THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH IN SHETLAND: ORGANISATION AND BUILDINGS

Ronald G. Cant

Christian Origins

Among the exhibits in the Shetland Museum in Lerwick one of the most remarkable is what has come to be known as 'the Monks' Stone', discovered at the early ecclesiastical centre of Papil on West Burra Isle in 1943. Apparently designed as the principal component of a 'box shrine' characteristic of the eighth century, it depicts a sequence of hooded figures equipped with croziers and book-satchels advancing over the waves of the ocean towards a free-standing cross — apparently commemorating the coming of Christianity to the islands. These ecclesiastics — one mounted and clearly of greater authority — were almost certainly the *papar* identified by the Norse invaders of the ninth century at various settlements throughout the islands by designations such as Papil or the prefix Papa, indicative of a parental concern towards their communities in contrast to the hermits on isolated cliff-tops or stacks elsewhere (Crawford 1987: 164-7; Lamb 1974).

While some of the hermits may have been of Irish derivation (like others in comparable locations in the north Atlantic) the *papar* were more probably of Pictish origin, completing in the early eighth century an enterprise begun some three hundred years before at Whithorn in Galloway. Thus it was appropriate that what might well have been the initial centre of

Fig. 1. Papar in procession.

Christian activity in Shetland should have acquired (though probably at a somewhat later date) the name of St Ninian's Isle.

Ninian was a Roman Briton, citizen of one of the latest and most remote provinces of an empire then reaching its end in western Europe but which, through its latter acceptance of Christianity (however limited) and the initiative of 'missionary saints' like Ninian and his successors, would transmit a notable legacy to the peoples of the more remote regions of the British Isles. With the details of that enterprise this study is not concerned save to note that it was of a highly complex character, involving Britons of Strathclyde, Scots from Northern Ireland settled in 'Dalriada' or Argyll to the west of the great area occupied by the 'Pictish Confederation' north of Forth and latterly at least extending to Orkney and Shetland.

From such evidence as is available it would seem that the ecclesiastical organisation of Shetland in this initial period was of the monastic form characteristic of the Celtic church. Under this — unlike most of their medieval successors — the monks did not live apart from ordinary society but held a central position in the life of their neighbourhood, their abbot or other senior ecclesiastic working in close co-operation with the chief 'secular dignitary' of the locality. On St Ninian's Isle the excavations of 1955-59 revealed beneath the visible ecclesiastical remains evidence of an earlier church within which the famous 'treasure' had been deposited, also fragments of shrines and small cross-slabs. The opportunity was also taken to extend the investigation to Papil on West Burra where a large vertical cross-slab ('the Papil stone') had been identified in 1877 — similar in character to 'the Bressay stone' identified in 1864 — also 'the Monks' stone' found in 1943.

On these matters space does not allow for more than a few brief observations, first, that although there was clearly a church on St Ninian's Isle and almost certainly at Papil, these would be relatively small buildings with space for no more than the most important items, such as the 'box shrines'. The large vertical stones would stand in the adjacent kirkyard where they might serve as 'preaching crosses' like those in the northern Scottish mainland from which Orkney and Shetland were most probably converted — with others at more remote centres where there might be no church. After the Norwegian settlement these cross-slabs seem to have been adapted to serve as personal memorials, but although the additions include elements of Pictish provenance there are others of even more emphatic Norse character.

Norse initiatives

By the end of the ninth century the incoming Norwegians had probably achieved an ascendancy in most parts of Shetland. And despite evidence from certain locations in the Western Isles that — initially at least — the new settlers lived apart from the old, here they seem to have absorbed them in

their own communities. Again, while they clearly held the *papar* in some respect, it may be doubted whether the Shetland church had the resources itself, or the kind of external contacts to enable it to maintain an effective and continuous Christian influence.[1]

In 994, however, King Olaf Tryggvason of Norway, on a visit to King Ethelred of England, announced his conversion to Christianity and in the course of his homeward voyage secured that of Sigurd, Jarl or Earl of Orkney c.985-1014 whose rule also extended to Shetland. But even if Sigurd acquired the services of one or more of the royal chaplains, as his successor Earl Thorfinn may also have done in the course of a visit in 1034 to King Olaf Haraldsson (the later St Olaf), there could be no continuous priesthood in the islands without a resident bishop. Thus although a Bishop of Orkney (of Anglo-Danish provenance) is mentioned about this time, some fifteen years later Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen, whose province had come to include the entire Scandinavian north, received a request from Orcadian envoys to send preachers to the islands.

The request — which confirms that Christianity in the northern isles was still at a relatively early stage of development — was reinforced by a personal visit by Earl Thorfinn himself (c.1050) to a remarkable range of European dignitaries (culminating in the Pope). Returning thereafter to his principal residence of Birsay, he built 'Christ's Kirk, a stately minster' subsequently consecrated by Bishop Thorolf (probably a Norwegian), 'and here the episcopal seat in the Orkneys was first established' (Cant 1974: 2).[2]

While there is still uncertainty regarding the identity of Earl Thorfinn's 'minster',[3] there are considerations for thinking that it is most likely to have been the ecclesiastical structure adjacent to his own residence on the Brough, embodying as it does work of two periods corresponding to two phases in the development of the bishopric (Cant 1993: 11-12). The earlier (c.1055) would seem to have comprised no more than the nave and chancel, the later (c.1110) involving the addition of a semi-circular apse to the chancel or choir, and the remodelling of the arch between choir and nave to allow for the insertion of 'altar-niches' in the eastern corners of the latter. In the external composition these might well have been carried up as cylindrical towers as in the

1. For a more detailed discussion of this problem see Crawford 1987: 164-9, also Lamb 1995.

2. By 'the Orkneys' was implied all the territories under the control of the Earl — at the time in question including Caithness and some of the more northerly Western Isles, as well as Shetland, which came to be included in the full official title of the bishopric, though generally omitted in common usage.

