

# George Petrie and the ‘brochs’ of Papa Westray

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## ABSTRACT

*Recent excavation on the cliff-section below St Boniface Church, Papa Westray, Orkney, and research in the archives of the National Monuments Record of Scotland and the Society of Antiquaries’ Library suggest that one of Petrie’s drawings has previously been misidentified and misdated. An alternative identification is proposed and the evidential basis for the inclusion of the Castle of Bothikan as a bona fide broch site is questioned.*

## INTRODUCTION

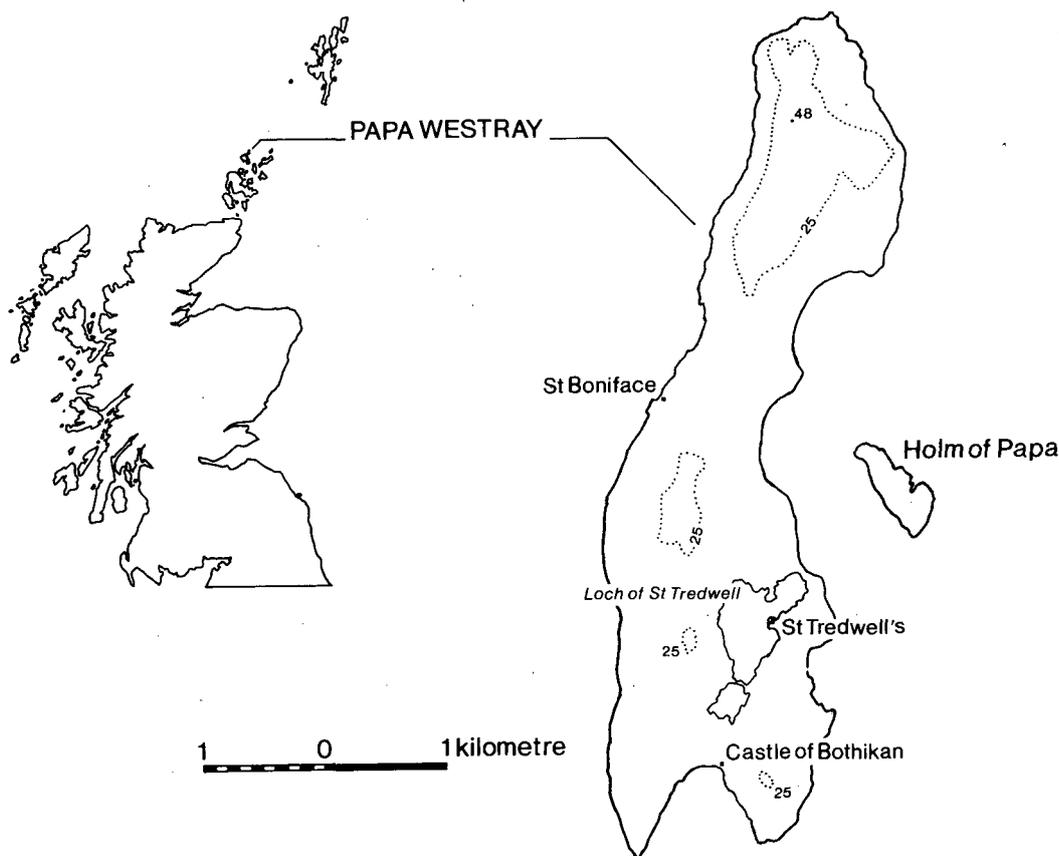
Among the Petrie Collection of drawings and sketch-books deposited by the Society in the National Monuments Record of Scotland (NMRS), there is an untitled and undated drawing of a ‘broch’. The drawing, ORD/17/2, forms part of lot SAS 487 and is reproduced here as *illus 2* (by kind permission of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland). On the reverse is a sketch-plan entitled ‘subterranean structure in Westray’.

## THE IDENTIFICATION OF DRAWING ORD/17/2

The ‘broch’ drawing has been published on two previous occasions: in the Royal Commission *Inventory* for Orkney (RCAHMS 1946, ii, fig 266); and in John Hedges’ survey (1987, iii, pl 3.15) of Orcadian broch sites. It is identified by both as the Castle of Bothikan, otherwise known as the ‘Castle of Millyemay’, a site on the Links at the head of the Bay of Moclett at the south end of Papa Westray (*illus 1*). A single chord line, 7 ft 2 in. long, forms the only scalable reference point for the drawing.

The remains of the ground-plan of just under half a ‘broch’, exposed in a cliff-face, occupy the lower two-thirds of the sheet (*illus 2*). A complex of appended outbuildings and covered passages lies outside the entrance. The passage clearly continues towards the top of the page, Petrie noting ‘passage with lintels remaining only traced to dotted line but seems to run in this direction’. Across the top of the drawing there is the comment: ‘The ruins extend in this direction and I expect that the roofing of passages and chambers remain intact.’ The drawing also shows an elevation and perspective view of the entrance passage. In the corner of the sheet is a drawing of a circular object, labelled ‘red freestone, 14 or 15 inches in diameter with cavity in centre’.

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ILLUS 1 Papa Westray, Orkney: sites mentioned in the text. *Based upon the Ordnance Survey map © Crown copyright*

The circular object has been variously identified as a 'lamp', implicit in the RCAHMS (1946, ii, 181) correlation of drawing to site (see below), or as the lower stone of a rotary quern (Hedges 1987, iii, 109). Petrie's paper on 'Orkney Antiquities' which was sent to Daniel Wilson, Secretary of this Society, describes quite clearly the recovery of the stone or one like it from the ruins of the Castle of Bothikan. The article is dated 22 December 1849:

#### 2 Forts or Burghs

The remains of many of this description in a very dilapidated state are still to be seen in Orkney. Some which were opened and of which accounts are preserved exhibited the usual appearance of a double wall and trinkets and weapons of iron were found in them. In the ruins of what was no doubt one of those forts in the island of Papa Westray there was lately found a piece of sandstone somewhat broken and having a cavity in it [blank] ins in diameter by [blank] ins in depth and bearing marks of fire as if it had been used as a lamp. It was taken by me from the ruins last summer and is now in my possession and a similar one found in a fort in Sanday is in the museum in Kirkwall. The ruins in Papa Westray just referred to are known to the inhabitants as the 'Castle of Bothikin'. (Petrie Notebook 5, 53-4: MSS 18, SAS 543.)

