

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AT TUQUOY, WESTRAY, ORKNEY.

William P.L.Thomson.

Tuquoy contains the important, high status late Norse site which has been investigated by Olwyn Owen. This paper looks at the surrounding area using such diverse evidence as saga, place-names, late medieval rentals, and early modern maps, in an attempt to re-create the settlement pattern and put the site in its landscape context.

I am concerned with the landscape rather than with the site. In fact, I do not intend even to mention the site apart from setting the scene. From the tidal flats in the Bay of Tuquoy on the east, the land rises through the districts of Tuquoy and Midbea with the long, unbroken skylines typical of the Orcadian landscape, to the slopes of Fitty Hill, the highest point in Westray, beyond which the ground drops abruptly to the island's cliff-bound west coast. The first clue that there is something out of the ordinary is the ruined Cross Kirk¹, or the West-Side church as it was known, on the southern shore and standing right on the edge of the sea, protected by a modern sea-wall. It was much superior to the average country church, and the oldest part dates from the twelfth century. Although at one time it was the parish church for the whole of the south and west of the island, it lies in a very non-central and inconvenient position in relation its parish. Erosion has taken place on a quite remarkable scale along this coast, and one of the results has been to expose structures immediately to the west of the churchyard which investigations revealed to be a late Norse hall, superceded by other late Norse and medieval buildings. With church and hall in close proximity, we must suppose, as so often in Orkney, that a chapel associated with the principal residence was designated the parish church at the time when a parish-system was being established.

The *Orkneyinga Saga* throws some indirect light on Tuquoy. On the eve of Rognvald Kolsson's invasion in 1136, there were three important chiefs in Westray, Kugi of Rapness, Helgi, and Thorkel Flettir². The boundaries of Kugi's Rapness estate are known with some certainty³, and the saga placed Helgi at Pierowall, the *hofn* of the saga, where it is likely that his property more or less corresponded to what was later the large block of bishopric territory, feued to Gilbert Balfour at the Reformation⁴, on which Balfour built his immensely strong refuge of Noltland Castle. By a process of elimination the remaining chief, Thorkel Flettir, must be located in the west of the island, and it is natural to link his family with the site at Tuquoy and its associated blocks of land⁵. As well as showing their respective spheres

of influence, Fig.1 also reveals that both Kugi and Thorkel had established themselves on what the modern Land Use Capability map categorises as the very best agricultural land in the island⁶.

Thorkel Flettir was described in the saga as “a man of wisdom” but “quarrelsome and overbearing”, and we are told that his sons were “unpopular”⁷. When invasion from Rognvald Kolsson threatened, Thorkel was one of Earl Paul’s most important supporters, and he commanded a ship at the Battle of Tankerness when Rognvald’s Caithness allies were defeated⁸. In 1138 the earl gave Thorkel a large estate in Stronsay which had belonged to Sweyn Asleifsson’s brother⁹, but shortly afterwards Sweyn’s friends caught up with Thorkel on his new estate and burned him inside the house, and nine men with him¹⁰. Thereafter Thorkel’s son, Hafliði, turned to Earl Paul for support, while the murderers sought refuge with Earl Rognvald. In later years Hafliði was recorded as raiding in the Hebrides, and quarrelling with Sweyn Asleifsson over the division of the booty¹¹. If we are right in associating Thorkel and Hafliði with Tuquoy, we are dealing with an estate belonging to high-ranking and unruly members of Orkney’s warrior sub-aristocracy.

It follows that the scale of settlement at Tuquoy requires a rather different model from the traditional picture of the Norse *odaller*’s self-sufficient farm, standing in a very direct relationship to its environment¹². In the noost at Tuquoy, as well as the four-oar boat for the haddock-fishing, perhaps there was a warship. In addition to peat up on the hill, perhaps there was a buried hoard of coins, silver rings and hack-silver, the proceeds of Irish and Hebridean voyages. While it is possible that Thorkel and Hafliði sowed the seed and reaped the harvest, like Sweyn Asleifson in Gairsay¹³, it is more likely that their main concern was to compel the labour of their humble neighbours, and in earlier times it may well have been Irish slaves who cultivated the rigs, made the hay, cut the corn, and herded the cattle¹⁴. On an island the size of Westray, dominated by three powerful chiefs, there can have been little room for independent people. The essential unit of settlement was the multiple estate rather than the family farm, and this is confirmed by the earliest rentals which reveal that Westray had remarkably little privately owned land¹⁵.

Before dealing with Tuquoy in detail, it is worth looking briefly at Kugi’s estate in Rapness to see the kind of features we might expect to find on a large medieval farm¹⁶. In Orkney the big farm was the ‘Bu’ and the Bu of Rapness was huge, extending some five miles from north to south. Unlike Tuquoy, Rapness was *bordland*, part of the ‘table-lands’ of the earls. The immediate vicinity of the Bu had probably been worked as *desmene* but, well before the date of the earliest rental in 1492, nearly all the *desmene* had been rented out in tiny holdings. Some 22 of these places, *umbesetts* as they were called in Orkney¹⁷, lay round the Bu itself, in what was known as the Wasbister *bordland*. A further eight places lay in the Swartmeil *bordland* at a greater distance from the farm. The two *bordlands* were differentiated in terms of status – low status satellites near the main farm, and rather more