3. Two different locations have been suggested for the Birsay 'minster': (a) on the Brough, (b) on the mainland, on a site occupied by the parish church. The former is followed in R.C.A.H.M.S., 1946: Orkney, No. I, also by Radford in Wainwright (ed.), 1962: *The Northern Isles*, 174-180, and by the present writer. The latter location is followed by Lamb in *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, CV, 200-205. A helpful analysis of the problem is provided by Crawford 1987: *Scandinavian Scotland*, 184-190.

remarkable church at Deerness (of slightly later date). At Birsay there are also indications of an intended 'west-work', perhaps like that at Stenness and certain Norwegian churches of this period (Cant 1993: 13, 19).

Two matters fall to be considered at this point, the first concerning the provision made in this initial phase of the bishopric for the maintenance of episcopal authority in Shetland, the second what evidence there may be of local churches or chapels in both island groups before the creation of a comprehensive 'parochial organisation' in the succeeding period. On the first, if the ruined structure on St Ninian's Isle is examined it will be found that the western element, built over the pristine church within which the famous 'treasure' was found, is the earlier, and the eastern an addition in the form of a simplified version of the Birsay minster in its second phase. While the evidence is not conclusive, it seems reasonable to attribute the western element to Bishop Thorolf or one of his successors in the late eleventh century and the eastern to Bishop William 'the old' shortly after the remodelling of the Birsay minster, perhaps in the early 1120s (Cant 1993: 13).

Towards the medieval church order

In 'Nordic Europe', and to a special degree in Norway and its dominions 'west-over-sea', the creation of the definitive medieval church order was predominantly an achievement of the twelfth century. In 1104 the Birsay bishopric acquired a more appropriate constitutional position (than that contested between York and Bremen) within a Scandinavian province of Lund (itself then in Denmark) and in 1154 was included in an explicitly Norwegian province of five 'mainland' and six 'island' dioceses under an archbishop of Nidaros or Trondheim (Cant 1974: 4).

The bishop of Orkney and Shetland throughout the greater part of this period was William, later to be known as 'the old' to distinguish him from a successor of the same name but justifiably so called when he died at a great age in 1168. Almost certainly an Orcadian, he probably owed his appointment (c.1112)[4] to King Sigurd 'the Crusader' who had acted as virtual governor of Orkney and Shetland for his father Magnus 'Barelegs' before he succeeded him on the Norwegian throne from 1103 to 1130. And although in Orkney conflict between rival claimants to the earldom continued throughout most of Bishop William's tenure of the see, he contrived to maintain his authority and can probably be credited with most of the changes effected in the organisation of the diocese at this time.

His initial task was likely to have been the enlargement of his 'episcopal minsters' at Birsay and St Ninian's Isle. In the former case this work was supplemented, on the north, by a residential building with direct access to the church. Sometimes identified as 'the bishop's palace', it may

4. See the elucidation of the complicated situation regarding the episcopal succession in this period in Watt 1969: 248-9.

