

# **NORSE INFLUENCES IN THE ORGANISATION OF THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH IN THE WESTERN ISLES**

Ronald G. Cant

## **Introduction**

In its definitive form of a system of local churches serving identifiable districts, usually known as parishes, grouped together under a diocesan bishop, the medieval church cannot be said to have existed in the general area of Scotland until the twelfth century. At this time, and for some three centuries previously, the islands to the north and west, with parts of the adjacent mainland, were under Norse control. Hence it was to be expected that in these particular regions ecclesiastical organisation would, in its details, follow a Norwegian rather than a Scottish norm, all the more so when in 1153 the two bishoprics that had come into being there in the preceding century were placed by Pope Adrian IV in the new province organised under the Archbishop of Nidaros or Trondheim.

## **Celtic Christianity and the Norse Impact**

Long anterior to this development – and to the Norwegian conquest and settlement of the Northern and Western Isles in the ninth century – the two regions in question had come under the influence of Christianity, conceivably in the fifth and sixth, and unquestionably by the seventh century. It is probably unnecessary for the purposes of the present study to consider whether these early influences were ‘Ninianic’ or ‘Columban’ since the resulting Christian presence was inherently ‘Celtic’. That is to say: its principal generative centres were monasteries closely linked with the social and political order of their neighbourhoods and having outposts in the form of hermitages, small chapels, or more simply ‘preaching centres’ (indicated by large stone crosses or cross-slabs) throughout the surrounding area.