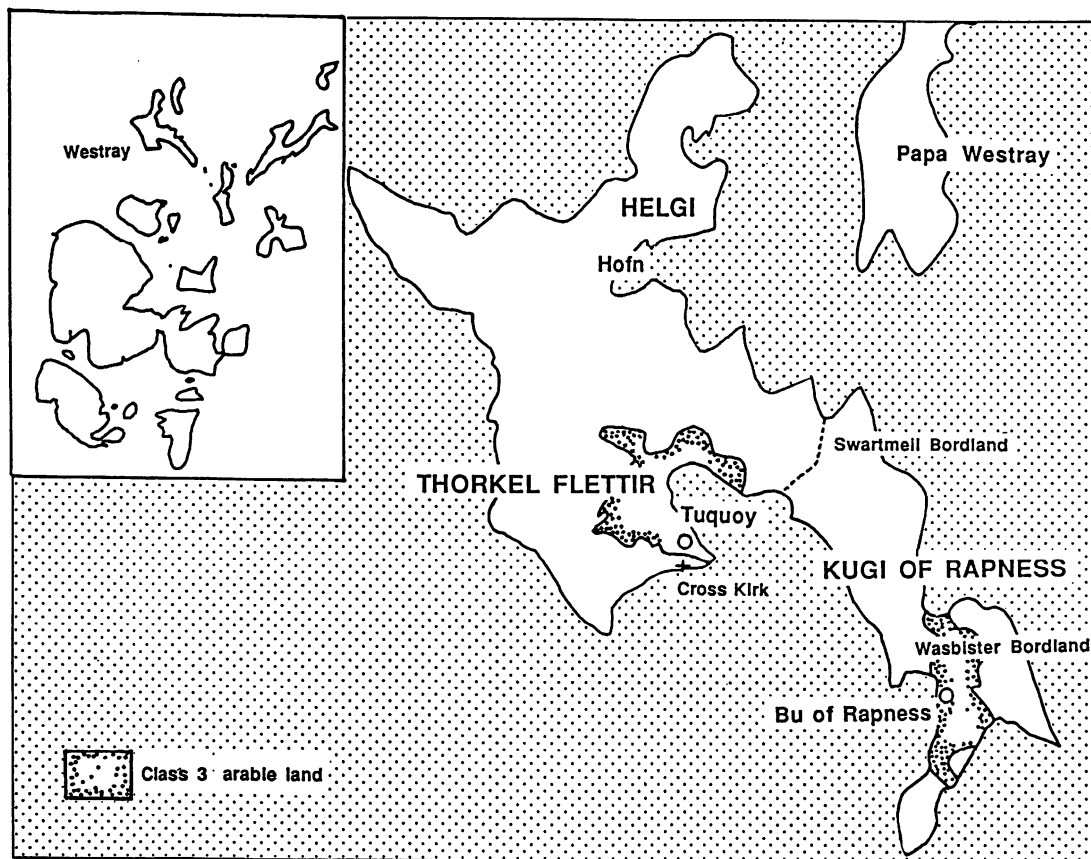


Fig. 1. Westray c. 1136. The boundaries of the earl's bordland estate, held by Kugi of Rapness, are known with some certainty. Helgi was located at Pierowall, the hofn of the Orkneyinga Saga, and so the third chief, Thorkell Flettir, can be associated with the Cross Kirk site. Note how Kugi and Thorkell were based on the best arable land in the island.

independent places, although still humble, at a greater distance from the centre. This was a pattern repeated elsewhere in Orkney, and it may reflect one-time distinctions between free and servile populations.

To understand the structure of the area centred on Tuquoy, we can start with two eighteenth century maps. The earliest, by Murdo MacKenzie whose survey dates from between 1744 and 1747¹⁸, is rather disappointing with regard to detail. However, one thing it does show well is that the West Side was a much more self-contained district than appears today when much of the former hill land has disappeared under the plough. In the eighteenth century a single hill-dyke still enclosed a series of inter-linked townships or 'rooms', separating the in-bye land from the rough pasture on the hill. Near Cross Kirk, Mackenzie's map shows a loch which has now disappeared as a result of draining. It was still in existence when the earliest Ordnance survey was drawn, although even by then it had shrunk from its eighteenth-century size.

Greater detail is shown on a magnificent map of Orkney¹⁹ which was commissioned by Sir Laurence Dundas soon after he purchased the Earldom Estate in 1766, and it has been used to plot the boundaries between the constituent rooms, Tuquoy, Midbea, Noltland, Kirbist, Fribo and Garth (Fig.2). These rooms relate readily to the districts enumerated in a series of skat rentals dating from 1492 onwards²⁰, and to entries in the *Register of the Great Seal* which record property transfers²¹. Fig.2 also shows the pennylands of each constituent part, eighteen pennylands making the unit known as the *urisland* or ounceland. Tuquoy itself was one urisland, Midbea was one and a half, and Noltland appears originally to have been two urislands, known respectively as the Overtoun and the Outertoun.