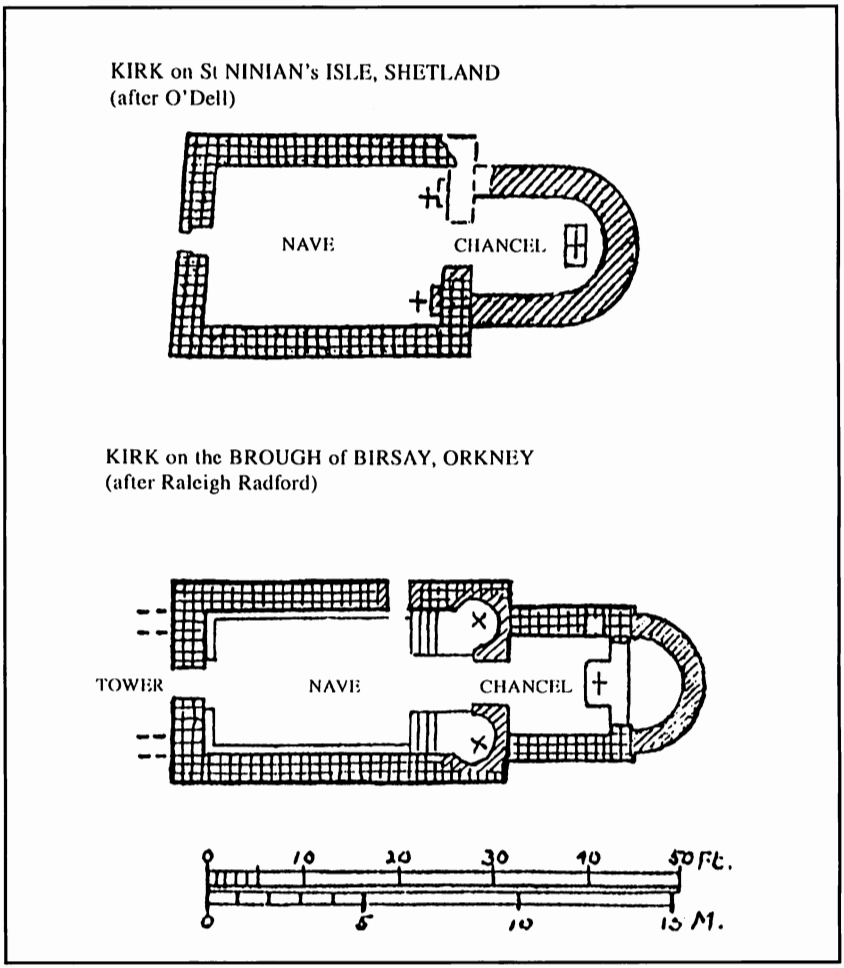


Fig. 2. Plans of kirks on St Ninian's Isle & Brough of Birsay.

well have been so, but it is also likely to have housed the additional clergy (perhaps Benedictines or Augustinians)[5] associated with the minster, and one might expect similar provision at its Shetland counterpart (Cant 1993: 13).

Another Orkney ecclesiastical structure of this period is a fragment of the 'round church' at Orphir, a remarkable creation planned to serve a parochial purpose but otherwise unrepresentative of parochial design of this

5. Precise information regarding 'regular clergy' in the Orkney diocese in the medieval period is singularly lacking, but these seem to have been the preferred orders in other island dioceses.

period.[6] More typical, and forming a link with its Shetland counterparts, is the Cross Kirk of Tuquoy, Westray, adjacent to the home of one of the island's principal landholders and quite possibly originating as a 'domestic chapel' for his family and dependants, subsequently enlarged to become one of the two parish churches of Westray (Cant 1993: 15).

In its first form the church was about half the size of Earl Thorfinn's minster and of rougher masonry, but the little chancel was covered by a barrel-vault and linked to the nave by a well-formed arch on inclined jambs characteristic of Irish romanesque work c.1100. While this might perhaps have been introduced when the nave was lengthened for parochial use (c.1130) it is at least conceivable that the original structure might date from the period following Bishop Thorolf's arrival with missionaries assigned for just such a purpose.

The design of Tuquoy church may also have a relevance for Shetland in that the chancel of St Mary's, Sand, in the west mainland, is of similar form, rougher but on a larger scale, the nave 9.5 x 4.5m, the chancel 4.0 x 2.3m. Although often described as a 'chapel' in modern usage, it was in fact the 'head church' of Sandsting, an area associated with a *thing* or regional assembly and law-court in the government of the islands. This in turn had been derived from the way in which the Norse settlements had been effected and developed thereafter (Cant 1984: 69-70).

At the north-east corner of the Shetland archipelago is the sizeable and well-provided island of Unst, likely to have been the Northmen's first landfall and, with the adjacent islands of Yell and Fetlar, the most probable location of the initial settlements. As was observed by Professor O'Dell in his pioneer study of the islands (O'Dell 1939: 264), this area is notable for the number of its *scattalds*, manageable groupings of adjacent settlements forming the basis of social, economic and 'governmental' organisation. In Unst there were twenty-four within which fourteen church or chapel sites have been identified. In Fetlar there were nine, each with a chapel, and at Papil a 'head' or 'parish' church. In Shetland as a whole there might have been some two hundred, in two-thirds of which structural vestiges remain to this day.

While the 'Papil' sites had clear associations with the earliest Christian worship, it is only at St Ninian's Isle that a building of pastoral character has been identified. Some of the others might conceivably be attributed to the period of Bishop Thorolf, but most to that of Bishop William. Many of them may have had a limited existence unless they achieved the status of parish churches (*sognekirker*) maintained by tithes or teinds (*tiundar*) drawn annually from an associated parish (*sogn*).

---

6. Formerly thought to have been built by Earl Håkon on the model of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem on his return from a pilgrimage there in 1120, it may in fact have been derived from Scandinavian prototypes. See Fisher 1993: 375-387.

