

Fig. 1.1 The lands of Strathnaver are first mentioned in a charter of 1269 granting lands to Reginald Cheyne and Mary de Moravia. They had seemingly been given to the cathedral at Elgin by Joanna's mother.

MEDIEVAL STRATHNAVER

Barbara E. Crawford

The medieval history of Strathnaver is an impossible subject to talk or write about, as the subject barely exists! What information we have is fraught with difficulties, not least the problem of the origin of the Clan Mackay, which I will be avoiding as much as possible. In my studies of the Norse in Scotland I have tried to steer clear of clan history, which is for those who understand Gaelic culture, which I do not. However, when studying the history of the earldom of Caithness, I have been well aware of the significance of the province of Strathnaver, which appears as an already existing entity in the time of disruption of the old Norse earldom in the 13th century. This period of change in the north, from the Norwegian to the Scottish world, is of great interest: in my previous studies I have only referred marginally to Strathnaver (Crawford 1982. 65; 1985. 34). This paper is an attempt to get a little closer to understanding the significance of the territorial unit which was included in the term 'Strathnaver' when it appears in the 13th-century documentary sources.

THE NORTHERN 'PROVINCES': NESS, SUTHERLAND & STRATHNAVER

The first point to be made – and it needs making – is that we are going back to a time when this part of the north coast was not included in the later county of Sutherland. It is surprising how many maps of Norse Scotland, or of the Vikings in Scotland, will show Sutherland as it was after the creation of the regality of Sutherland in the 17th century. However, Strathnaver was never part of Norse Sutherland, and could never have been so in the way that Dornoch, Golspie and Skelbo are in the *Suðrland* of Caithness – the southern part of the Caithness province [Fig. 1.1].

Strathnaver only became part of Sutherland due to post-medieval political development, and as a by-product of the spread of power and authority to this area of the earls of Sutherland. When they got hold of estates in Strathnaver (Mackay estates), these were absorbed into the earldom domain. As the Sutherlands got increased political power, culminating in a Charter of Regality in 1601, all their estates became an administrative unit – a sheriffdom and then a county.¹

In the Norse period Strathnaver acquired an identity of its own, which had nothing to do with Sutherland. It was, however, in a broad sense a part of Caithness, in that the whole area north of the Oykeil was included in the province of Caithness, and this was the area that the earls of Orkney held as their Scottish earldom. When the Scottish bishopric of Caithness was

founded in the 12th century, it was based on the area which lay under the control of the earls of Caithness (Crawford 1974. 20). By the time that the documentary sources appear, Strathnaver was not then a part of the Caithness earldom; but nonetheless I think it can be assumed that the earls must have controlled it at one time, because of the fact that it was within the bishopric. The extent of the bishopric simply mirrored the earls' secular holding at its most extensive.

This large bloc of the northern Mainland of Scotland (the old Pictish province of Cat) was sub-divided into separate provinces from time to time. The north-east corner was Ness, and the southern portion was Sutherland from the 11th century at least. Earl Thorfinn is said in the saga to have been given Caithness *and Sutherland* by his grandfather Malcolm II (*OS*. chap. 13). We have no knowledge of why Sutherland was considered to be a separate unit, but one supposes that this must reflect some tenurial separateness, perhaps indicating a holding given by a 10th-century earl to one of his warriors, to defend as a frontier region. Certainly the natural feature of the Ord divides Sutherland geographically from the lands of Ness to the north of the Ord, and Ausdale (which is a valley running to the east coast in the middle of the Ord) is said in the Saga to lie 'where Caithness and Sutherland meet' (*OS*. chap. 112). Fordun, in the 14th century, refers to 'both the provinces' of the Caithness men which were in revolt against the king in the late 12th century (*Scotichron.* 4.419). Sutherland continued to maintain its separate identity, and eventually eclipsed the earldom of Caithness as the most important power centre in the north.