Tuquoy and Midbea broadly correspond to the area of Class 3 land, Orkney's top category in terms of Land Use Capability, the difference being that the soils of Tuquoy are gleys, while those of Midbea are podzols. In contrast, the soils of the greater part of Noltland are derived from wind-blown sand, and cultivation of these sandy links-lands along the southern shore was subject to severe limitations due to the danger of erosion²². Periodic blow-outs occurred when arable land was either destroyed or else buried deep in blown-sand. In general terms, fertility is greatest in Tuquoy and least in Noltland yet, in terms of ease of working and natural drainage, the reverse was true. Noltland was most easily broken into cultivation, whereas the heavier Tuquoy soils required greater expenditure of effort, and their innate fertility could perhaps best be released by someone who was in a position to command the labour of the adjacent districts.

In the eighteenth century the Westside of Westray was outwardly little different from many other parts of Orkney. There were several proprietors besides Dundas, and the surveyor noted that their lands lay run-rig throughout the various townships²³. However, the *bær*-element in the name 'Midbea' opens the doors on a

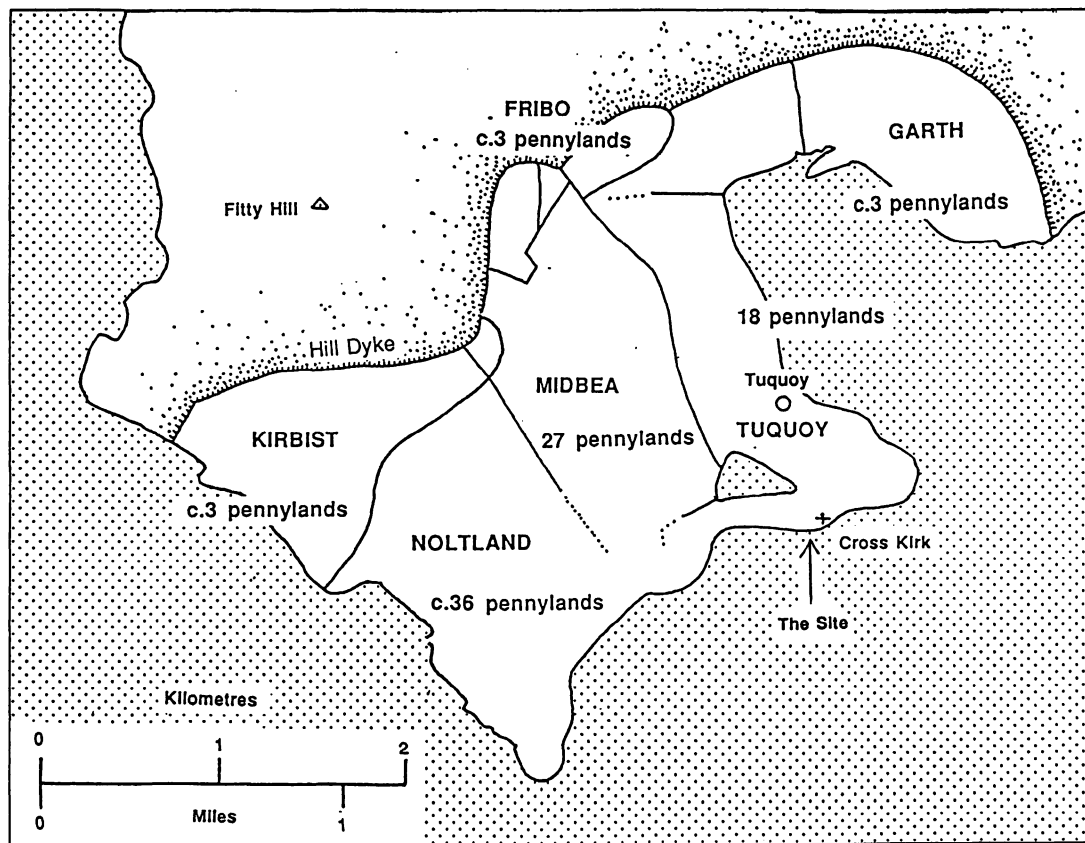


Fig. 2. The 'Rooms' or Townships. Eighteenth century maps have been used to draw the boundaries of the constituent 'rooms'. These correspond to districts enumerated in skat rentals from 1492 onwards, and the pennyland values of these districts are shown (18 pennylands = 1 urisland or ounce-land).

very different past. Hugh Marwick associated a number of large blocks of land with *bær*-names, nowadays terminating in -by or -bea, and later writers have usually agreed that many *bær*-places were large, important and early²⁴. Moreover, the 'mid' element in Midbea points to some kind of integral relationship with the townships on either side of it, Tuquoy to the east and Noltland to the west, forming a single '*bær*-unit', whatever we may understand that to have been. On a more detailed scale, names such as Outatown, Overtoun and Norther-toun are 'out', 'over' and 'north' in relation to a focus of settlement at the Tuquoy site. Fribø (Furbou²⁵ in 1492) is another interesting name incorporating the *bær*-element. Later it was a centre of some importance but Dundas's map shows that as late as the eighteenth century the name was applied to a series of marginal quoyes or enclosures and to the small farms that grew up within them.