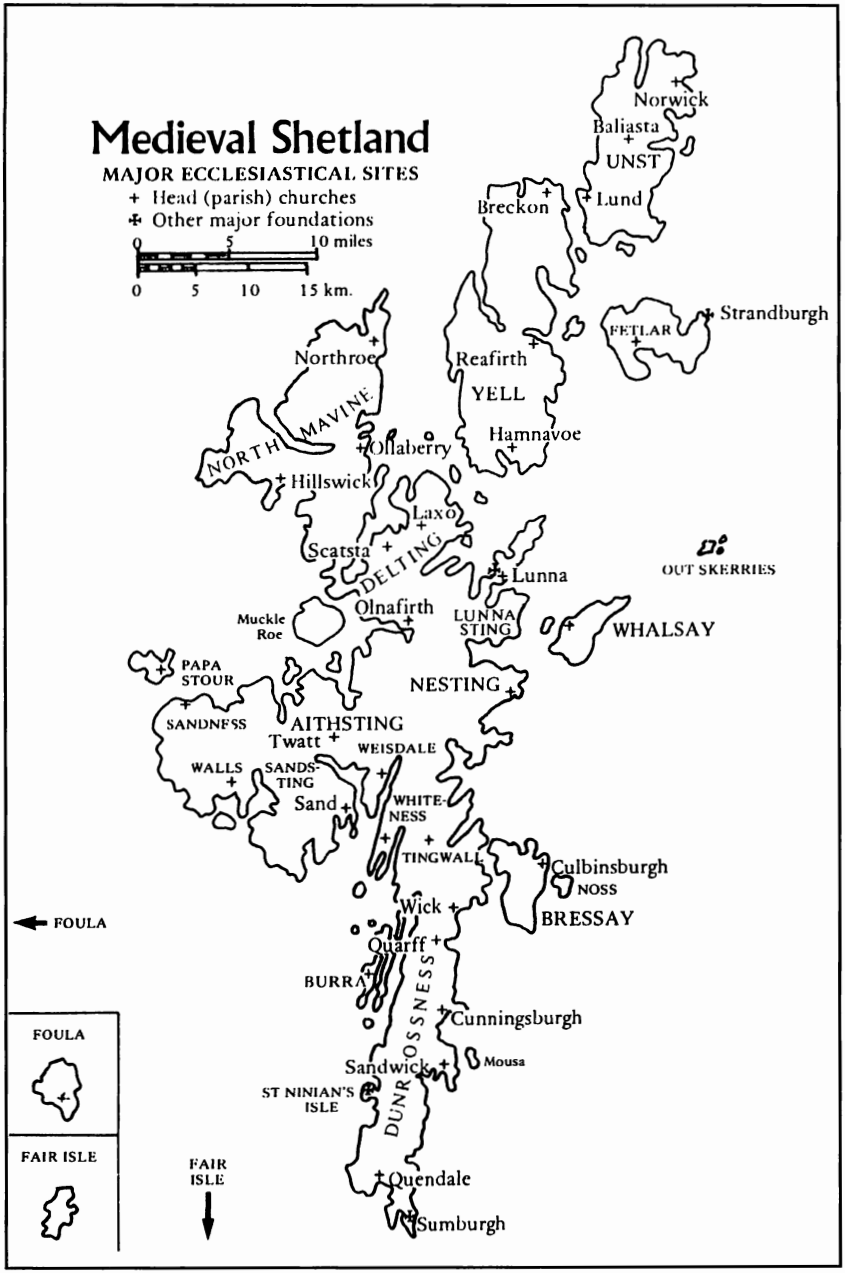


Fig. 3. Map of Medieval Shetland.

Shetland churches and chapels (NE)

St Mary's Sand might well be the earliest head church in Shetland, for although the settlement in which it was located, in the west mainland, might be of later origin than those in the north-east islands, it had closer links with Orkney (continued into recent times) through the latter's north-west islands of Westray and Papa Westray by way of St Ninian's Isle and Burra. In examining the churches of Shetland as a whole, however, it may be most convenient to begin with Unst and proceed thence west and south to Dunrossness and Fair Isle.

As it so happens, Unst provides a representative introduction to the local church organisation of Shetland in that its single parish priest (*sogneprest*) was in charge of three churches grouped in a priest's district (*prestegjeld*) coterminous with the area of a *thing* (regional assembly and law-court) probably already in existence throughout the islands. In Unst these churches were respectively at Norwick for the north, Baliasta for the middle, and Lund for the south. While one might have expected the head-church (*hovedkirke*) and manse (*prestegård*) to be in the most central location at Baliasta, they seem to have been at Norwick.[7] Eleven local chapels have also been identified — one on the adjacent island of Uyea. Of surviving structures St Olaf's church at Lundawick is the most complete, of simple rectangular plan c.12.5 x 4.5m entered by a round-headed west door but perhaps originally of similar form to St John's Norwick with its nave of 8.0 x 4.0m and chancel 5.0 x 2.5m. The Uyea chapel has a nave c.4.6 x 3.5m originally linked to a chancel c.3.0m square by an arch with inclined jambs no more than 0.61m wide (R.C.A.H.M.S. *Shetland*: Nos. 1541, 1536, 1598).

Like Unst, the priest's district of Yell was a 'thing district' with three parish churches — at Breckon for the north, Reafirth for the middle (also the head church) and Hamnavoe for the south, also sixteen chapels — of all of which little remains. By great good fortune, however, St Olaf's Breckon was recorded by Sir Henry Dryden in 1856 when still largely intact (R.C.A.H.M.S. *Shetland*: No. 1712). He shows a nave c.5.8 x 4.1m within and a chancel 3.1 x 3.0m entered by a round-headed arch of identical width like St Mary's Sand but with vertical jambs. In the south wall is a *sedile* for the priest.[8] In Fetlar, with a head church and perhaps ten chapels (Crawford 1987: fig. 68) parish and priest's district, also 'thing district', were one and the same. Disappointingly, however, it retains little of architectural character except possibly parts of the north wall of the church at Papil.