These monasteries, on which the effectiveness of Celtic

# MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND AND ADJACENT ISLANDS

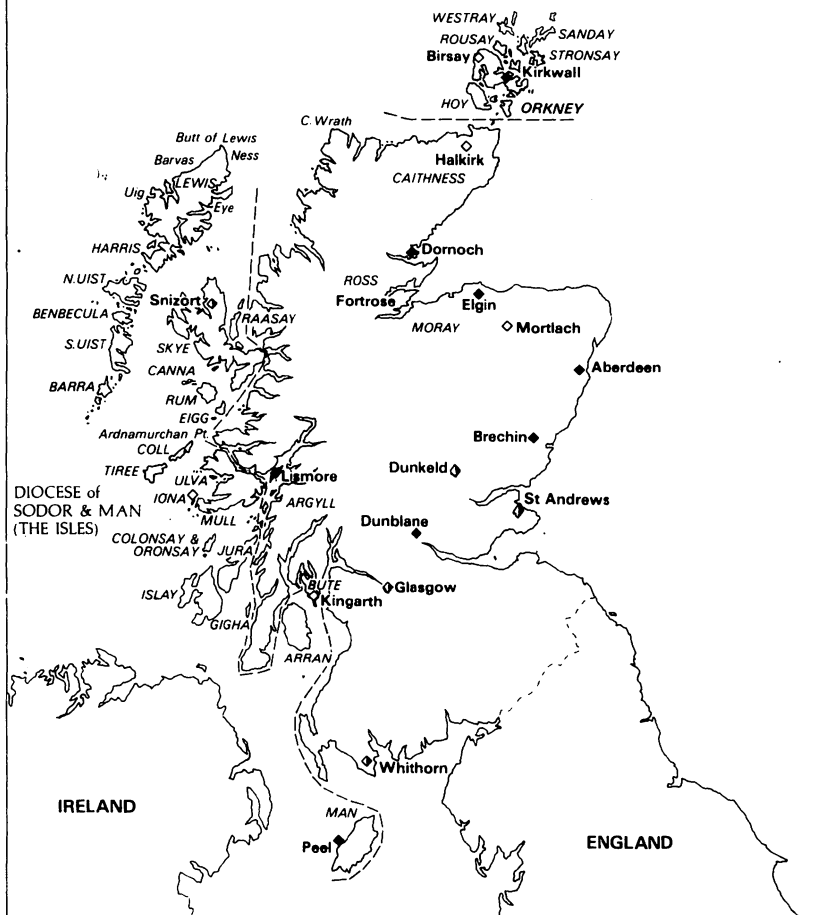
Episcopal Centres :  
Earlier ◊ Later ◆

0 Miles 80  
0 Kilometres 120

YELL UNST  
FETLAR  
PAPA STOUR  
WHALSAY  
FOULA  
BURRA  
ST NINIAN'S IS.  
SHETLAND

DIOCESE of ORKNEY & SHETLAND

FAIR ISLE



Christianity so depended, were early casualties of the 'Viking' attacks, the most influential, Iona, being sacked no less than four times between 795 and 826. And when the period of raids was succeeded by one of settlement, as the ninth century developed, not only was organised Christianity overwhelmed in the north and west but the population content of the region drastically altered. Yet this process was by no means uniform and even where Norse political power was dominant the demographic base on which it rested differed from one area to another. The evidence so far available suggests that the greatest change probably took place in Shetland with Orkney only slightly less affected. In the west, however, Norse settlement was on a lesser relative scale, and while it was probably predominant in Lewis and certain other places in the 'Northern Hebrides', in the 'Southern Hebrides' (between Ardnamurchan and the Mull of Kintyre) a 'Celtic presence' persisted to form the basis of a notable political and cultural revival from the twelfth century onwards.

A revival of Christianity did not, however, have to wait for this or indeed for any prolonged lapse of time. Even in Shetland by 900 not only was paganism dying out but the Norse settlers there and in Orkney were turning towards the Christian faith persisting among their Pictish neighbours (Wainwright 1964, 160-1). This being so, it is likely that something similar occurred as between the Norse and Scots in the western areas. Initially the development may have amounted to no more than an adoption by the newcomers of the old cult-sites as places of veneration rather than an active Christian observance. But when in 995 the King of Norway Olaf Tryggvason proclaimed Christianity to be the official religion of all his dominions local chapels began to be built or re-activated throughout the Northern and Western Isles.

### **Early Norse Christianity**

While the creation of these chapels probably derived from the initiative of the leading family in a particular locality its actual identity seems to have differed as between Orkney and Shetland, the former showing a clear association of chapels with *eyrislands* or ouncelands, and the latter with *scattalds* (Cant 1984). The *scattald*, in this particular sense, can be defined as a Norse 'settlement-area', and as Shetland was

quite evidently where such settlement was most preponderant in the Northern and Western Isles one might expect that even when older ecclesiastical sites were taken over by the incomers they should have been fitted into their social and political system.

In Orkney, although Norse settlement was almost as preponderant as in Shetland, and the scattald may have existed in some form (Smith 1984, 99), it was the *eyrisland* or ounceland that formed the basis of the ecclesiastical, as of the social, political, and military organisation. This unit undoubtedly existed in the Pictish areas to the south and has indeed been equated with the *davach* (Clouston 1932, 12). It was also to be found in the Scottish areas of the west, exactly translated as the *tirunga* which also featured as the *treen* of the Isle of Man (Bannerman 1974, 170-1). Yet it is quite possible that all these might nevertheless be of Scandinavian rather than of Celtic origin (Lamont 1981, 72-4).

The most cogent argument to the contrary is that of Raleigh Radford in pointing to the close relationship between the Manx treens and *keills* or local chapels (Radford 1962, 172). Since many of the chapels, as in Orkney and Shetland, have Celtic dedications, both they and their treens could conceivably have originated in the pre-Norse period even if the archaeological evidence to support such a conclusion is now regarded with less confidence than formerly (*Manx Arch. Survey*, vi (1968), 71). In the Western Isles by contrast, even where ecclesiastical sites or structures can be assigned a pre-Norse origin, it is difficult to relate them to any definable territorial unit such as the *tirunga*, while many more are clearly associated with Norse 'settlement-areas' and in their architectural form often strikingly similar to the early Norse chapels of the Northern Isles.

### **Church Organisation in the North**

The crucial period in the development of the local church organisation in the north was from about 1050 to 1200 after the Bishopric of Orkney had been effectively established and its holders were in a position to set about creating a complete system of ecclesiastical order under parish priests assigned to the 'cure of souls' of particular areas. In both Orkney and Shetland there is abundant

evidence to indicate that the arrangements adopted were very similar to those in Norway, the parish priest (*sokneprest*) being generally responsible not for a single parish (*sokn*) but a considerably larger area embracing two or three parishes and known as a priest's district (*prestegjeld*).

