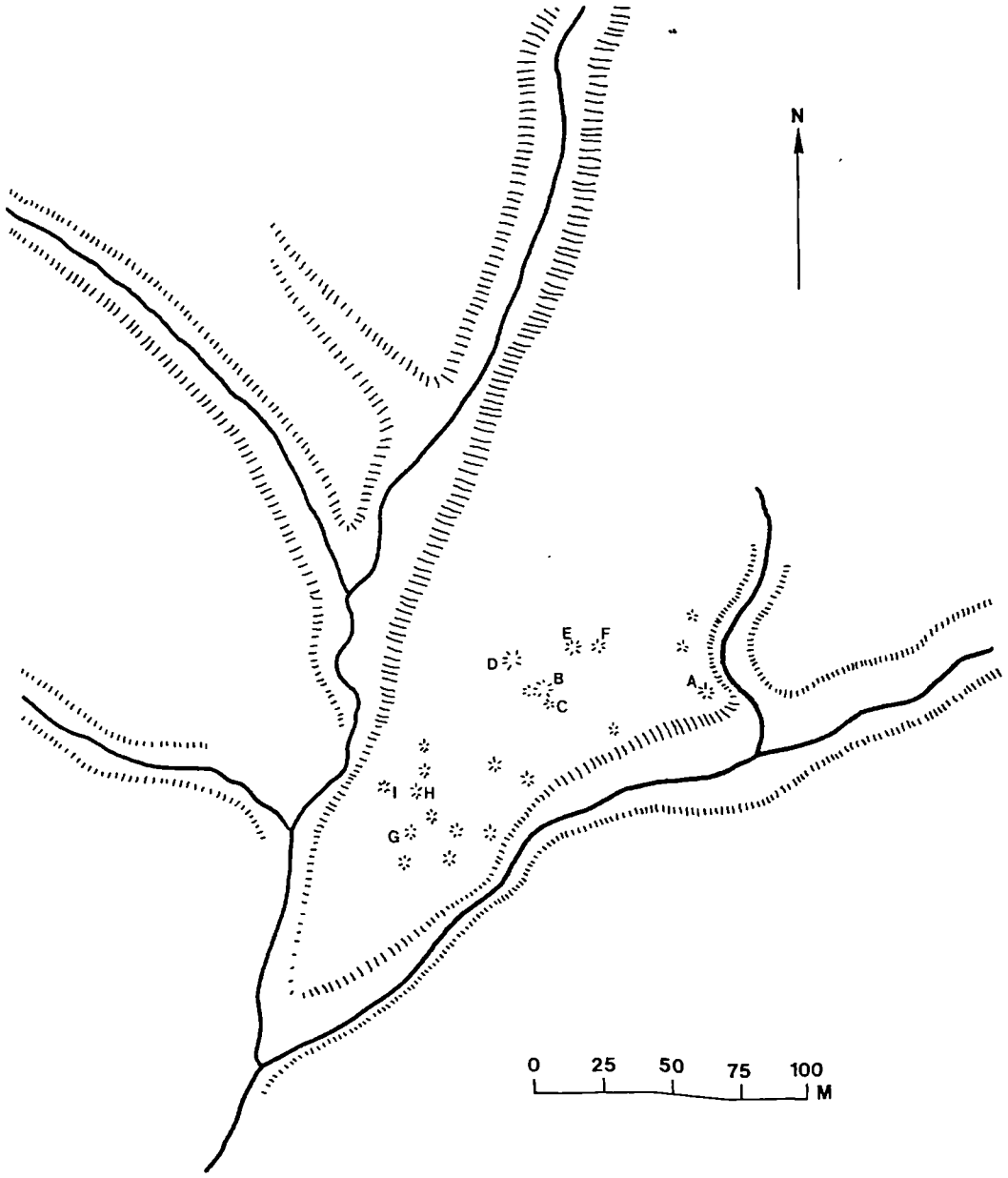


Fig. 68: Injebreck (M17)

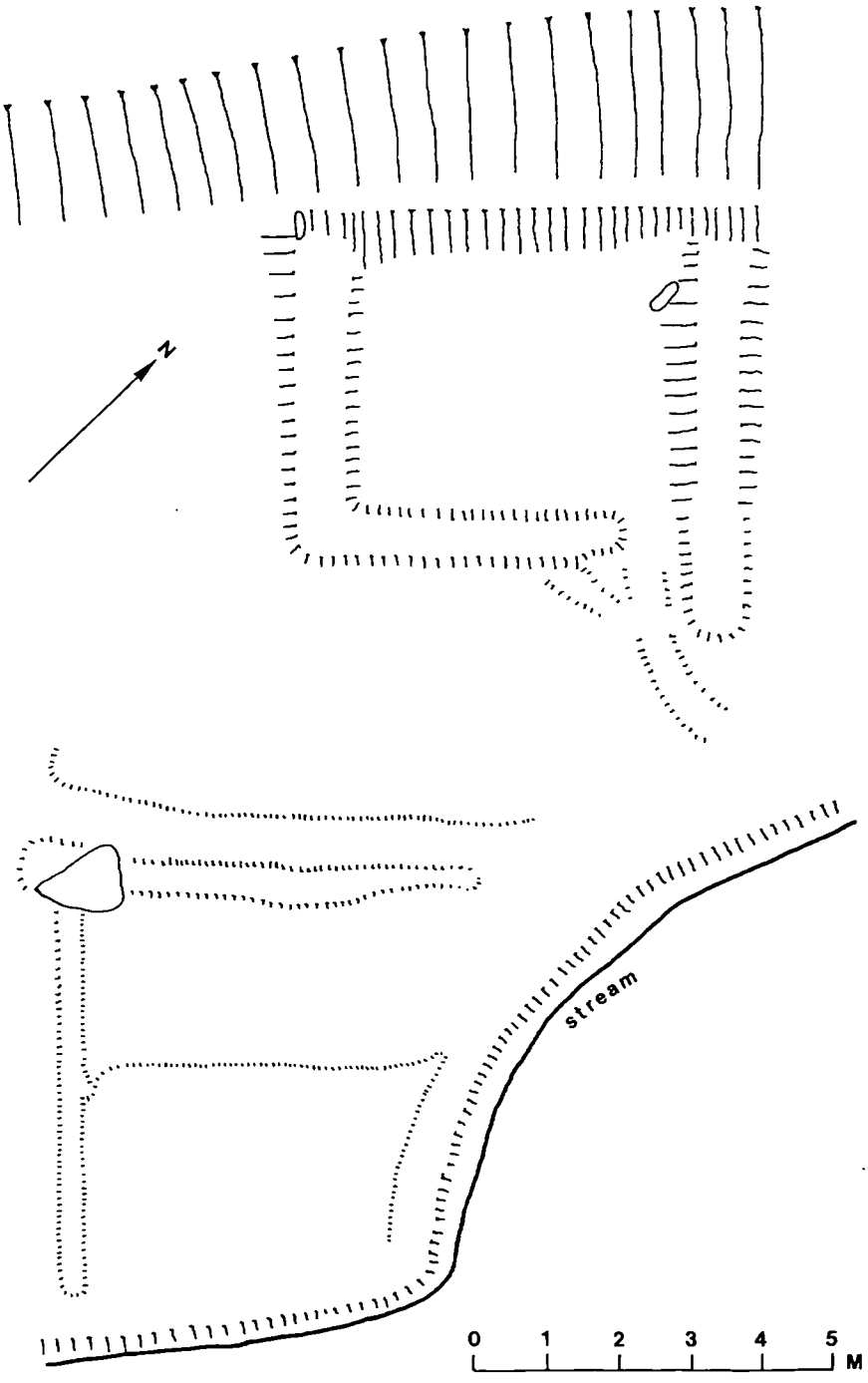


Fig. 69: Injebreck (M17) - the Rectangular Structure

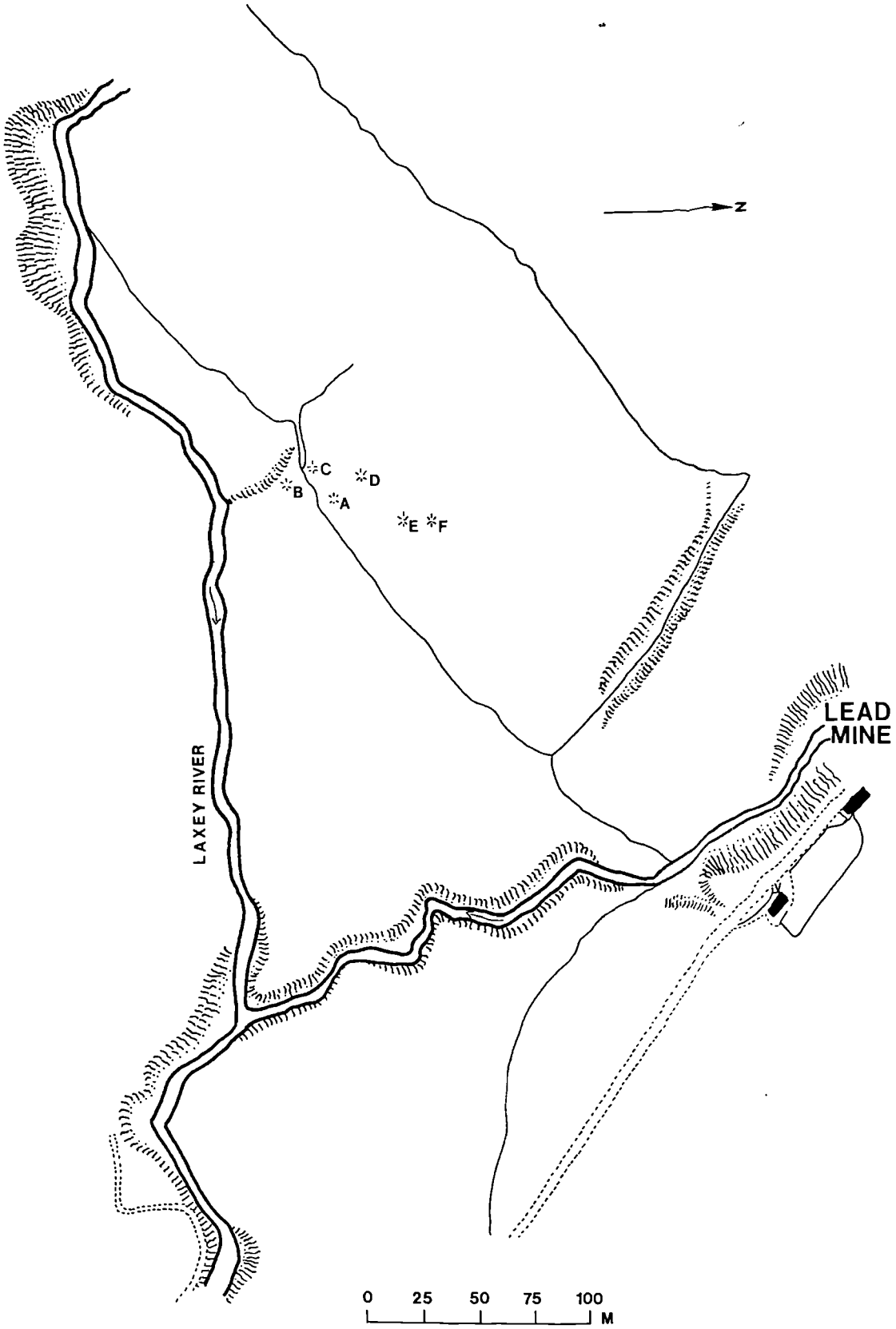


Fig. 70: Laxey (M18)

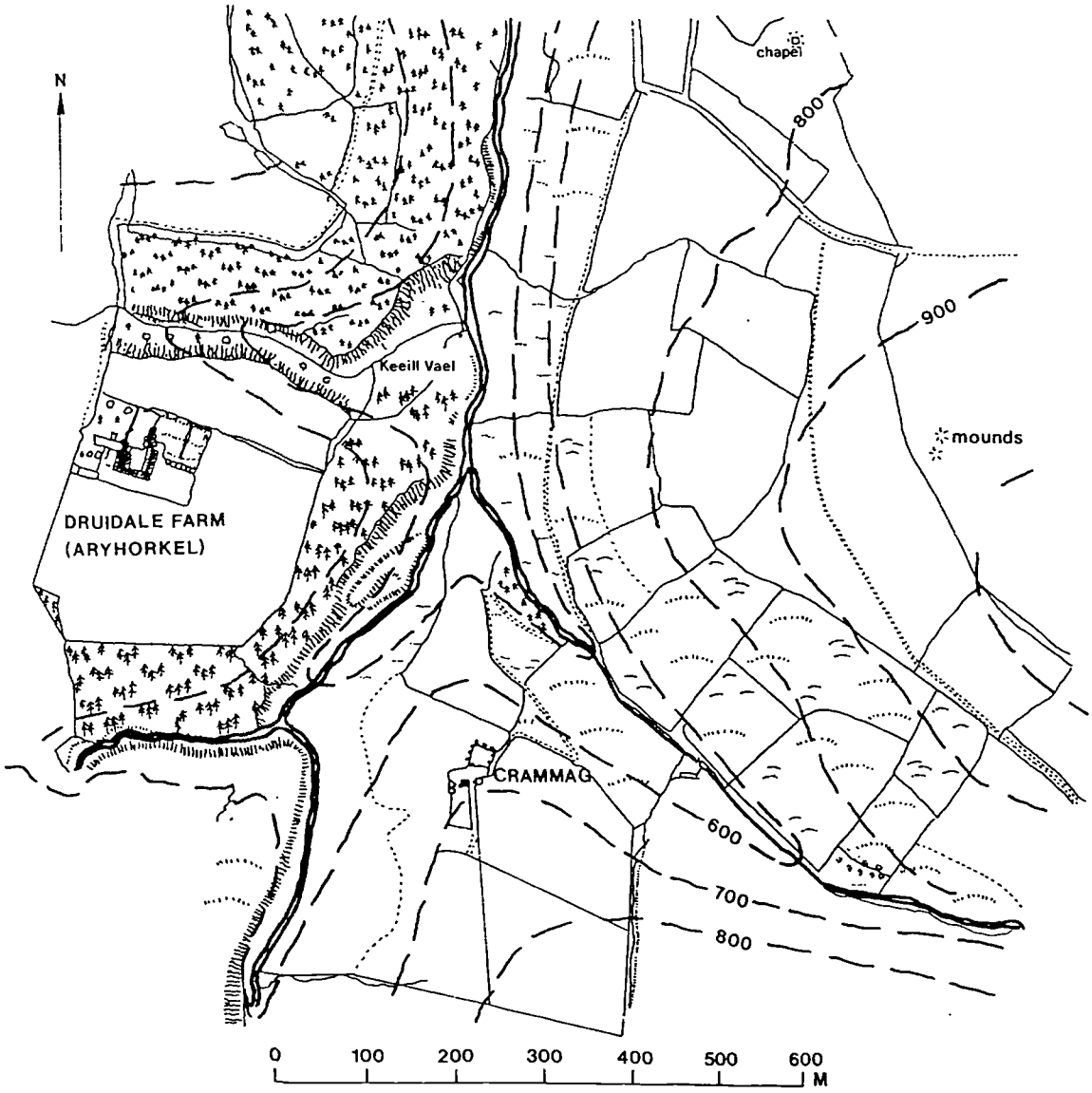


Fig. 71: Sulby Reservoir (M20) - map showing area before the construction of the reservoir

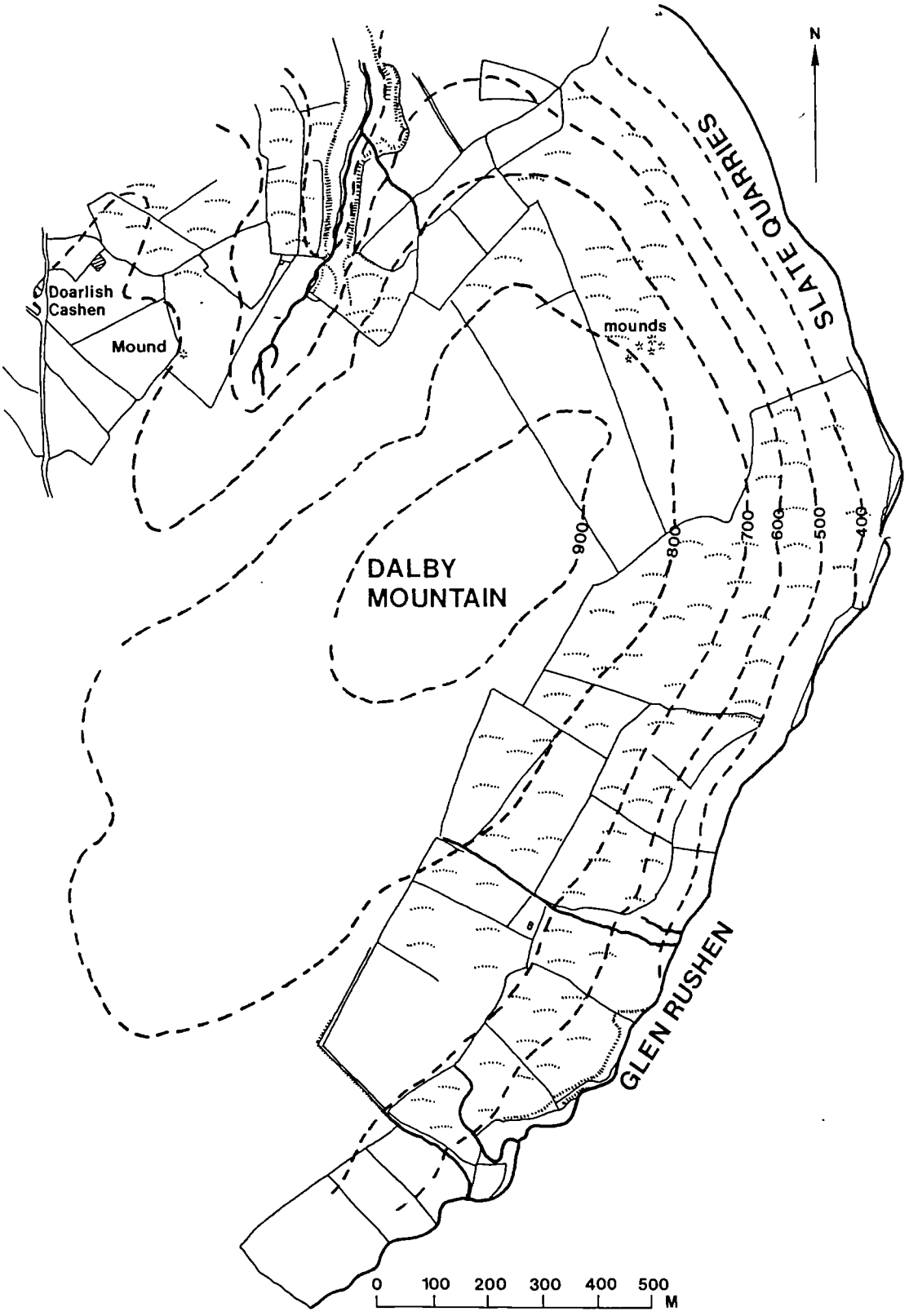


Fig. 72: The Lhaggan (M24)