The identification of the stone object on Drawing ORD/17/2 as that referred to in Petrie's correspondence with Wilson forms the only substantive link between the drawing and the Castle of Bothikan.

#### THE DATE OF DRAWING ORD/17/2

Both the RCAHMS (1946, ii, 181, no 522) and Hedges (1987, iii, 109, 146) date the drawing to 1874, one year before Petrie's death. In 1928, at the time of the collation of material for the Orkney *Inventory*, or at sometime prior to its publication in 1946, Drawing ORD/17/2 formed part of the collection in the library of this Society and was referenced as 'Folio E4, Chest II' (RCAHMS 1946, ii, 181, footnote 1). It was said to describe 'an unnamed broch on Papa Westray, which was partially explored by 'G.P' [George Petrie] in July 1874' (RCAHMS 1946, ii, 181). Drawing ORD/17/2, although in Petrie's style and hand, however, bears neither marks of authorship, nor date, nor title (Note 1).

Examination of the sequence in which the drawing was later folded may throw some considerable light on the date of the document. Of particular importance is the relationship of the obverse and reverse sides.

The drawing (illus 2) measures 479 mm by 356 mm. No clear trace of a binding along the centre is evident and the sheet appears to have been originally flat. The sheet bears three longitudinal and three transverse fold-marks at roughly 89 mm and 120 mm intervals respectively, the result of the sheet having been folded on four occasions.

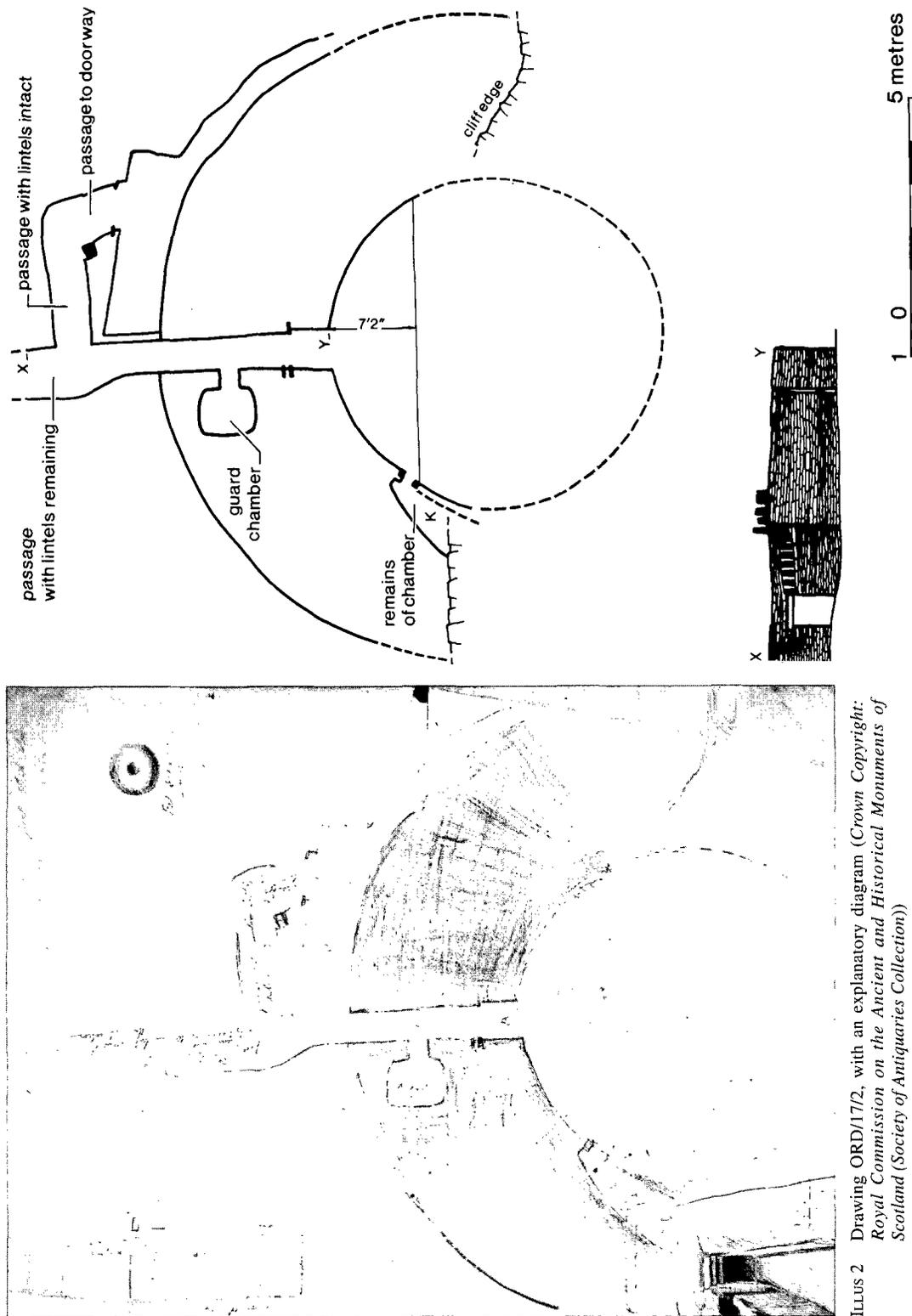
The drawing of the Westray souterrain on the reverse occupies the upper half of the sheet and sits squarely within the area marked by the first fold. The 'broch' drawing was folded in half from top to bottom and the sheet was then turned 90° anti-clockwise to form a drawing area 356 mm by roughly 240 mm, with the fold or 'spine' to the left. The second fold was subsequently made along the length of the souterrain sketch to form a document 356 mm by roughly 120 mm. This was then folded in half, from top to bottom, to form a document 178 mm by 120 mm, before it was folded a fourth time, in similar fashion, to a size of roughly 89 mm by 120 mm.