In Shetland many of these districts corresponded to areas in which a local assembly or *thing* was held, parishes having a somewhat shadowy existence except where they might coincide with such an area or a precise geographical feature like a major island. In Orkney on the other hand parishes were well-defined – probably with the co-operation of the *Jarl* or Earl – and corresponded to units that played an important part in the political and military organisation of the islands. Priests' districts tended accordingly to be groupings of parishes though there were a few cases where parish and priest's district were one and the same (Cant 1984).

In both the northern archipelagoes each parish had a 'head-church' (*hovudkyrkja*) for the maintenance of which, in accordance with the Gulathing Law, one quarter of the tithes (*tiundar*) of the locality was allocated, the three other quarters being divided between the bishop, the parish priest, and the poor. But despite this provision some at least of the local chapels that had preceded the diocesan and parochial organisation, and most of their graveyards, continued in use. As the chapels were commonly built – with some local assistance – by the leading family of the neighbourhood (*eyrisland* or *scattald*) they tended to have as much of a proprietary as a communal character and their continuance would depend a great deal on the attitude of the family in question.

## Church Organisation in the West I

Against this background of the undoubtedly Norse character of ecclesiastical organisation in the Northern Isles the question can now be raised whether anything of a similar nature is to be detected in the Western Isles. On place-name evidence it would certainly seem that the Northern Hebrides acquired a predominantly Norse population in the course of the ninth and tenth centuries, the proportion rising to 80% in Lewis and 60% in North Uist and Skye (Nicolaisen 1969, 12).

Initially at least this development is likely to have disrupted any pre-existing ecclesiastical order. By 870 x 900, however, a Celtic bishop – probably at Iona, where episcopal as well as abbatial authority had been exercised in the seventh and eight centuries – seems to have secured a measure of Norse recognition (*DN*, xvii B, 311-18). And it might be possible, within limits, to accept the notion of ‘communities of mixed race and of Christian religion in the Isles in that century’ (Sellar in *HAS* 1975, 23). But that this involved the re-constitution of a locally organised church there is another matter.

Between the 1020’s and 1060’s the great Earl Thorfinn, effective founder of the Bishopric of Orkney in its definitive form (Cant 1972, 2), seems to have been in control of Lewis and other areas in the west, and it is highly probable that the authority of the bishop, so closely linked with that of the earldom, was extended to these same areas at this time. If so, it is conceivable that local chapels, if not already contrived from pre-existing Celtic structures by the Norse settlers, might have been developed in the Western Isles in much the same way as in the north. In fact, as has been noted, quite a few of the Hebridean buildings surviving from this period bear marked resemblances to their northern counterparts, some at least of them subsequently serving as head-churches in an emerging parochial organisation.

In 1098 King Magnus Bareleg of Norway made his celebrated expedition to confirm his authority in the island territories to the north and west of Scotland. In the Northern Isles the dominion of the Orkney earls, if disputed among Thorfinn’s descendants, was in full control, and King Magnus seems to have favoured the development of a similar regime in the west with a Manx-based dynasty ruling as *rex insularum* under the over-all suzerainty of the Norwegian crown. On the other hand, although there was now a bishopric in Man, there seems to have been no suggestion at this stage that its authority should be as extensive as that of the *rex insularum*. In 1109 – 14 Olaf I, King of the Isles between 1103 and 1153, was supporting a bishop based in Skye, possibly in Snizort. What the extent of his jurisdiction may have been is hard to determine but it is quite likely to have included the whole ‘Northern Hebrides’ and may well have persisted for a prolonged period, this despite a later attempt by King Olaf (from 1134) to develop a single bishopric, based in Man, for the whole of his

dominions.