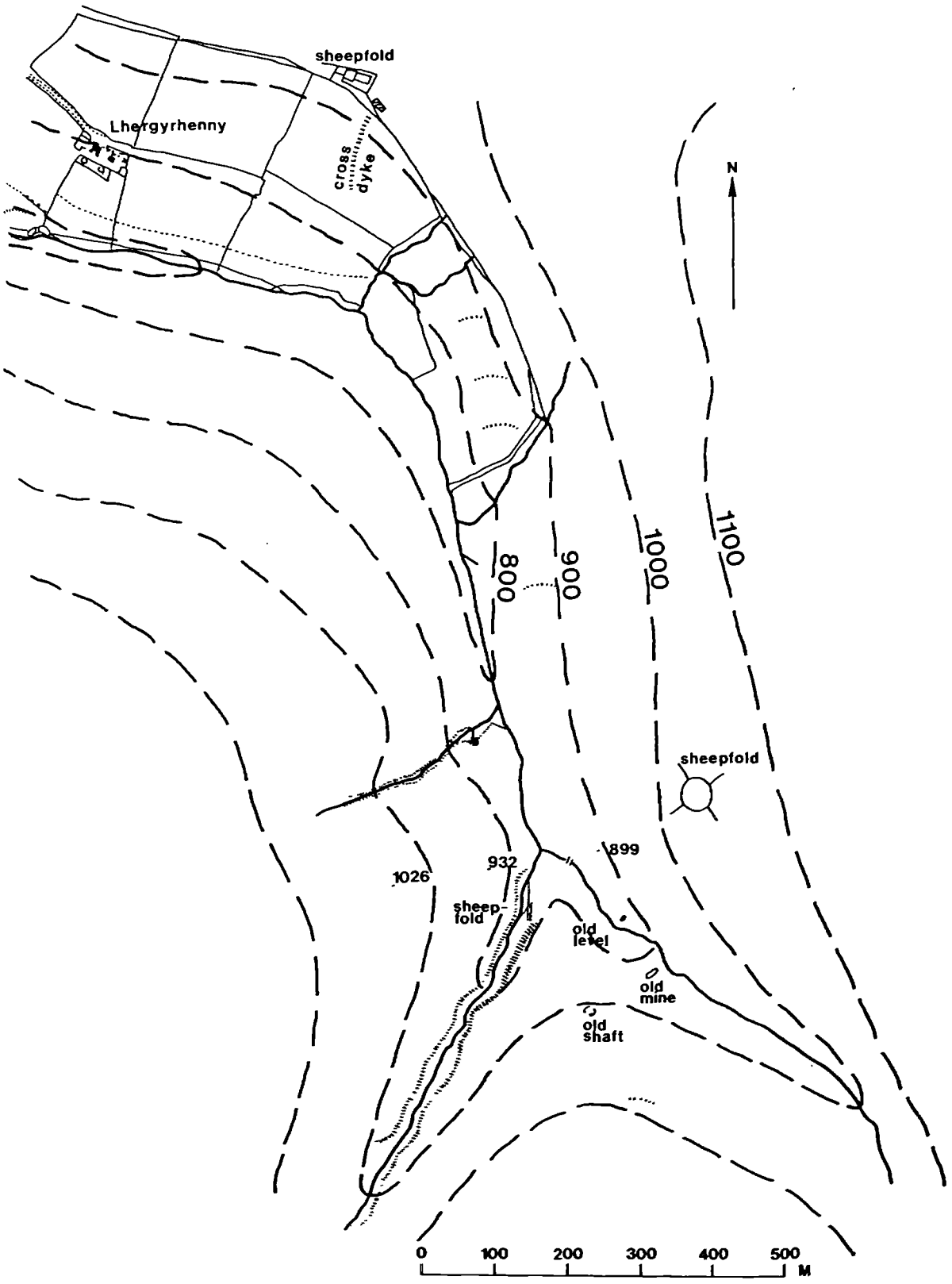


Fig. 73: Lhergyrhenny - Site Location Map

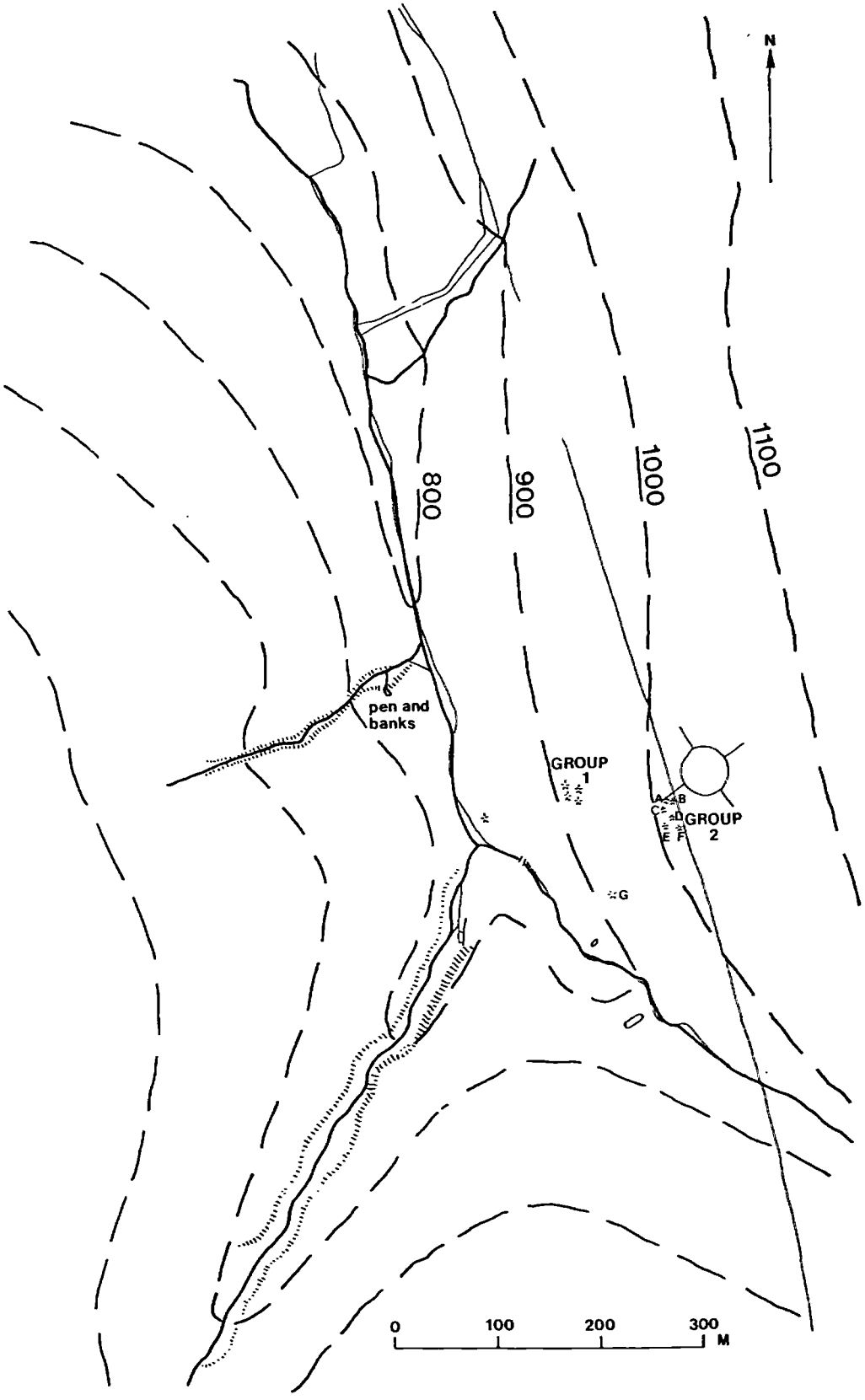


Fig. 74: Lhergyrhenny (M25) - the Site

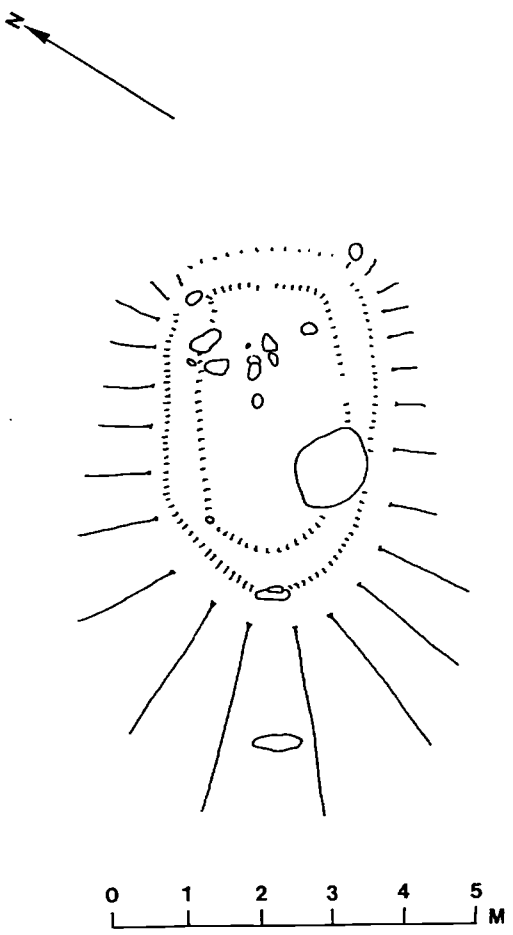


Fig. 75: Lhergyrhenny (M25) - Hut C

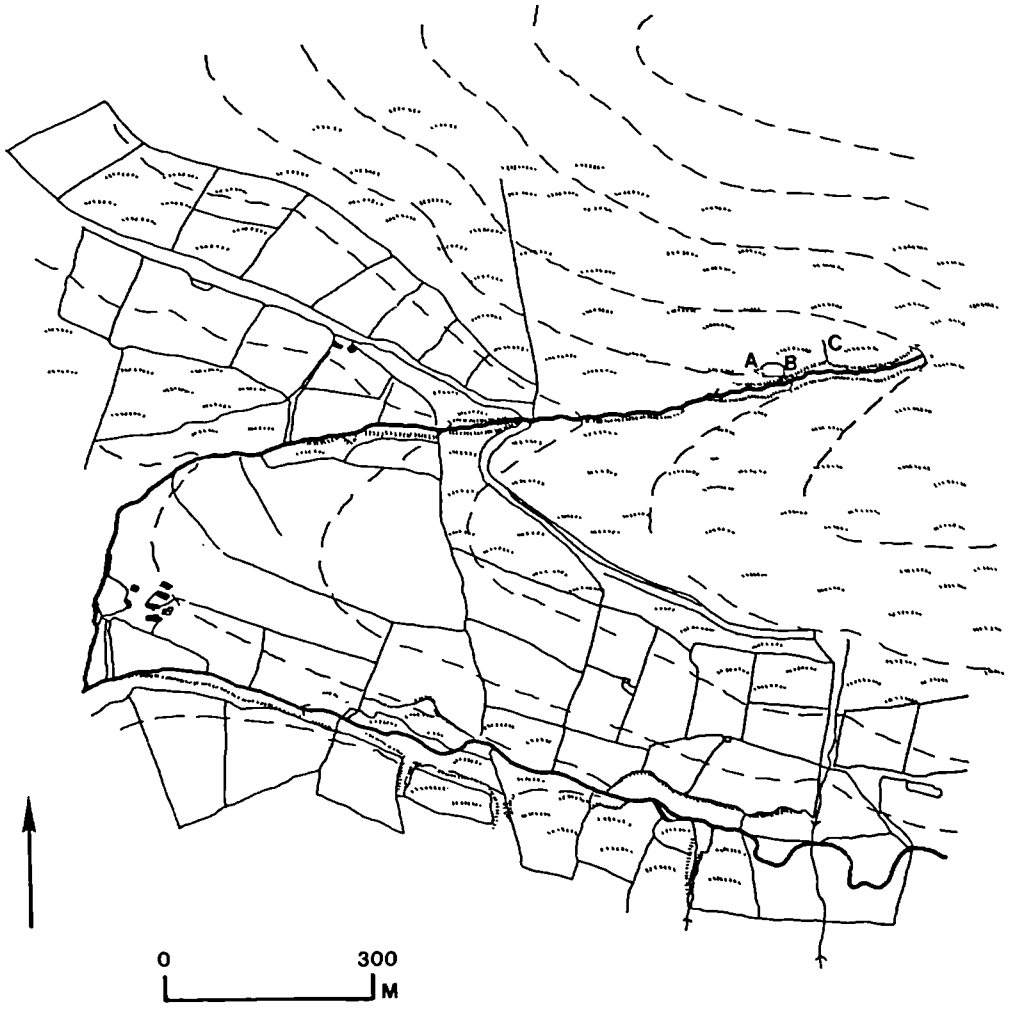


Fig. 76: Upper Sartfell - Site Location Map

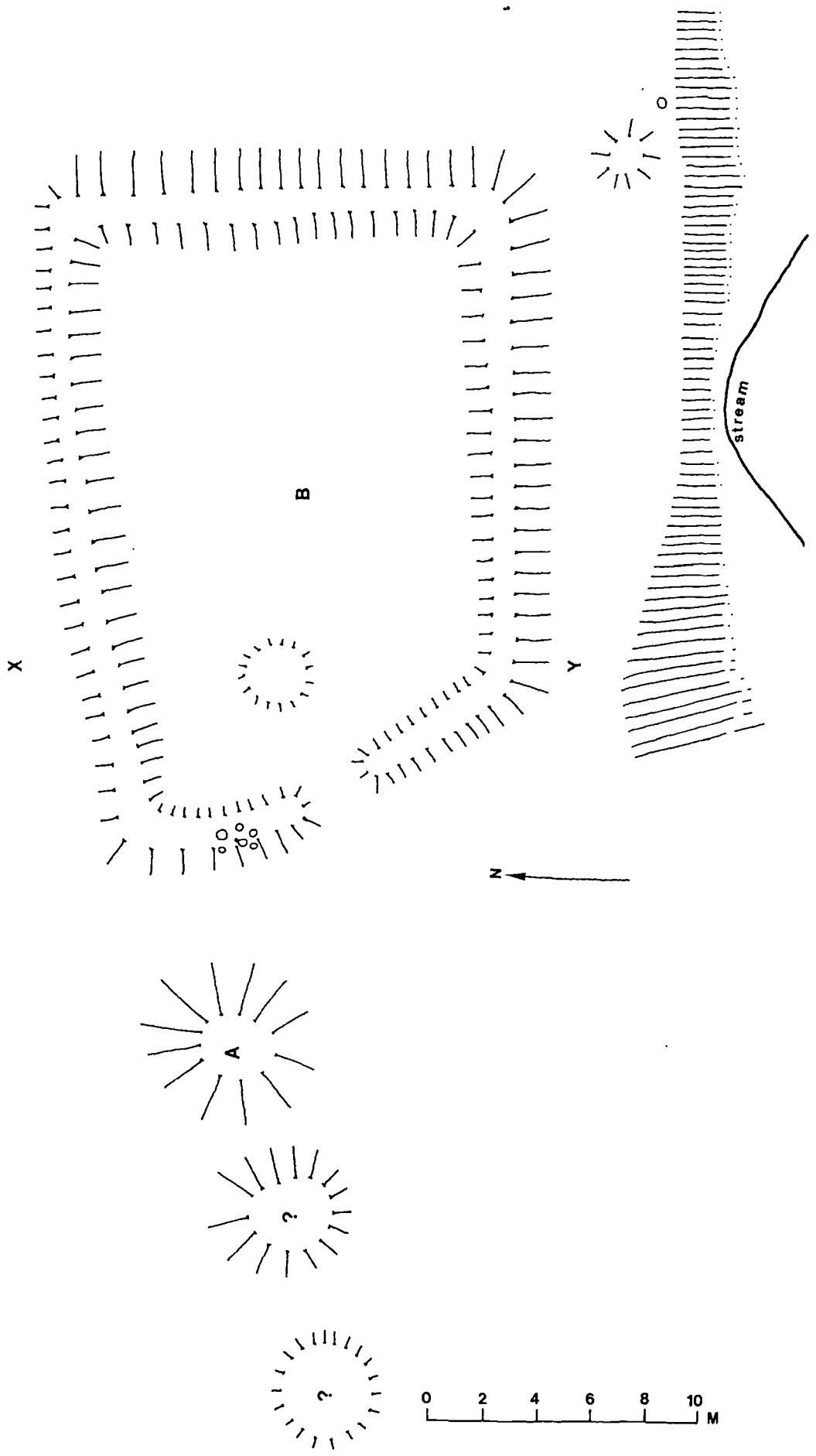


Fig. 77: Upper Sartfell (M26) - surveyed at 1:100

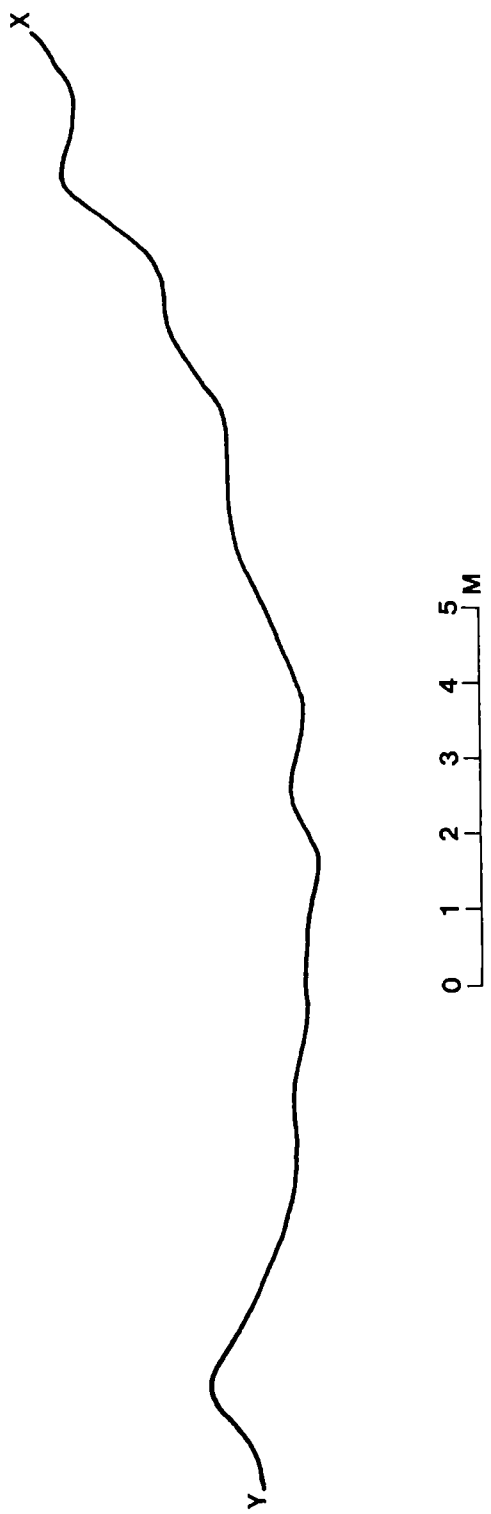


Fig. 78: Upper Sartfell (M26) - Sketch Profile of the Enclosure

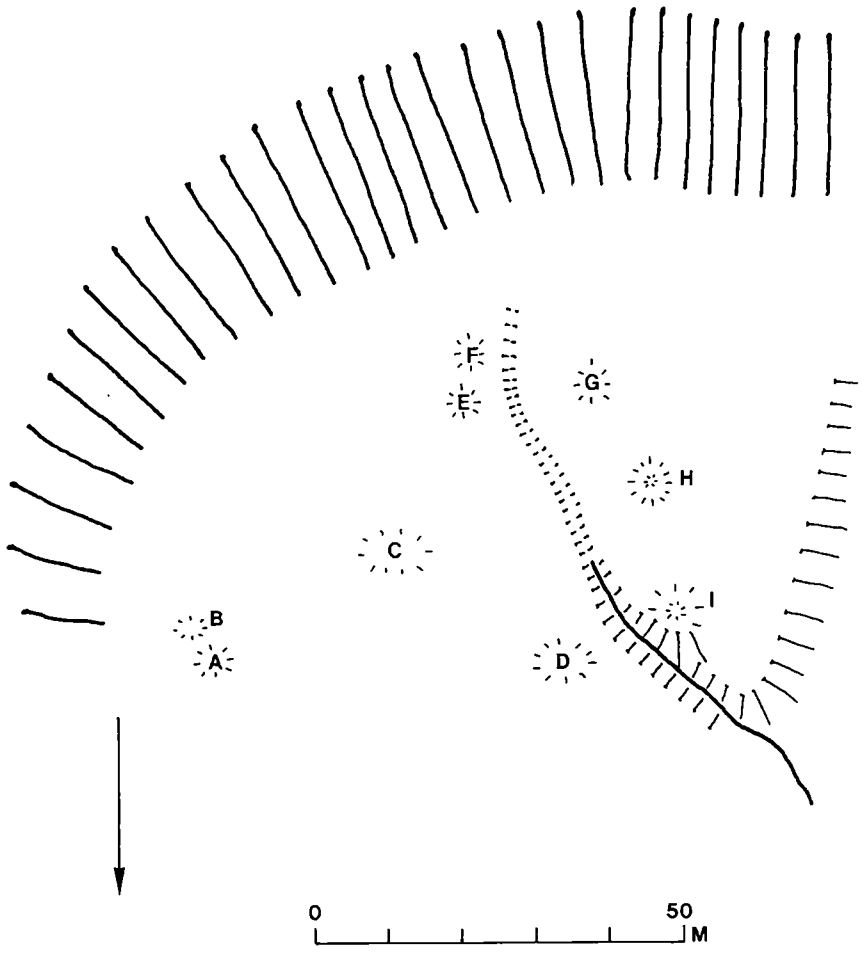


Fig. 79: Slieau Dhoo (M27) - Sketch Survey

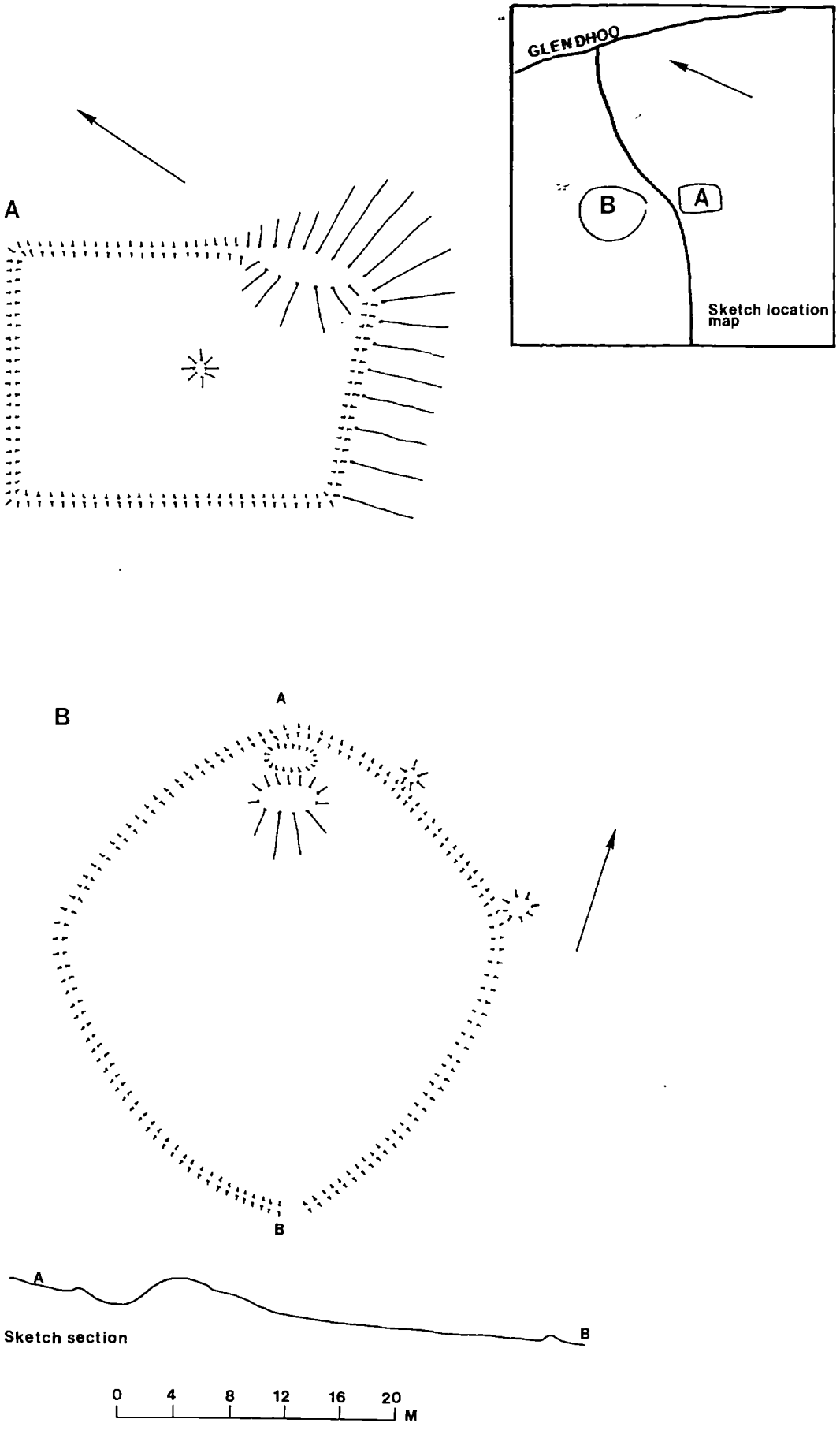


Fig. 80: Glen Dhoo (M32) - Sketch Survey

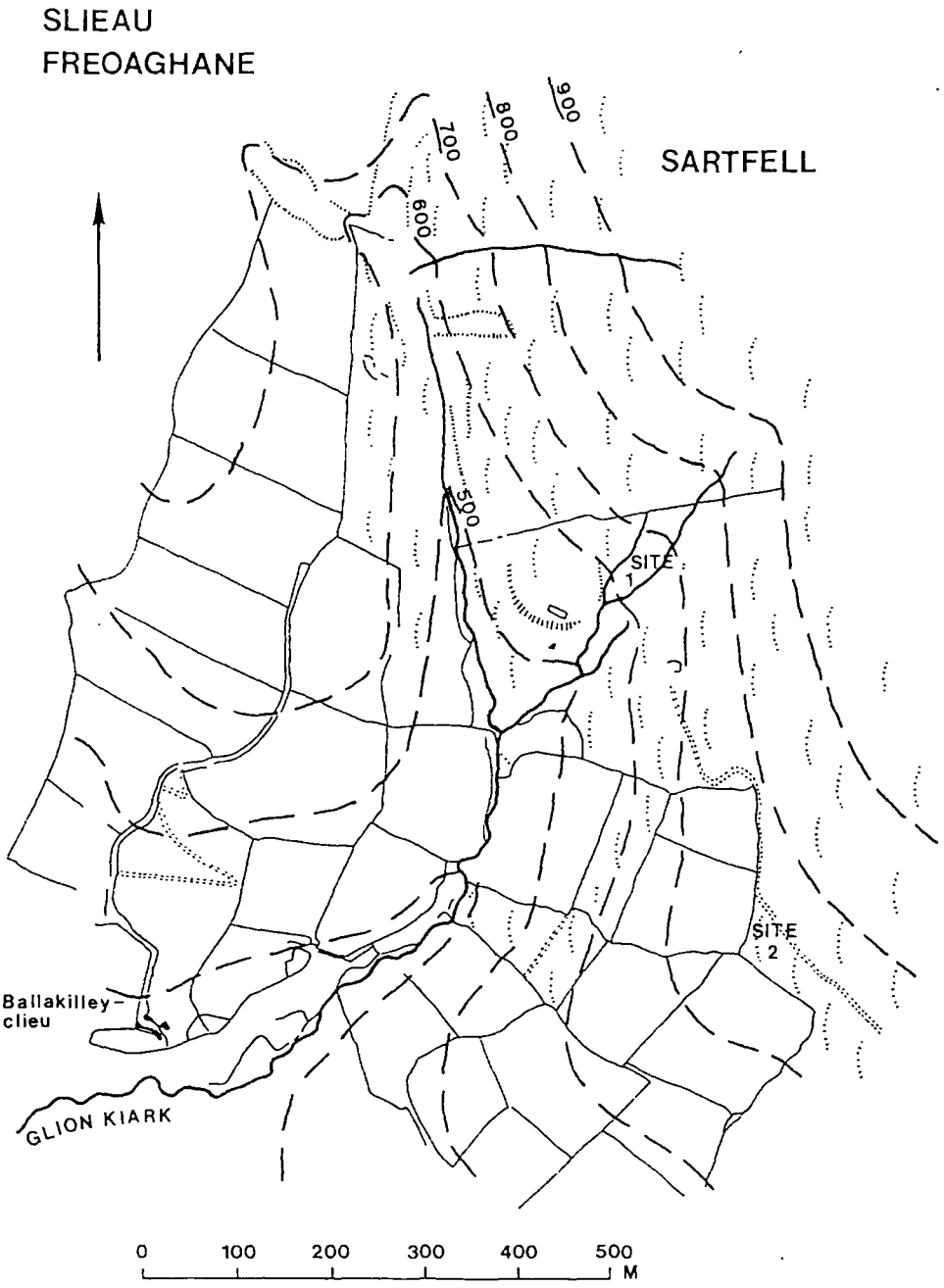


Fig. 81: Sartfell - Site Location Map

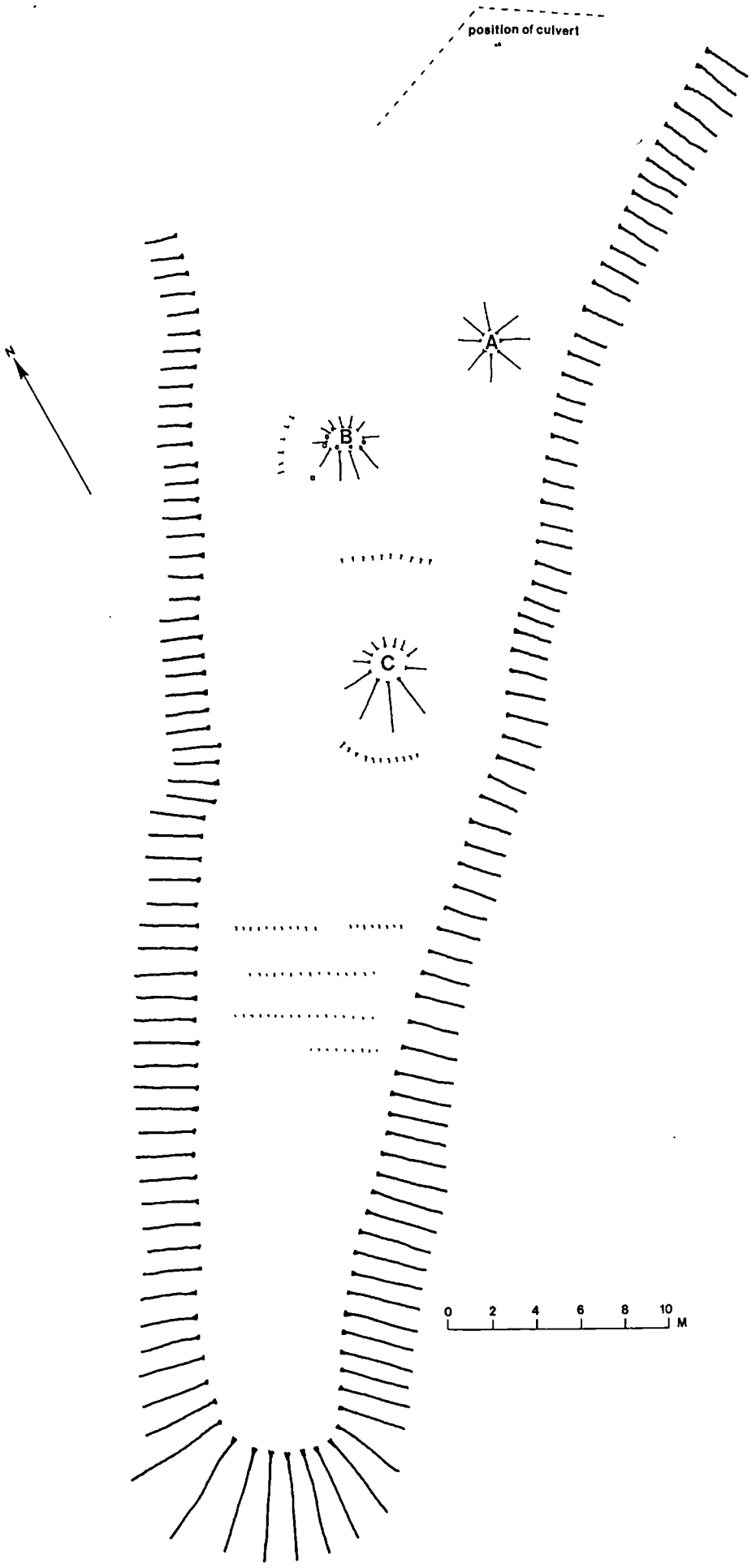