The third part of Caithness, which also developed a separate identity, became known as the 'province' of Strathnaver; the river valleys running north into the Pentland Firth west from Strathhalladale as far as Durness [Fig. 1.1]. The name Strathnaver – unsurprisingly – never appears in the sagas, but perhaps is to be identified with the district referred to as the 'Dales' of Caithness. In the late 10th century Skuli and Liotr met in battle in the Dales of Caithness (*i Dølum á Katanesi: OS*. chap. x). In the 12th century the family of Moddan 'in Dale' in Caithness seem to have been resident in Thursodale (Cowan 1982. 30-33). Skene, however, thought that the Dale in question was Strathnaver (1837. 361), and our older historians of the area seem generally to think the term 'the Dales' (*Dalir*) is referring to the valleys west of Thurso: Strathhalladale, the Strathy Water and Strathnaver.²

STRATHNAVER: NAME, EXTENT & STATUS

Whatever the name by which the district was known to the Norse, the ancient name for the Naver survived through the Norse period, and this fine river valley became the centre of a separate territorial unit. According to Watson (1926. 47), the name is the same as Ptolemy's *Nabaros* (one of the rivers on the west side of Albion, which, due to the 'turning' of Scotland, must be the north coast). It is said to be one of the few pre-Celtic names in Scotland,

deriving from an Indo-European root meaning 'moist, cloud, water, mist' (Nicolaisen 1976. 188-9).

The survival of this ancient name through the Norse period does not mean that the strath was not settled by Vikings. Scandinavian place-names far up the valley such as Skail, Longdale (= Langwall), Syre and Rossal, prove that Scandinavian speakers owned these farms in sufficient numbers, and for sufficiently long, to imprint the Old Norse names on the toponymic landscape. By the time that the name Strathnaver is recorded in the documentary sources (1269), however, we can be sure that Gaelic speech was dominant in the strath once again. The first recorded use of the name 'Strathnaver' is in a charter granting certain lands to Reginald Cheyne and Mary de Moravia. These lands in Strathnaver are said to have been given to the Church of Moray (ie the Cathedral at Elgin) by Mary's mother, *nobilis mulier domina Johanna* ('the noblewoman lady Joanna') (*Moray Reg.* no. 126) [Fig. 1.1]. Seventeen years later, Christian, Joanna's other daughter (and her husband) granted to the same Reginald Cheyne four davachs of land in Strathnaver, to be held 'as the original charter of the said land of Strathnaver contained' (*Moray Reg.* no. 263), and promising to give them all other lands they might come to have in the future *in tenemento de Strathnavyr*.

Before going into the relationship of all these people in detail, there are one or two points to make about the use of the territorial designation 'Strathnaver'. In neither of these two documents is Strathnaver said to be in any lordship, either in the earldom of Caithness or of Sutherland (both of which are in existence at that date), or of anywhere else. That is unusual.³ Moreover, it is clearly a holding on its own as it is called *tenementum de Strathnaver*, and that holding has a charter which presumably defined it, but which has unfortunately not survived. To whom was this charter given and by whom? We do not know, but my guess would be that it was granted to Lady Joanna at the time when the whole of Caithness and Sutherland were reorganised by Alexander II in the 1230s; and when we know that the earldom of Caithness and the newly-created earldom of Sutherland were granted out with feudal charters (Crawford 1985. 32-3).

How large was this provincial unit? Strathnaver was the centre of a territory which at times stretched from Strathalladale to Edderachillis and down to Assynt. This is a point which the Revd. Angus Mackay very firmly stressed in his *Book of Mackay* (1906), although he admits that Sir Robert Gordon said in *The History of Sutherland* that Strathnaver was limited to the parish of Farr. But then, as he points out, Sir Robert's motive was to lessen the territorial designation 'MacKay of Strathnaver': 'It was ever so with Sir Robert but the facts ... are all against him' (Mackay 1906. 29). The facts quoted relate, however, to the period when the Mackays had built up their possessions into a wide territorial holding – which at that time was said to be 'in Strathnaver'. But Sir Robert Gordon's point that the territory of Strathnaver was co-terminous with the parish of Farr may be relevant to another, earlier period of time.

