A STUDY OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH EXISTING NATIVE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY HELPED TO SHAPE SCOTLAND’S REFORMED MONASTIC COMMUNITY 1070-1286

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<tr>
<td>A. B. Coll.</td>
<td>Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, (Spalding Club, 1843).</td>
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<tr>
<td>A. B. Ill.</td>
<td>Illustrations of the Topography and Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, (Spalding Club, 1847-69).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aberdeen Breviarium</td>
<td>Breviarium Aberdonense, (Bannatyne, Maitland &amp; Spalding Clubs, 1854).</td>
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<td>AHCAG</td>
<td>Archaeological and Historical Collections relating to Ayrshire and Galloway; (1878-99; volumes for 1878-84 bear the title...relating to the Counties of Ayr and Wigton).</td>
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<td>Arb. Lib.</td>
<td>Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc, (Bannatyne Club, 1848-56).</td>
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<td>Bannatyne Misc.</td>
<td>The Bannatyne Miscellany, (Bannatyne Club, 1827-55).</td>
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<td>Beauty Chrs.</td>
<td>The Charters of the Priory of Beauty, (Grampian Club, 1877).</td>
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<td>Bellenden, Chronicles</td>
<td>The Chronicles of Scotland compiled by Hector Boece, translated into Scots by John Bellenden 1531, (STS, 1938-41).</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
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<td>CDS</td>
<td>Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, ed. J. Bain et al. (Edinburgh, 1881-86).</td>
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<td>CSSR, i</td>
<td>Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1418-22, eds. E. R. Lindsay &amp; A. I. Cameron, (SHS, 1934).</td>
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ABBREVIATIONS


Dowden, Bishops J. Dowden, The Bishops of Scotland, (Glasgow, 1912).

Dryb. Lib. Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh, (Bannatyne Club, 1847).

Duncan, Scotland A. A. M. Duncan, Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom, (Edinburgh, 1975).

Dunf. Reg. Registrum de Dunfermelyn, (Bannatyne Club, 1842).


ES Early Sources of Scottish History AD500 to 1286, ed. A. O. Anderson, (Edinburgh, 1922).

Ferrерiус, Historia Ferrerii Historia Abbatum de Kylos, (Bannatyne Club, 1839).


Glas. Rent. The Rental Book of the Diocese of Glasgow, (Grampian Club, 1875).

Gordon, Monasticon J. F. S. Gordon, Monasticon: An Account (based on Spottiswoode's) of all the Abbeys, Priories, Collegiate Churches, and Hospitals in Scotland at the Reformation, (Glasgow, 1868).


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<tr>
<td>Holy. Lib.</td>
<td>Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis, (Bannatyne Club, 1840).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inchaff. Lib.</td>
<td>Liber Insula Missarum, (Bannatyne Club, 1847).</td>
</tr>
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<td>IR</td>
<td>The Innes Review, (1950-).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kel. Lib.</td>
<td>Liber S. Marie de Calchou, (Bannatyne Club, 1846).</td>
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<td>Laing, Seals</td>
<td>H. Laing, Descriptive Catalogue of Impressions from Ancient Scottish Seals, (Bannatyne &amp; Maitland Clubs, 1850).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lawrie, ESC</td>
<td>Early Scottish Charters prior to 1153, ed. A. C. Lawrie, (Glasgow, 1905).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Melr. Lib.</td>
<td>Liber Sancte Marie de Melros, (Bannatyne Club, 1837).</td>
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<td>Moray Reg.</td>
<td>Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis, (Bannatyne Club, 1837).</td>
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ABBREVIATIONS


N. B. Chr.  *Carte Montalium de Northberwic*, (Bannatyne Club, 1847).


NS  *Northern Scotland*, (1980-).

OPS  *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, (Bannatyne Club, 1851-5).


Patrick, Statutes  *Statutes of the Scottish Church*, (SHS, 1907).

PSAS  *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, (1851-).


Reeves, Culdees  W. Reeves, *The Culdees of the British Islands*, (Dublin, 1864).


RSCHS  *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, (1923-).

RRS  *Regesta Regum Scotorum*, eds. G. W. S. Barrow et al, (Edinburgh, 1960-).

RSS  *Registrum Secreti Sigilii Regum Scotorum*, eds. M. Livingstone et al, (Edinburgh, 1908-).


Scon. Lib.  *Liber de Ecclesie de Scon*, (Bannatyne Club, 1843).


SHR  *Scottish Historical Review*, (1903-28, 1947-)
ABBREVIATIONS

SHS Misc.  The Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, (SHS, 1893-).


TDGNHAS  Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society.

TGSI  Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, (1871-).