## **Church Organisation in the West II**

In 1153 the Northern and Western Isles, with their respective bishoprics, were placed under the authority of the Archbishop of Nidaros or Trondheim as metropolitan of an ecclesiastical province virtually commensurate with the dominions of the Norwegian crown (*DN* xvii B, 308). It might accordingly be expected that the form of local church organisation now well developed in Orkney and Shetland would be extended to the diocese (or dioceses) of the Sudrøyar – to the Norwegians the ‘Southern’, if to the Scots the ‘Western’ Isles. In this connection it should be noted that quite apart from the possibility of a local bishopric in the more Norse area of the Northern Hebrides, several of the ‘Bishops of the Isles’ in a wider sense were actual Norwegians having close ties with their homeland and that until 1349, when new bishops were relieved by the Papacy of their obligations to go to Trondheim to profess obedience (*DN* vii, No.222b), the authority of the Archbishop was very much more than a formality.

At the same time it must be recognised that in all parts of medieval Europe ecclesiastical developments depended a great deal on the political situation in the localities in question. Not only were the Northern Isles much nearer to Norway than those in the west. They were also more compact and thickly settled and developed a remarkably authoritative local power, closely linked with the church, in the Earldom of Orkney. In the Western Isles no equivalent development took place. In the Northern Hebrides, an area of apparently declining vitality in the four centuries preceding the Norse arrival (Small 1971, 79-80), and where their settlement was most intense, political authority was general dispersed in relatively small units. In the Southern Hebrides, however, the problem was of a rather different kind. Here despite considerable Norse infiltration Celtic culture and political potential persisted – sustained by memories of the Scottish Kingdom of Dalriada and the Columban church and assisted at times from both Scotland and Ireland.

In the twelfth century indeed, under Somerled and his successors, the whole area of the *Gall-ghaidhil* (part-Norse, part-Scottish) would

begin to move back towards its Celtic origins. Yet the fact remains that in the crucial period from the mid-eleventh to the mid-twelfth century, when the basic structure of the medieval church was being laid down, Norse influences were predominant throughout the area, so much so that the pattern then established persisted alongside a Celtic cultural revival and far beyond the formal annexation of the Isles to the Scottish Kingdom in 1266 and the *Ecclesia Scoticana* in 1472.

Even so, such evidence as is available regarding the detailed form of this pattern is not only meagre in extent but largely from the later Middle Ages and couched in Scottish terms. Thus the 'paroch-kirks' in Donald Munro's *Description of the ... Western Isles of Scotland* (Munro 1961), compiled in the course of a visitation as Archdeacon in 1549, were not necessarily related to distinct benefices, and even if they were they might, as in Orkney, be associated with other similar churches in a single cure of souls. Allowing then for the possibility that many of them were in fact 'head-churches' of Norse provenance and character and that the situation may well have altered in the preceding two or three hundred years, Munro's *Description* can probably be accepted as a dependable account of the local ecclesiastical pattern in the diocese of the Isles towards the close of the Middle Ages.

Unfortunately, though, in the case of most of the larger islands Munro supplies no more than the total number of 'parish churches' without detailed specification. Thus Skye is credited with twelve and Lewis with four, figures greater than the number of 'parochial benefices' that can be identified from presentations, taxations, and other sources. For Islay, on the other hand, the 'four parochie-kirks' are given as 'Killmheny, Kilmorvin' (actually Kilmeny and Kilarrow which seem to have merged as a single parochial benefice by Munro's time), 'Kilchomain', and 'Kildalltan'. And in the case of the 'seven parochie kirks' of Mull it is at least possible to relate them to the likely pattern of actual organisation.

### **The Northern Hebrides**

In a survey of the local church organisation of the diocese of the Isles it is perhaps natural to begin with Skye which, as has been seen, might well have been at the centre of a Norse diocesan organisation



based at Snizort. On an island in the river here (RCAHMS 1928, No. 616) are the remains of two structures, the larger conceivably the collegiate church or 'pro-cathedral' of 1326 x 1331 (Watt, *Fasti*, 202, 207), the smaller apparently a parish church (of St. Columba). Towards the close of the Middle Ages its vicarage was associated with those of the adjoining parishes of Raasay and Kilmory-Vaternish (RSS, i, 3524) and there might be a temptation to see here a priest's district of Norwegian character, yet almost certainly unduly large.