---

7. The likelihood is that the church at Norwick had been established first and was able to maintain its 'primacy' in the later 'definitive organisation' of the diocese. A similar situation may well have prevailed in the cases of Hillswick (Northmavine) and Quendale (Dunrossness).

8. See more detailed description (derived from Sir Henry Dryden) in MacGibbon and Ross 1896-7: I, 151-7.

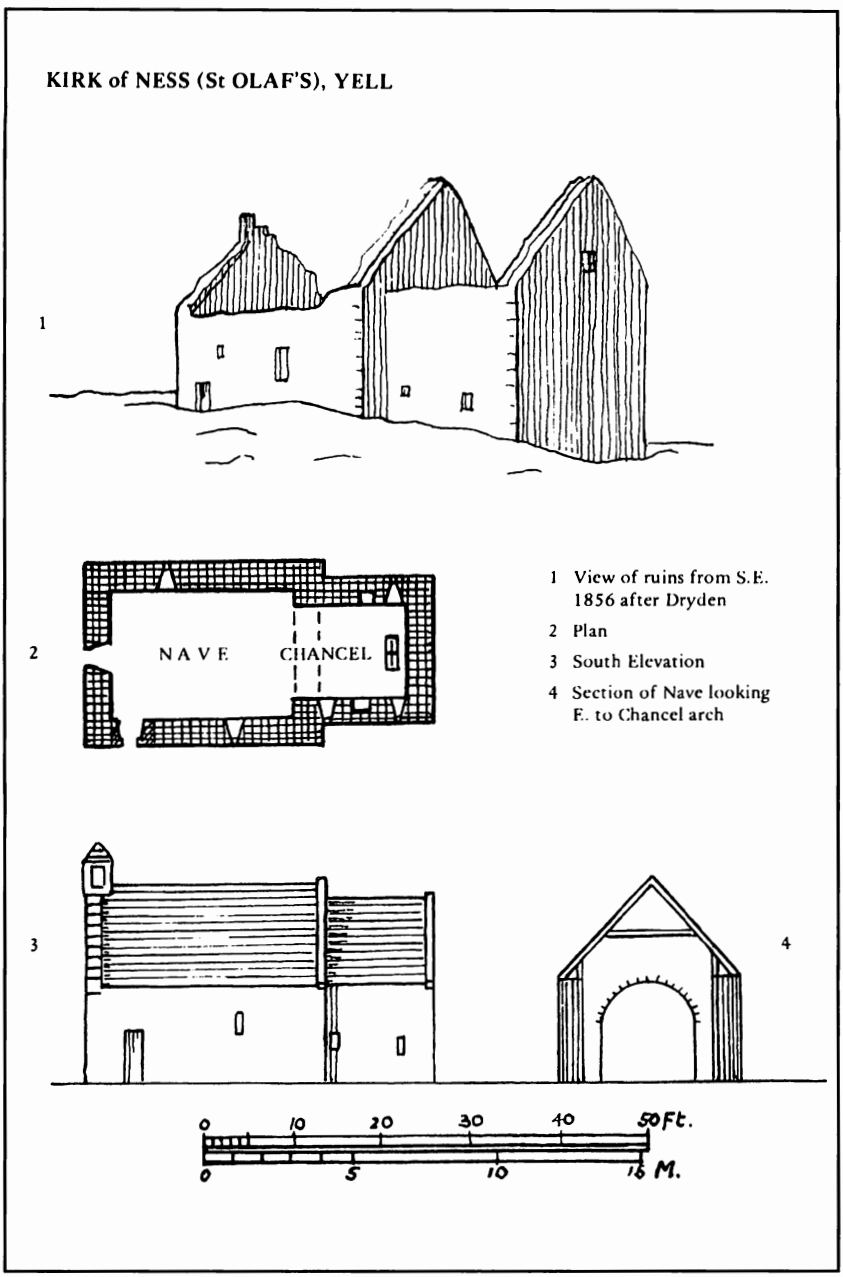


Fig. 4. Kirk of Ness, Yell.

In the mainland, the whole peninsula north of Mavis Grind formed the 'thing area' and 'priest's district' of Northmavine, comprising three churches at North Roe, Ollaberry, and Hillswick (the head church, St Gregory's). There were also five chapels and an 'aamos kirk' (pilgrimage church, to be discussed later) but of the others hardly a vestige remains. South of Mavis Grind the area and district of Delting (Dalething) is almost more disappointing. While there is a graveyard at Dale, latterly at least the head church seems to have been at Scatsta (St Paul's) with another church at Laxobigging, both reduced to mere sites. Thus it is only at Olnafirth, within the ruin of its eighteenth century successor, that evidence might be forthcoming of the character of a parish church of Delting. There were also four possible chapel sites on the mainland and one more on the isle of Samphrey in Yell Sound.