An a priori case exists to suggest that the folding sequence reflects the chronology of the two drawings. The drawing style also suggests that they are closely contemporary: they have been executed in pencil, with coloured pencil shading and pencil annotation. The walls of the 'broch' are shaded brown, the outworks and passages blue, the cliff-face green and the stone object red. Importantly, in places, through the entrance passage and around the guard cell, the pencil line has been overlaid in red. The souterrain drawing on the reverse shows a similar drawing convention. It, too, has been executed in pencil, the pillars or orthostats shaded brown, and the wall-lines overlaid in red.

The evidence of the folding-sequence, the drawing-style and, indeed, the physical proximity of the two drawings, together, suggest strongly that the two drawings are closely contemporary, and, moreover, that a case exists for the priority of the broch drawing over that of the souterrain. The date of the latter is thus central to the question of the dating of the broch drawing.

The souterrain drawing quite clearly corresponds to the earth-house near Pierowall Church (Thomas 1852, 129; Kirkness 1930, fig.3; RCAHMS 1946, ii, 351, no 1037), despite the fact, as Lamb (1983, 34, no 126) noted, that the arrangement of the pillars in the drawings differs in detail. However, the shape and size of the chamber, the location of the entrance, and the disposition of the pillars or orthostats (as groups around the perimeter of the chamber) are identical.

The Westray souterrain was excavated by F W L Thomas, probably in 1849 (Note 2). By implication this would become the most likely date for the excavation of the 'Castle of Bothikan',



ILLUS 2 Drawing ORD/17/2, with an explanatory diagram (Crown Copyright: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (Society of Antiquaries Collection))

a point already made explicit in the notice of Petrie's retrieval of a stone 'lamp' from its ruins. Drawing ORD/17/2, therefore, presumably also dates to this time, and not to a period some 25 years later. This radical redating of the drawing, together with evidence from recent excavation, reopens the question of the drawing's identification.

## A REAPPRAISAL OF THE IDENTIFICATION OF DRAWING ORD/17/2

### THE CASTLE OF BOTHIKAN

No trace of the Castle of Bothikan exists today, nor has done for at least a hundred years. The Ordnance Survey, in 1879 (only about five or 30 years after its excavation, depending upon which chronology is followed), described the site as a small green knoll which was supposed to have been a 'Picts-house' (ONB 26, 1879, 213).

Hugh Marwick (1925, 32) described the mound as 'not large' and classified it as 'probably sepulchral'. Given the thoroughness with which Marwick conducted his island surveys and his collections of folk-lore and place-name material, it is surprising that neither the 'broch' nor the excavation was remembered on the island (Note 3).

The RCAHMS (1946, ii, 181), in 1928, described the site as 'merely a flat-topped hillock', albeit noting that 'distinct traces of much older masonry are said to have been visible within recent years, although now covered with drifted sand'. The Royal Commission notebook, compiled by Corrie (RCAHMS Notebook, Orkney no 2, 13 July 1928), adds some detail with regard to the form of the mound, which was 7 ft 6 in. (2.25 m) high, roughly circular and approximately 75 ft (22.5 m) in diameter. It was not, however, until the rediscovery or examination of the Petrie drawing and letters that the identification of the site as that of a broch was first established, sometime in the period 1928 × 1946.

Lamb (1983, 14) described the site as 'a rounded sand-hill, indistinguishable from others on the links'. Importantly, no trace of structures or occupation debris was revealed in the recently eroded face of the mound, the result of storms in January 1993 (Lamb, pers comm).

Local memory is quite firm in its belief that there was neither a broch nor any excavations at the site in the last century. 'Carsie dykes', or sea-walls such as that built below Hookin on the east side of the island, are remembered on the site (J Rendall, pers comm), as indeed are kelp-pits (RCAHMS 1946, ii, 181), but certainly nothing as substantial as that indicated in Petrie's drawing.

### THE MUNKERHOOSE CLIFF-SECTION, ST BONIFACE CHURCH

Local memories survive of an excavation about 3 km to the north, on the Munkerhoose cliff-section at St Boniface Church and, indeed, were noted by Marwick (1925, 33) and in the Orkney *Inventory*: 'The site has been partially excavated, but the results have not been reported' (RCAHMS 1946, ii, 184, no 526). Additional information can be gleaned from Corrie's (1928) and Calder's (1930) notebooks:

The mound at Munker Hoose ... lies on the sea bank adjoining the Kirk of St Boniface and the whole area appears to be riddled with remains of stone buildings, the character of which cannot be satisfactorily determined without excavation. All along the edge of the sea bank where the storms and tides lash against the shore there are fragmentary traces of these buildings and at one time within recent years I am told that it was possible to gain an entrance for some distance into the mound through a lintelled passage ... At one time the arrangement of the internal structure was much more exposed than it is now but a considerably [*sic*] quantity of rubbish from the neighbouring churchyard has been

deposited over the side of the sea bank. Partial excavations have at times been carried out but no definite information as to the results of these efforts is available. The site is grass grown. There is not much to be said for the suggestion that has been made that it is the site of a broch. No distinctive broch structure is apparent and I should classify it as a chambered mound. (*RCAHMS Notebook, Orkney, no 2 (9 July 1928).*)

Mungerhoose [sic]. Under church and to north and west are remains of a very extensive inhabited site covering [blank] acres which was partly excavated at shore c.1872 where erosion has occurred. (*RCAHMS Notebook, Orkney, no 9 (p 63, 1930).*)

Local memories of a mid-19th-century excavation at the site, involving the exposure of passageways into the cliff-section, can still be traced on the island: one informant's grandmother, as a young girl, played in the 'tunnels' at Munkerhoose, an event which is dated to c 1850 (J Rendall, pers comm). This memory, like that recorded by Corrie in 1928, clearly establishes that there was a substantial structure in the Munkerhoose cliff-section which was partially excavated at around the time of the 'Castle of Bothikan' drawing, ORD/17/2, and was seemingly left open for some time.