In the absence of the 'charter of Strathnaver' referred to in 1286, we are

never likely to know the extent of the *tenementum* of Strathnaver in the 13th century, but it seems likely that it would have consisted of the parish of Farr at the most at that time. There is no evidence that Joanna or her descendants held any land in Durness or further west. By the time of the first maps of north Scotland in the late 16th century, Strathnaver is of wide extent however. It is certainly a distinct unit and tenurially separate from both Caithness and Sutherland.⁴ This reflects a medieval situation, and the question one needs to ask next is how and why did this provincial lordship develop in the Norse period?

DEVELOPMENT OF THE STRATHNAVER LORDSHIP IN THE NORSE PERIOD

If we go back to the 1230s and examine the upheavals that took place at that time in the north, we first and foremost find there was a big break in the inheritance of the earldom with the ending of the old line of Norse earls. Their claim passed to a Scottish family who had to move north and adapt to the different world of joint Norse-Celtic authority in the Western Isles and in Caithness. This break in the traditional pattern of family inheritance coincided with the assertion of authority in the north by the Scottish kings, through expeditions and feudal grants of land to loyal vassals. There must have been big changes in Caithness as new families filled the power vacuum, and the old order gave way to a new one.

Secondly, the historical sources change just as dramatically, for the remarkable compilation known as the *Orkneyinga Saga* comes to an end at exactly the same time – symbolically signifying the breaking of links with the northern world. The Icelandic authors of the saga narrative must have known less and less of what was going on in north Scotland, as the main actors in the scenario changed and families moved in who had no contacts with the wider Scandinavian world. We do know something of the dramatic events attendant on the collapse of the old order, however, from other Norwegian sagas: but for information about changes in landholding in the north we are dependant on sparse documentary Scottish sources.

Earl John Haraldsson, the last of the Norse line of earls of Orkney and Caithness [Fig. 1.2], must have been an ill-fated man; but maybe he deserved his fate. Unlike his father, who was a survivor, John crossed all those with whom he had to learn to live and compromise, and he came out badly every time. For the first few years after the death of his father (the great Harald Maddadson), John ruled the two earldoms with his brother David (*OS*: chap. 112). During that period, in 1210, the two earls had to come to terms with their Norwegian overlord, Inge Bardsson, during a lull in the Civil Wars that dominated Norwegian history in the early 13th century. The terms were rather humiliating ones, which included the imposition of a royal bailiff (Sysselman) in Orkney, the payment of a heavy fine, the giving of security and hostages, and the swearing of oaths of loyalty and obedience. It is even