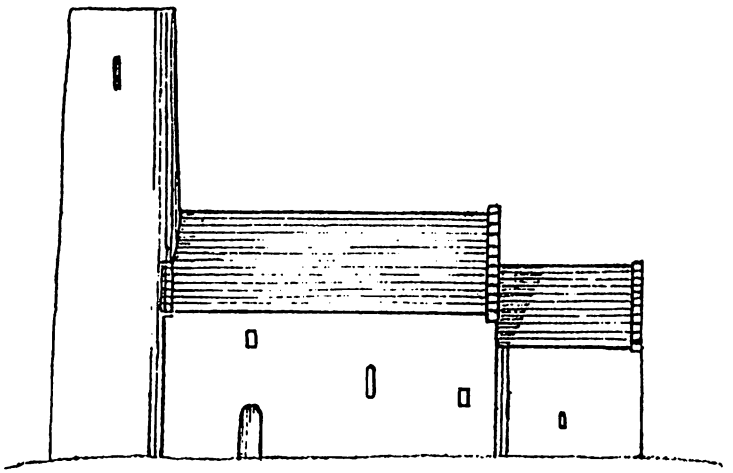
To the south-east of Delting are Lunnasting and Nesting — as their names indicate, 'thing areas' and in the medieval period separate priests' districts. The first had a head church now of particular interest as the only example of a (partly) medieval structure still in use, also two chapels. The Nesting district, with its head church and manse in a remarkably bleak situation at Kirkabister, also contained a second parish embracing the large island of Whalsay and the Skerries beyond, its church at Kirkaness. There were two chapels on the mainland and four more on the islands, that on the Inner Holm of Skaw with ruins of some extent. Further examination of these two churches might be worthwhile.

Shetland churches and chapels (SW)

Moving to the western mainland, it has already been noted that St Mary's church at Sand was one of the earliest of its kind in Shetland. The title of the area it served, 'Sandsting', and that of its northern neighbour 'Aithsting', together with other evidence regarding their clergy, indicate that in the medieval period (like Lunnasting) they ranked as priests' districts with two or three chapels respectively. By contrast, their western neighbour — of Walls and Sandness — had as arduous responsibilities as any in Shetland, the priest of its head church of St Paul and its five parochial chapels being also responsible for the parish church (and a chapel) at Sandness, together with the church on Papa Stour and another (with a chapel) on Foula. Further careful examination of these two churches might be worthwhile.

While there are vestiges of some of these buildings, those most likely to contain work of medieval provenance might be the island churches of Papa Stour and Foula. While it is known that the former was re-built in 1807, it stands in the medieval kirkyard and, like Baliasta church in Unst when it was enlarged for more general use in 1764, might have incorporated the north wall and gables of its medieval predecessor. On Foula the structure in the old kirkyard at Hametoun, though lacking details for precise dating, has a form and character consistent with a medieval origin.

St MAGNUS KIRK
EGILSAY, ORKNEY



SOUTH ELEVATION (above). PLAN (below)

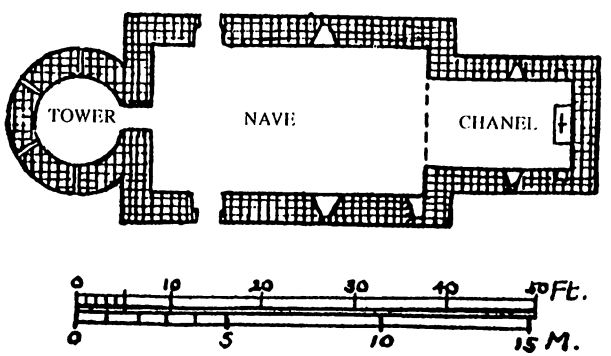


Fig. 5. St Magnus Egilsay (Tingwall prototype).

On an elevated central site on the mainland appropriate to its status was the head church of Tingwall (meeting place of the *Lagthing* — supreme court and legislative assembly for the whole of Shetland) which was the largest and most impressive of the medieval period here. Dedicated to St Magnus, its design was clearly inspired by that of the church erected to his memory (probably about 1136) on the island of Egilsay in Orkney.[9] But while this, despite its prestige, held no place in the administrative structure of the diocese, the church of Tingwall was not only the head church of its district but of the whole island group through its association with the Archdeacon of Shetland. In the medieval church order this functionary was the administrative deputy of the bishop, and in a large diocese there might be more than one, each in charge of a particular area. As might be expected, this came to be the case in Orkney and Shetland, and although there is no mention of an Archdeacon of Shetland until 1215 — and of Orkney even later — they were almost certainly envisaged in the constitution of the Norwegian church in 1154 and, in Shetland, quite possibly introduced by Bishop William.

In design the church on Egilsay (Fernie 1988) comprised a chancel, nave, and cylindrical western tower, as did that of Tingwall, but on an appreciably larger scale, its nave 15.0 x 5.5m compared with 9.2 x 4.7m. The building actually survived until 1788 when it was replaced by the present structure (Cant 1993: 18). Of its associated churches of Weisdale and Whiteness some foundations survive, also of a chapel at Kebister and another on the isle of Trondra, but of the other five no more than possible sites.

The early centre of Papil on West Burra, location (until 1804) of a 'round-towered' parish church of lesser scale,[10] has now no structure above ground save the ruin of its successor. After the Reformation the parish was linked with that of Bressay in a single 'ministry', an odd arrangement sustained by a 'portage' over the mainland and an associated chapel (one of six such) at Easter Quarff. In the medieval period, however, they seem to have been separate charges. On Bressay the church at Cullingsburgh is of cruciform plan but the 'transepts' date from the seventeenth century (Cant 1978: 24). Of the two chapels — and a third on Noss — little remains, though what might be part of a 'round tower' was discovered near the last in 1994.