### *The 1990 excavation assessment at the Munkerhoose cliff-section*

Work in 1990 along the cliff-section adjacent to St Boniface church (illus 3) was prompted by the continuing threat of coastal erosion. The assessment was funded and arranged by Historic Scotland and undertaken by archaeologists from Archaeological Operations & Conservation, now AOC (Scotland) Ltd.

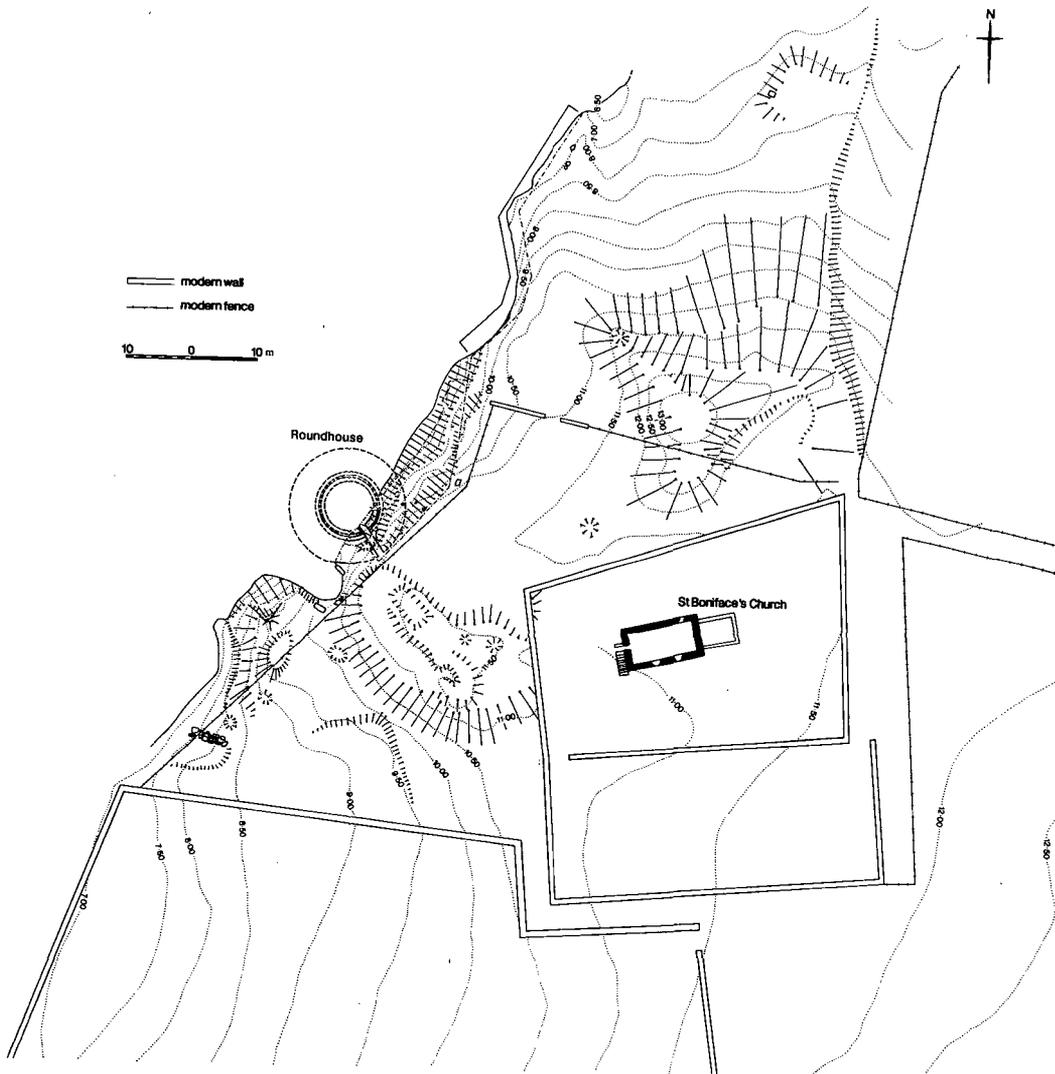
The principal aims of the assessment were to clarify the nature, date and extent of the archaeological deposits and features at the site. The assessment was conducted by means of excavation in plan and section, utilizing the natural breaks of slope on the site. The work resulted in the production of a complete stratigraphic record across what is undoubtedly a major prehistoric and medieval settlement complex (Lowe 1990; 1993; in preparation).

A substantial, thick-walled roundhouse (illus 4), radiocarbon-dated to the early first millennium BC (Lowe 1993), was located at the south end of the cliff-section examined. It had been erected on sandy soil to the west and on building rubble to the east. The vestigial remains of an earlier building (Structure 1a) were traced beneath the walls of the roundhouse. Only one or two courses remained of what appears to have been part of a free-standing cellular building, the feature forming an arc 5.4 m long below the primary roundhouse wall and continuing below the later (see below) thickening of the wall-base. Lying adjacent were a patch of burnt clay, roughly 0.9 m by 0.6 m, possibly a hearth, and remnants of a paved floor.

The walls of the roundhouse were constructed with a solid soil and rubble core. The building was entered from the south-east along a stone-flagged passage, the entrance checked at the line of the primary (see below) interior wall-face. The much disturbed remains of a 'guard-cell' lay outwith the checks, on the north side of the passage.

Only part of the south and east sectors of the roundhouse survived but there was sufficient to demonstrate that the building measured roughly 17.6 m externally. To the east, where best preserved, the exterior wall-face stood nearly 3 m above the level of the floor. At least two phases of construction were apparent. In its primary phase, the walls were 3.2 m to 3.8 m wide, providing an internal space 10.6 m across (c 90 sq m). A series of additional internal wall-skins were subsequently erected over the original floor surface.