CONVENTIONS

In order to reflect the fact that none of the reformed monastic orders originated in Normandy, the term ‘Anglo-French’ is preferred to the more popular ‘Anglo-Norman’ when describing in general the continental cultural *mores* and practices introduced into Scotland during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the Canmore kings and incoming settlers. The term ‘Anglo-French’ is also used as a simplified shorthand description for the incomers themselves, unless a particular individual, family or community is discussed, in which case their ethnic origin is specified, e.g. Breton, Fleming, etc.

The term ‘Gaelic Church’ is used to describe the existing Church encountered by twelfth-century reformers in areas where the Gaels were culturally dominant, e.g. Alba, Galloway and Strathclyde. This was the descendant of the Church established throughout northern Britain by Irish missionaries, such as Colum Cille. The author’s reasons for preferring this term to the more popular ‘Celtic Church’ are given in K. Veitch, ‘The Columban Church in Northern Britain, AD664-717: a re-assessment’, *PSAS*, (1998). Similarly, the term ‘Northumbrian Church’ is used for the existing Church of mixed Anglo-Saxon and Gaelic provenance in Lothian and Tevitodale.

The general term ‘Scotland’ is used to describe the kingdom of the Scots as it was by AD 1286, that is, ostensibly, modern Scotland minus the northern isles. More specifically, the component parts of Scotland will be termed ‘Alba’ (the mainland north of the Forth-Clyde line and south of Caithness), ‘Caithness’, ‘Galloway’, ‘Lothian’ (including modern-day Lothian and Berwickshire), ‘Strathclyde’, ‘Teviotdale’, and ‘the Western Isles’.

The terms ‘Scots’ and ‘Scottish’ are used generally to describe those who belonged to the kingdom of the Scots. When dealing with individual ethnic groups within Scotland, or to peoples in semi-autonomous or autonomous provinces neighbouring Scotland, a more specific term will be used, e.g. Anglo-Saxon, Galwegian, Norse, etc.

Well-known place-names, including the toponyms of individuals, are standardised on a form in modern use, usually that recognised by the Ordnance Survey. A place-name which is either obsolete or whose identification is open to debate is left in the form in which it is found in the source cited.

In order to convey the surviving native aspect of Scottish society, where possible, Anglo-Saxon, Cumbric and Gaelic personal names which have been latinised in the sources are given in their probable original form. Other Christian names are usually standardised on a form in modern use. Some common surnames have been standardised on a single modern spelling. Any name forms which are at all unusual are given in the form in which they are to be found in the sources cited.
INTRODUCTION

The Balance of Old and New

Under the aegis of the Canmore dynasty, twelfth-century Scotland witnessed not only the introduction of a large number of Anglo-French settlers, but also the adoption of continental cultural *mores* and methods of government. Scotland was not unique in this respect however, for as a recent study by Bartlett has forcefully demonstrated, the eleventh to thirteenth centuries was a period of supranationalism during which much of western Europe achieved a fundamental social homogeneity based upon the nascent French culture extolled and propagated primarily by Norman colonists. While this pan-European process had an undoubtedly profound effect upon many aspects of Scottish society, including kingship, trade, land-holding, religion and perceptions of nationhood, the extent of the transformation has in the past been exaggerated. This is most evident in the influential study of Canmore Scotland by Ritchie, who argued that during the twelfth century there was, if not a military conquest, then at least a subtle cultural infiltration of Scotland by Anglo-French interests whereby native customs and influences were undermined by a Francophile monarchy eager to create a Norman state in miniature. Nevertheless, inspired principally by the authoritative and highly formative research of Barrow, this traditional interpretation has been thoroughly revised in recent years, with scholars preferring to argue that continuity as much as change characterised developments in twelfth-century Scottish society. Thus, the balance of old and new has been highlighted in such diverse areas as the government of David I, the survival of thanages, and the inauguration of Alexander III. Accordingly, as

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confirmed by Lynch’s recent popular one-volume history,7 the new received view of medieval Scotland is of a ‘hybrid kingdom’8 where innovatory continental practices were fused with indigenous traditions by an astute native dynasty.

A corollary of this revisionism is that the traditional perception of the medieval Scottish Church as an Anglo-French institution which had no organisational or cultural affinity with its Gaelic predecessor9 has likewise undergone a certain amount of re-evaluation. For example, Donaldson has explored the pre-twelfth-century antecedents of the medieval episcopate;10 Macquarrie has argued that St Margaret is unlikely to have been the ‘colonial improver’ of popular legend;11 while Rogers has demonstrated that the twelfth-century parish system in Perthshire was built upon pre-1100 foundations.12 In spite of these studies, however, the extent to which the contemporaneous changes in Scotland’s monastic culture were intrinsically tempered and defined by existing religious practices and provisions is relatively under-researched. Indeed, the view that Scotland’s many reformed abbeys and priories (the ubiquity and influence of which Barrow has long stressed)13 were organisationally, racially and culturally little more than Anglo-French outposts has hardly changed since Ritchie declared ‘the dwellers in the castles and monasteries [of Canmore Scotland] were fellow Frenchmen’.14 Accordingly, whilst there is now an implicit acceptance amongst historians that twelfth-century secular ecclesiastical society retained certain aspects of pre-1100 religious culture,15 there has as yet been no attempt to provide a comprehensive assessment of the organisational, cultural and social affinities which connected Scotland’s