On the whole it would seem more reasonable to accept the parish of Snizort, as also those of Kilmory-Vaternish (now Duirinish), Mygnes (Bracadale), Strath, and Sleat, as ecclesiastical units similar in organisation - as in geographical form - to that of Northmavine in Shetland (Cant 1984), with more than one major church and many local chapels (RCAHMS 1928, Nos. 500, 501, 502; 474, 476; 645; 596). The large island of Raasay (with Rona) adjoining Skye to the east was evidently another, and it is likely that in the 'Small Isles' to the south the churches of Canna, Kildonan (Eigg), and Kilmory (Rum) were served by a single priest (RCAHMS 1928, Nos. 678, 688, 687). On such an interpretation the one outstanding problem concerns the two rather small parishes of Uig and Kilmaluag-Trotternish (Kilmuir) in the extreme north of Skye beyond Snizort. Although they were apparently distinct benefices, held by separate rectors, in the sixteenth century (RSS, iv, No. 1971; ii, No. 2045), it is conceivable that at an earlier period the tithes in question had been associated with particular 'head-churches' within a single priest's district.

It is in Lewis that signs of a Norwegian pattern of ecclesiastical organisation might be expected to be most evident and at first sight these would seem to be indicated by its four great parishes of Barvas, Uig, Lochs, and Stornoway, so suggestive of Norse priests' districts. In their present form, however, these date only from 1722. Yet the earlier arrangement, if different in detail, was not dissimilar in character. The most important church was probably that of St. Columba on the Eye peninsula (RCAHMS 1928, No. 43) but its parish seems to have been combined with that of Ness, extending up the east coast to the Butt of Lewis, in one priest's district. The head-church of Ness is thought to have been St. Peter's at Swainbost two miles to the south of the Butt (RCAHMS 1928, No. 6), but in the intermediate township of Eoropie

is a fine church of Norse character, albeit dedicated to St Moluag of Lismore, a contemporary of St. Columba (RCAHMS 1928, No. 8; Simpson 1965, 153). There have been several lesser chapels in this same area and on the east coast three others of greater significance, that of Gress dedicated to St. Olaf (RCAHMS 1928, No. 45).

Southwards of Ness, on the west coast, is the district of Barvas, its principal church (of St. Mary the Virgin) being located in the township of that name (RCAHMS 1928, No. 25) with the chapels of some importance at Bragor, Shader, and Mid Borge (Nos. 2, 3, 4), the first very like the early romanesque structures of Orkney and Shetland (Cant 1976, 23, 30). Southwards again, at the present day, are the parishes of Uig and Lochs, but there is no convincing proof that the latter had an independent existence in the Middle Ages. However, with the principal church of Uig situated far to the west at Baile na Cille (RCAHMS 1928, No. 67) it is understandable that there might have been a major church in Lochs, that of St. Columba on the island of the same name in Loch Erisort (No. 37), together with perhaps two others of similar importance in the Loch Roag area, at Cirrabhig near Carloway (*OPS*, 385) and, at Kirkibost on the island of Great Bernera (RCAHMS 1928, No. 65), yet all probably within a single priest's district.

In Harris the Gaelic name *Na h'earadh* suggests a derivation from the Norse *herrad*, applied to an area forming the equivalent for civil administration of a large parish or priest's district. Divided as it is midway by the narrow isthmus of Tarbert, one might expect to find two head-churches here, if not separate parishes. The most important church seems always to have been situated in the fertile south-western area of Scarista, its dedication to St. Bride suggesting a Celtic origin (*OPS*, 377). In the extreme south-east, at Rodil, is the church of St. Clement, the most ambitious ecclesiastical edifice to be built in the Outer Hebrides in the entire medieval period (RCAHMS 1928, No. 111). Though sometimes regarded as of monastic origin, it seems to have been a proprietorial chapel, probably a chantry, of the MacLeods of Harris that may also have served a parochial function for the surrounding area. On several of the islands adjacent to Harris are the remains of other chapels, probably also of a proprietorial and parochial character (RCAHMS 1928, Nos. 107, 109-10, 112-14). In

this context there might have been something similar in North Harris that could have been provided by the chapel and burial-ground of St. Maelrubha at Maaruig on Loch Seaforth (*OPS*, 377).