Fig. 82: Sartfell Site 1 (M33) - surveyed at 1:100

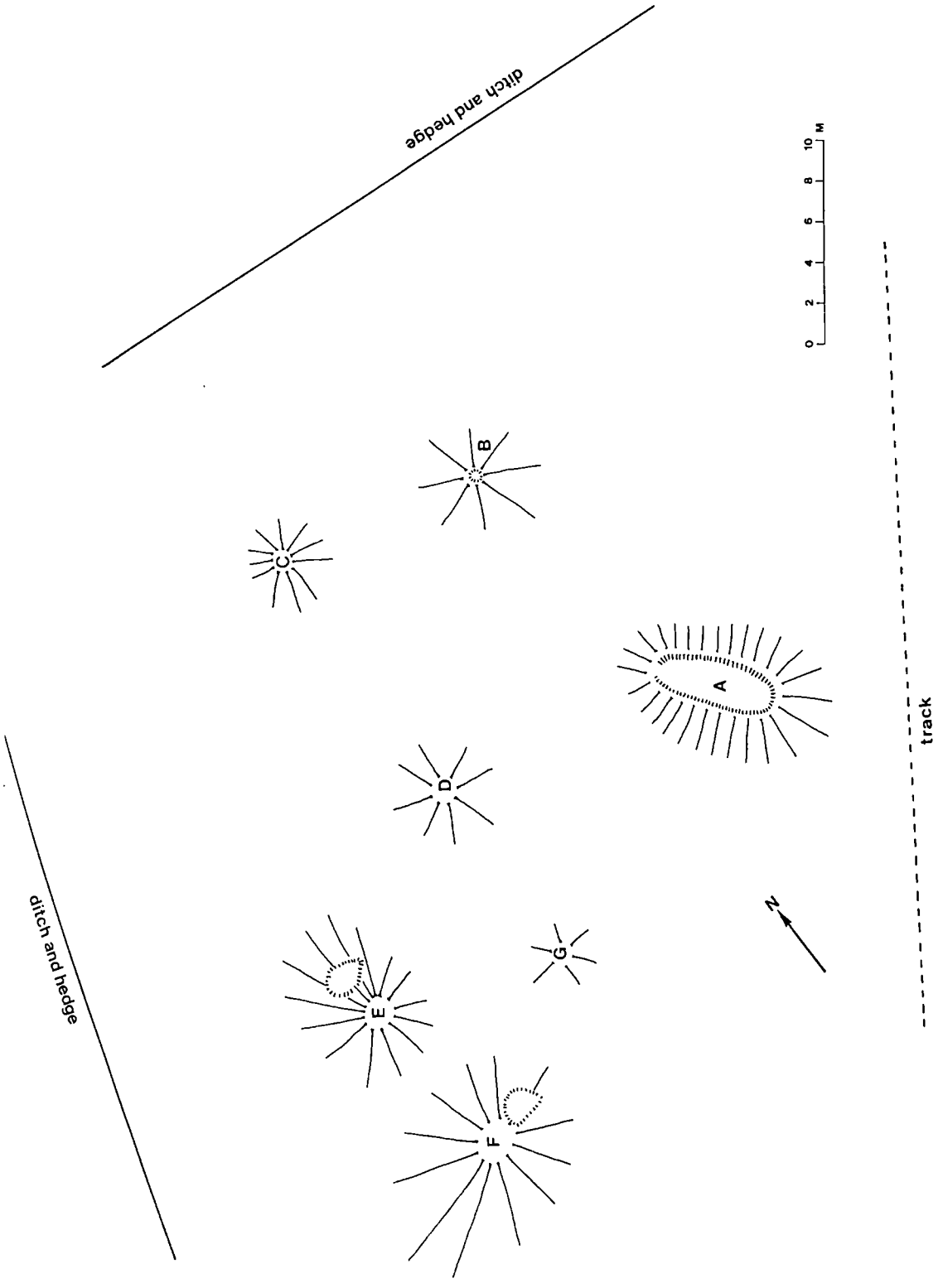


Fig. 83: Sartfell Site 2 (M34) - surveyed at 1:100

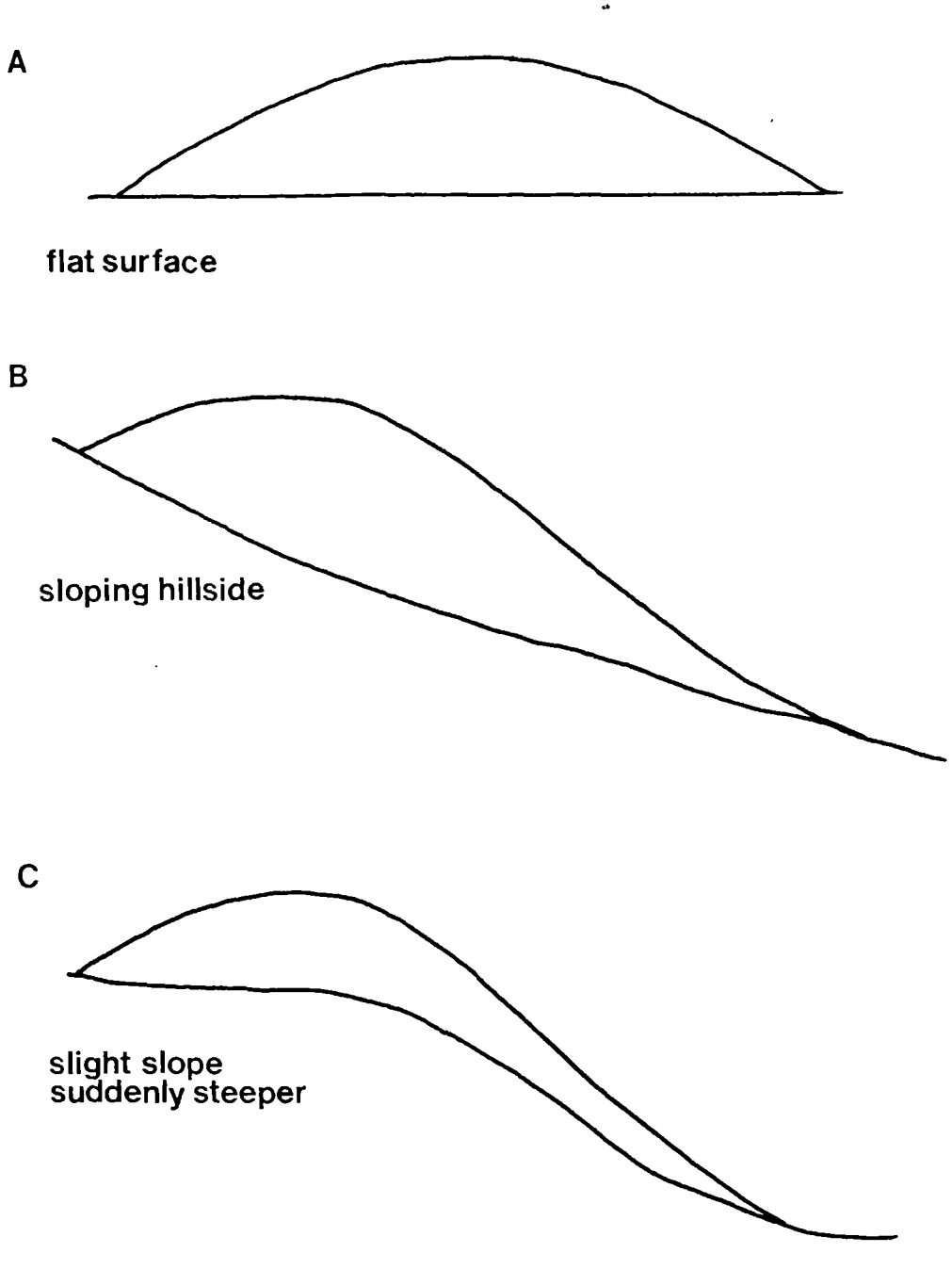


Fig. 84: Diagram of Mound Formation

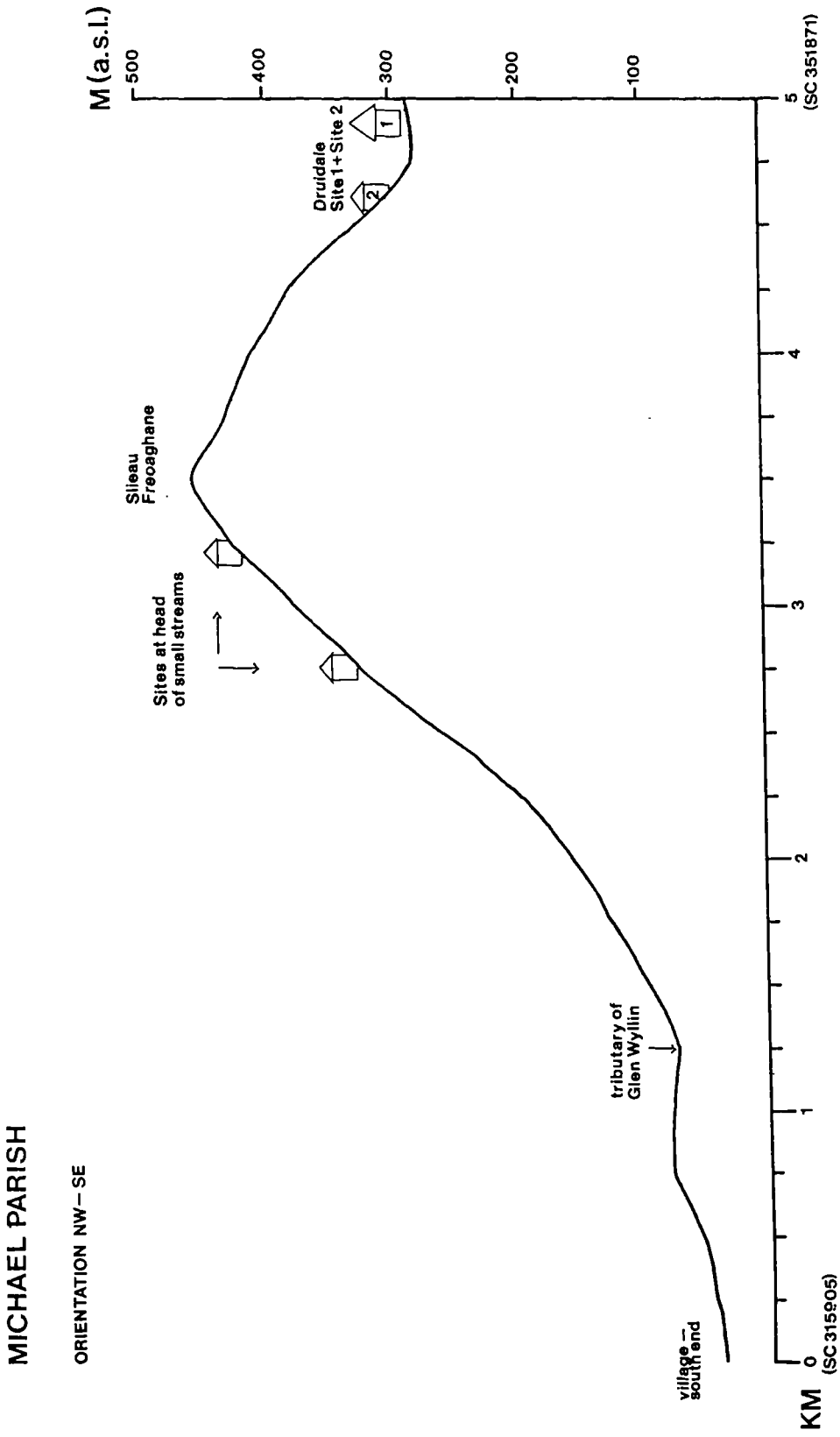


Fig. 85: The Relationship Between Farm and Shieling

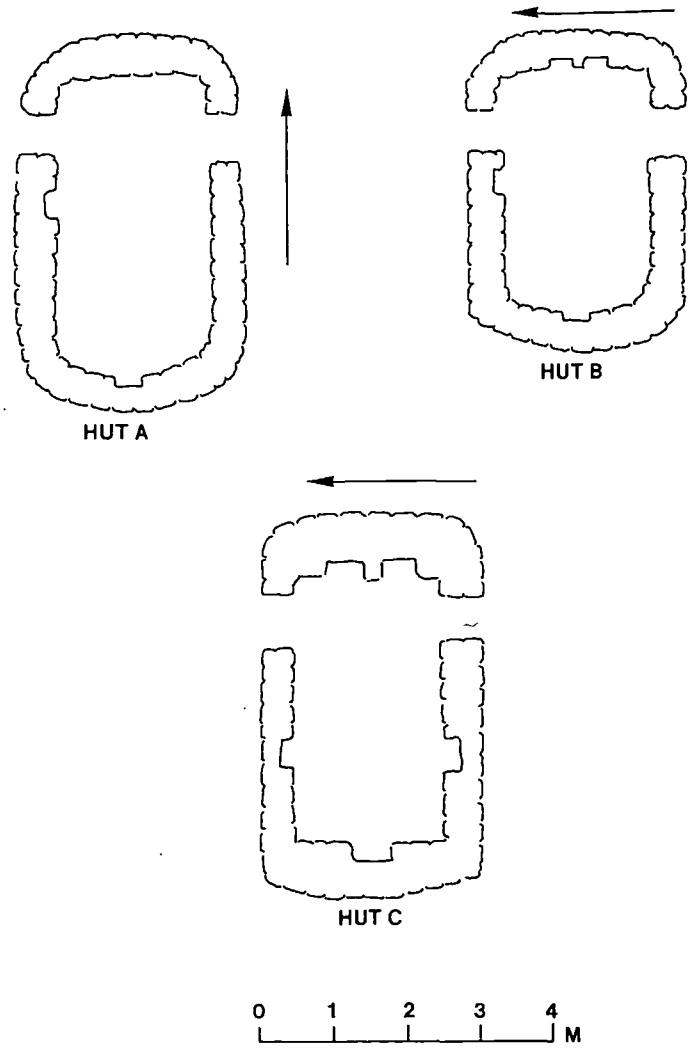


Fig. 86: Gleann Áirigh na Gile (H6) - surveyed at 1:100

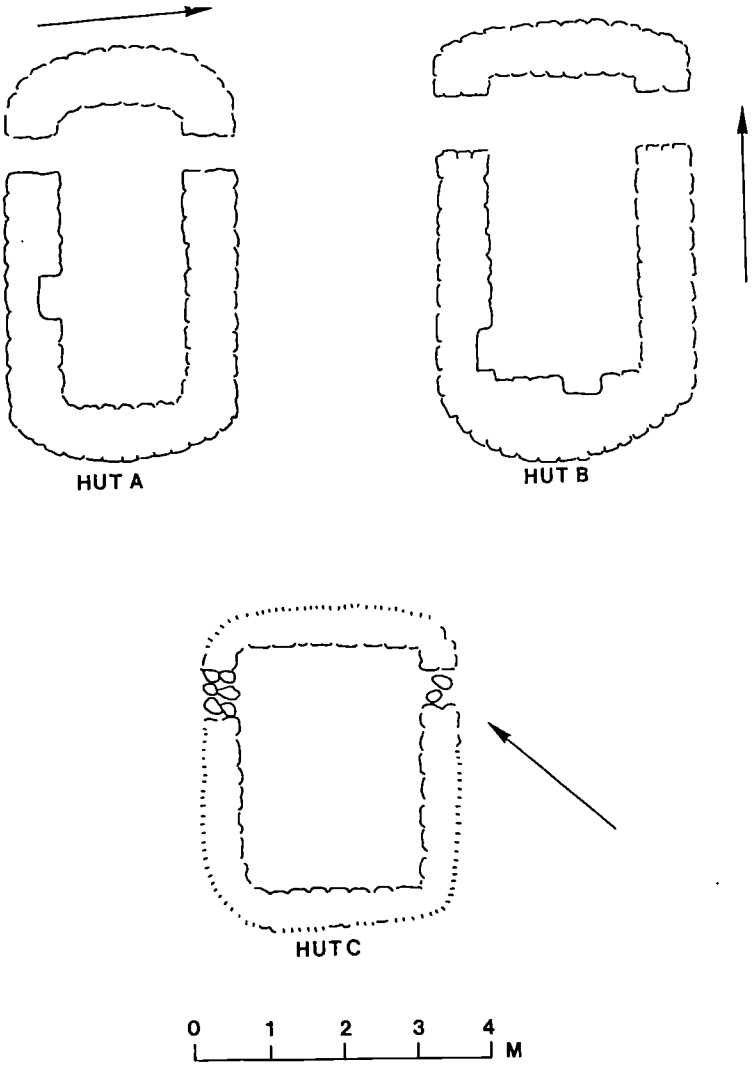


Fig. 87: Great Bernera (H7) - surveyed at 1:100

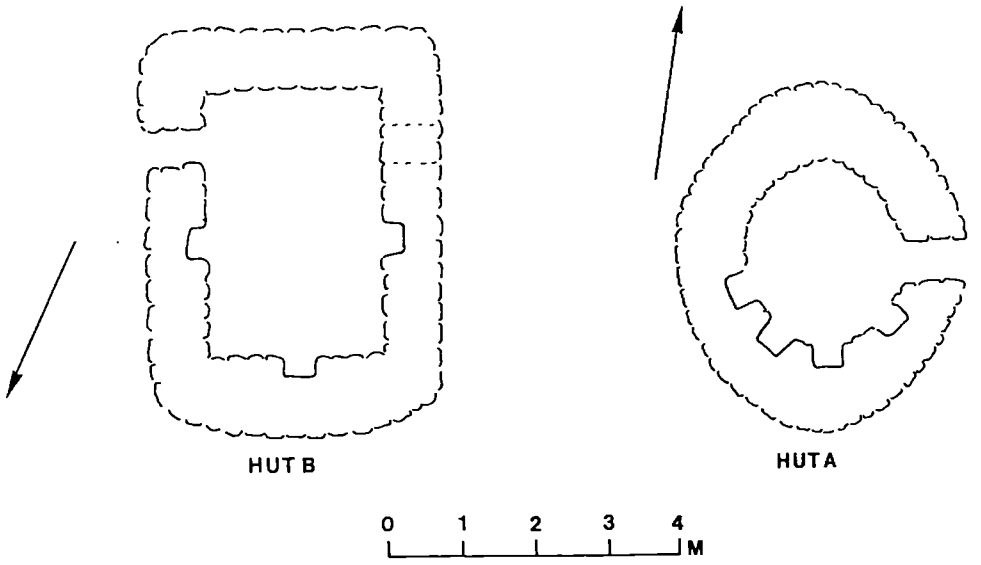


Fig. 88: Ollashal (H12) - surveyed at 1:100

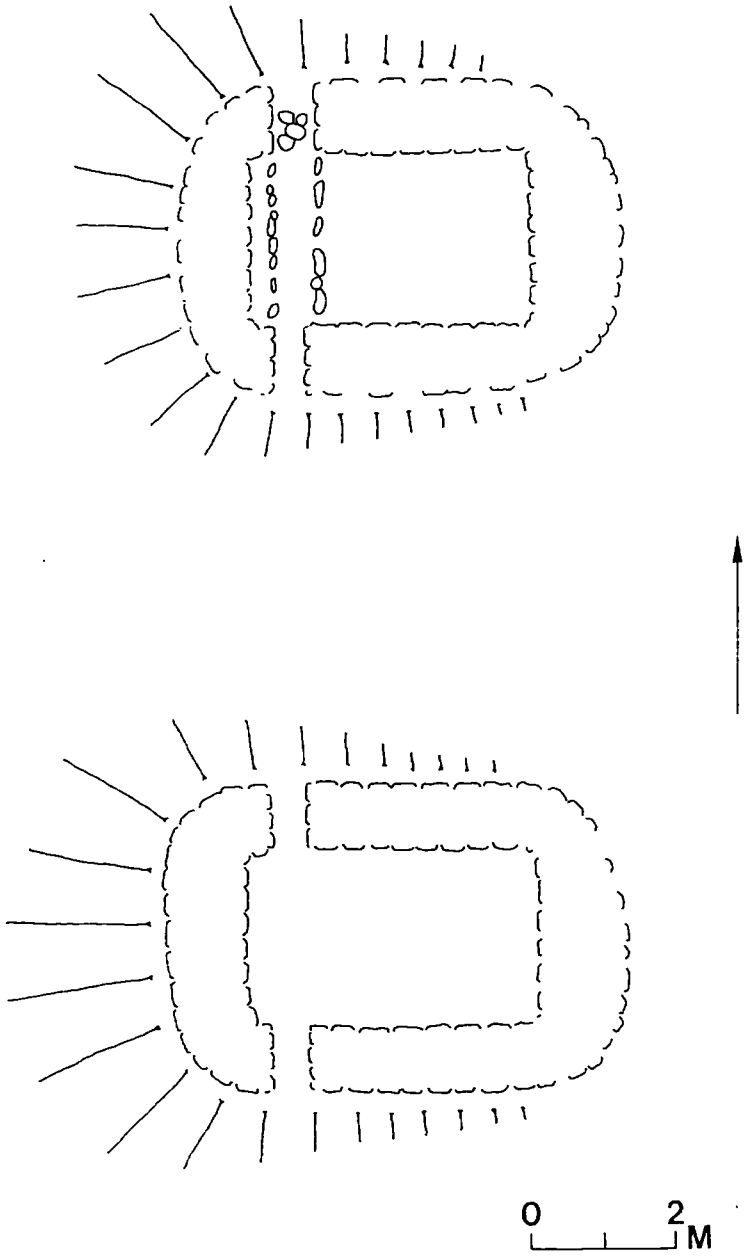


Fig. 89: Great Bernera Road (H14) - Sketch Survey

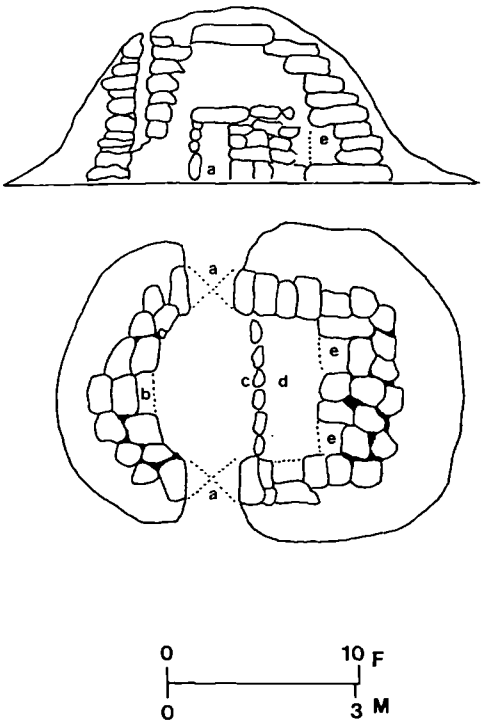


Fig. 90: Cnoc Dubh (H15) (after Thomas 1867)

a - door
b - fireplace
c - row of stones dividing internal area
d - bed
e - recess