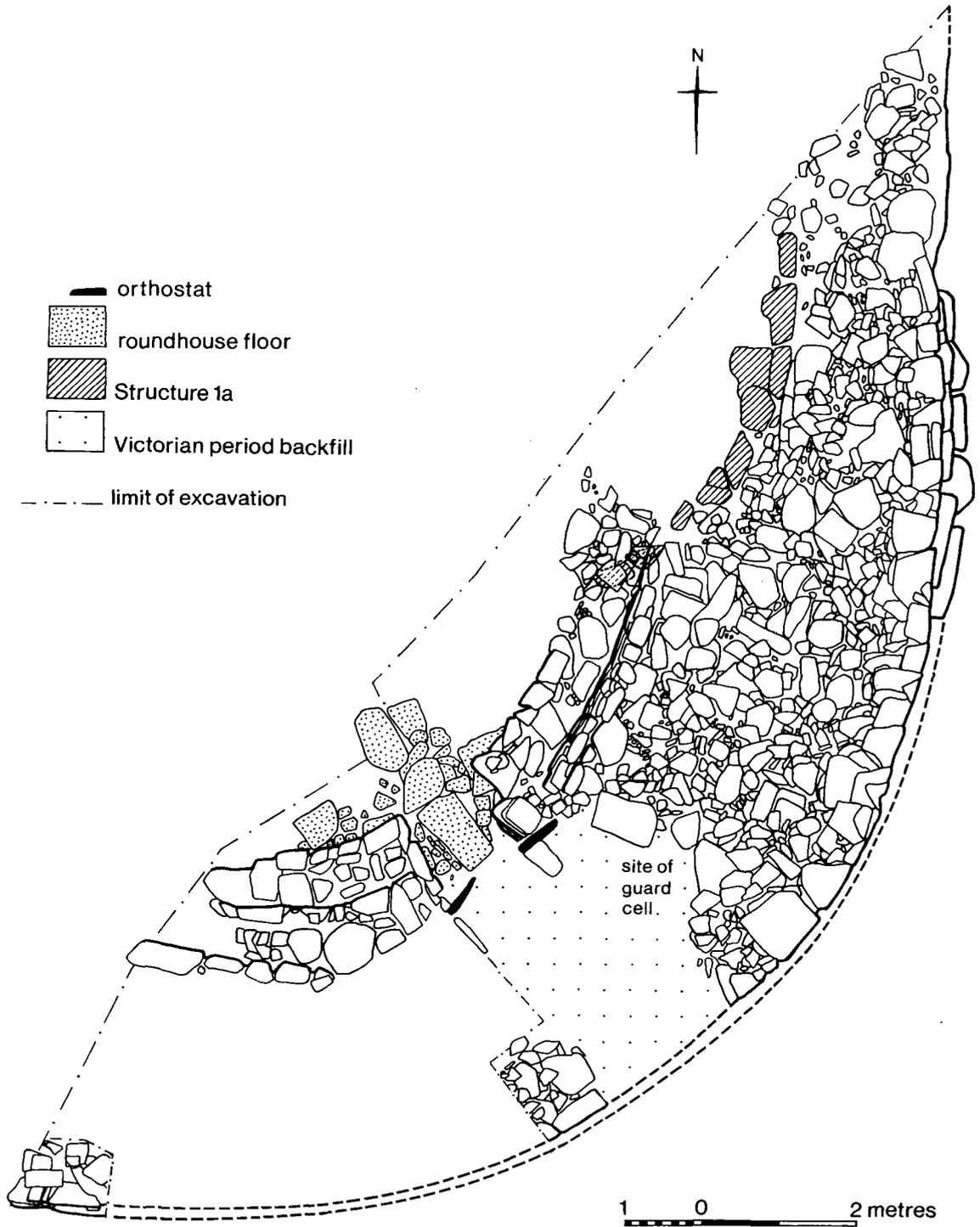
In the cliff-section externally (illus 5), to the south of and parallel with the external wall-face of the roundhouse at a distance of roughly 0.9 m, are the remains of a thick, curving wall. This



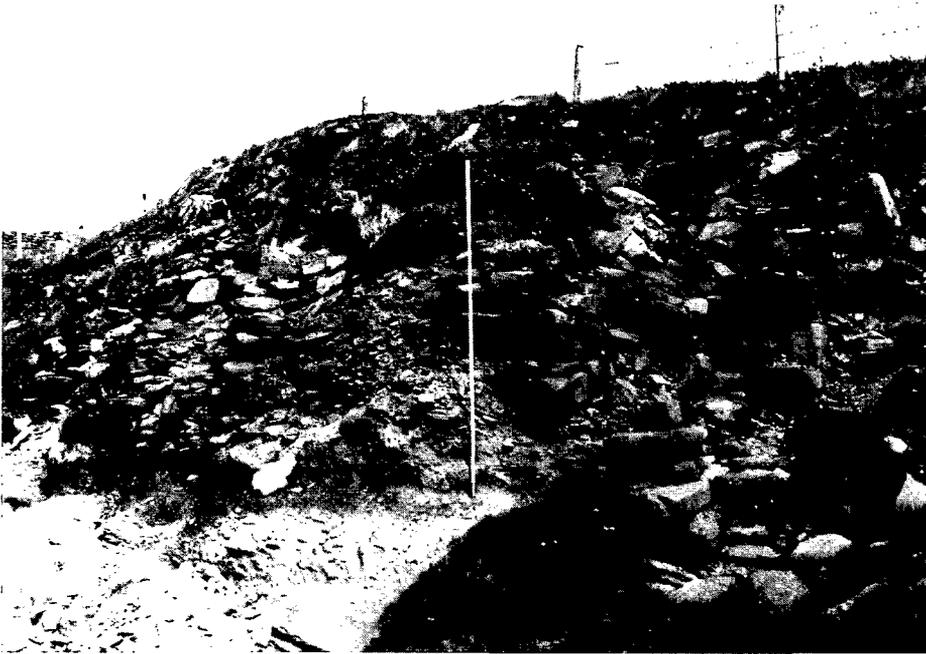
ILLUS 3 The 1990 landscape survey at St Boniface Church, Papa Westray, Orkney

area and that through the entrance, including the 'guard cell', are choked with Victorian backfill and later detritus. This material was left *in situ* and the entrance passage was not cleared, its removal lying outwith the scope of the Project Design.