EARLDOMS OF ORKNEY AND CAITHNESS
Demise of Old Line

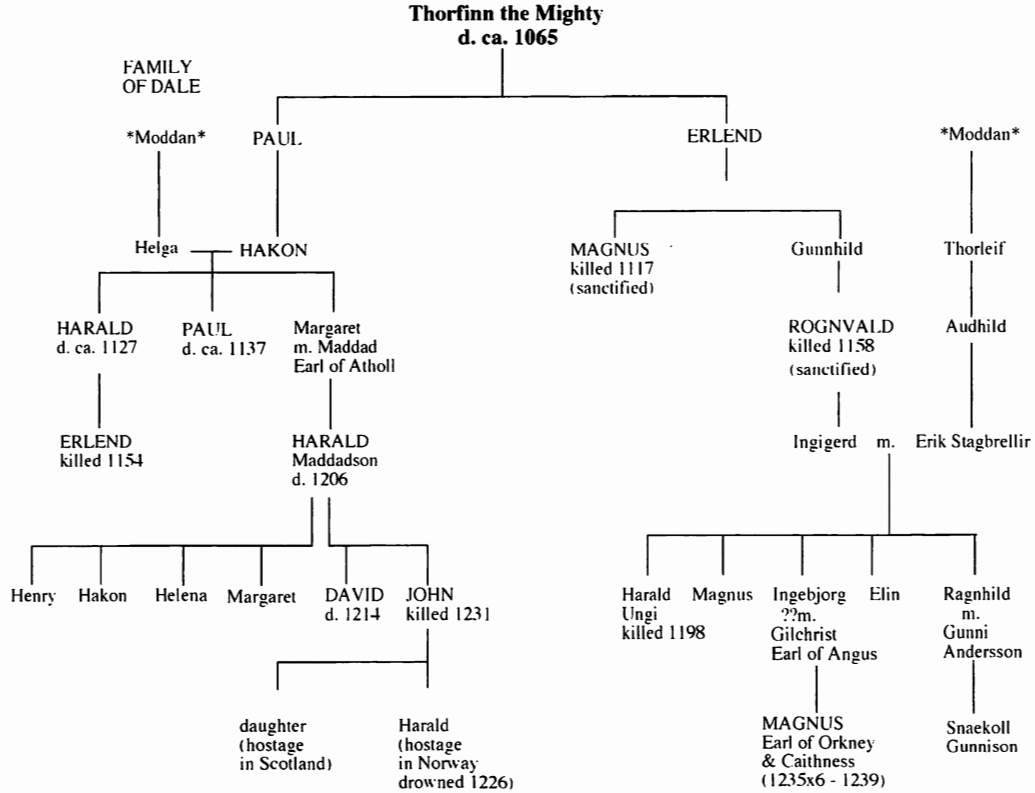


Fig. 1.2 The earldoms of Orkney and Caithness at the demise of the old Norse line of earls.

said in *Ingi Bardson's Saga* that David and John were made earls 'upon such terms as were adhered to until their death-day' (*ES*. ii. 381).

After the death of David in 1214 John ruled his earldoms alone. He was immediately in trouble with his Scottish overlord, however, and must have been considered untrustworthy, for he had to give his daughter as a hostage to the king when he made a treaty of peace with William who was in Moray for a campaign (according to Fordun; see *ES*. ii. 397n). In 1222 the earl was also considered blameworthy in the attack on Bishop Adam (which resulted in the bishop's death at Halkirk), and he had to buy back half of his confiscated earldom and King Alexander's good will with a heavy fine (Crawford 1985. 32).

The unfortunate Earl John also ended up on the wrong side of the powerful King Hakon Hakonsson, and was summoned to Norway in 1224 on suspicion of being involved in a conspiracy against the king and Jarl Skule. On that occasion he had to take his son Harald and leave him behind in the custody of the Norwegian king, as a hostage (*ES*. ii. 455). The attempts of both Scottish and Norwegian kings to enforce the good behaviour of this earl by the same means is some indication of his inability to conduct relationships with his overlords with any sensibility. It is quite remarkable that both a daughter and a son were handed over into the care of his two overlords! On the latter occasion the event resulted in tragedy, for Harald was killed two years later by drowning (*Icelandic Annals*) and this left the earldom without a direct heir and open to a wide range of claimants jockeying for control.

Finally, John got embroiled in a feud with the royal official in Orkney, Hanef Ungi, which is hardly surprising for the earls hated having royal officials sitting beside them, and there had been trouble over this in his father's time. This time, the rival dynasty to the earldom got involved, in the person of Snaekollr Gunnison, the grandson of Earl Rognvald, and Earl John met a humiliating end in the underground store of a house in Thurso where he tried to hide from attack. The comment in *Chronicle of Melrose*: 'John earl of Caithness was killed in his own house and burnt. He received deservedly from God vengeance of the same kind as the torture that the venerable Bishop Adam had suffered under him' (*ES*. ii. 479), shows the reputation that this last earl of the Norse line had earned, at least with the monastic chroniclers.