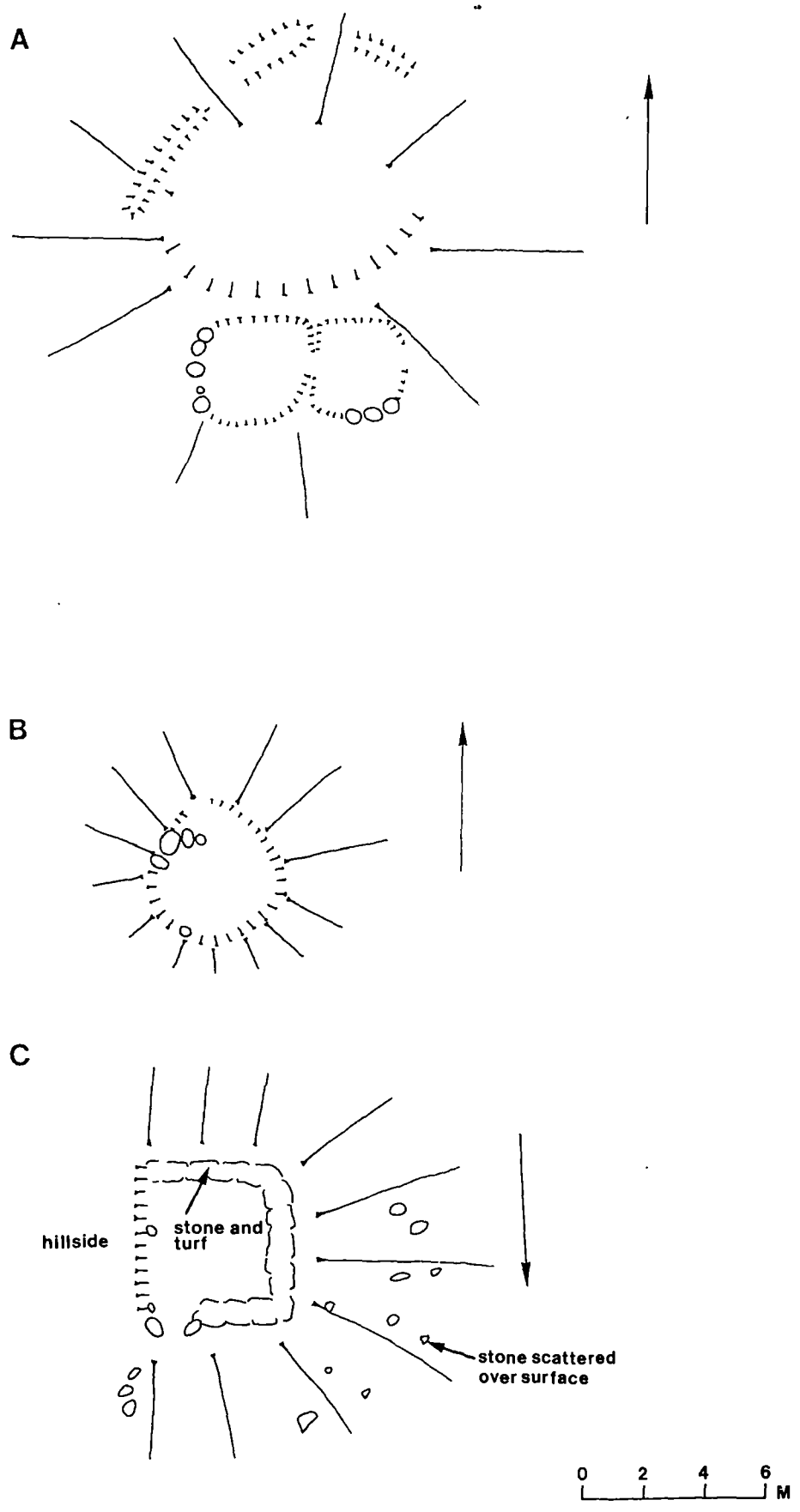


Fig. 91: Ben Aulasary (H24) - Sketch Survey

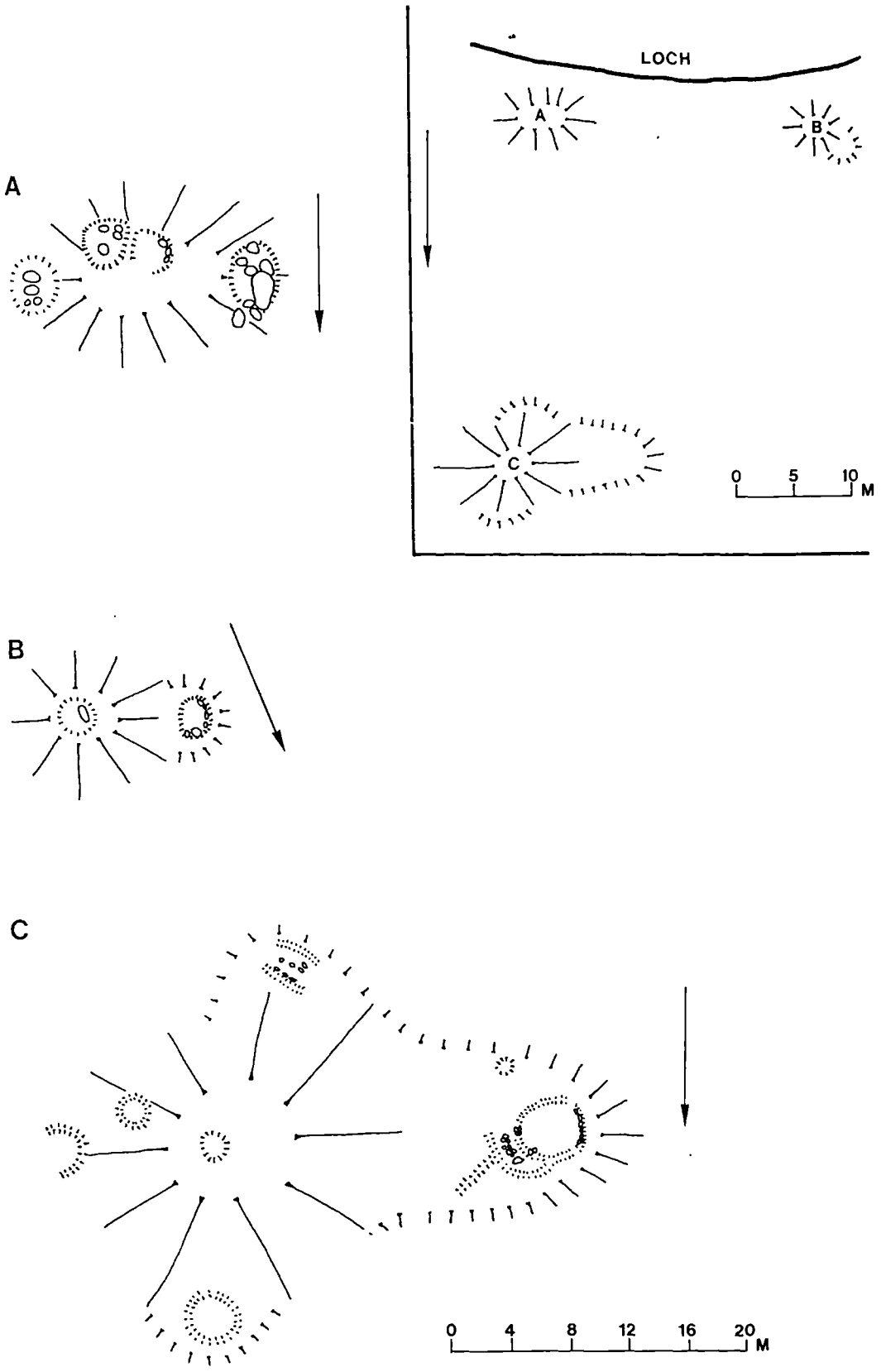


Fig. 92: Uneval (H27) - Sketch Survey

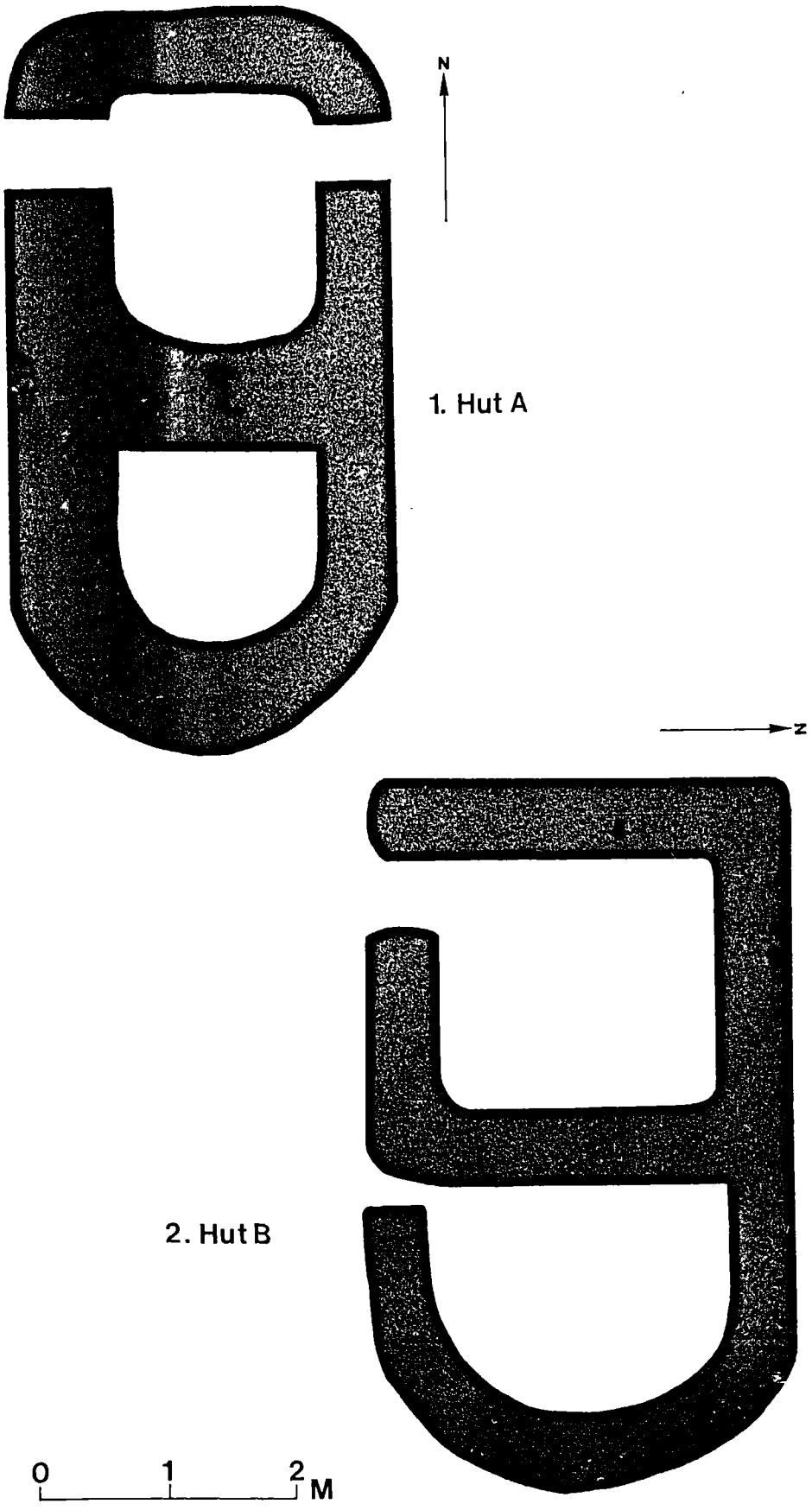


Fig. 93: Loch Áirigh na' Achlais (H44) - Groundplans

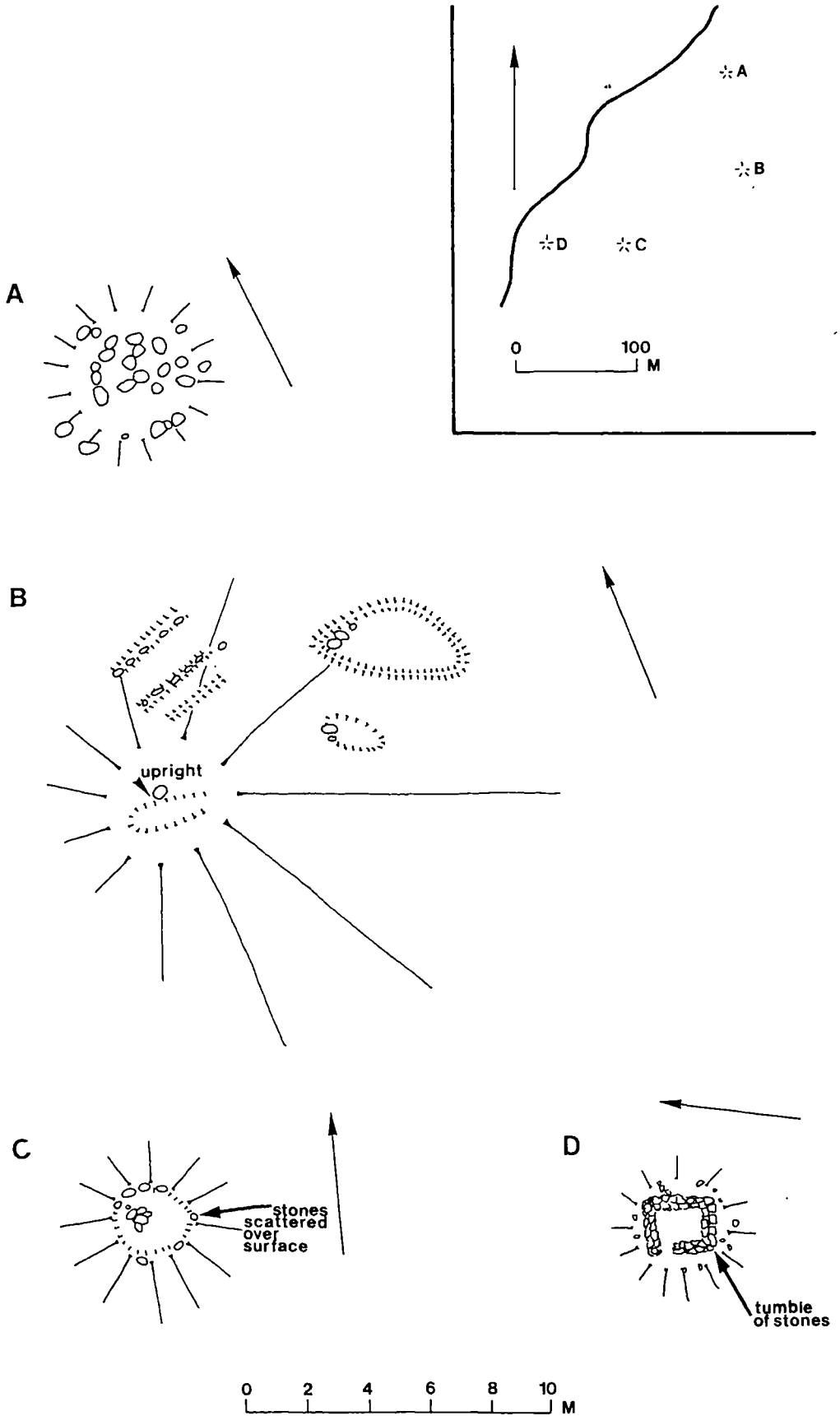


Fig. 94: Haarsal Site 1 (H45) - Sketch Survey

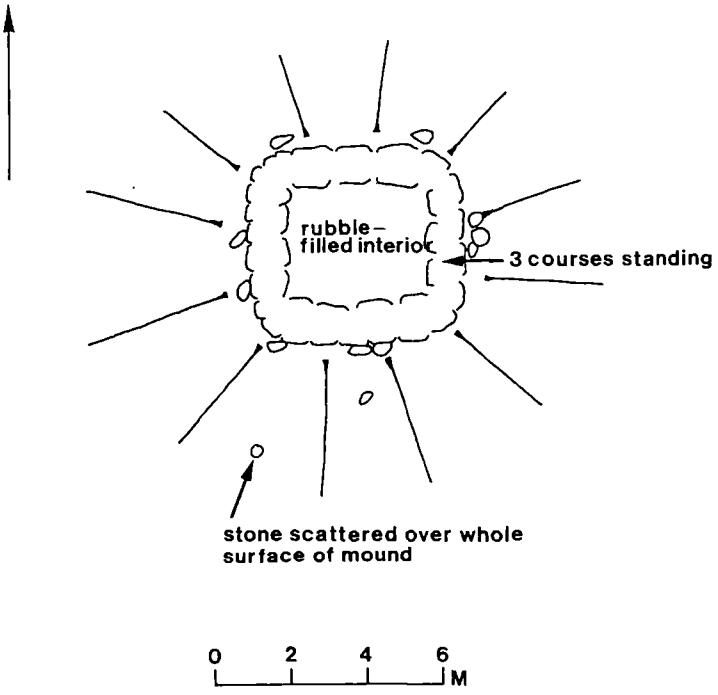


Fig. 95: North Locheynort (H47) - surveyed at 1:100

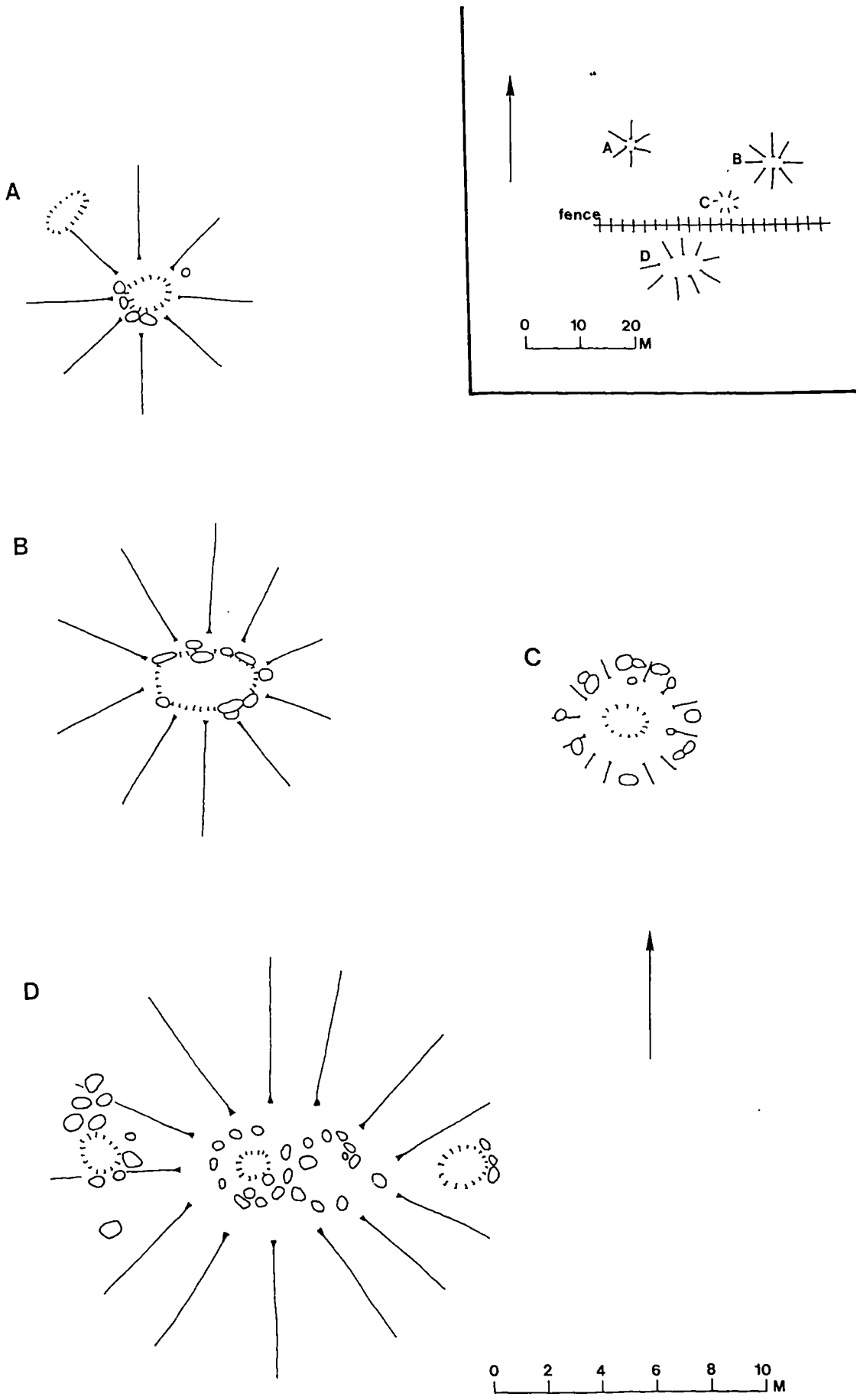


Fig. 96: Kildonan Glen (H48) - Sketch Survey

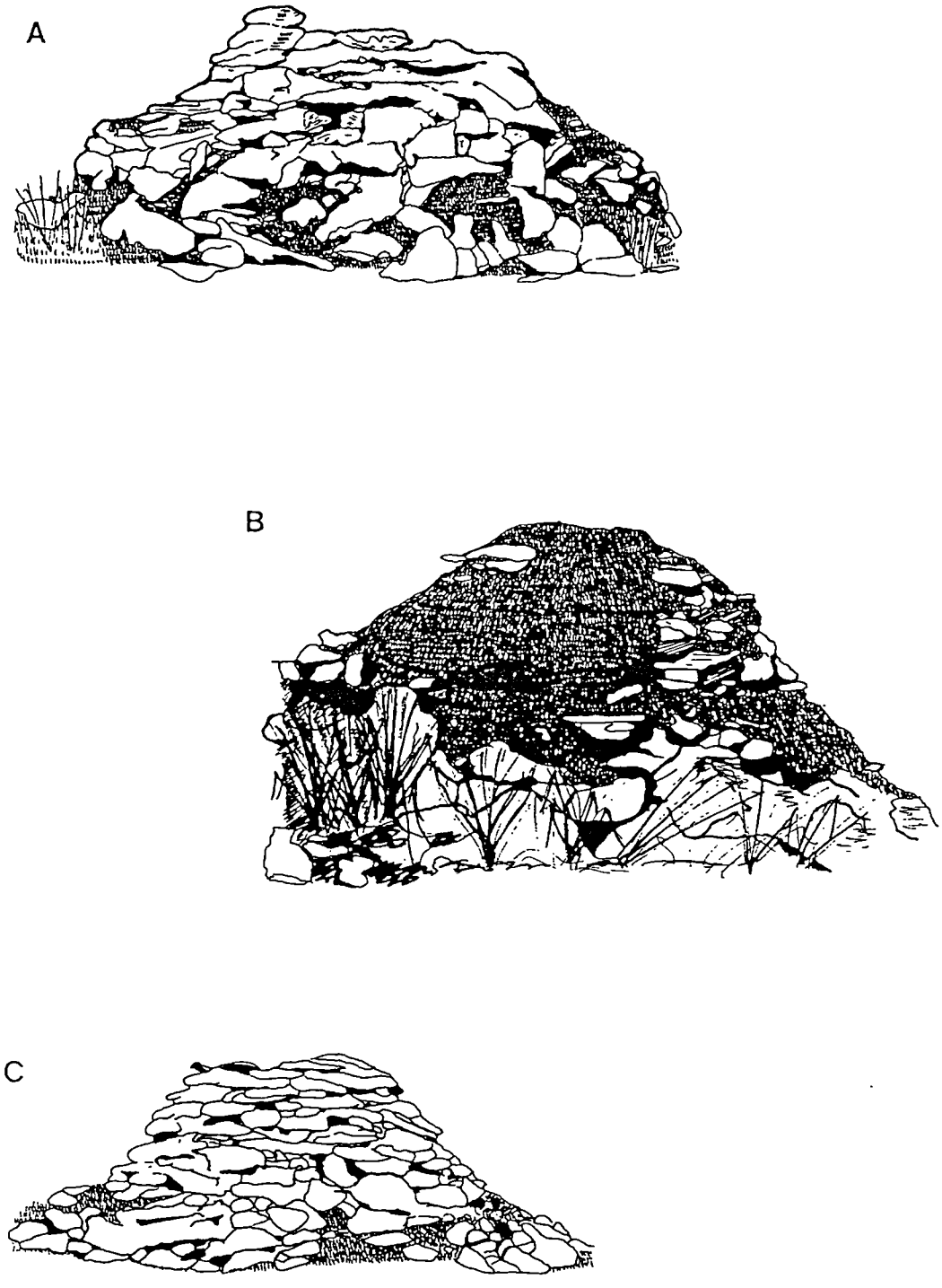


Fig. 97: Lewis Beehives: A. Glen Marstaig (based on a photograph by Mackenzie 1904); B. Loch a' Sguir; C. Loch a' Sguir (uncovered) (based on photographs in R.C.A.H.M.S. 1928)

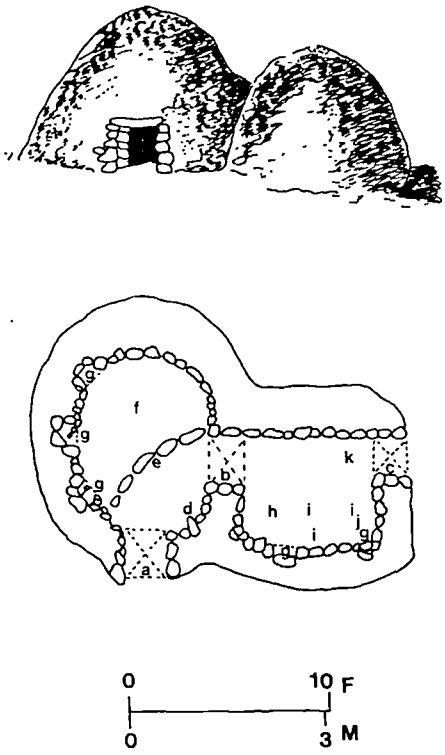


Fig. 98: Beehive at Larach Tigh
Dhubhastail, Ceann Resort, Uig, Lewis