There can be little doubt that the roundhouse exposed in the 1990 assessment of the cliff-section at Munkerhose, St Boniface, is the same structure as that recorded in Drawing ORD/17/2 by Petrie in 1849. The two buildings are roughly the same size, allowing for the method by which the drawing has been scaled (see above). Dimensional data for the 'two' buildings are summarized in Table 1.



ILLUS 4 The early roundhouse in the Munkerhose cliff-section, St Boniface Church, Papa Westray



ILLUS 5 Detail of the south exterior wall-face of the roundhouse and adjacent wall to south

The correspondence in the size of the ‘two’ structures is suggestive, but more important is the disposition of features at the ‘two’ sites. Examination of broch plans in the Orkney and Shetland *Inventories* (RCAHMS 1946, ii & iii), and in Hedges’ (1987, iii) survey of Orcadian brochs, leaves little doubt that the two are, indeed, one and the same structure. Of particular significance for this correlation is the form and position of Petrie’s ‘Chamber K’ which was described by Hedges (1987, iii, 109) as an unusual type of intramural feature. It is clear now that ‘Chamber K’ is part of the wall-line of an earlier building (Structure 1a).

TABLE I  
Dimensional data (in m): ‘Castle of Bothikan’ & Munkerhoose

	‘Castle of Bothikan’		Munkerhoose
	(RCAHMS 1946)	(Hedges 1987)	
Wall thickness	4.5	4.1	4.85 – 5.25 (3.2 – 3.8)
Height	–	1.83	2.97
External diameter	–	16.57	17.6
Internal diameter	–	8.33	7.5 (10.6)
Entrance roof ht	–	1.83	–
Entrance width	–	0.91	1.15
Guard cell	–	1.39 × 1.39	–

Dimensional data for ‘Castle of Bothikan’ were determined by RCAHMS (1946) and Hedges (1987) on the basis of the single 7 ft 2 in. chord line recorded by Petrie on Drawing ORD/17/2.

Figures in brackets, at Munkerhoose, refer to primary wall thickness and internal area. The recorded height of the wall at Munkerhoose is calculated on the basis of the difference between floor level and the datum on the exterior wall-face, to the south-east, where best preserved.

In addition, 'both' buildings are identically sited in exposed cliff-sections and have been similarly truncated by coastal erosion. Furthermore, there must be some doubt that 'cliffs', in any meaningful sense of the word, ever existed in the Links location at the Bay of Moclett (RCAHMS 1946, ii, fig 266).

In summary, the correlation of drawing to site depends on the following: the form and disposition of site features, in particular Petrie's 'Chamber K'; the similarity in size and the cliff-face location of the building; local memory of an excavation at Munkerhoose around the middle of the last century, and the absence of any such works at Castle of Bothikan.

## PROBLEMS OF IDENTIFICATION & DATING REVISITED

The re-identification of Drawing ORD/17/2 as the roundhouse in the cliff-section Munkerhoose, St Boniface, and its redating to 1849, provide a solution to many of the problems inherent in the RCAHMS (1946, ii, 181) entry for the Castle of Bothikan. Several important consequences, however, emerge.

Neither the Castle of Bothikan, nor the St Boniface roundhouse, is listed in any of Petrie's published or unpublished works (see below), with the exception of the paper which was submitted to Daniel Wilson in 1849 (Petrie Notebook 5, 53-4; see above). This was not a problem when the drawing, and by implication the discovery, was dated to 1874, one year prior to Petrie's death. The redating to 1849, however, necessarily leads one to consider carefully this absence and, moreover, the identity of the Munkerhoose excavator. Only a series of very tentative suggestions can be advanced.

### THE 1849 EXCAVATIONS AT MUNKERHOOSE, ST BONIFACE CHURCH

It is unlikely that Petrie personally directed the works at Munkerhoose. Had this been the case, it seems inconceivable that the site would not have been included in one or more of his published papers on the brochs of Orkney. Indeed, the majority of Petrie's broch papers, whether published (Petrie 1890; 1927) or in draft (Petrie Notebooks 1, 4, 5, 7; Bundle 487/2) are formulaic, referring on the whole to the same list of excavated sites. Only two Papa Westray brochs are listed in Petrie's 1872 List of Orcadian Brochs, an appendix to the article which was compiled in 1866: '67 At Loch of Tredwell near Burlin, Papa Westray; 68 Howan or Hooan, Island of Papa Westray' (Petrie 1890, 94).

The Iron Age site at the Loch of St Tredwell (see below) is well known (RCAHMS 1946, ii, 180, no 521; Lamb 1983, 19, no 30; Lowe 1987, ii, 131-55). The site at Howan clearly refers to the site of Howe or Kirk of Howe, a large farm mound towards the north end of the island (Lamb 1983, 15, no 17; Lowe 1987, ii, 127-30). Since Petrie was clearly aware of a broch-like structure at 'Castle of Bothikan' in 1849, its absence from the 1872 List is curious. Further resolution to this problem can only be advanced speculatively.