Tuquoy itself was one *urisland* or *ounceland* (= 18 pennylands)²⁶ and, out of nearly two hundred Orkney *urislands*, it is the only one with a quoy- name. The generic *kvi* or *quoy* is almost invariably applied to tiny fields and marginal enclosures. According to Hugh Marwick's chronology or hierarchy of place-names²⁷, the name 'Tuquoy'²⁸ should rank the very lowest in his scale of importance. It is definitely not the kind of name you would expect to be associated with an important place, so it seems likely that a minor name replaced whatever had once been the name of the principal settlement. It is easy to invent a plausible scenario – perhaps replacement occurred when the Norse site beside Cross Kirk was abandoned because of coastal erosion, with the result that a hitherto minor place became the new focus of settlement. The earliest rentals refer to the *urisland* as 'Tuquoy and Ayre' (Aire 1492, Air 1497)²⁹, and so it may be that Olwyn Owen's site was Ayre, taking its name from the narrow strip of land between the loch and the sea. On the other hand, it has to be admitted that 'Ayre' is a name which could equally well have applied to a secondary settlement, perhaps somewhere in the inner part of the Bay of Tuquoy.

In the *urisland* of Tuquoy there was very little *udal* land, and indeed in the all the townships under consideration *udal* land amounted to a mere 3½ pennylands, or perhaps even less. Some land both here and in Noltland formed part of the Prebend of St. Catherine, the endowment of the saint's altar in St. Magnus Cathedral in Kirkwall, but the greater part of the *urisland* of Tuquoy was described as '*pro rege*' or *kingsland*. The term '*pro rege*' is usually taken to denote the property which, before the impignoration of the islands in 1468, had belonged to the King of Norway³⁰. There must be some doubt about whether the term '*pro rege*' was consistently used in this sense since, by the time of the earliest rentals, the former earldom, as well as the Norwegian Crown lands, was in the hands of the King of Scots and so might be described as '*belonging to the king*'. However, a number of records seem to go out of their way to emphasise that Tuquoy was royal property rather than ex-earldom. In 1497 these '*pro rege*' lands were described as "*xiii d. terre the kingis*"³¹ and in charters of 1632 and 1649 we find the property listed as the "*kingsland* in Towquoy"³² and the "*kingsland* of Tuquoy"³³.

The usual assumption is that most of the *kingslands* consisted of estates forfeited after the defeat at Florevåg in 1194 which brought to an end Earl Harald Maddadsson's ill-advised interference in Norway's civil wars. King Sverre had a scroll rental drawn up recording the lands of the Orkney and Shetland people who were killed; heirs were given three years to buy back this land, failing which it was to become the property of the crown³⁴. So perhaps a generation or two after Thorkel Flettir and Hafliði, Tuquoy was lost to the family when their descendants failed to redeem it.

After the pawning of the islands in 1468, kingsland passed into the hands of the King of Scots, and in 1492 we find Tuquoy leased to Thomas Harraldson for a single payment of £3 to cover both skat and rent³⁵. This payment was only about 20% of the payment at proper rates, and reflects particular circumstances of erosion and sand-blow as well as the general economic difficulties of the second half of the fifteenth century when a great deal of land was out of production³⁶. However, it was probably also a concessionary rent. The Harraldson family were closely connected with the Sinclairs. John Harraldson, a pre-impignoration Bailie of Kirwall³⁷, had appended his seal on Earl William's behalf at the earl's installation³⁸. Thomas, the tenant of Tuquoy in 1492, was his grandson, and he was involved in sales of houses and other property to both Earl William and to his son, Sir David Sinclair of Sumburgh³⁹. Probably Thomas Harraldson owed his lease of Tuquoy to his business deals with the Sinclairs, but it is just possible that the family had once held the Tuquoy *kingsland* direct from the Danish king. We know that John Harraldson visited Copenhagen in 1434 at the time of Earl William's installation, and he apparently spent some considerable time in "the East Lands"⁴⁰, either on this or on some other occasion.

The adjoining district of Midbea consisted of one and a half urislands (27 pennylands), yet it was entirely omitted from the rental of 1492. Its omission is significant since this rental did not list all the bishop's property, merely those lands from which Lord Henry Sinclair claimed the bishop was illegally withholding payment. Because Midbea was not recorded as paying skat, and since Lord Henry Sinclair did not claim that it should, it follows that he did not dispute the bishop's right to the skats of the district. Midbea was not unique in paying its skat to the bishop rather than to the earl. It was one of several large blocks of territory which appear to have been early endowments of the bishopric⁴¹. I have previously suggested that one of these, Egilsay plus the district of Sourin in Rousay, might have been detached from the earldom by King Magnus Barelegs in order to provide for the newly appointed Bishop William⁴².

If Midbea was also part of the early endowments of the bishopric, what can be said of the circumstances of its gift to the church? Since Midbea was a satellite district of Tuquoy, and since Tuquoy was not earldom property, it seems unlikely that Midbea could have been a gift from one of the earls. If we are right in thinking that Tuquoy was a great private estate forfeited to the Norwegian crown, it was the King of

Norway, not the Earl of Orkney, who had these lands at his disposal. Perhaps, like Egilsay-Sourin, Midbea was a royal gift. In the case of the Bu of Rapness at the other end of the island, we know that a great manor farm broke up, with its desmene being converted into tenancies, and the same process was at work on other earldom farms. If the King of Norway found himself in possession of the sequestrated estate of Tuquoy, he might similarly have shed outlying districts by making a donation to the church. In the aftermath of Florevåg, Bishop Bjarni and his immediate successors had a close and generally amicable relationship with Norway, so it was quite likely that they might have been recipients of royal benevolence.