(after Thomas 1867)

a - door
b - door
c - door
d - fire
e - 'beinge', bench
f - bed
g - recess
h - cream-tub
i - milk/cheese-tubs covered by slaty stones
j - churn

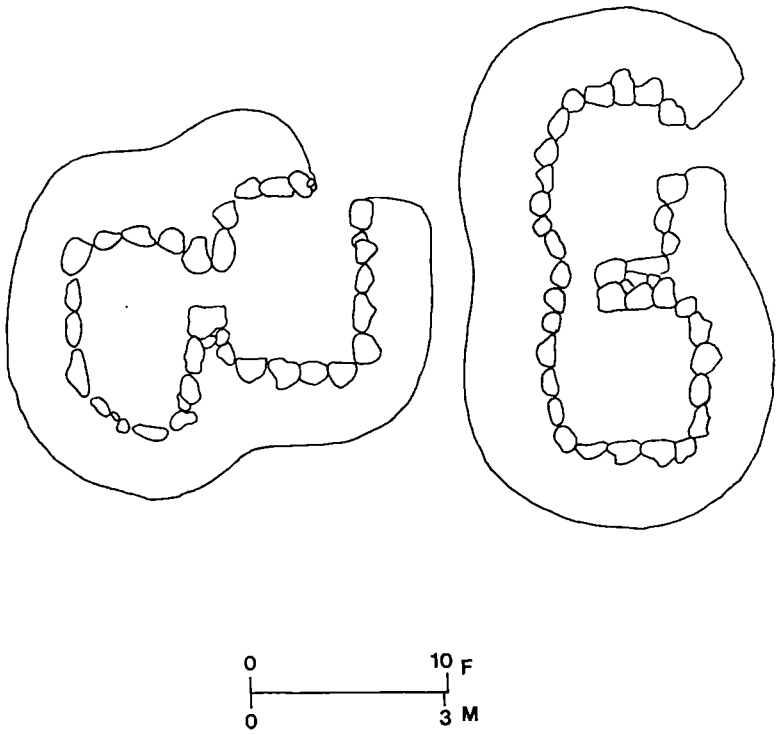


Fig. 99: Bothan, Baile Fhlodaidh, Benbecula (after Thomas 1867)

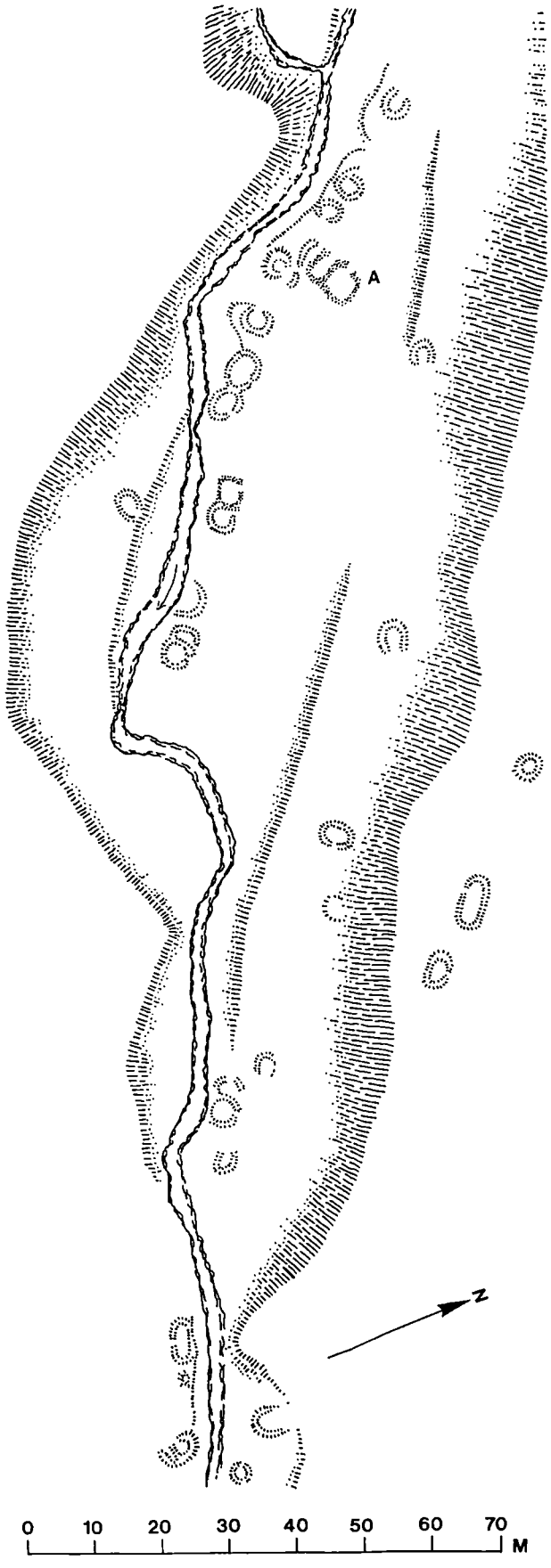


Fig. 100: Shieling - Margadale, Islay (R61)
(after R.C.A.H.M.S. 1984)

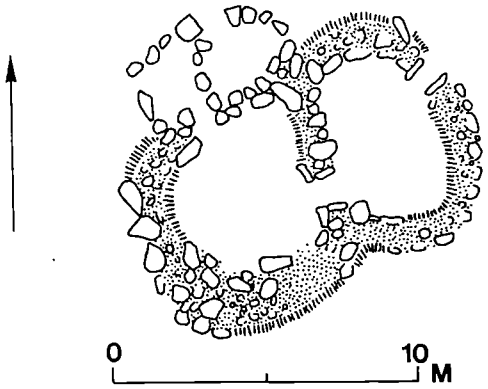


Fig. 101: Shieling Hut - Carnan Dubh, Coll (R62) (after R.C.A.H.M.S. 1980)

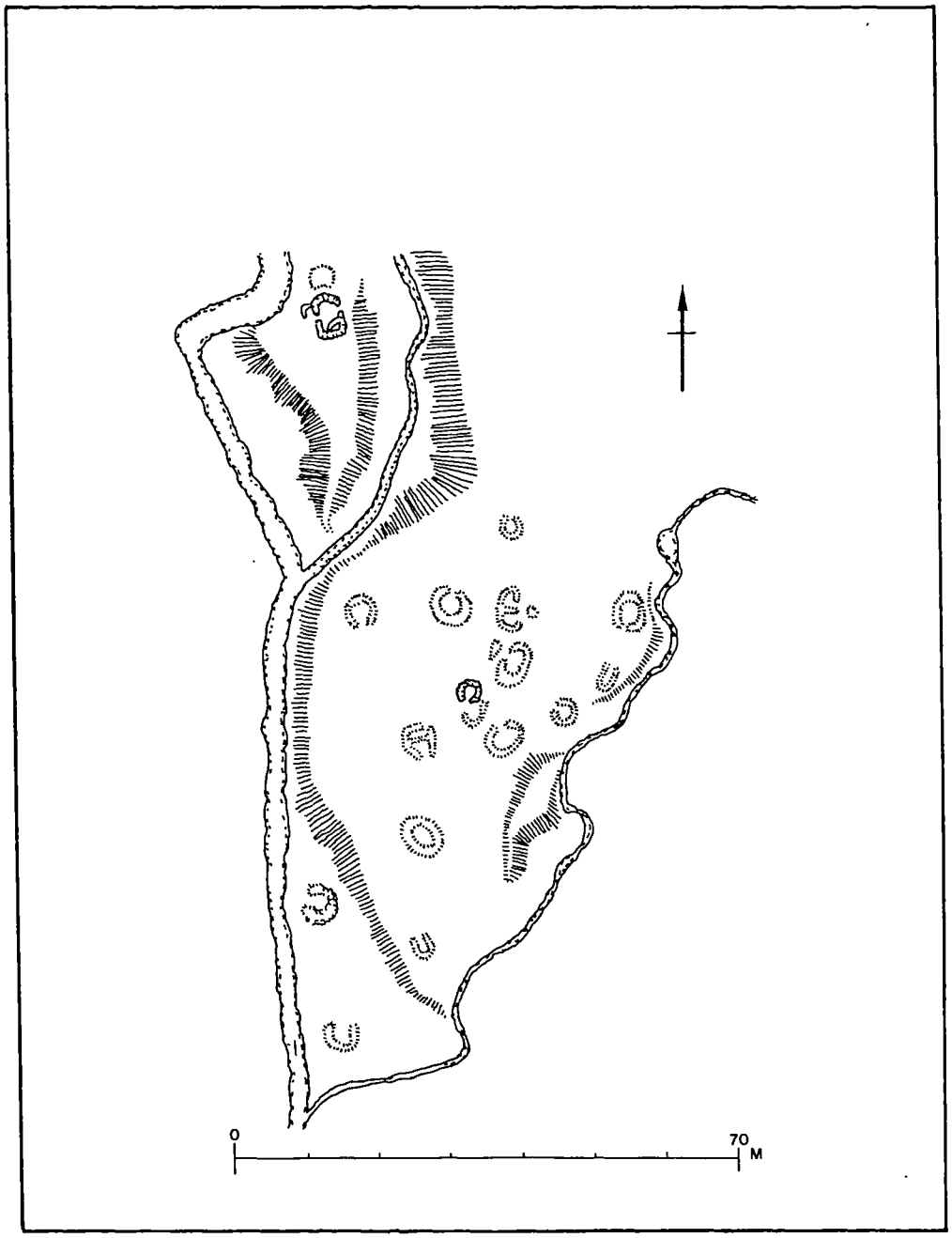


Fig. 102: Shieling - Coire Bhorradail, Coll (R63)
(after R.C.A.H.M.S. 1980)

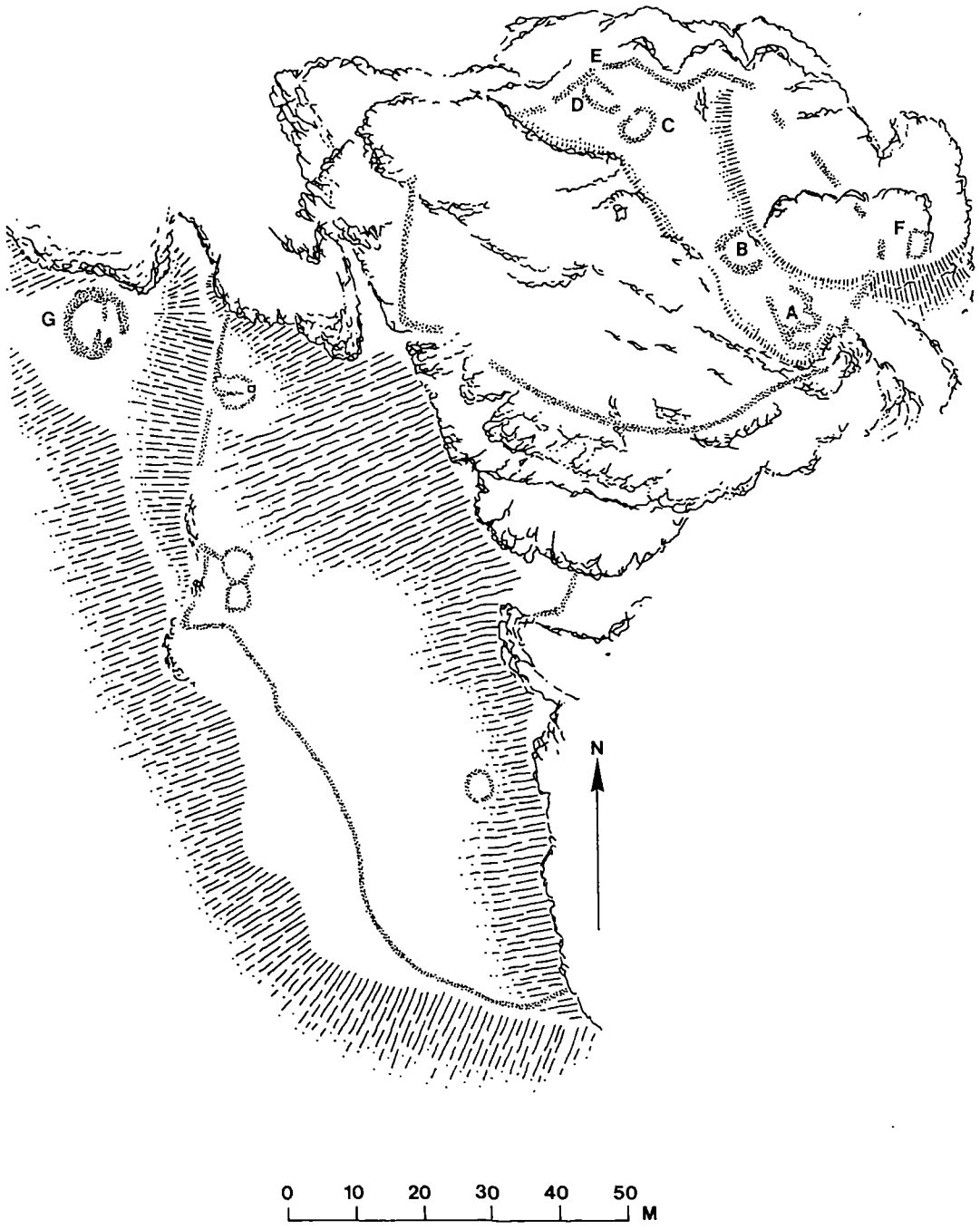


Fig. 103: Shieling - Beinn Bheag, Colonsay (R64)
(after R.C.A.H.M.S. 1984)

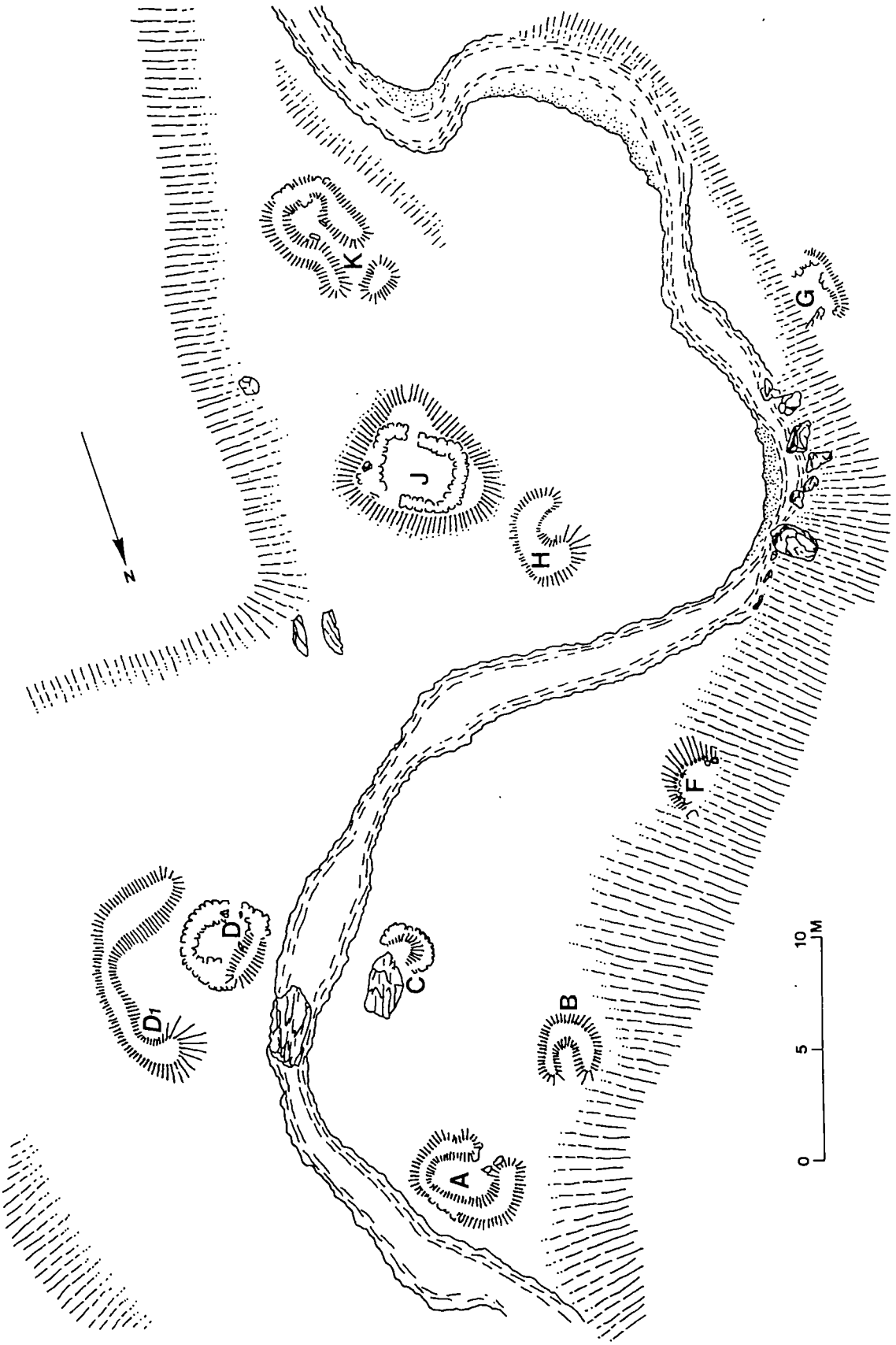


Fig. 104: Shieling - Gartavaich, Kintyre (R68) (after R.C.A.H.M.S. 1971)