Possibly the key to this problem lies in the identification of the excavator at Munkerhoose in 1849. No firm evidence in this respect has been traced, but F W L Thomas must be considered a strong possibility. It is clear that he was extremely active in Orkney at this time, pursuing excavations on the Holm of Papa Westray (RCAHMS 1946, ii, 186-9, no 544) and on Westray (RCAHMS 1946, ii, 351, no 1037), and clearly he would have had the time and resources to undertake this work. It is also clear that Thomas and Petrie were in close correspondence over the period 1849 to 1866 (Petrie correspondence, MS 332, letters 172-83). Indeed, the small size to which Drawing ORD/17/2 was subsequently folded may suggest that it was, at some time, placed in an envelope for posting (Note 4).

## IRON AGE SETTLEMENTS ON PAPA WESTRAY

Hugh Marwick (1925, 32–3) was the first to suggest that a broch was associated with the settlement at Munkerhoose:

I can think of nothing other than brochs that could account for such huge mounds. Until further excavation is made, I think we must leave it at that. (*Marwick 1925, 33.*)

This interpretation is referred to in the RCAHMS *Inventory* (1946, ii, 184), although little credence would appear to have been accorded it (RCAHMS Notebook, Orkney, no 2 (9 July 1928); see above). Prior, therefore, to the 1990 excavations which led to the building's rediscovery, the site failed to feature in any discussion of broch distributions in Orkney.

The reinterpretation of Drawing ORD/17/2 as the roundhouse in the Munkerhoose cliff-section, rather than the Castle of Bothikan, must largely remove the evidential basis upon which that site has previously been identified. Discounting the Castle of Bothikan, only two major Iron Age settlements are known on Papa Westray: the site which has been partially exposed in the cliff-section at St Boniface church, and that on the former islet in the Loch of St Tredwell (illus 6).

Plans to excavate the site on the Loch of St Tredwell were first mooted in 1849, as a joint exercise between Petrie and Traill. The proposal is recorded in the article which Petrie sent to Daniel Wilson on 22 December 1849:

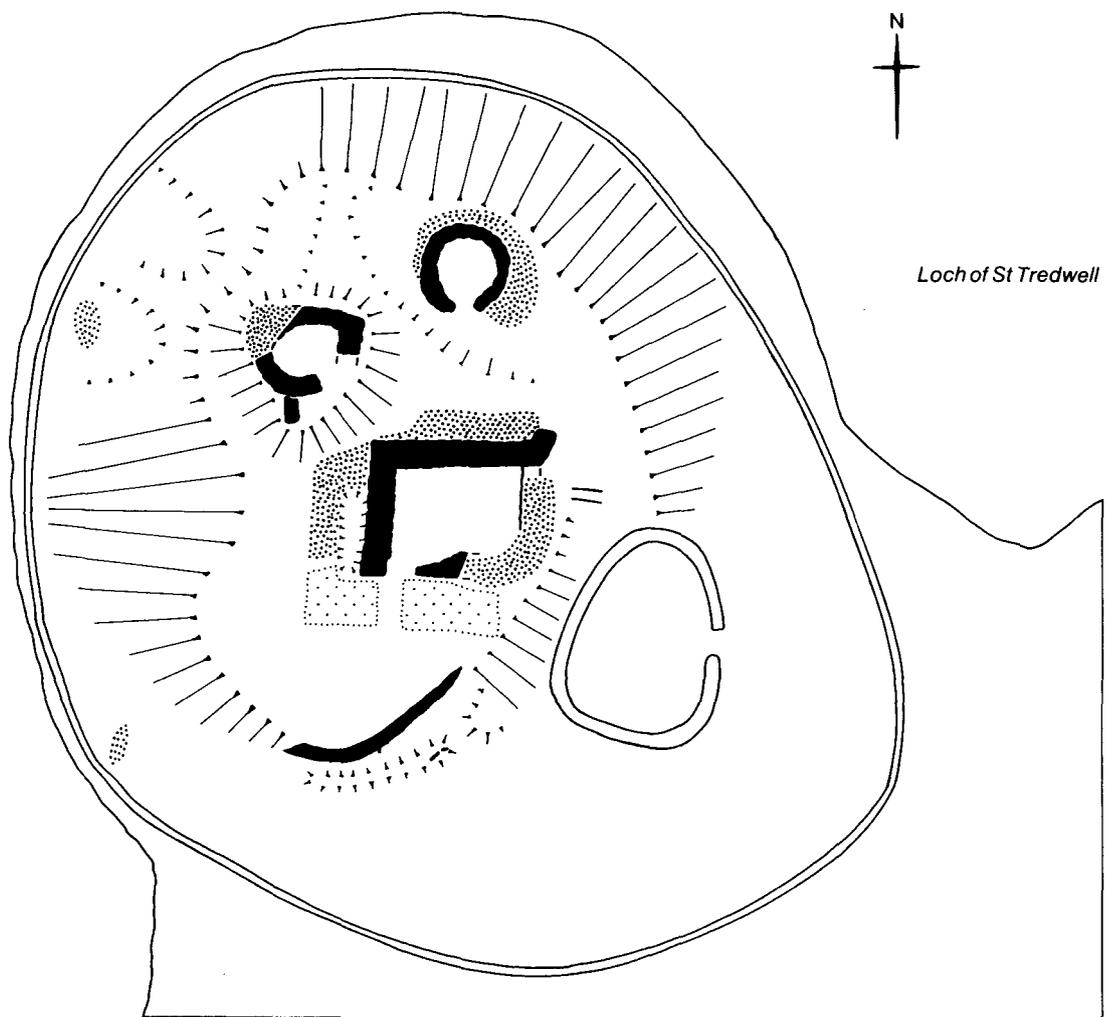
Another very large heap of massive stones ... surmounted by the more modern ruins of a Roman Catholic Chapel has all the appearance of being the remains of a large fort .... Mr Traill, the proprietor of the island, has kindly offered to make an attempt at opening the ruins next year if I will go out to superintend the operation. (*Petrie Notebook 5, 54–5 (MSS 18, SAS 543).*)

Little, however, seems to have come of this plan and the site was not excavated until 1879, four years after Petrie's death (Traill 1883). The excavations were primarily concerned with clearing out the chapel, but also broke through into a series of chambers and passageways below and to the north-west of the chapel (RCAHMS 1946, ii, fig 267).