In North Uist there is evidence of two ancient parishes, of Sand and Kilmory, but the latter has apparently had two centres, at Kilmory itself and at the remarkable church of the Holy Trinity at Carinish (RCAHMS 1928, No. 160), all three probably associated in one priest's district. South Uist had major churches at Howmore (RCAHMS 1928, No. 367 'Teampull Mor') and Kilpheder (*OPS*, 365) while that of St. Columba at Balivanich on Benbecula (RCAHMS 1928, No. 339) probably lay within the same priest's district. And if in the case of Barra and the lesser adjoining islands parish and priest's district were one and the same, this was because 'parochial chapels' were so numerous as to make this unavoidable (RCAHMS 1928, Nos. 436-8, 464-7).

### **The Southern Hebrides**

In the 'Southern Hebrides' Tiree and Coll seem to have had an association not unlike South Uist and Benbecula, Tiree (an unusually fertile and closely settled island) having two parish churches, both dedicated to St. Columba but located in the Norse settlements of Kirkapoll and Soroby (RCAHMS 1980, Nos. 310, 327) with a third on Coll (No. 307). On Mull there are suggestions of two patterns. In the north and west three parishes – Kilninian and Kilmore with Ulva (RCAHMS 1980, Nos. 305, 295, 273), and Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon with Inch Kenneth (Nos. 296, 308, 288) – probably functioned as single priests' districts. In the south-east the vast territory of Torosay had its principal church at Killean (RCAHMS 1980, No. 300) but, in addition, two 'parochial chapels', at Pennygown (No. 320) and Laggan (No. 261), the former at least having its own distinct tithes. On Iona the parochial benefice came to be appropriated to the Benedictine abbey there, as did that of Colonsay to the Augustinian priory of Oransay, but whereas one of the canons of the latter is thought to have served the church of Kilchattan (RCAHMS 1984, No. 164; Cowan, *Parishes*, 34), the parish church of St. Ronan on Iona (RCAHMS 1982, No. 13) was not only a separate building but in 1372 at least an independent rectory.

Islay, as had been seen, probably comprised three priests' districts, a central one (Kilmeny and Kilarrow) embracing two parishes, the other two (Kilchoman in the west and Kildalton in the south) having major churches in addition to the one that gave the area its usual name (*OPS*, 260-275). The position of Kilchoman – the more favoured area for Norse settlement – is particularly interesting. Although details of the principal church itself are lacking, the remains of substantial structures (appropriate to 'churches of parochial character') are to be seen at Kilchiaran and Nereabols (RCAHMS 1984, Nos. 365, 384) with chapels of some significance at Kilneve and on the islands of Nave and Orsay (Nos. 374, 384, 387). Kildalton has had a church of considerable size with what can be accepted as another 'head-church' at Kilnaughton, also several lesser chapels (Nos. 367, 373). Of the parish of Kilearnadale or Jura virtually nothing is known but an association with Colonsay or Gigha – as occurred after the Reformation – is a possibility at an earlier date (*OPS*, 276-80).

Turning finally to the islands of the Firth of Clyde, in the Middle Ages both Bute and Arran – though not Cumbræ – belonged unquestionably to the diocese of the Isles. But whereas latterly each comprised two independent parochial benefices, at a previous stage that based at the early episcopal centre of Kingarth seems to have embraced the whole island of Bute (*OPS*, 210), while in 1299 and 1326 Arran would appear to have had no more than a single vicarage and rectory (*OPS*, 244). If so, the arrangement would be akin to a Norwegian priest's district, as in the Northern Isles, Arran having major churches at the parochial centres of Kilbride and Kilmorie (as well as several chapels) to the east and west of the central mountain massif and Bute at least one other at Rothesay.

## Conclusions

It will be apparent that whereas evidence for the predominantly Nordic character of local church organisation in the Norse period is strong and convincing in the Northern Isles of Orkney and Shetland, in the Western Isles it is much more scanty and tentative. Even so, this distinctive form of ecclesiastical polity was almost certainly more widely established and enduring than has generally been recognised. And apart from the matters already mentioned there is the interesting

fact that the bishop of the diocese – long after the end of its political and ecclesiastical association with Norway – drew one-third (earlier one-fourth) of the revenues of all but two of its parish churches. Although explicitly authorised by a Papal grant of 1203, this was probably no more than the recognition of a standard Norwegian practice prescribed by the Gulathing Law, reflected also in a grant of one-fourth of the parochial revenues of the adjacent diocese of Argyll when under the administration of Bishop Simon of the Isles between 1230 and 1236 (Cowan 1980, 19-20).