Whereas the urisland of Tuquoy represents the home fields or desmene of the former manor farm, Midbea housed the labour force and, even after the nineteenth century squaring of the district, this distinction is still readily seen in the contrasting patterns of houses and fields. Tuquoy has big square fields and few houses, whereas Midbea has smaller fields and quite a dense network of settlement. Yet the clusters of *umbesetts*, which were found in such profusion round big farms such as the Bu of Rapness, are less obvious, no doubt because of the early separation of core and periphery in terms of ownership.

Out beyond Midbea lay the large district at one time known as Noltland. It is unusual to find two districts bearing the same name on the an island of this size, yet Westray had two Noltlands and, to distinguish this one from the better-known Noltland with its castle which lay some three miles away, this district was variously described as 'Nouteland be West Hay' and 'Wester Nouteland' (1492), Noltland be Westhay (1497), 'Noltland be-west' (1595) and 'Notland bewest' (1794). The unusual 'hay' element in 'Westhay' is O.N. 'ey', island, i.e. Noltland in the west of the island⁴³. Later, the name was entirely forgotten and the township came to be known as Outatoun.

The term 'Noltland' suggests that this district was somehow singled out as cattle land (ON *naut(a)-land*), and it indicates a one-time more pastoral use of the grass-covered links along the southern shore which were particularly valuable for the out-wintering of cattle. As noted in a marginal comment on Sir Laurence Dundas's eighteenth century map, "the sandblown lands of Midby and Outatoun provide very fine natural grass"⁴⁴. It seems that 'Noltland' was almost a technical term. Significantly, other Noltlands in Westray and Sanday all lie on what the Soil Survey classifies as "brown calcareous soils developed from shelly sand parent material, with rooting zone and erosion limitations"⁴⁵. In the late fifteenth century, these areas were all suffering the effects of erosion, perhaps because of the cultivation of land which would have been better kept as pasture. Another factor may have been the introduction of rabbits which were certainly present in profusion on the links lands in the fifteenth century⁴⁶. Pasture rather than arable was the safer use of this fragile environment, and it is no coincidence that the 1974 Aberdeen University coastal survey recorded that parts of this former *nauta-land* were fenced-off and restored to

cattle-grazing, a use which the survey observed caused minimal damage even along the fretted beach-edge⁴⁷.

At the close of the fifteenth century all these sandy lands presented scenes of devastation, and the situation was particularly serious at Noltland where Lord Henry Sinclair recorded the farmers' exact words when they told him that their land was "blawn til Issland" (blown to Iceland)⁴⁸. The other Westray 'Noltland' was similarly affected, and at the same time its farmers were complaining that their land was blown to Bergen⁴⁹! At Noltland Be-west a judicial enquiry by some kind of local court had been held shortly before 1492, and it had decided that part of the land was permanently lost to cultivation, and so its skat and rent were entirely remitted. It was a decision which Lord Henry Sinclair viewed with some suspicion, describing the land as "man sworne down", i.e. reduced by perjury⁵⁰. Yet, despite his cynical comment, there can be little doubt that a good deal of arable land west of Tuquoy had indeed been swallowed up. Traces of former cultivation, possibly relating to different periods, are still visible in the Maes Sands and would probably repay further investigation⁵¹.

Even where the land had not been over-blown, the 1492 rental reveals that it was often abandoned and tenantless. At Tuquoy itself pennylands contained three marks of land and were rented at 12 settens or 12 skat-pennies the mark. These rents were in no way unusual and were quite consistent with an old and well developed centre. But Noltland rents had always been much less, and in practice they were reduced still further by rebates, so that in 1492 a pennyland in Noltland was rented at only one-third the charge for a Tuquoy pennyland. Low value pennylands similar to those at Noltland were also characteristic of the eroded and sand-blown districts of Sanday⁵². In later centuries Noltland continued to be vulnerable, and tenants were nearly always in arrears. Following the famine period 1739-42, the Earldom Estate factor noted that rebates in rent and skat had again to be given to Langskaill and Gerey "because of the danger of the land turning ley"⁵³, and the property of a further group of bankrupt tenants was held in tack by one of their more successful neighbours. Even when the newly formed Crofters Commission visited Westray in 1888, the rent reductions it decreed (about 50%), and the arrears it ordered to be cancelled (about 80%), were greater than anywhere else in Orkney⁵⁴.

Rental entries for Noltland are unusually difficult, due to confusion about the lost lands but, from a variety of sources, it is possible to find about 38½ pennylands, which strongly suggests that the district had once consisted of two urislands (36 pennylands). The ownership of land followed the pattern we have already seen in Tuquoy and Midbea. There was very little udal land, some land belonged to the Prebend of St. Catherine, but the biggest landowners were again the Norwegian Crown and the Bishop of Orkney.