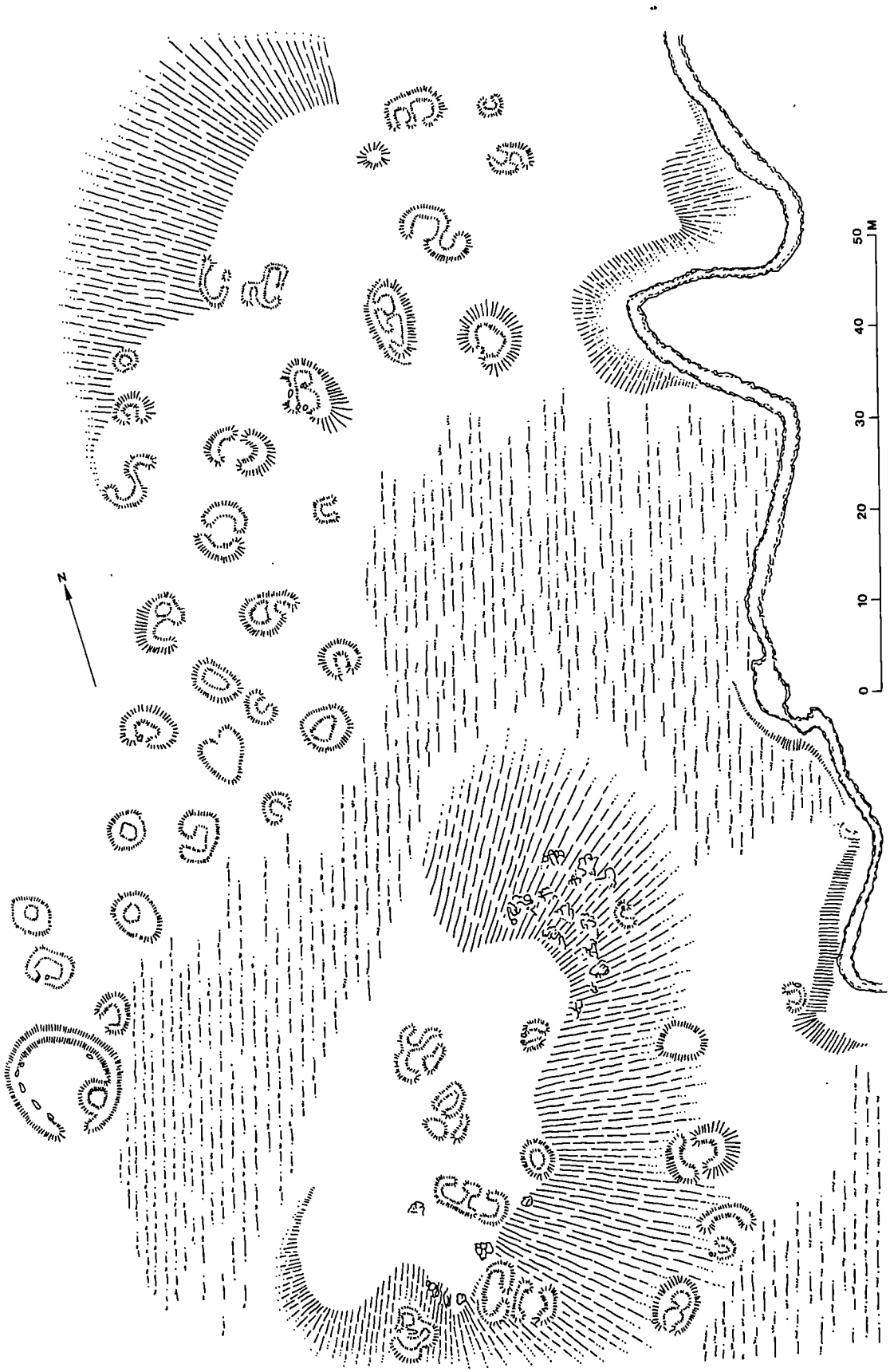


Fig. 105: Shieling - Talatoll, Kintyre (R69)
(after R.C.A.H.M.S. 1971)

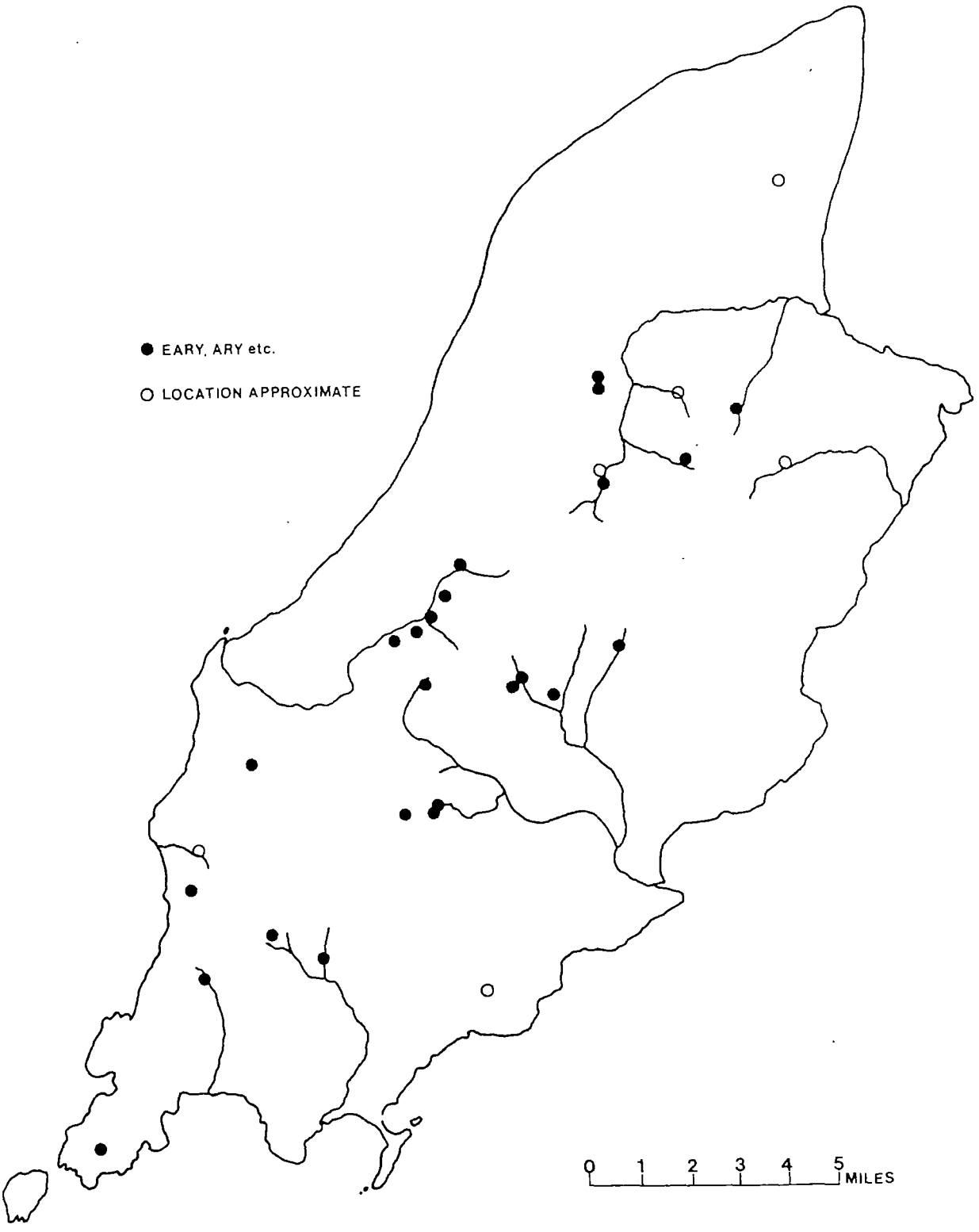


Fig. 106: The Distribution of Place-Names Containing Common Gaelic 'Airge' on the Isle of Man (after E. Megaw 1978)

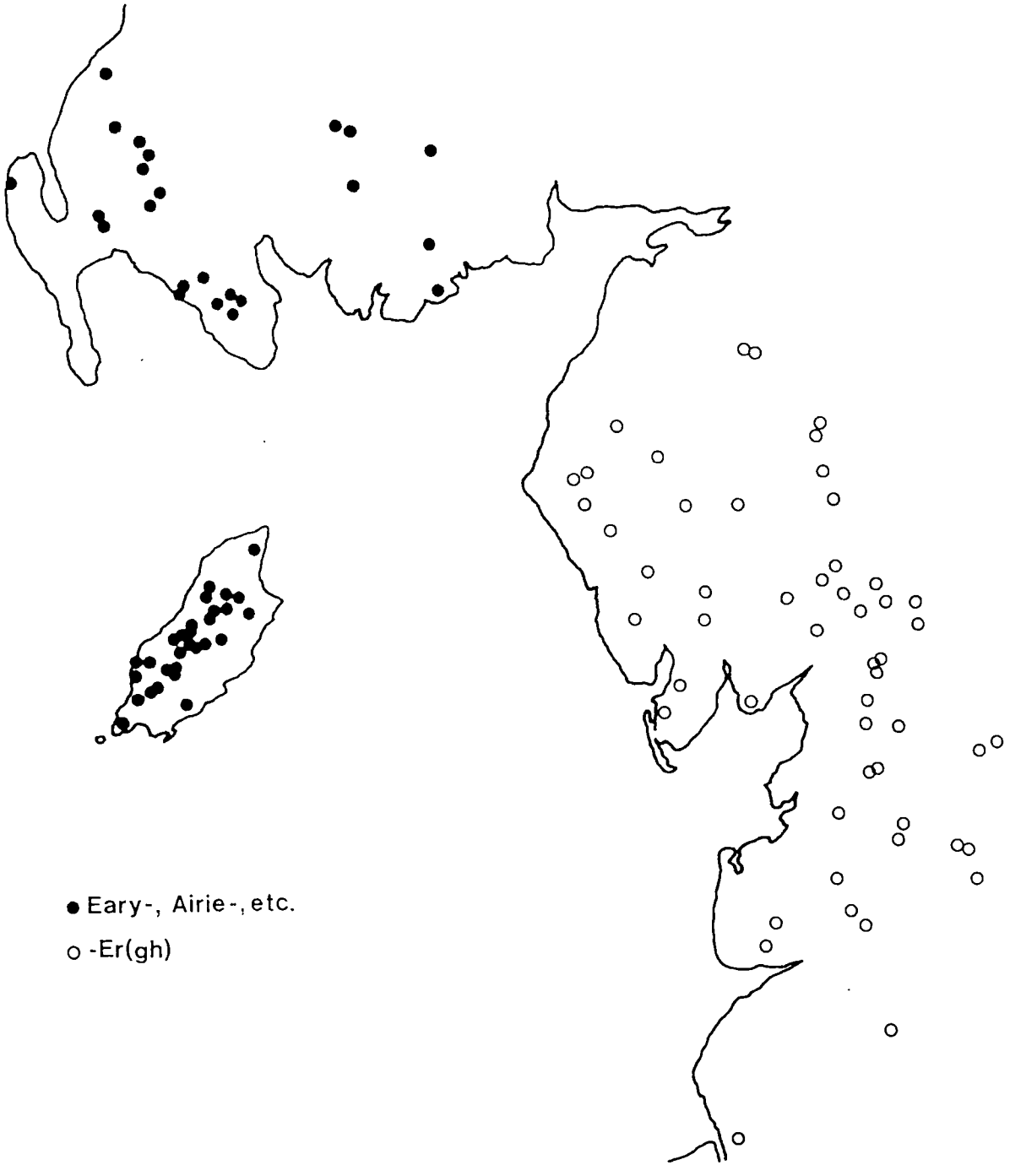


Fig. 107: The Distribution of Place-Names Containing Common Gaelic 'Airge' in SW Scotland, NW England and Man (after E. Megaw 1978)

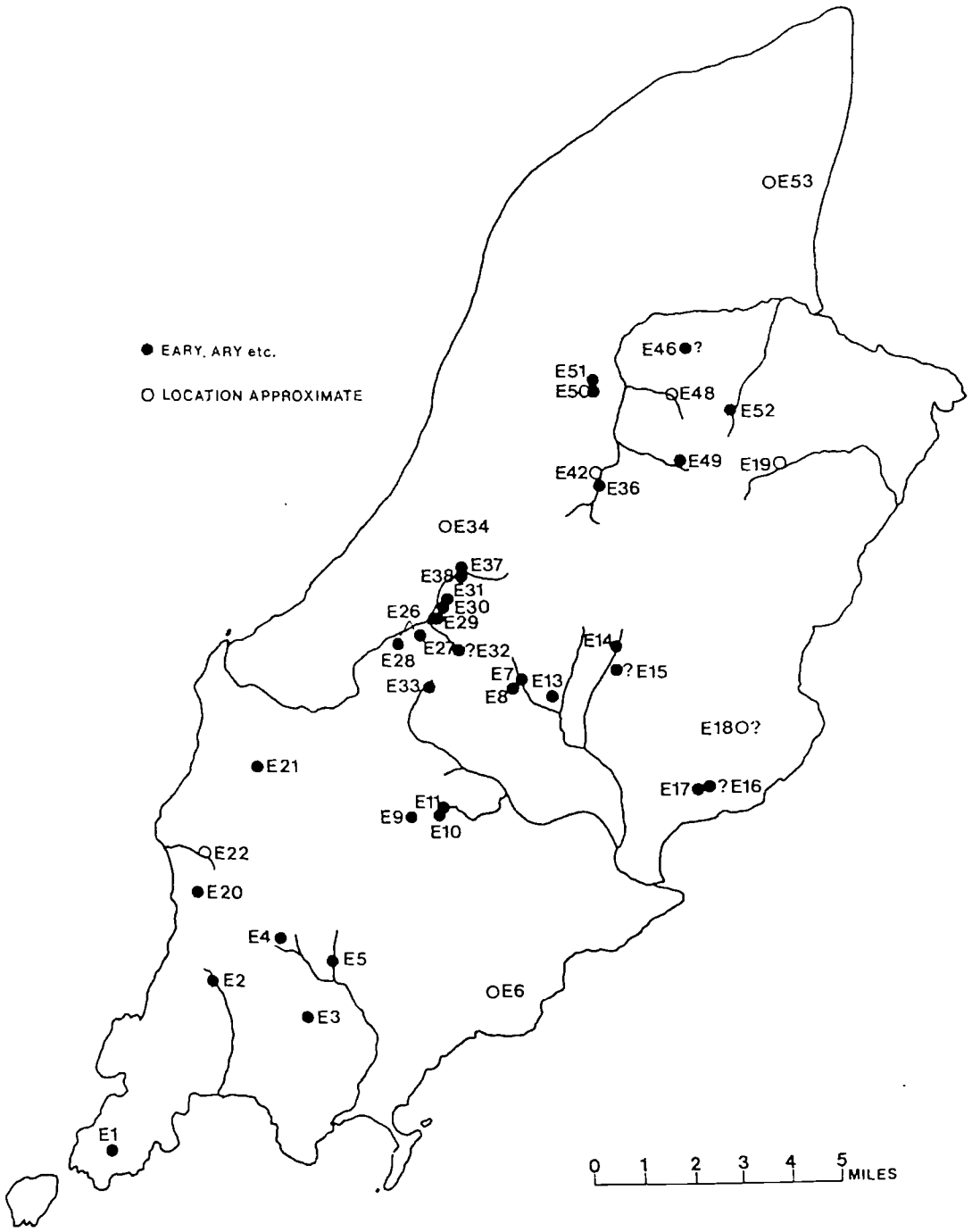


Fig. 108: The Distribution of Sites with Place-Names Containing 'Eary' Examined on Man, 1987-1990

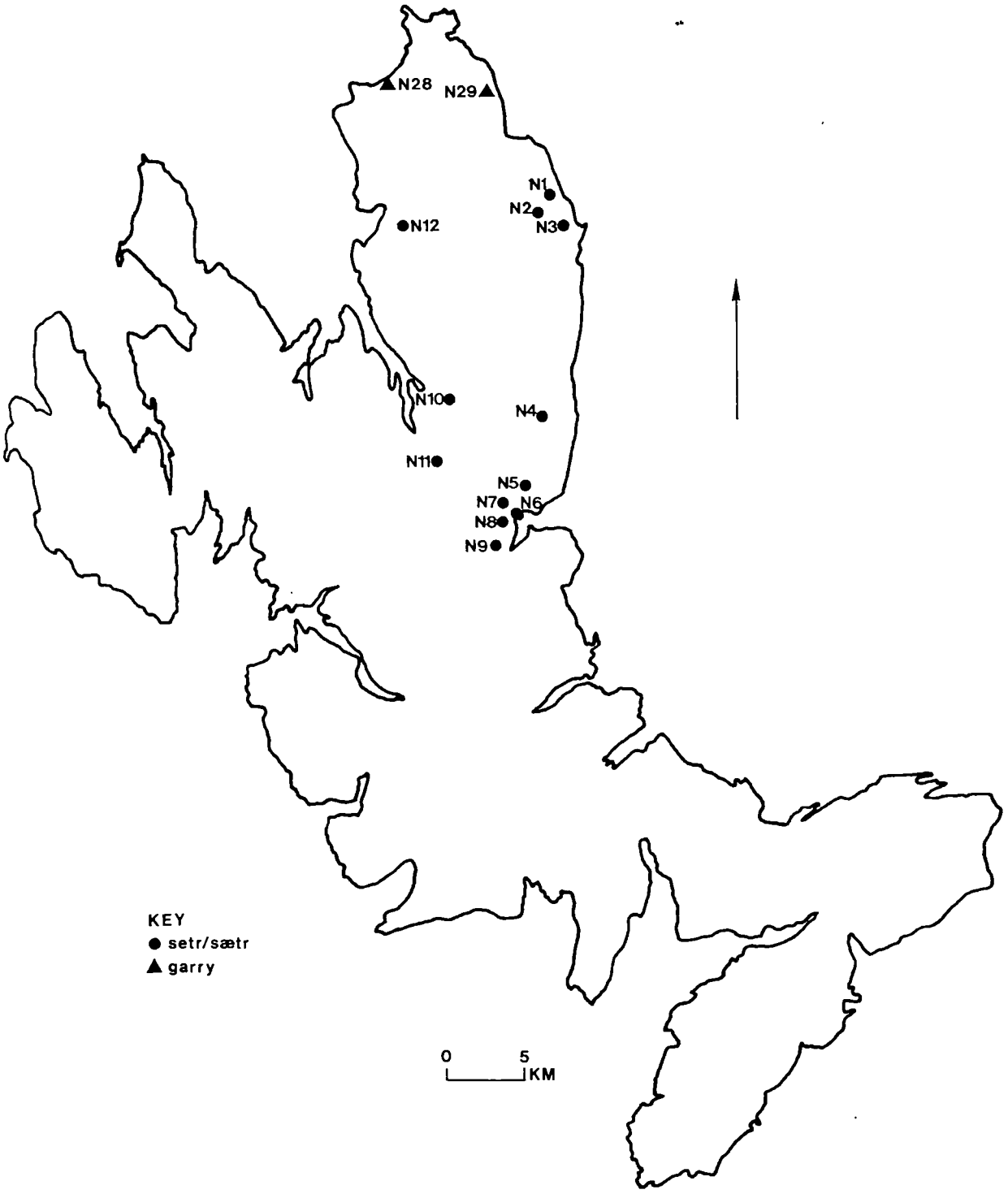


Fig. 109: The Distribution of Sites with Place-Names Containing Elements Translated as 'Shieling' in Skye

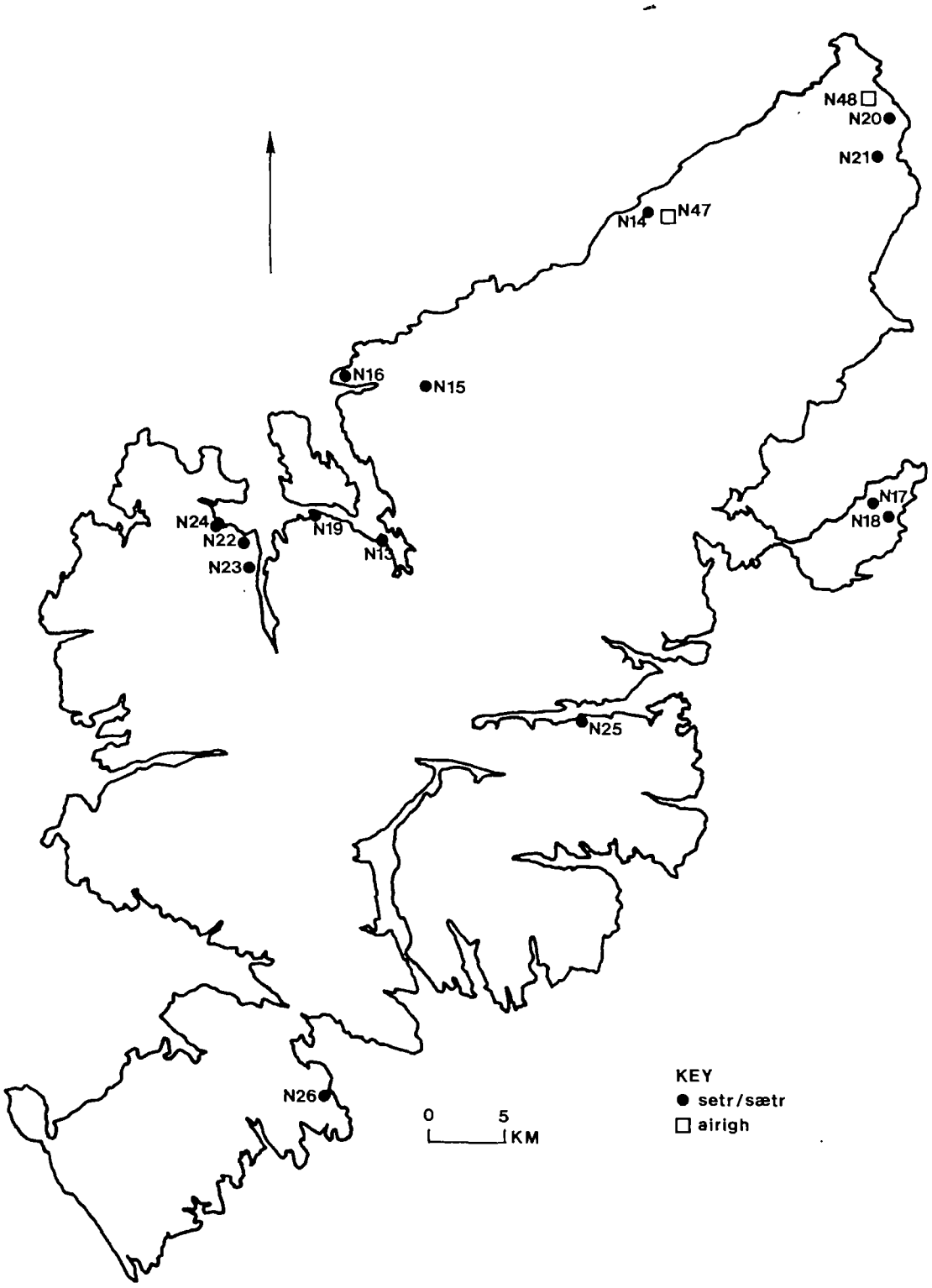


Fig. 110: The Distribution of Sites with Place-Names Containing Elements Translated as 'Shieling' in Lewis