9 Again, a view which was put most forcibly in Ritchie, Normans in Scotland, 331-341.
14 Ritchie, Normans in Scotland, 339.
reformed monastic community of the Canmore era to that of the early medieval and Dark Age period, and the role played by native Scots in its development.

It is therefore the primary aim of this thesis to provide just such an assessment.

*Old Problems, New Opportunities*

In order to do so, it is first necessary to determine why, in spite of the aforementioned advances in Scottish medieval studies, such a survey has not previously been undertaken.

The simplest reason, perhaps, is that in the past there has been no demand for such a study. History often imposes the aspirations and needs of the period in which it is written upon the events of that which it endeavours to explore. Thus, ecclesiastical history in the nineteenth century was largely subordinated to contemporary sectarian squabbles, with the Presbyterians in particular presenting a staunchly partisan interpretation of the early Scottish Church in order to justify their own historical claims and dish their Episcopalian and Catholic opponents. In this historical scheme a proto-Presbyterian Celtic Church, typified by Columban monasticism in general and the Culdees in particular, was cruelly and unjustly vanquished by the ‘popish’ reforms, symbolised by the introduction of continental monastic orders, implemented primarily by Queen Margaret and her sons in the late eleventh and early twelfth century - religious continuity between the pre-Canmore and Canmore periods was hence not to be contemplated.\(^{16}\) The problems which this ideological hi-jacking of early Church history presented were unfortunately compounded by whiggish historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as Hume Brown, who were keen to dwell upon the forces which were to eventually unite the constituent parts of the British Isles in political union, rather than those which had made Scotland distinct.\(^{17}\) Moreover, the experiences of the early twentieth century and the subsequent rise of the European Community as a vehicle for stability, arguably led to a post-1945 historiographical trend which has preferred to stress the cultural unity of Europe rather than highlight national differences.\(^{18}\) In recent years, however,

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\(^{18}\) In the field of medieval history this movement has reached its apogee with the aforementioned study by Professor Bartlett. For discussions upon the evolution in Scottish historiography and how perceptions of Scotland’s past have been shaped by historians’ own political agenda, see Donnachie & Whatley, *The Manufacture of Scottish History*, especially the introductory chapter by the editors, 1-15. See also, C. Kidd, *Subverting Scotland’s Past* (Cambridge, 1993); M. Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present* (London, 1991); and the
INTRODUCTION

There has been a recognition that the ideals of diversity and unity are not mutually exclusive. As many of Europe's peoples, such as the Catalans and Irish, have successfully expressed their individual national identity within a European context. This phenomenon has been reflected most vividly in Scotland, where increased demands for some sort of political autonomy, allied with a cultural regeneration, have led to a heightened awareness of Scottish identity and history. Importantly, this has not resulted in a retreat into a 'wha's like us' parochialism, but rather a confident re-assessment not only of Scotland's historical role as an integral yet nevertheless distinctive part of Europe, but also the vibrancy and diversity of its own cultural and political life throughout the ages. The academic atmosphere therefore appears conducive to a re-assessment of native Scottish influence in the twelfth-century monastic reforms.

A perhaps more obvious reason for the lack of a comprehensive study into the balance of old and new in Scotland's twelfth- and thirteenth-century monasticism is the paucity of

papers presented to the 'Writing Scotland's History: What have Historians made of the Nation's Past?' conference, printed in SHR, lxxvi (1997).

This is illustrated by the remarkable renaissance during recent years in the study of Scottish history, which has witnessed a demand for the subject to be taught more intensively at 'O' grade level, numbers studying it at university increasing, and a veritable boom in publications, both academic and popular, relating to Scotland's past. The 1997 Sunday Times conference on the teaching of the subject held in Glasgow, demonstrated the extent to which perceptions of Scottish history have influenced and in turn been influenced by the modern political agenda. For a discussion on the affects of this process on the historiography both of Great Britain and Scotland, see D. Cannadine, 'British History as a New Subject: Politics, perspectives and prospects', in A. Grant & K. Stringer (eds.), Uniting the Kingdom?: The Making of British History (London, 1995), 12-25. Scottish history's potential role in the devolved politics of Scotland was discussed in a brief article by F. Watson entitled 'Sorry Mary. You're history', Scotland on Sunday, 25th January, 1998.