The confusions in the pennylands were all tidied up in a rental of 1794 when

Noltland, like its neighbour Midbea, was recorded as being only 27 pennylands, that is at least 9 pennylands or half an urisland less than in earlier times⁵⁵. The missing lands seem to correspond to Bakka. In 1565 Bakka had been 9 pennylands – a big place – when it was feued by Bishop Adam Bothwell to Gilbert Balfour⁵⁶, although whether at that late date it still existed is another matter. Today Bakka is entirely forgotten, but vestigial place-names, Bakie, the Flag of Bakie and Bakie Skerry are to be found along a mile of the worst eroded shoreline. The change came in 1794 when Bakka, although still appearing on the rental, was assigned no pennylands but was described as a ‘quoy’ (a technical term for skat-free land). We ought to think of Noltland as a 36 pennylands or a two-urisland township from which 9 pennylands had been deducted because a quarter of the arable land had been destroyed by sand-blow and coastal erosion. Or, to be more precise, the confusions in the rental seem to have been tidied up and rationalised by someone who had that model in mind. Curiously, Murdo MacKenzie’s chart shows what must be the house of Bakka⁵⁷. Whether or not it still had land, it was a useful sea-mark as late as his 1744-7 survey.

Although there are many references to individual farms within Noltland, particularly in relation to skat debt⁵⁸, it is only in the eighteenth century that it is possible to produce a list of the component parts of the township. There were 10 farms, some occupied by more than one tenant. It was not only the lands of different proprietors and tenants which lay run-rig, but the farms themselves to some extent lay run-rig with each other. In 1754 there is mention of a two-pennyland block shared by Trebland and Howan, and two further two-pennyland blocks shared by Trebland and Roveland⁵⁹. Although details are lacking, this is a classic illustration of the fundamental principle of run-rig. Pennylands denoted shares rather than areas, and since no one would want his share to be situated entirely on lands liable to erosion, the outcome was a good deal of dispersal and inter-mingling of holdings.

The remaining districts of Kirbist, Fribo and Garth were geographically peripheral, and all were bishopric property. They were all so thoroughly confused with regard their pennylands that it is impossible to say anything useful about their values. Dundas’s map shows how these places formed a system of quoys and garths (enclosures) along the margin of the hill grazings⁶⁰. Features of this kind are common in both Orkney and Shetland, although seldom so clearly seen as in Figs.2 and 3. In contrast to the name, ‘Tuquoy’, these places are textbook examples of what quoys ought to be – they were small and marginal, and had originally been little more than places where cattle and sheep could be impounded. It is an attractive idea that the place-name Kirbist might incorporate the specific *kyr*, cow, rather than *kirk*, thus linking the ‘cow farm’ to the ‘cattle country’, the neighbouring Noltland. Throughout Orkney, decrees of the parish Bailie Courts regularly enjoined farmers to herd their animals by day and to “quoy” them at night. Manure from the penned animals could cause a build-up of fertility so, particularly in periods of outward population pressure, such as we might expect in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, these places could be brought into cultivation and might become farms in their own right. In the

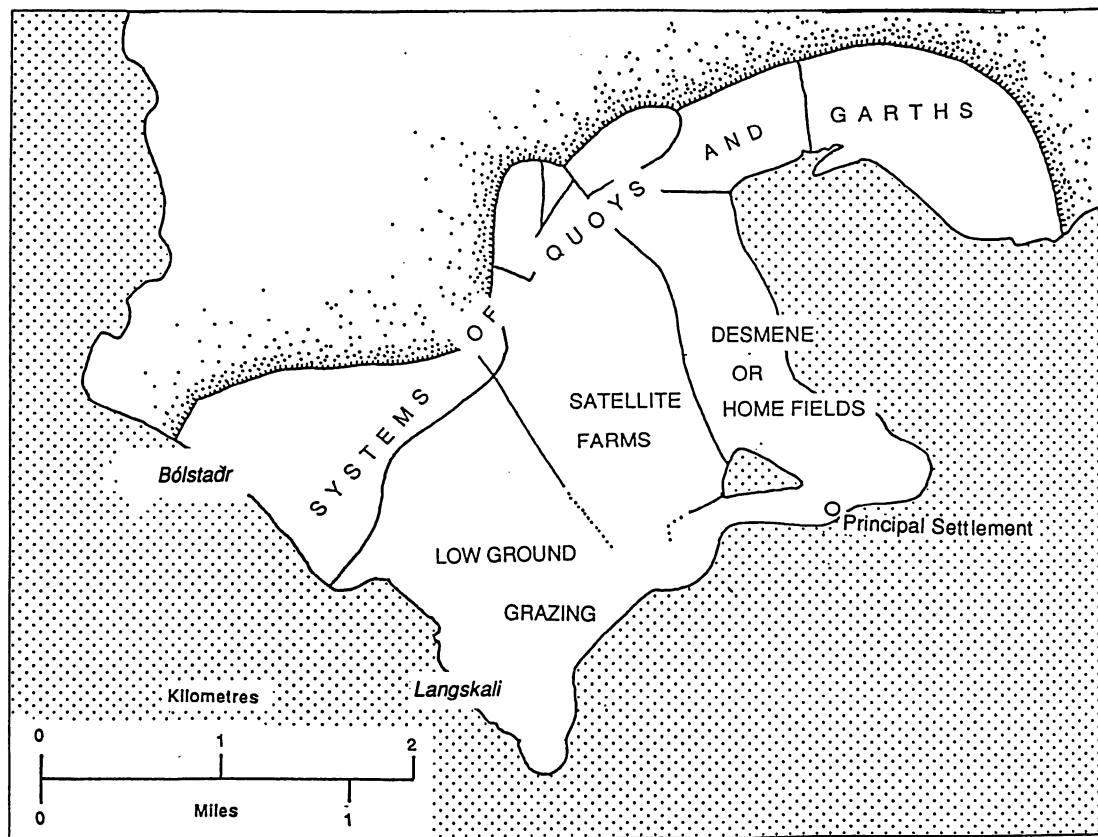


Fig. 3. A Reconstruction. A Viking-age manor farm?