The next act in the saga is even more dramatic, and there is a fascinating account of it in *Hakon Hakonsson's Saga*, which shows how significant the contemporary writer thought the circumstances to be. Two rival factions, the earl's kin and Hanef and his companions, agreed to go before the King's Court in Bergen for Hakon to adjudge between them, presumably to decide who was responsible for the earl's death, and who should pay atonement. The result was that five members of Hanef's party were executed – but not Snaekollr who 'remained long with earl Skuli and king Hakon' (*ES*. ii. 483-4). Although *Hakon's Saga* does not tell us, presumably one of the earl's kin was appointed his successor and granted rights and title of earl by the king. The tragic climax was reached when the ship in which all the 'best men' of

the Orkneys were returning west, was lost in the autumn of 1232. Even in the *Icelandic Annals* this was recorded as the loss of the Orkney *goeðingaskip* (Storm 1888. 129); the term *goeðingr* for chieftains was particularly used of the Orkney landholders. With the portentous comment ‘and of this many men have been long in getting the atonement’, the saga-writer rings down the curtain, and the earls of Orkney-Caithness appear very rarely in Norwegian sources thereafter.

SCOTTISH CLAIMANTS TO THE LORDSHIP

Time was not wasted by Scottish relatives of the last earl, and already on 7 October 1232 ‘M. comite de Aneagus et Katanie’ witnessed a charter (*Moray Reg.* no. 123). There must have been no male members of the *jarla-aett* left who were considered acceptable as claimants,⁵ and the title passed through the female line to Scottish cousins of the house of Angus. The claimant must have received a grant of the earldom of Caithness from the Scottish king first, before venturing into unknown territory and being accepted by the Norwegian king as rightful heir to the Orkney earldom. This was a reversal of the long-established usual pattern, whereby the Orkney earldom was awarded first to the heir with the best claim, who then took up the Caithness earldom.

This situation provided Alexander II with an ideal opportunity for reorganising the far north of his kingdom, which was only just coming under his control after the final quelling of the MacWilliam rebels in Moray. Some aspects of his reorganising policy are clear, such as his rewarding of the faithful de Moravia family with the newly-created earldom of Sutherland. But exactly what happened to the rest of the Caithness earldom, is very confused.⁶ There seems to have been a division into two halves, north and south Caithness (Grey 1922-3. 289); not many years later, probably with another blip in the inheritance, half of the earldom lands were granted to an important heiress, probably of the house of Angus, whom we have already come across, *nobilis mulier domina Johanna*. The fact that she was married to another de Moravia, Freskin, shows that whatever division of the earldom took place at that time was done in a very structured way, and with a marriage which was intended to ensure that her inheritance was firmly controlled by the main royalist family in the north of Scotland.

All this detail about the collapse of the powerful earldom of Caithness is of immediate importance for our understanding of the history of Strathnaver in the period. For Joanna inherited – or acquired – the *tenementum* of Strathnaver, as well as half the lands of the earldom. Her half of the earldom lands was divided between her two daughters and can then be traced coming back to Ranald Cheyne III, and then dividing again between *his* two daughters, and passing down the lines of Keith of Inverrugy and Sutherland of Duffus. A 16th-century record of the divided inheritance gives a list of all the estates (Crawford 1982. 65-6).

This inheritance was, however, quite distinct from Joanna's Strathnaver holding. As mentioned earlier, the latter is never described as being within the earldom of Caithness, but seems to have been acquired by Joanna as a separate entity. Where did it come from and why did she get hold of it? These are questions which have been puzzled over by many historians of the north. One suggestion has been made that Joanna got Strathnaver as the heiress of the Moddan in Dale family, and that she may have been the daughter of Snaekollr Gunnison who went to Bergen in 1232 to claim Earl John's inheritance (but never seems to have come home again) (Grey 1922. 110-11). All the hypotheses rest on unprovable assumptions, but my own belief is that Joanna was a member of the Angus family (Crawford 1985. 36). This does not, however, help to explain why she should have been awarded Strathnaver in the general carve-up by Alexander in the 1230s, for it seems to have been additional to her earldom property. The breaking-down of the old order, and the arrival of new families, created a new structure through which it is very hard to penetrate to the previous tenurial circumstances.