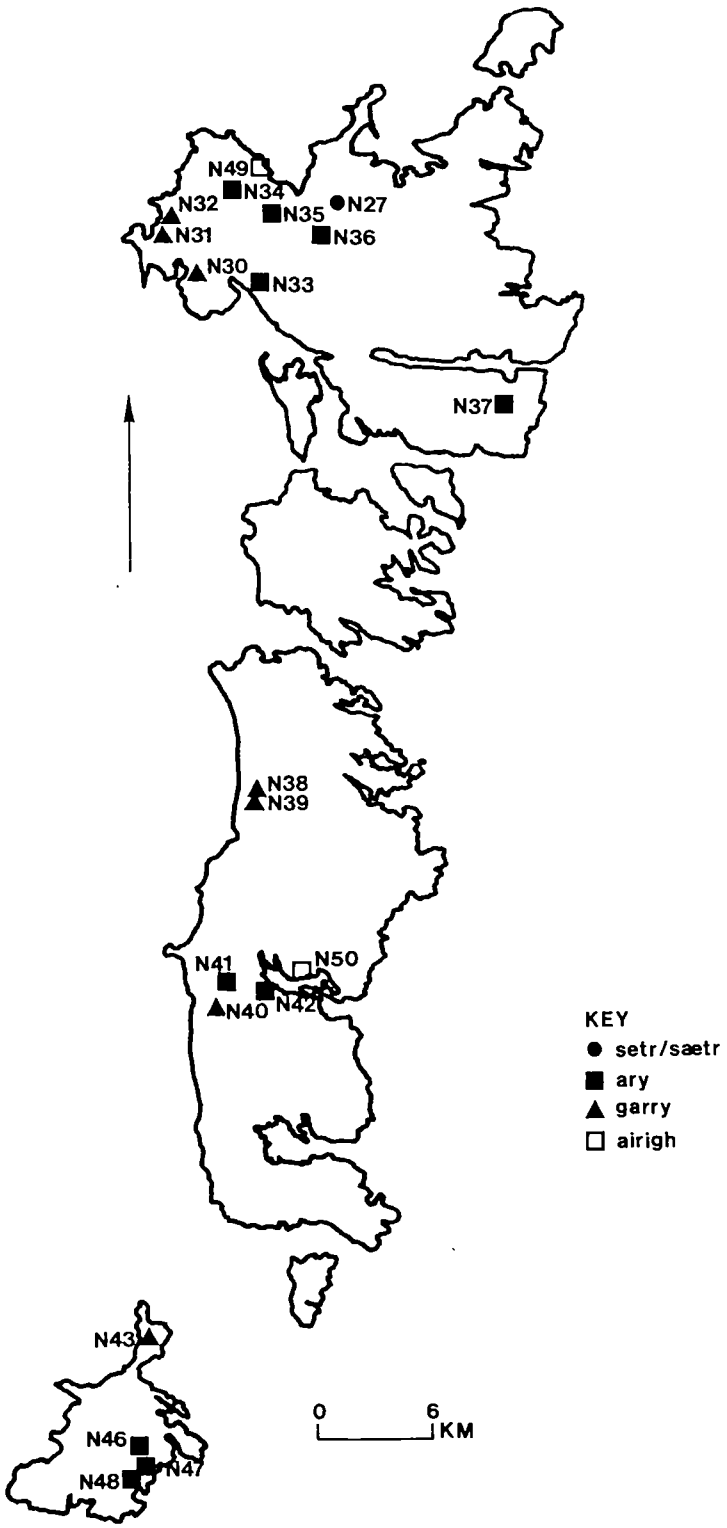


Fig. 111: The Distribution of Sites with Place-Names Containing Elements Translated as 'Shieling' in the Uists and Barra

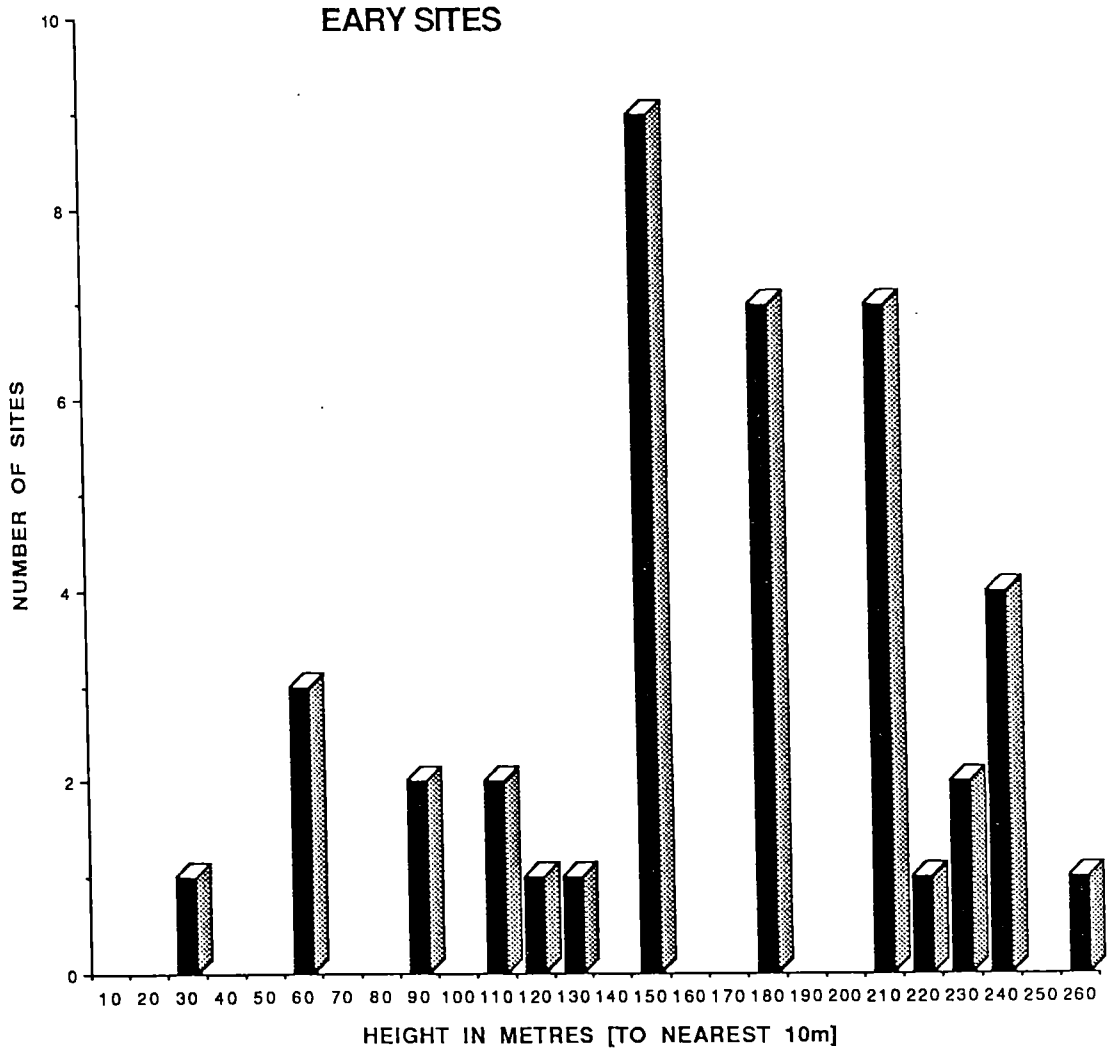


Fig. 112: The Height Distribution of 'Eary' Sites on Man

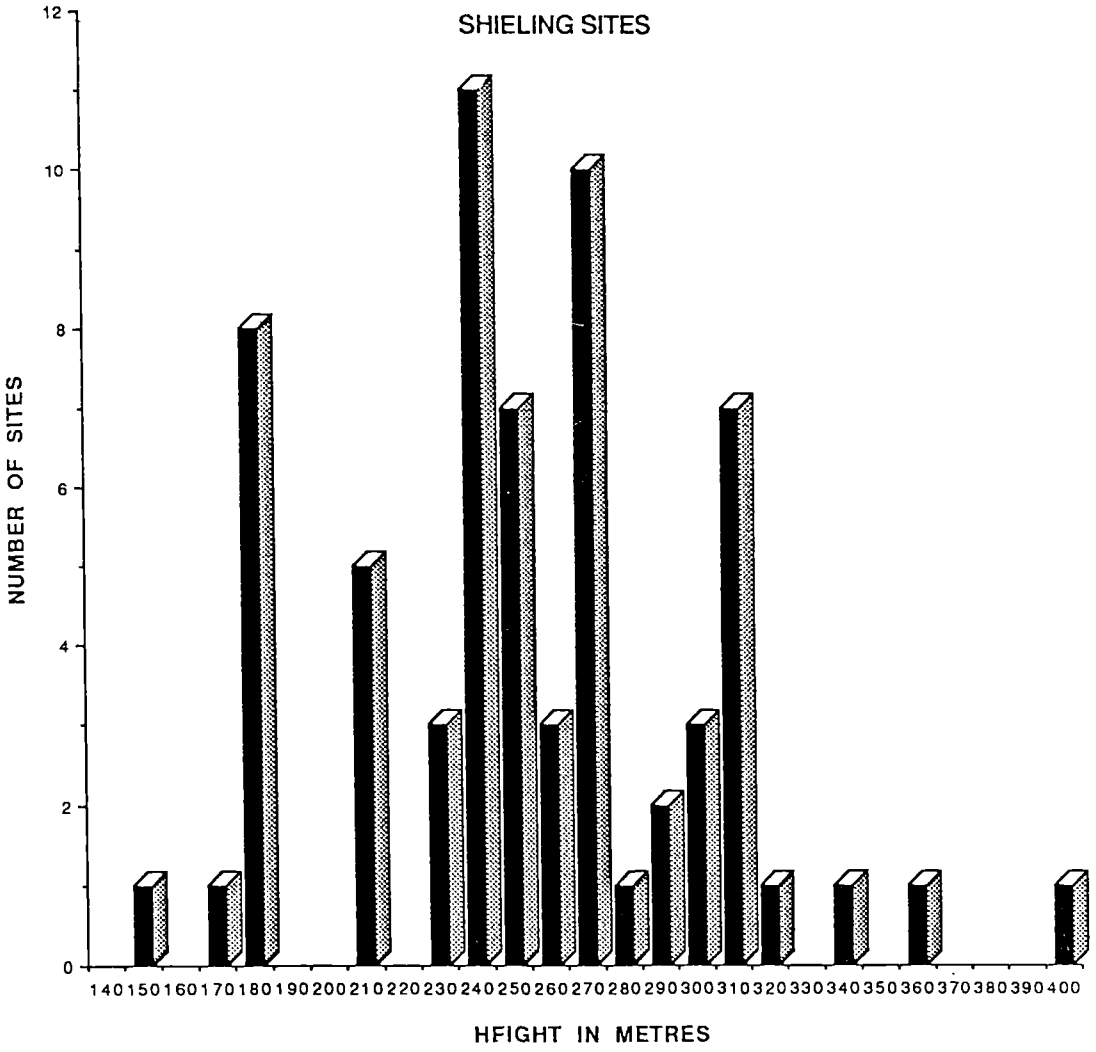


Fig. 113: The Height Distribution of Shieling Sites on Man



Fig. 114: The Distribution of Place-Names around Loch Erisort and Loch Leurbost

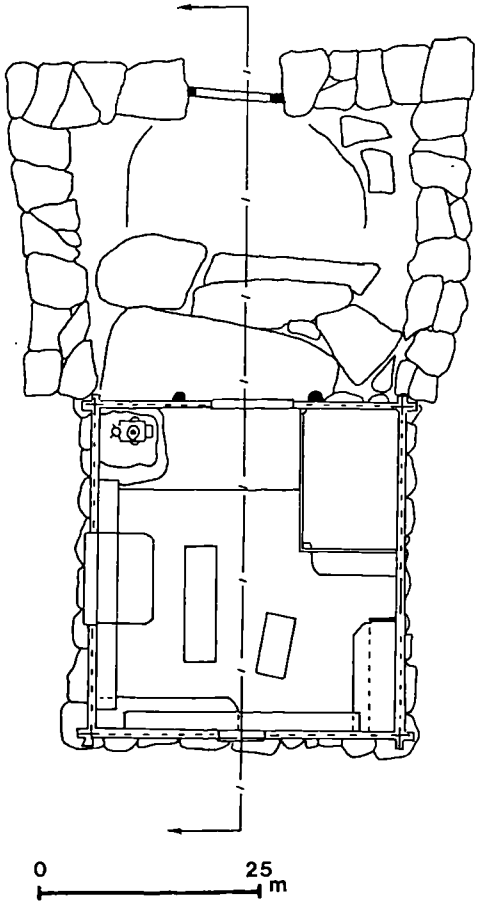


Fig. 115: Plan of Seter House of Drystone Construction - Sogn and Fjørdane, Norway (after Borchgrevink 1981)

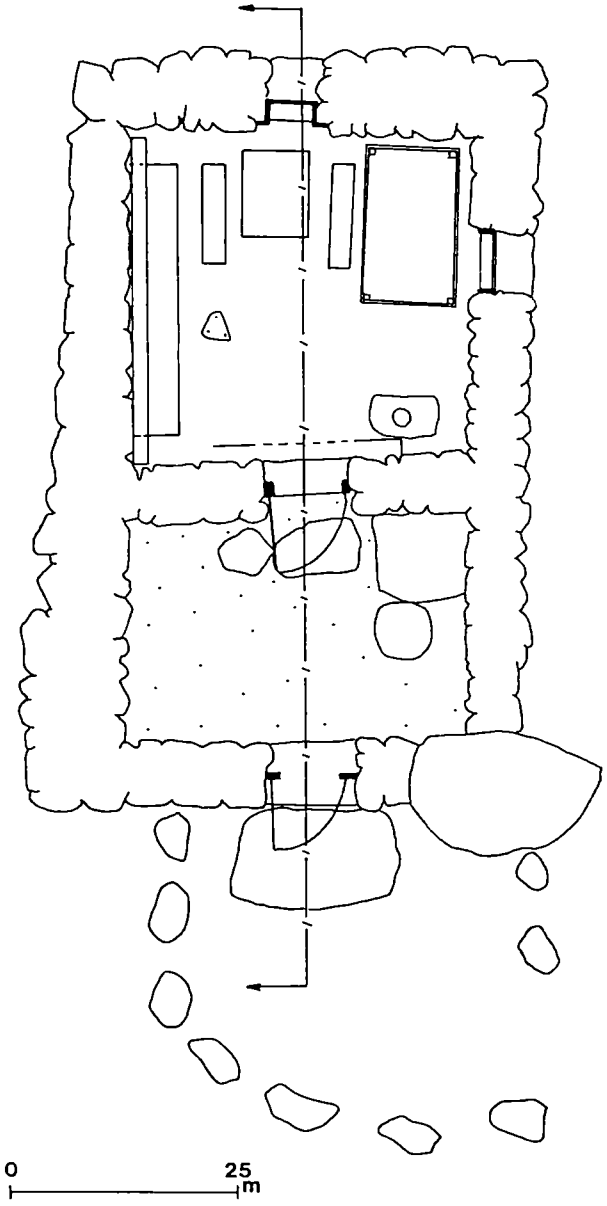


Fig. 116: Plan of Seter House of Drystone Construction - Sogn and Fjørdane, Norway (after Borchgrevink 1981)

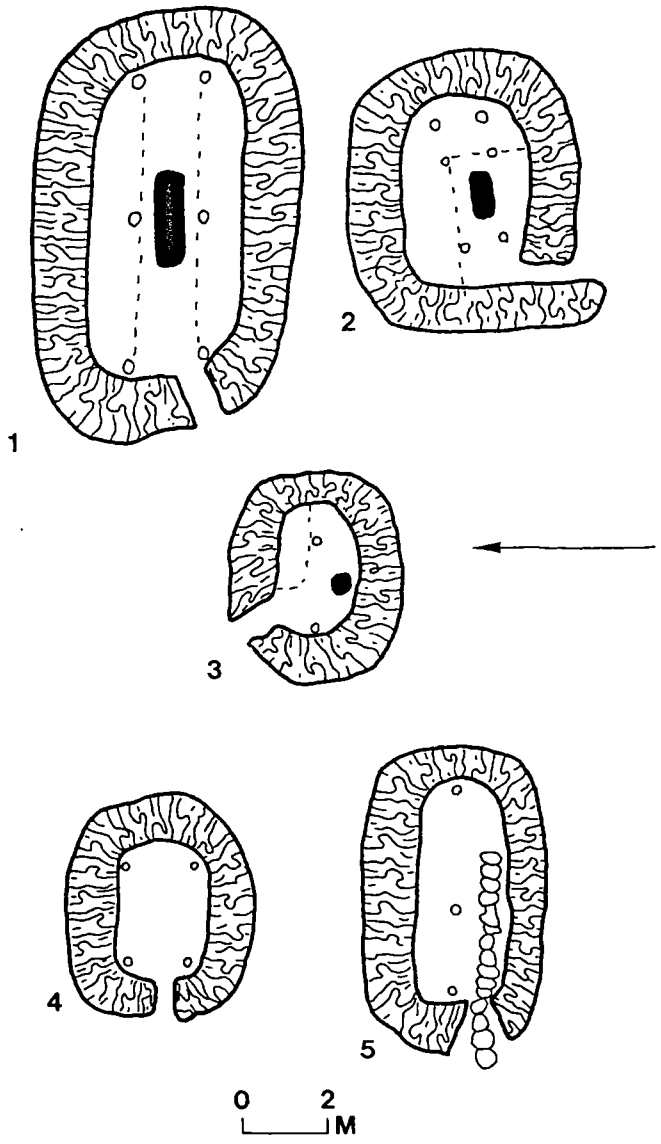


Fig. 117: Sketches of House-types Excavated at Argisbrekka, Faroe Islands. 1-2 Living-houses with benches, fireplace and two rows of roof-bearing posts; 3 A 'Working Hut' with a small bench, a fireplace and a two aisled construction; 4-5 Outhouses built either as two aisled long-houses without a fireplace, or as one aisled with a roof-bearing post in each corner (after Mahler forthcoming)

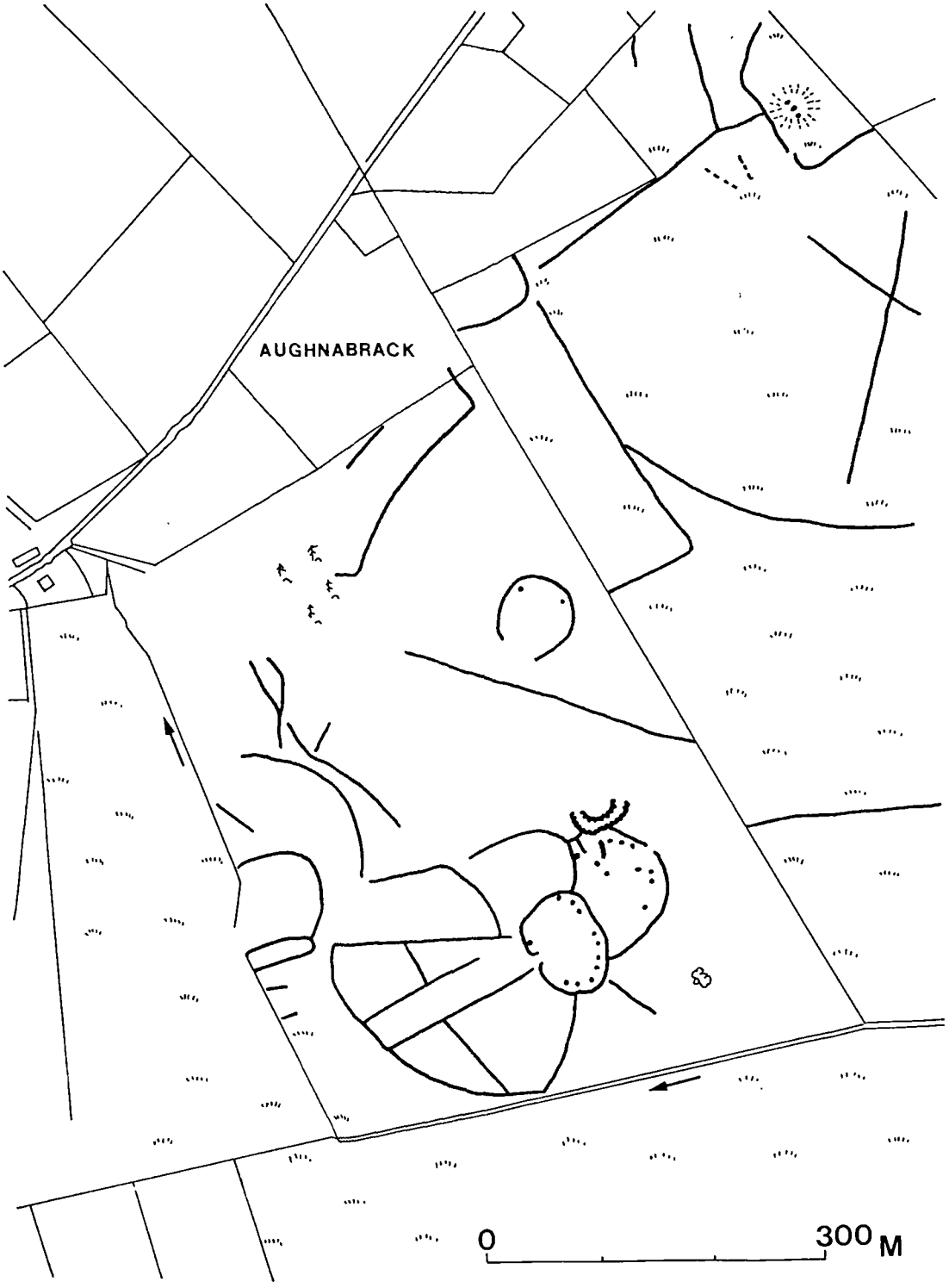


Fig. 118: Auchnabrack, Ballyutoag, Northern Ireland (after Williams 1984)