eighteenth century there were at least nine of these quoy-farms at Fribo – Brabnersquoy, Skeldigar, Millhouse, Syblesterquoy, Goward, Nistigar, Westmill, Cocklefist and Gossaquoy⁶¹ – and some of these names confirm that the enclosure-system is likely to date well back into the Norse name-giving period.

There was no absolute distinction between *quoy*s and *garths*, but the term ‘garth’ was sometimes used for large rough enclosures representing substantial intakes of hill land. They are often of medieval origin, and are still a relict-feature in many Shetland townships. Garths survive less frequently in Orkney where the landscape has been more thoroughly reclaimed and re-organised. Garth-systems suggest practices similar to those found in the account of sheep management contained in 1299 Faroese ‘Sheep Letter’ which described how “tame sheep” were kept on “home fields” in contrast to the “wild sheep” on the common grazings⁶².

In drawing to a conclusion, we ought finally to look at the area as a whole to see how the various parts related to each other. To summarise – the core was the urisland of Tuquoy, formerly the home fields or desmene, worked by a labour force accommodated on little holdings, mainly in the adjoining district of Midbea. Out beyond was Noltland, the ‘cattle-land’, with a predominantly pastoral land use on dangerously unstable soils, but housing communities of small-holders whose cultivation tended to cause problems, especially in times of population expansion. The margins of the settlement consisted of systems of quoy>s and garths, originally associated with stock management but, even at an early date giving rise to a considerable number of little farms. Beyond the boundaries of these arable and semi-arable areas lay the hill land which provided important resources of pasture and fuel.

Whether this functional unity can be translated into terms of a single manor farm is not so easy to determine, and we face the same difficulties with place-name evidence – a Tuquoy-orientated naming-system does not necessary prove that all the places so-named were owned by Tuquoy. The existence of *bólstaðr* and *skáli*-names in the periphery shows that outlying districts, although perhaps predominantly pastoral, were not entirely so, and these high-status names suggest a considerable degree of independence. Yet the landownership pattern as revealed in the earliest rentals – a core of Crown property in Tuquoy, with Bishopric and other church lands predominating throughout Midbea, Noltland, Kirbist, Fribo and Garth, and with only tiny scraps of udal property – is consistent with the broad picture of a single manor farm, confiscated by the Crown which thereafter shed most of the outlying parts as cathedral endowments. Both the King and the Bishop were absentees and, after the heady days of Thorkel and Hafliði, it seems that Tuquoy became a bit of a backwater⁶³. The result was static systems of management which in turn led to old patterns of settlement surviving long enough to be recorded on early maps and rentals.

NOTES

- 1 Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments of Scotland, *Orkney and Shetland*, 1946, Vol.2, No.1032; R.G.Lamb, *The Archaeological Sites and Monuments of Papa Westray and Westray*, 1983.
- 2 A.B.Taylor, *Orkneyinga Saga*, 1938, c.56. J.Storer Clouston, *Orkney Parishes, 1928*, 333n., doubted Thorkel's Westray location mainly because "three chiefs in Westray are too many". However, there is no good reason to question the saga's unambiguous statement that all three were based in Westray.
- 3 William P.L.Thomson, 'Some Settlement Patterns in Medieval Orkney', *Proceedings of the Twelfth Viking Congress*.
- 4 *RMS*, Vol.4, No.1668.
- 5 R.G.Lamb, 'The Hall of Halfliði', *The Orcadian*, 23 July, 1981.
- 6 Soil Survey of Scotland, Orkney Northern Isles.
- 7 A.B.Taylor, *Orkneyinga Saga*, 1938, c.56.
- 8 *Ibid*, c.65.
- 9 *Ibid*, c.66.
- 10 *Ibid*, c.73.
- 11 *Ibid*, cc.82-3.
- 12 I have in mind the useful model in Alan's Small's, 'The Viking Highlands; a Geographical Perspective', in E.Meldrum, *The Dark Ages in the Highlands*, 1971.
- 13 A.B.Taylor, *Orkneyinga Saga*, 338.
- 14 For the transport of Irish slaves to Norway via Orkney in early Norse times, see H. Löwe, Findan von Rheinau; Eine Irische Peregrinatio im 9 Jahrhundert', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd.ser., xxvi, 1, Spoleto.
- 15 Udal land amounted to only c.9 pennylands in the whole of Westray.
- 16 William P.L.Thomson, 'Some Settlement Patterns in Medieval Orkney'.
- 17 J.Storer Clouston, 'The Orkney Bus', *Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society*, 5.
- 18 Murdo MacKenzie, *Orcades*, 1750.
- 19 Map of Orkney, Orkney Archives, Map E29.
- 20 Lord Henry Sinclair, Mss. 1492 Rental (extant only as copy), Orkney Archives, D2/7; Alexander Peterkin, *Rentals of the Ancient Earldom and Bishoprick of Orkney*, 1820.
- 21 John M.Thomson, (ed.), *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, iv, Nos. 1668 & 1758; vi, No.1038; vii, No.343; viii, No.1894; ix, No.2030.
- 22 Soil Survey of Scotland, Orkney Northern Isles (1) Land Use Capability map (2) Soil map.
- 23 Map E29, Orkney Archives.
- 24 Hugh Marwick, *Orkney Farm-Names*, 1952, 35, 234-251; Gillian Fellows-Jensen, 'Viking Settlement in the Northern and Western Isles' in A. Fenton and H. Pálsson, *The Northern and Western Isles in the Viking World*, 1984, 155-157; Barbara E.Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland*, 1987, 111-113; William