IMPACT OF CHANGE ON SOCIAL & ECONOMIC STRUCTURES

What we similarly know nothing about is what effects these changes had on the social and economic situation in the north. How closely involved were these new families in the Norse-Celtic social structures? Instead of earls based across the Pentland Firth, within easy maritime reach, the landowners were now feudal lords with southern power bases, from which access to the north was across difficult Highland terrain.

Lady Joanna's links with Strathnaver cannot have been easy or very close. Her husband was of the de Moravia family which was firmly entrenched in Sutherland, although Freskin's own power base was Duffus in Moray. This was his main residence, although he and Joanna would probably have resided on their northern estates from time to time. Their relations with the tenants who farmed the estates can only have been as feudal overlords, and new tenurial arrangements were probably enforced to suit the new landowners' economic requirements.

It is only thanks to the piety of Lady Joanna that we know about her possession of Strathnaver at all. Sometime prior to 1269, she gave in 'free alms' a consolidated territorial bloc of lands in upper Strathnaver and around Loch Naver to the Cathedral Church of the diocese of Moray for the perpetual service of two chaplains, presumably in the Cathedral. Twelve marks sterling were to be rendered for this purpose, at two terms per year. This would have been granted for the benefit of the souls of deceased relatives, perhaps her husband, Freskin, who was dead by 1262. The lands given were Langwall and Rossal, Toftis, Dowyr, Achenedesse, Clybr' (Clibreck), Ardowyr and Carnferne (see Grey's discussion of these names: 1922. 110). Of all Joanna's lands, these estates in upper Strathnaver must

have been the nearest to the south and Moray, by way of Lairg⁷ [Fig. 1.1].

We only know of this grant to Elgin Cathedral because, in 1269, it was granted back by Bishop Archibald to Reginald Cheyne junior and his wife Mary, one of Joanna's and Freskin's two daughters – a rather strange thing to happen. The Cheynes were, however, an exceedingly successful dynasty in acquiring the lands of the former earldom and reconsolidating them. Reginald managed to get hold of another portion of Joanna's Strathnaver holding from her other daughter Christian, although not until 1286 (*Moray Reg.* no. 263). As already noted, this amounted to four davachs of land (the estates are not named), and Christian and her husband also promised to hand over any other lands in Strathnaver which they might come to have in the future. Is there a hint here of some unresolved claims to territory? It is not clear how much of lower Strathnaver these four davachs represented. Did Mary also inherit land in lower Strathnaver? We can probably assume that their mother had most of Strathnaver from the reference to the 'charter of Strathnaver' and the use of the term *tenementum* which implies a consolidated holding.

STRATHNAVER AND THE MACKAYS

This is as far as one can go with respect to Lady Joanna's possession of Strathnaver and her daughters' inheritance of it. If her acquisition is shrouded in mystery, there is an even more mysterious change of landholding in Strathnaver to come.

By 1415 Strathnaver had become the domain of the MacKays, and there are precious few facts to explain how that had happened. The whole origin of Clan MacKay is obscure, although it is traditionally connected with the MacEths, the independent rulers of Moray who consistently caused trouble for the house of Canmore. One tradition, based on a comment by Fordun, asserts that they were moved to Strathnaver after the final defeat of Malcolm MacHeth in the 1160s. Skene thought, however, that they were native to the area and descended from the Moddan family (1837. 362). Another tradition suggests that Iye Mor MacKay came into possession of the Church lands of Durness (twelve davachs) by marrying the daughter of Bishop Walter (1263-70) (MacKay 1906. 37).