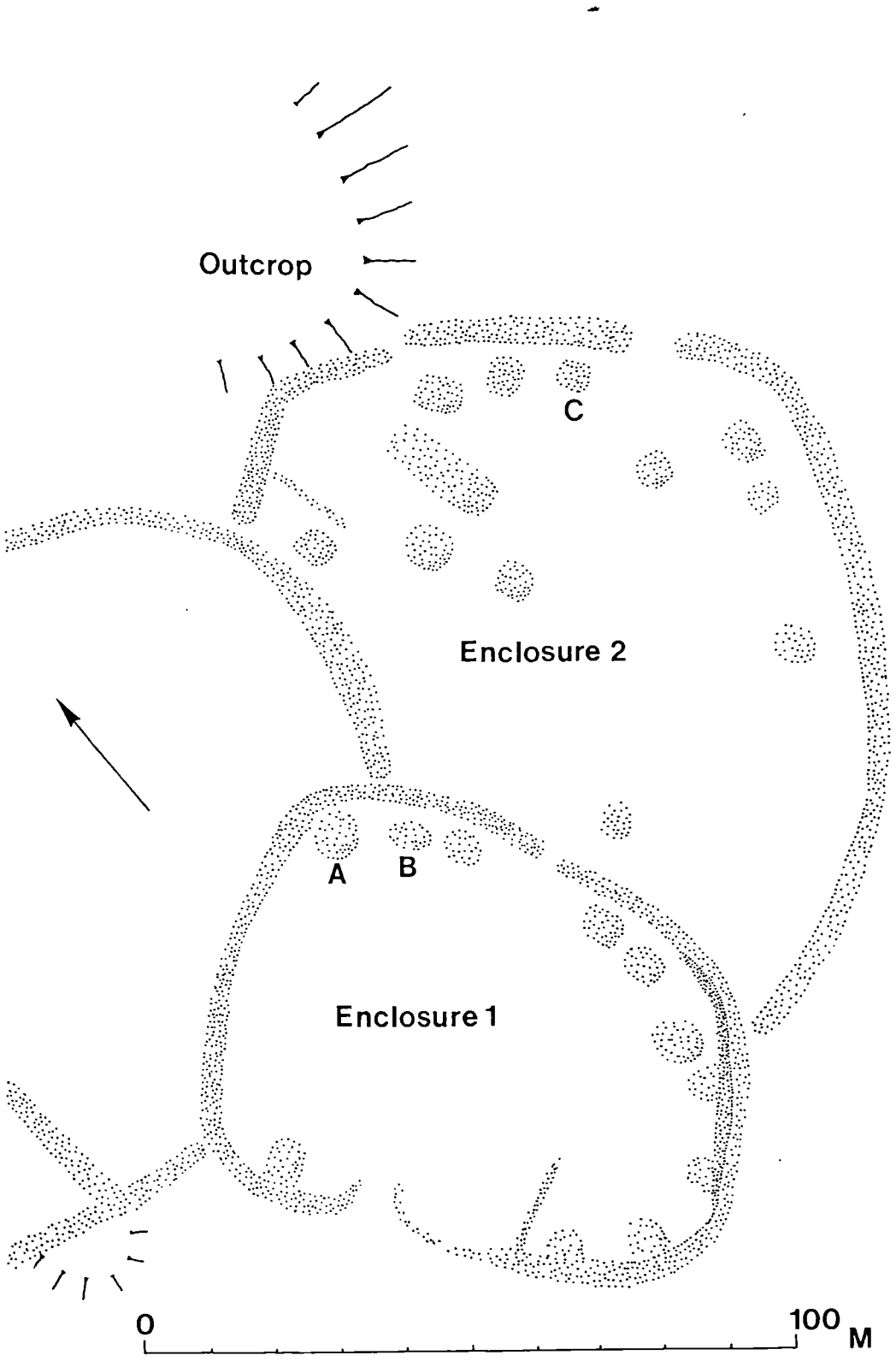


Fig. 119: Auchnabrack - Enclosures and Mounds (after Williams 1984)

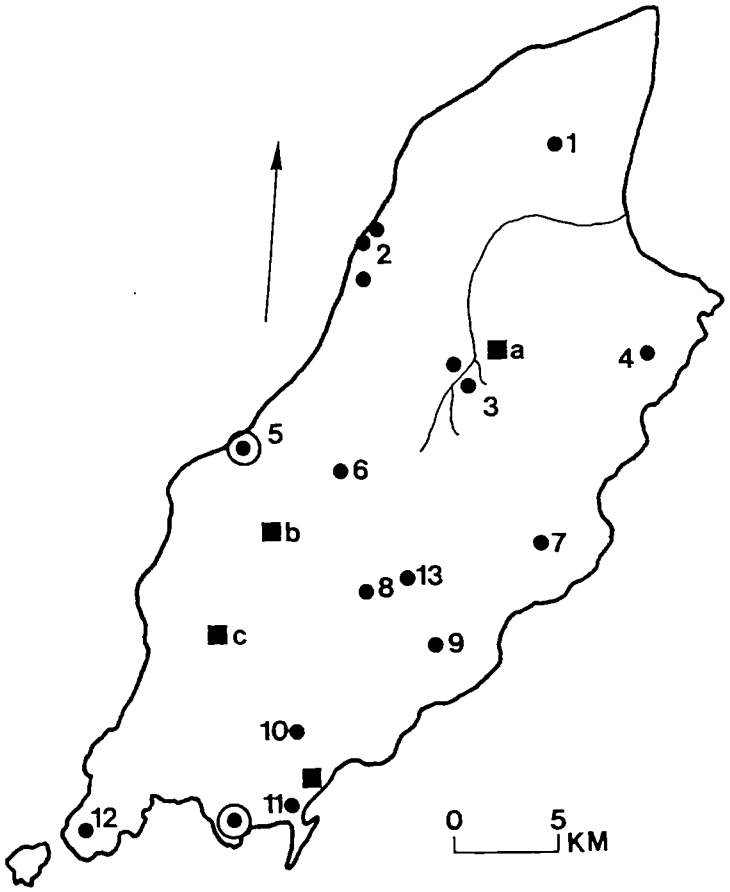


Fig. 120: The Distribution of Mediaeval Pottery Finds on the Isle of Man (after Garrad 1978)

PLATES



Plate 1: Druidale Site 1. The mounds show up as green patches in this heather-covered landscape.





Plate 2a: Druidale Site 1 - banks.

Plate 2b: Druidale Site 1 - Mound E.





Plate 3a: Druidale Site 1 - Mound G.

Plate 3b: Druidale Site 2 - mounds and bank.





Plate 4a: Druidale Site 4.

Plate 4b: Druidale Site 5.





Plate 5a: Lower Druidale Valley.

Plate 5b: Druidale Site 6.





Plate 6a: Druidale Site 7 - hut circle.

Plate 6b: Block Eary Group C - looking north.





Plate 7a: Block Eary Group C - Mound BB.

Plate 7b: " " " " " "





Plate 8a: Block Eary Group B - Mound AA.

Plate 8b: Block Eary Group B - Bank and Mound S.





Plate 9a: Block Eary Group A - Mound A.

Plate 9b: top of Block Eary valley - circular enclosure.





Plate 10a: Burroo Mooar.

Plate 10b: Slieau Curn - Mound A.





Plate 11a: Slieau Curn - Mound C.

Plate 11b: Juan ny Clarys Site 1.





Plate 12a: Juan ny Clarys 1 - ridge and furrow, overlying banks, and Mound B.
Plate 12b: ridge and furrow and overlying banks, looking towards Mounds C and D.

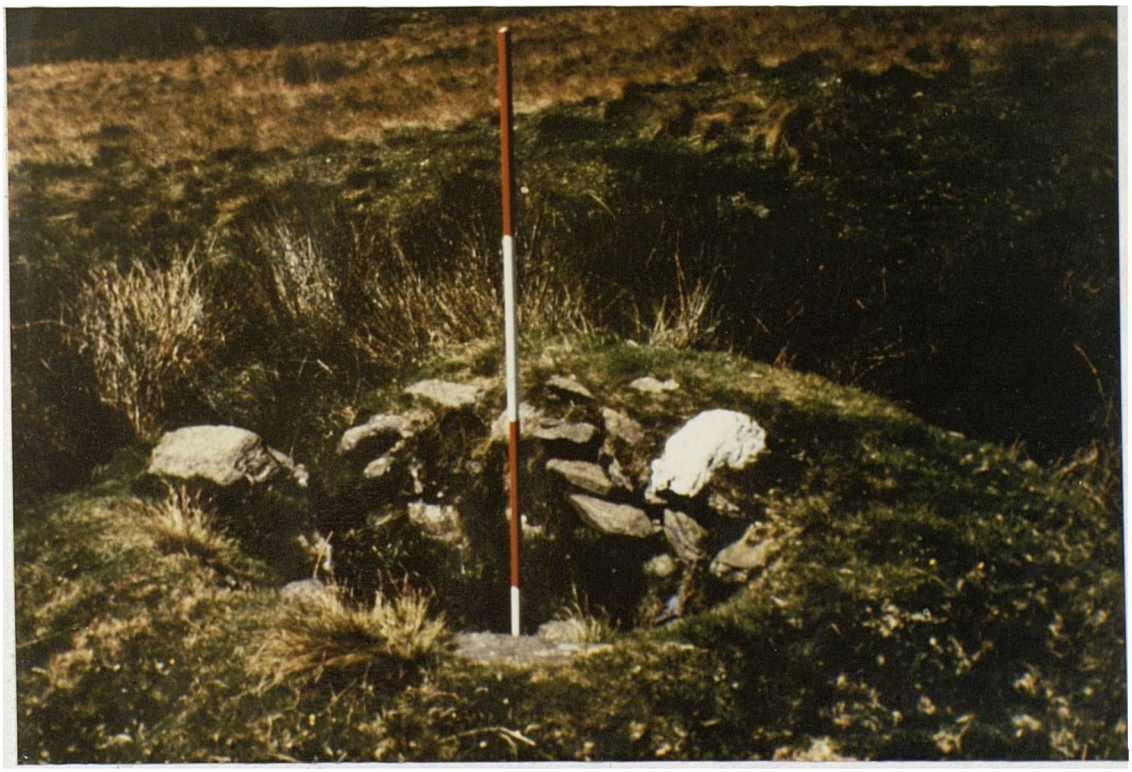




Plate 13a: Juan ny Clarys 1 - section through Mound G.

Plate 13b: Juan ny Clarys Site 2 - north side.





ate 14a: Juan ny Clarys Site 2 - south side.

.ate 14b: Injebreck - Mound A.





Plate 15a: Injebreck - Mound B.

Plate 15b: Injebreck - rectangular hut.





Plate 16a: Laxey Valley.

Plate 16b: Laxey - mounds.





Plate 17a: Sulby Reservoir - Mound B.

Plate 17b: Lhergyrhenny - Groups 1 and 2 below left arm of sheep fanc. Rectangular pen on lower tributary, far right.





Plate 18a: Lhergyrhenny - Group 2.

Plate 18b: " - Mound C.



Plate 19a:
Lhergyrhenny
- Mound G.



Plate 19b:
Lhergyrhenny -
rectangular pen.

Plate 20a: Upper Sartfell Valley from Eary Farm.



Plate 20b: Upper Sartfell - bank and enclosure in foreground.







Plate 21a: Upper Sartfell - enclosure, and mound to left.

Plate 21b: Slieau Dhoo - general site view.



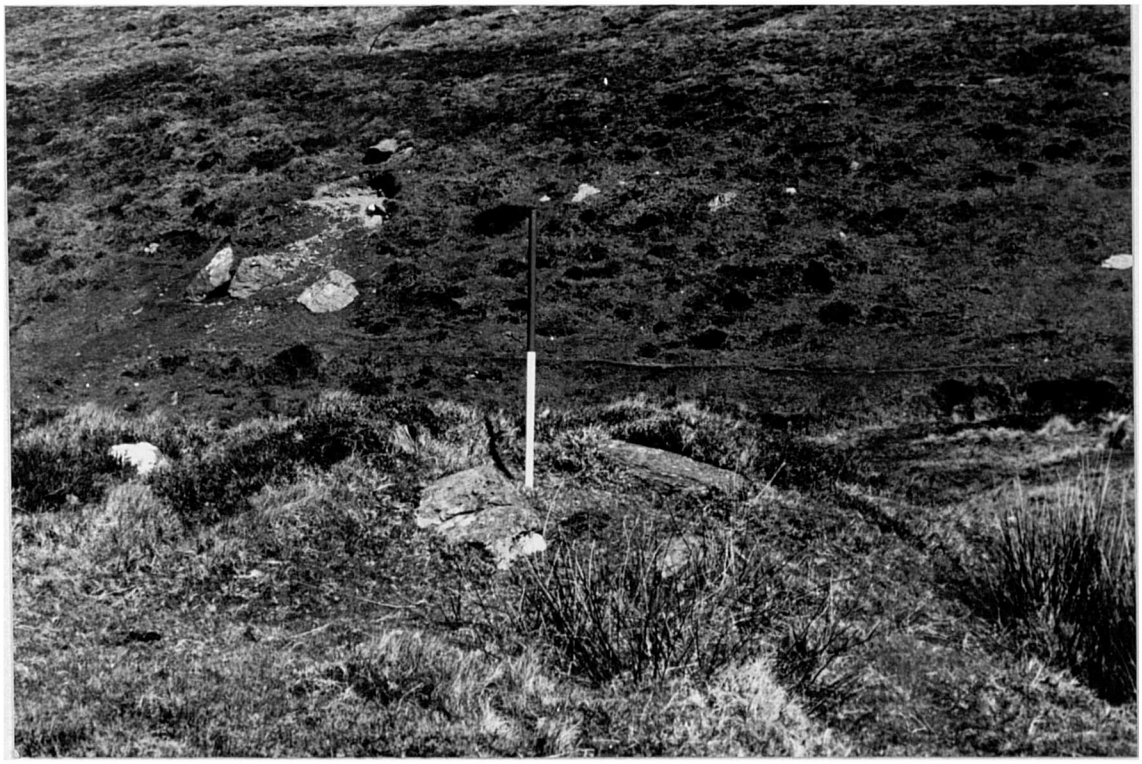


Plate 22a: Slieau Dhoo - Mound H.

Plate 22b: Slieau Dhoo - Mound I.





Plate 23a: Cringle Plantation Site 1.

Plate 23b: Glen Dhoo - rectangular enclosure and mounds.





Plate 24a: Glen Dhoo - circular enclosure and mounds.

Plate 24b: Sartfell Site 1 - on tributary to right of quarry house.





Plate 25a: Sartfell Site 1 - Mounds B and C.

Plate 25b: Sartfell Site 1 - Mounds A and C.





Plate 26a: Sartfell Site 1 - culvert.

Plate 26b: Sartfell Site 2 (Kirk Michael village on coast).





Plate 27a: Sartfell Site 2 - Mound A.

Plate 27b: Sartfell Site 3.





Plate 28a: View from Eary farm up valley to Slieaumaggle Plantation.
Plate 28b: Glen Conon Site A - Mound A.





Plate 29a: Glen Conon Site B.

Plate 29b: Glen Hinnisdale - Mound A.

Plate 30a: Glen Hinnisdale - Hut C.



Plate 30b: Maoladh Mor - Hut A.





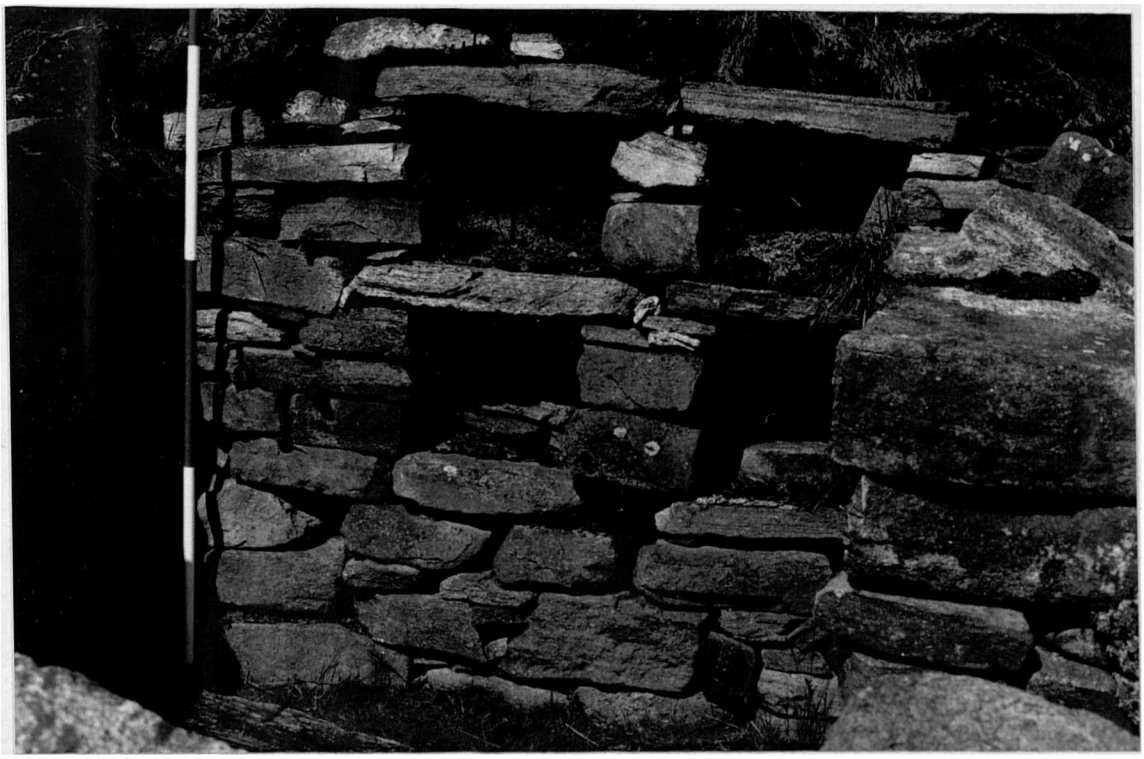


Plate 31a: Gleann Áirigh na Gile - Hut C.

Plate 31b: Gleann Áirigh na Gile - cupboards in Hut C.





Plate 32a: Great Bernera - Hut A.

Plate 32b: Áirigh a' Bhealaich - modern shieling huts.





Plate 33a: Áirigh na Gaoithe - modern peat hut.

Plate 33b: Bilascleiter.





Plate 34a: Ollashal - general site view.

Plate 34b: Ollashal - Hut A.





Plate 35a: Uig Road.

Plate 35b: Great Bernera Road - Hut A.





Plate 36a: Cnoc Dubh - beehive hut, A.

Plate 36b: Cnoc Dubh - Hut A, entrance.





Plate 37a: Beinn Bragar - Beinn Rahacleit.

Plate 37b: Minish - temporary croft described as a 'shieling'.



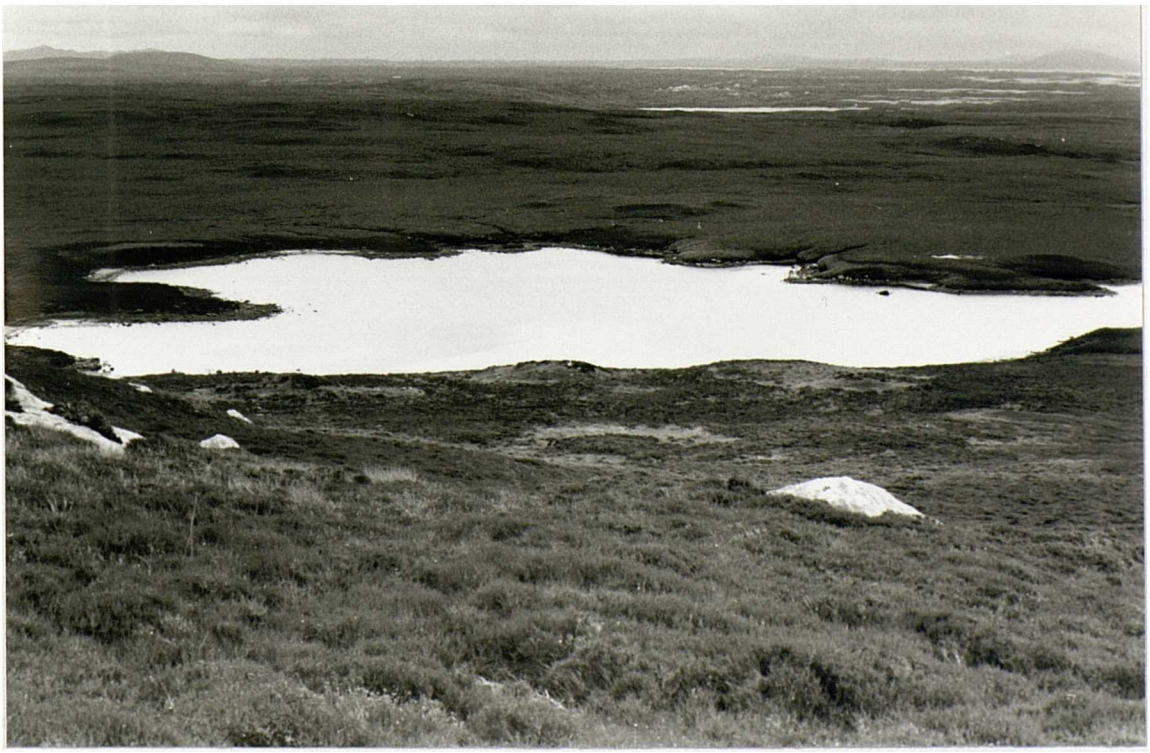


Plate 38a: Ben Risary - shielings built into the remains of the aisled house.
Plate 38b: Uneval.





Plate 39a: Uneval - Mound A, remains of one of the huts.

Plate 39b: Vallay Strand.





Plate 40a: Benbecula Site 32 - 'shieling'.

Plate 40b: Áirigh na h-aon Oidhche - chambered cairn and shieling remains.



Plate 41a: Áirigh na h-aon Oidhche - Hut B.



Plate 41b: Benbecula Site 42 - Hut A.





Plate 42a: Loch Áirigh na'h Achlais - Hut A.

Plate 42b: Haarsal Site 1 - Hut C.





Plate 43a: Haarsal chambered cairn - huts.

Plate 43b: North Locheynort - Mound A.





Plate 44a: Kildonan Glen.

Plate 44b: Kildonan Glen - Mound B.





Plate 45a: Eairy ny Suie.

Plate 45b: Eairy Vane.





Plate 46a: Eary Cushlin.

Plate 46b: Eary Glass, and Eairy Moar in distance.





Plate 47a: Aryhimyn, and Upper Sartfell valley in distance.

Plate 47b: Dreembeary (tholtan in the middle distance) and Glion Kerral.





Plate 48a: Aryhorkell.

Plate 48b: Eary Farm.





Plate 49a: Slieau Freoaghane, Michael.

Plate 49b: Elishader.





Plate 50a: Herishader.

Plate 50b: Crofts near Dun Gerashader.





Plate 51a: Shader, Lewis.

Plate 51b: Aird Laimshader.





Plate 52a: Earshader.

Plate 52b: Geshader.





Plate 53a: Setter, Shetland.

Plate 53b: " "





Plate 54a: Geosetter, Shetland.

Plate 54b: " " .





Plate 55a: Williamsetter, Shetland.

Plate 55b: Seter-ground above cropped field - Flåm, Sognefjord, South Norway.





Plate 56a: Flåm - abandoned seter-house.

Plate 56b: Flåm - front view of house showing byre beneath living-quarters.





Plate 57a: Flåm - Migration Period house-groun a ove modern seter.
Plate 57b: Jostedal - modern seter.



Plate 58 : Jostedal - modern seter on opposite side of river from Plate 57b. Immediately in front is a house-ground of uncertain period.



Plate 59 : Jostedal - one of structures visible at the house-ground on previous plate.



Plate 60a:
Nigardsbreen, west of Sogndal - modern seter.



Plate 60b:
Nigardsbreen - modern seter-house.





Plate 61a: Nigardsbreen - goats grazing beneath the glacier (see painting by J.C. Dahl, Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo).
Plate 61b: Clochan cluster in Garfinny Valley, Dingle Peninsula, Eire - one of the huts.





Plate 62a: Allt a Chobhair, Ben Lawers - hut in upper shieling ground, NN 625 418.
Plate 62b: hut in middle shieling ground, NN 627 443.





Plate 63a: Allt a Chobhair - lowest of the three groups of shielings, NN 626 454.
Plate 63b: Ben Lawers Burn - shieling at NN 662 428.





Plate 64a: Northern slopes of Meall nan Tarmachan - shieling ground at NN 582 408.
Plate 64b: Northernmost hut on west bank.





Plate 65a: Meall a Mhuic, north of Glen Lyon - shieling ground and track at NN 580 495.
Plate 65b: Shieling group north of Eas nan Aighean, NN 425 431, north of Loch Lyon.



Plate 66 : Upper Kentmere - shieling hut.