- P.L.Thomson, *History of Orkney*, 1987, 27-28.
- 25 The actual form of the name in the 1492 rental is 'Furbon'. However, this rental exists only as copies, and it seems certain that the name in the original must have been 'Furbou'. The specific in the place-name is uncertain, but possibly *fyrir*, giving a meaning 'out in front of the bu' which certainly suits its location.
 - 26 The area of the Tuquoy pennylands is unknown but Dundas's surveyor (Map E29 Orkney Archives) provides sufficient information to enable us to calculate that pennylands in Midbea averaged 12.7 acres and those in Noltland 12.8 acres, not all of which was arable. These pennylands were rather above the average acreage for the North Isles, (10.0 acres) but noticeably smaller than the pennylands on Mainland Orkney (28.3 acres).
 - 27 Hugh Marwick, *Orkney Farm Names*, 1952, 227-251.
 - 28 The first element in the name, Tuquoy, is uncertain. It might be *too* = a mound or a hillock.
 - 29 Lord Henry Sinclair, Mss 1492 Rental, 62; A. Peterkin, *Rentals*, 80.
 - 30 J.Storer Clouston, 'The Orkney Lands', *Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society*, 2, 1923-4.
 - 31 Alexander Peterkin, *Rentals*, 80.
 - 32 *RMS*, viii, No.1894.
 - 33 *RMS*, ix, No.2030.
 - 34 J.Sephton, *Saga of King Sverri of Norway*, 1899, 156-7; J.Storer Clouston, 'The Orkney Lands'; William P.L.Thomson, *History of Orkney*, 74, 127.
 - 35 Lord Henry Sinclair, Mss.1492 Rental, 62.
 - 36 William P.L.Thomson, 'Fifteenth Century Depression in Orkney; the Evidence of Lord Henry Sinclair's Rentals', in B.Crawford (ed.), *Essays in Shetland History*, 1984.
 - 37 J.Storer Clouston, *Records of the Earldom of Orkney*, 1914, 71.
 - 38 *Records of the Earldom of Orkney*, 49.
 - 39 *Records of the Earldom of Orkney*, 421-425.
 - 40 *Records of the Earldom of Orkney*, 333.
 - 41 J.Storer Clouston, *History of Orkney*, 1932, 151-154.
 - 42 William P.L.Thomson, 'Some Settlement Patterns in Medieval Orkney'.
 - 43 Hugh Marwick, *Orkney Farm Names*, 34.
 - 44 Map of Orkney, E29.
 - 45 Soil Survey of Scotland; Orkney Northern Isles maps.
 - 46 Lord Henry Sinclair, Mss 1492 Rental, 10, 69, 87; Alexander Peterkin, *Rentals*, 19, 93.
 - 47 A.S.Mather, J.S.Smith and W.Ritchie, *Beaches of Orkney*, 1974, Ch. 13.9; Nature Conservancy Council, *Orkney; Localities of Geological and Geomorphological Importance*, 1978, 26.
 - 48 1492 Rental, 62.
 - 49 *Ibid*, 65.
 - 50 *ibid*, 62.
 - 51 A.S.Mather, J.S.Smith and W.Ritchie, *Beaches of Orkney*, 1974, Ch. 13.9.

- 52 William P.L.Thomson, 'Ouncelands and Pennylands in Orkney and Shetland'.
- 53 Mss Account with Andrew Ross, 1757, Orkney Archives, D38/2016/8.
- 54 W.R.Mackintosh, *The Orkney Crofters; Evidence and Statements*, 1889, vii, 170-5.
- 55 Mss rental, 1794, Orkney Archives, D1/30/4.
- 56 *RMS*, iv, No.1668.
- 57 Murdo Mackenzie, *Orcades*, 1750.
- 58 Lists of 'rests' (arrears), 1726-1746, Orkney Archives, D38/2016/8.
- 59 Mss rental, 1754.
- 60 Map E29, Orkney Archives.
- 61 Map E29 and lists of 'rests', 1726-1746.
- 62 G.V.C.Young, *From the Vikings to the Reformation; a Chronicle of the Faroe Islands up to 1538*, 1979, 140-150.
- 63 Tuquoy was part, but not the centre, of a large North Isles estate which owed its origins to a collection of property which had once belonged to Sir William Sinclair of Warsetter. See *RMS*, viii, No.1894 and ix, No.2030.