## REFERENCES

- Bannerman, J.M. *Studies in the History of Dalriada*. 1974.
- Cant, R.G. The Church in Orkney and Shetland and its relations with Norway and Scotland in the Middle Ages. *Northern Scotland*, I,1, 1972.
- Cant, R.G. *The Medieval Churches and Chapels of Shetland*. 1975.
- Cant, R.G. Settlement, Society, and Church Organisation in the Northern Isles in Fenton, A, and Palsson, H. edd. *The Northern and Western Isles in the Viking World*. 1984.
- Clouston, J. Storer. The Old Chapels of Orkney. *S.H.R.* XV. 1917-1918.
- Clouston, J. Storer. *The Orkney Parishes*. 1927.
- Clouston, J. Storer. *A History of Orkney*. 1932.
- Cowan, I.B. *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*. *S.R.S.* 1967.
- Cowan, I.B. The Medieval Church in Argyll and the Isles. *Rec. Scot. Ch. Hist. Soc.* XX. 1980.
- D.N. Diplomatarium Norvegicum*. 1849-
- Dodshon, R.A. *Land and Society in Early Scotland*. 1981.
- Duncan, A.A.M. & Brown, A.L. Argyll and the Isles in the Earlier Middle Ages. *P.S.A.S.* XC. 1956-57.
- H.A.S. An Historical Atlas of Scotland c. 400-c. 1600*. McNeill, P. & Nicholson, R. edd. 1975.
- Lamont, W.D. 'House' and Pennyland in the Highlands and Islands. *Scottish Studies*. 25 (1981).
- Manx Archaeological Survey VI* (1968).
- Megaw, B.M. Norseman and Native in the Kingdom of the Isles: A Re-assessment of the Manx Evidence. *Scot. Studies*, XX. 1976.
- Munro, R.W. ed. *Munro's Western Isles of Scotland*. 1961.

- Nicolaisen, W.H.F. Norse Settlement in the Northern and Western Isles: Some place-name evidence. *S.H.R.* XLVIII. 1969.
- Nicolaisen, W.H.F. Early Scandinavian naming in the Western and Northern Isles. *Northern Scotland*, III. 1977-80.
- Oftedal, M. The Village Names in Lewis. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, XVII. 1954.
- O.P.S. *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*. C. Innes ed. (Bannatyne Club) II, 1 (Dioceses of Argyll and the Isles) 1854.
- Radford, C.A. Raleigh. Art and Architecture: Celtic and Norse in Wainwright, F.T. ed. *The Northern Isles*. 1964.
- R.C.A.H.M.S. *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides, Skye, and the Small Isles*. 1928.
- R.C.A.H.M.S. *Inventory of Orkney and Shetland*. 1946.
- R.C.A.H.M.S. *Inventory of Argyll*. vol. 3 (Mull, Tiree, Coll, and Northern Argyll). 1980.
- R.C.A.H.M.S. *Inventory of Argyll*. vol. 4 (Iona). 1982.
- R.C.A.H.M.S. *Inventory of Argyll*. vol. 5 (Islay, Jura, Colonsay). 1984.
- R.S.S. *Registnum Secreti Sigilili*
- Simpson, W.D. *The Ancient Stones of Scotland*. 1965.
- Small, A. The Viking Highlands in Meldrum, E. ed. *The Dark Ages in the Highlands* (Inverness Field Club). 1971.
- Smith, B. What is a scattald? in Crawford B.E. ed. *Essays in Shetland History*. 1984.
- Thomas, C. *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain*. 1971.
- Wainwright, F.T. The Scandinavian Settlement in Wainwright, F.T. ed. *The Northern Isles*. 1964.
- Watt, D.E.R. ed. *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ Medii Ævi* (2nd draft). 1969.