South of Quarff the rest of the mainland, and its associated islands, constituted the district of Dunrossness. Comprising three parishes, its head church was the southmost, awkwardly sited near the sea-shore at Quendale, where it was overwhelmed by a sandstorm in the seventeenth century. The two other churches were at Cunningsburgh (for the north) and Sandwick (for the centre) and there also seem to have been nine chapels (one on Fair Isle).

9. See Fernie 1998 and Cant 1993: 17-18.

10. So it would seem, though Edmondston 1809: i, 124 speaks of both towers as being 'of hewn stone, between sixty and seventy feet high' — comparable to that of Egilsay when complete (Fernie 1988: 147).

Initially, too, there would be the 'episcopal minster' on St Ninian's Isle, probably of a monastic character and perhaps in being for a relatively short period. On the adjacent coast, at Ireland, was an isolated 'round tower' — of indeterminate function.

In sum, then, the ecclesiastical establishment of Shetland as completed would seem to have comprised fourteen priests' districts, six of these coterminous with a single parish. The others, between them, had twenty-four, making a total of thirty. There may also have been ninety chapels, not all in existence at the same time.

Later developments

By the close of the twelfth century most of the organisation and related structures discussed in the two preceding sections was probably in existence, and one might have expected the ensuing period to be one of consolidation. In a sense this was so, but it was also marked by a departure from some of the basic principles of the new church order as embodied in the Gulathing law-code. In particular, it provided that the tithes or *teinds* — in theory one tenth of the annual 'produce' of each parish — should be divided between the bishop, the priest, the church, and the poor (Kolsrud 1958: 182). At an early stage, however, they began to be claimed by what might be termed the 'ecclesiastical superstructure' — of diocesan and cathedral functionaries.

Principal among these was the Archdeacon of Shetland, first mentioned in 1215 and primarily responsible, under the bishop, for supervision of the parochial clergy of that area. This being so, one might have expected provision to be made for him by an allocation of part of the bishop's share of the teinds. There was, however, a further complication when Bishop Bjarne (1188 x 1192 — 1223), following the example of Bergen, appointed the sole archdeacon of that period, Andrew of Shetland, to preside over the chapter of 'secular canons' by then contemplated for Kirkwall Cathedral instead of the one of monastic character previously envisaged and continued as such despite the emergence of an archdeacon of Orkney c.1309 (Watt 1969: 254-5). Even so, his possession of extensive lands and rentals (in Tingwall in particular) might have provided adequate support for most of his activities.

By 1327-28, however, it becomes clear that provision for 'the canons and prebendaries', previously based, to some extent at least, on *stouks* or land-rentals (Clouston 1926), was now derived, to a great and increasing degree, from the 'appropriation' of parochial teinds (Andersen 1988: 61; Cant 1995a: esp. 108-9). In the case of Shetland, however, it can at least be said that this trend was virtually limited to Tingwall, Whiteness, and Weisdale, assigned to the archdeacon, and one half of the corn teinds of the other parishes (three quarters in the case of Fetlar) to the bishop. The process was doubtless accelerated with the appearance of Scotsmen in possession of both archdeaconries in 1369-72. Thus a century before the diocese of Orkney and Shetland passed to the Scottish Church in 1472 — following the 'pledging' of

the civil government to the Scottish monarchy in 1468-69 — every parish had become a *vicarage* retaining only a fraction of its pristine endowment.

During this same period certain developments become apparent in the architectural form of churches and chapels. Hitherto generally of two distinct components (nave and chancel) they now tended to be of a simple rectangular plan. In two cases the buildings were of late date and non-parochial character. The earlier was probably the pilgrimage church of the Holy Cross ('Cross Kirk') at Breckon (Eshaness) Northmavine, some 8.6m x 4.4m in internal dimensions. The other was the collegiate church of Dunrossness, a 'corporate chantry' of the Sinclair family maintained by *stouks* elsewhere in Shetland, perhaps represented by parts of 'the Old House of Sumburgh' at Jarlshof (R.C.A.H.M.S. *Shetland*: No. 1139). Most interesting of all is the parish church of Lunna, a rectangular structure 20.6 x 10.3m within, much altered but retaining parts of the medieval fabric, especially in the massively buttressed south wall. Towards its east end this is pierced by a *squint*, not for lepers but, as in many churches, to enable the priest to supervise the altar from an adjacent sacristy.

At Lunna, being a 'head church', the sacristy would probably lead on to the *prestegård* or manse, this likely to have been a single-storeyed structure but with a *lopt* or loft like that mentioned in a transaction at Sandwick (Unst) in 1328 (Clouston 1912: 14). The group might also include matching farm buildings for the *glebe* or land-holding to which every parish priest was entitled. At other parish churches, at a distance from the head church and manse, overnight accommodation might be provided in a loft within the building. And in connection with these journeys it is important to remember that most of them were likely to be voyages — sometimes involving portages — in the sea-bound environment of Shetland.