My interpretation that a witness to a charter of John, earl of Caithness called 'Ivor MacEothe'^{*} was the same as Iye MacKay – if correct – suggests that the family were highly-placed in Caithness landowning politics by the late 13th century (Crawford 1982. 65). The fact that this charter is a grant of land by Earl John to Reginald Cheyne 'the elder' may hint at links between MacKays and Cheynes, although the more obvious deduction is that the witness was in the entourage of the earl (as clearly the other witnesses were). Taken in conjunction with the tradition that Iye Mor MacKay had control of the twelve davachs of episcopal land at Durness through marriage to Bishop Walter's daughter, this evidence of a MacKay being involved in a land-

holding transaction in Caithness is another clue to the position that the family had established in the north by the late 13th century. If Iye Mor and Ivor MacEothe were indeed the same person, he was clearly well-placed to move into Strathnaver when the opportunity offered itself.

That opportunity would not be there so long as the Cheynes were in control, but on the death of Rannald Cheyne III ca 1350, when his vast inheritance was divided between two heiresses, another period of instability must have opened up in the north. The new dynasties moving in this time were the Keiths of Inverrurgy and a scion of the Sutherland family who married the two heiresses, and the pattern was set for the MacKay-Sutherland feud which was to last for centuries. By 1370 tensions were so high that a meeting was held at Dingwall by the earl of Ross to settle matters between MacKays and Sutherlands, one of whom, Nicholas, was married to Marjory, daughter of Reginald Cheyne III. The meeting ended with the murder of two MacKays. We can guess that the lands of Strathnaver were part of the dispute. Despite this setback, Clan MacKay became entrenched along the whole north coast province of Strathnaver. In the 1540s the Sutherlands and MacKays were disputing those very lands of the Church of Moray in Upper Strathnaver which had been donated by Lady Joanna three hundred years before (*OPS*. II. ii. 711).

CONCLUSION

This very limited survey of what is known about medieval Strathnaver has revolved around the lands in Upper Strathnaver which were granted to the Church of Moray by Lady Joanna. They clearly remained a valuable and desirable holding. The virtual lack of any other documentary evidence from the period concerning Strathnaver may mean that this upland territory has acquired an importance which is out of all balance to the land's economic value. On the other hand, the value of the area may have lain more in its strategic significance than in its productive capabilities.

This significance is probably connected to its location at a junction of routeways. As outlined in note 7, the holdings may have been important to the earls of Orkney and Caithness because of their military requirements at a date when Norse place-names were being given and becoming fixed in the north Scottish landscape (late 10th - 11th centuries).⁷ After the diminution of the earls' power, and the division of their north mainland possessions (described above), Upper Strathnaver may have become desirable as a strategic centre for new territorial lordships which were based on inland routes and waterways rather than maritime ones. The territorialisation process in the post-Norse era has to be taken into account when interpreting the new political scenario created by the de Moravia family's rise to power in northern Scotland in the 12th and 13th centuries. Their northward-looking standpoint from Moray was diametrically different from the earls of Orkney's southern-looking viewpoint from islands across a waterway.

It is changed political and geographical circumstances such as these which help us to interpret the documents issued under this new family's control and reflecting its political priorities.