The structure, over which St Tredwell's chapel was built, has long been considered a possible or probable broch (Hedges 1987, iii, 52; Marwick 1925, 34; Radford 1962, 171; RCAHMS 1946, ii, 181–2, no 523). Principally, the identification depends on the exposed length of battered walling which is visible on the south-east side of the settlement mound. Resurvey in 1982 (Lowe 1987, ii, 131–55), however, drew attention to the rectilinear form of the underlying structure, as marked by the exposed masonry and a re-entrant in the course of the top edge of the mound to the south-west of the chapel. A large rectilinear building, roughly 18 m by 11 m, with an annexe to the north-west, may be indicated by the surviving surface remains (illus 6). Below ground, the structure would seem to comprise a central passage, leading to an arrangement of cells in the annexe to the rear of the building (Traill 1883, 137; RCAHMS 1946, ii, fig 267; illus 6).

## CONCLUSION

Fieldwork and documentary research have demonstrated clearly that the evidence upon which the Castle of Bothikan has previously been identified is weakly founded. Current indications are that there are only two major Iron Age settlements on the island. Of these, only the site at St Boniface church appears to have acted as a significant focus for settlement from at least the Late Bronze Age to the early medieval period.



Loch of St Tredwell

10 0 10 metres



standing masonry



collapsed masonry



excavated spoil



modern wall

ILLUS 6 The Iron Age and medieval settlement complex at Loch of St Tredwell, Papa Westray, Orkney

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## NOTES

- 1 Accepting the correlation ORD/17/2 = Folio IIE4, it is posited that the ascriptions of title and date, perhaps in the form of a (lost) loose-leaf addendum, are either erroneous, or at least speculations on the part of some later compiler within the period 1875 to 1928 × 1946. Sir Henry Dryden, co-worker with Petrie during the latter part of his career and inheritor of, and sometime commentator on, Petrie's papers, could be proposed as a possible candidate for the putative lost addendum.
- 2 The excavation of the Westray souterrain is variously dated to 1851 (RCAHMS 1946, ii, 351; Kirkness 1930, 224) or to 'around 1850' (Lamb 1983, 34). The site was first published in 1852 by Thomas in a paper read to the Society of Antiquaries of London on 6 & 13 February 1851 (Thomas 1852, 88). The text itself, however, was almost certainly composed some months earlier, in 1850, because Thomas refers to Petrie's excavation of the chambered cairn on Wideford Hill as of 'the autumn of last year' (Thomas 1852, 126–7), an excavation which is clearly attributable to 1849 (RCAHMS 1946, ii, 156; Petrie Notebook 5, 39–41). If Thomas' text can be attributed to the latter part of 1850, then his reference to the discovery of 'a subterranean "Picts-house" on the Links of Pierowall about a year ago' (Thomas 1852, 129) would date that discovery to 1849, the same year in which Thomas excavated the large chambered cairn at the south end of the Holm of Papa Westray (RCAHMS 1946, ii, 186–9, no 544).
- 3 In connection with the Castle of Bothikan, Marwick (1925, 32) recorded traditions of a battle between Danes and Orcadians, of a queen in the castle, and another of a 'nautical Diogenes' who floated ashore in a barrel and was subsequently buried at the site, but no mention of any 'broch' connection was recorded.
- 4 *Clear evidence of their correspondence can be seen in a letter from Thomas to Petrie, dated 30 December 1849 (MS 332/172), concerning Petrie's drawing up of some plans from the Holm of Papa Westray long-cairn excavation. Certainly, Petrie's work as a surveyor and illustrator was well recognized (Hedges 1987, iii, 143–6); Petrie went on to work with James Farrer, Lord Balfour, the Revd Dr Traill and Samuel Laing on several major broch excavations in the 1850s and 1860s. The notion of Petrie working for Thomas, as an illustrator for his souterrain excavation on Westray and for the work on the Munkehoose cliff-section, both undertaken in 1849 and featured on the same drawing, would not therefore be too surprising. The absence, however, of any mention of the 1849 Munkehoose excavation in Thomas' (1852) paper on 'Celtic Antiquities' could represent a serious flaw to this argument. In conclusion, therefore, it would have to be suggested that the original Munkehoose documentation was among other papers lost when Thomas' trunk was stolen in London in c 1850/1, the trunk containing 'original manuscripts and such drawings as I could collect' (Thomas 1852, 136).*

## REFERENCES

## PRIMARY SOURCES

The following were consulted in the National Monuments Record of Scotland:

*Ordnance Survey Object Name Book (ONB)*

*Petrie Notebook, 14* (SAS 396)

*Petrie notes* (SAS 396)

*Petrie Sketchbooks 3, 5 & 6* (SAS 487)

*Petrie folder* (SAS 487/493)

*Petrie bundle* (SAS 487/2)

*Petrie correspondence* (MS 319 [II.E.29])

*Petrie correspondence* (MS 332 [II.E.24])

*RCAHMS Notebooks, Orkney*

The following were consulted in the Society of Antiquaries' Library:

*Petrie Notebook 4* (SAS 542: MSS 16)

*Petrie Notebook 5* (SAS 543: MSS 18)

*Petrie Notebook 7* (SAS 550)

*Petrie Notebook 8* (SAS 546: MSS 27)

*Petrie Notebook 9* (SAS 554: MSS 11)

*Petrie Notebook 10* (SAS 547: MSS 23)

*Petrie Notebook 11* (SAS 548: MSS 25)

*Petrie Notebook 12* (MSS 29)

*Petrie Notebook 13* (SAS 549: MSS 24)

*Petrie Notebook* (not numbered) (SAS 551: MSS 17)

*Petrie Notebook X35* (SAS 541)

*Petrie Large Notebook 1* (SAS 540: MSS 1)

*Petrie Large Notebook 6* (SAS 544)

*Petrie Large Notebook 7* (SAS 545: MSS 20)

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