Epilogue

Between 1985 and 1987, at Kebister on the east coast of Tingwall parish, a structure was excavated that, from its location and the high quality of its masonry — including a fine carved panel depicting what proved to be the arms of Henry Phancouth, Archdeacon of Shetland 1501-29 — suggested that it might be his official residence. In the outcome, however, it turned out to be a 'teind barn' for the reception and storage of 'payments in kind' of tithes and rents to the archdeaconry, perhaps also to the bishopric (Owen and Smith 1988: 1-20).

Its design and construction — very probably by masons associated with the cathedral of which the archdeacon was the presiding officer (Fawcett, R. in Owen and Smith 1988: 7-10) — are in marked contrast to the buildings discussed in this survey, but it must be emphasised that, for all their austerity, they were commissioned by men well versed in contemporary architectural design and built by others reproducing from the resources of their rugged homeland buildings of the same essential form and character.

Bibliography

Andersen, P.A., 1988: 'The Orkney Church of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries'. In: Barbara Crawford (ed.), 56-71.

Batey, C.E., Jesch, J. and Morris, C.D. (eds.), 1993: *The Viking Age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic*. Edinburgh.

Berg, Arne, et al. (eds.), 1993: *Kirkearkeologi og Kirkekunst* (Studies in honour of Sigurd and Håkon Christie). Ovre Ervik, Norway.

Cant, R.G., 1972: 'The Church in Orkney and Shetland and its relations with Norway and Scotland in the Middle Ages'. *Northern Scotland* I, 1, 1-18. Aberdeen.

Cant, R.G., 1976: *The Medieval Churches and Chapels of Shetland*. Lerwick.

Cant, R.G., 1984: 'Settlement, Society and Church Organisation in the Northern Isles'. In: Fenton, A. and Pálsson, H. (eds.), *The Northern and Western Isles in the Viking World*, Edinburgh, 169-179.

Cant, R.G., 1986: 'The Medieval Church in the North'. In: Baldwin, J.R. (ed.), *Firthlands of Ross and Sutherland*, Edinburgh, 47-58.

Cant, R.G., 1993: 'Early Church Design in Orkney and Shetland (c.1050-1200)'. In: Berg, Arne *et al.*, (eds.), 1-17.

Cant, R.G., 1995: 'The Constitution of Saint Magnus Cathedral'. In: Crawford, B.E. (ed.), 105-121.

Clouston, J.S. (ed.), 1914: *Records of the Earldom of Orkney*. Scottish History Society, 2nd Series, VII. Edinburgh.

Clouston, J.S. 1926: 'The Old Prebends of Orkney', *Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society* 4, 31-6.

Crawford, B.E., 1987: *Scandinavian Scotland*. Leicester.

Crawford, B.E. (ed.), 1988: *St Magnus Cathedral and Orkney's Twelfth Century Renaissance*, Aberdeen.

Crawford, B.E. (ed.), 1995: *Northern Isles Connections* (Essays from Orkney and Shetland presented to Per Sveaas Andersen), Kirkwall.

Edmondston, A., 1809: *Historical Antiquities of the Shetland Islands*. 2 Vols. Edinburgh.

Fernie, E., 1988: 'The Church of St Magnus, Egilsay'. In: Crawford, B.E. (ed.), 146-161.

Fisher, I., 1993: 'Orphir Church in its South Scandinavian Context'. In: Batey, C.E. *et al.* (eds.), 375-380.

Goudie, G., 1904: *The Celtic and Scandinavian Antiquities of Shetland*. Edinburgh.

Kolsrud, O., 1958: *Noregs Kyrkjesoga* I: *Millomalderen*. Oslo.

Lamb, R.G., 1972-74: 'The Cathedral of Christchurch and the Monastery of Birsay'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 105, Edinburgh, 200- 205.

Lamb, R.G., 1974: 'Coastal Settlements of the North'. *Scottish Archaeological Forum* 5, Edinburgh, 76-98.

Lamb, R.G., 1995: 'Papil, Picts, and Papar'. In: Crawford, B.E. (ed.), 9-27.

MacGibbon, D. and Ross, T., 1896-7: *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*. Vol. 1, especially sections relating to work of Muir, T.S. (pp.65-100) and Sir Henry Dryden (pp.101-173). Edinburgh.

O'Dell, A.C., 1939: *The Historical Geography of the Shetland Islands*. Lerwick.

Owen, O. and Smith, B., 1988: 'Kebister, Shetland: an armorial stone and an archdeacon's teind barn'. *Post-medieval Archaeology* 22, 1-20.

Radford, C.A.R., 1964: 'Art and Architecture, Celtic and Norse'. In: Wainwright, F.T., 183-7.

R.C.A.H.M.S., 1946: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, *Inventory of the Ancient Monuments of Orkney and Shetland*. 3 Vols.: II, Orkney; III, Shetland.

Sibbald, Sir Robert (ed.), 1845: *Description of the Isles of Orkney and Zetland* (reprint of original 1711 edition). Edinburgh.

Small, A., Thomas, C. and Wilson, D.M., 1956: *St Ninian's Isle and its Treasure*. 2 Vols., especially Vol I, pt.ii. Aberdeen University Studies 152. Oxford.

Wainwright, F.T. (ed. and contrib.), 1962: *The Northern Isles*. Edinburgh.

Watt, D.E.R., 1969: *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi*. 2nd draft. St Andrews.