Notes

1. See Sir W Fraser, *The Sutherland Book* and *CP*, XII (i) p538, n. (d) for details. In the same way, the county of Cromarty was created out of the estates of the first earl of Cromarty in the late 17th century (Richards & Clough 1989, 6).
2. Mackay (1906, 28) even assumes that Edderachillis, Durness, Kintail of Tongue as well as Farr was 'the old *dolum Cathanensi*'.
3. Similarly in 1401, in a contract between Margaret Lady Ard and the Lord of the Isles, lands were transferred which lay 'in Strathnaver' (*OPS*, 2. ii. 709). Other lands were transferred at the same time which lay 'in the earldom of Sutherland' and other lands which lay 'in the earldom of Caithness'. Clearly Strathnaver was quite a distinct entity.
4. Blaué's maps define Strathnaver most distinctly where its western limit is shown to lie on the Kyle of Durness.
5. The *jarla-aett* were members of the earldom family who carried the right to claim the earldom of Orkney for themselves, or to pass it on to male descendants. The persisting lack of primogeniture in the Norwegian inheritance system, and the practice of dividing the earldom, naturally resulted in a very confusing inheritance structure. Although the saga gives plentiful information about the family relationships of those members of the *jarla-aett* who remained in the islands, it does not provide any details of marriages with Scottish families further south.
6. See my discussion of this problem (Crawford 1985, 33-7).
7. Since writing this paper, I have been pursuing a study of Langwell and Rossal names in North Scotland, of which these Strathnaver examples form an interesting pair. Such names appear to have some significance in terms of the transport requirements of earldom retinues needing to cross the mountainous terrain of Sutherland and Ross. The appearance of these two names (apparently linked together as there is no *de* before Rossal), heading the list of lands granted to the Church of Moray by Joanna, indicates an importance which is belied by the apparently insignificant nature of the names themselves. Langwell (ON *lang + vǫllr*, 'long field') and Rossal (ON *hross + vǫllr*, 'horse field') may have had some significance as pasturing places for horses required for crossing from Strathnaver to Ross. See 'Earldom Strategies in North Scotland and the Significance of Place-Names' in G. Williams (ed), forthcoming.
8. In 1982 I transcribed the name as 'Mac Goth'. However, I am now interpreting the capital letter as 'E' rather than 'G'. There is also a small 'e' at the end of the name, which may be the result of the medieval clerk attempting to render the Gaelic 'Aiodh' into acceptable Latin. The full documentary evidence relating to this charter was discussed by me in 1971 (St. Andrews Ph.D thesis).

References

Printed Sources:

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| <i>ES</i> | A.O. Anderson (ed). <i>Early Sources of Scottish History</i> . 1922. 2 vols. |
| <i>OPS</i> | <i>Origines Parochiales Scotiae</i> (Bannatyne Club. 1851-5) |
| <i>OS</i> | <i>Orkneyinga Saga</i> . |
| <i>Moray Reg.</i> | <i>Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis</i> (Bannatyne Club. 1837) |
| <i>Scotichron.</i> 4 | D.J. Corner et al (eds) <i>Scotichronicon</i> by Walter Bower. Books VII & VIII. (General Editor: D.E.R. Watt). 1994. |
| Storm, G. (ed) | <i>Islandske Annaler indtil 1578</i> . 1888. Christiania. |

Secondary Sources:

CP: The Complete Peerage.

Cowan, E.J. 'Caithness in the Sagas', in J.R. Baldwin (ed) *Caithness: A Cultural Crossroads*. 1982.

Crawford, B.E. *The Earls of Orkney – Caithness and their Relationship with the Kings of Norway and Scotland, 1150 - 1470*. Ph.D thesis. University of St Andrews. 1971.

Crawford, B.E. 'Peter's Pence in Scotland', in G.W.S. Barrow (ed) *The Scottish Tradition*. 1974: 14-22.

Crawford, B.E. 'Scots and Scandinavians in Mediaeval Caithness: A study of the Period 1266-1375', in J.R. Baldwin (ed) *Caithness: A Cultural Crossroads*. 1982: 61-74.

Crawford, B.E. 'The Earldom of Caithness and the Kingdom of Scotland, 1150-1266', in K.J. Stringer (ed) *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*. 1985: 25-43.

Crawford, B.E. 'Map of the reduction of the earldom of Orkney and Caithness', in P. MacNeill & H.L. MacQueen (eds) *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*. 1996: 449.

Crawford, B.E. 'Earldom Strategies in North Scotland and the Significance of Place-Names', in G. Williams (ed) *Sagas, Saints and Sacrifices*. British Museum Press. forthcoming.

Gordon, Sir Robt. *The Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland*. 1813.

Grey, J. *Boundaries of Estates in Caithness Diocese shortly after 1222*. SHR. 1922-3.

MacKay, Revd. A. *The Book of Mackay*. 1906.

Nicolaisen, W.F.H. *Scottish Place-Names*. 1976.

Richards, E. & Clough, M. *Cromartie: Highland Life, 1650-1914*. 1989.

Skene, W.F. *Highlanders of Scotland*. 1837.

Watson, W.J. *The Celtic Place Names of Scotland*. 1926.