surviving documentary evidence of relevance.\(^\text{22}\) In illustration, due to the ravages of time in general and the destructive nature of the Scottish Reformation in particular, many of the sources which in countries such as England can be exploited to provide a more complex and in-depth picture of the Church and its social, cultural and organisational disposition (e.g. intellectual and spiritual texts and bishops’ registers) are no longer extant. The documents which have survived tend to be those which were of legal or proprietorial use to clergy and laymen after 1560, such as the ubiquitous charter. Thus, due to their very nature - being not only highly formulaic, legal documents which were concerned primarily with the matter of land conveyance, but also symbolic of Anglo-French land-owning culture - they are ostensibly less than ideal sources for revealing the continuity of Gaelic ecclesiastical traditions in the reformed monastic community. Moreover, in spite of its prevalence, the geographical coverage of charter evidence is largely restricted to the south and east of Scotland,\(^\text{23}\) areas which experienced the most intensive foreign colonisation, both secular and ecclesiastical. In contrast, few charters from religious houses in regions where Gaelic culture predominated, such as Galloway, Moray and Ross, survive. Over-reliance, therefore, upon charter evidence when assessing the impact of continental monastic practices on ecclesiastical society throughout Scotland can lead to distorted and falsely radical interpretations. The other main indigenous ecclesiastical documentary source which is often used by historians of the twelfth-century Church, the annals of Holyrood and of Melrose,\(^\text{24}\) can present a similarly skewed picture. For example, as with all annals, they were not written as histories, and so were unconcerned with the causes and effects of the events which they recorded, many of which can consequently appear both out of context and thoroughly ambiguous.\(^\text{25}\) Both of these indigenous annals, moreover, were the product of incoming Cistercian\(^\text{26}\) monks who, in

\(^{22}\) G. Donaldson, *The Sources of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1978), 26, lamented that ‘there is a sad dearth of extant record material’ for studying the Scottish medieval Church.


\(^{25}\) For example, wedged between two unrelated descriptions of a plot against the pope and the return of Henry II from Normandy, there is the jejune record that in 1169 ‘Humbold, prior of Wenlock, brought the convent to Paisley which is beside Renfrew’, which could mean that Paisley was founded directly from Wenlock or via the monastery at Renfrew. *Chron. Melrose*, s.a. 1169.

\(^{26}\) Despite its name, the *Chronicle of Holyrood* is thought to have originated at the Cistercian house of Coupar-Angus. *Chron. Holyrood*, 9.
the words of one historian, 'merely happened to be established in Scotland', and whose horizons therefore stretched far beyond Scottish borders. Accordingly, the compilers of the Chronicles of Melrose appear to have been primarily interested in detailing European and Cistercian affairs rather than Scottish events. For example, there is a lengthy and descriptive account of Simon de Montfort's exploits, but only a very terse record of the founding of the chronicler's own house of Melrose. The problems which these indigenous sources present are compounded by the fact that, because of the dearth of contemporary Scottish examples, it is necessary to rely upon the narrative histories produced by foreign historians, such as William of Newburgh and John of Hexham. These works naturally present a highly partial, Anglo-French interpretation of Scottish affairs, especially as their authors were often predisposed to stress the barbarity of native traditions and the benevolently comprehensive effects of Anglo-French innovations introduced by the Canmores. On initial inspection, therefore, the extant sources cast twelfth-century Scottish monastic society in a strongly non-native, Anglo-French light.

The problems created by both the relative scarcity and inherent bias of the existing documentary evidence can nevertheless be partially mitigated. One way in which this can be achieved is by exploring sources whose immediate relevance to the study of old and new in Scotland's twelfth- and thirteenth-century reformed monasteries may at first appear negligible. For example, research into the provenance of a monasticon appended to a late thirteenth-century English chronicle has revealed that this previously neglected source contains unique information regarding the twelfth-century célè Dé community in Scotland. Likewise, the catalogues Registrum Librorum Angliae and Bostonius Buriensis, whose titles imply that they would be of little interest to Scottish historians, actually include the name and number of books kept at various monasteries in Scotland. Accordingly, the

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27 Webster, Scotland from the Eleventh Century, 38.
28 Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1268.
29 Ibid., s.a. 1136.
32 Bodl., Tanner MS. 165
33 Camb., Addison MS. 3470.
34 These catalogues, however, are far from comprehensive, for as E. Savage, 'Notes on the Early Monastic Libraries of Scotland', Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, xiv (1930),
INTRODUCTION

libraries of the newly established, reformed houses can be compared with that at the cèle Dé
monastery of Lochleven, to reveal that the intellectual and theological impact of the
introduction of continental orders was less radical than traditionally depicted. The shortage of
indigenous charter material for Scottish religious houses can also be partially mitigated by
recourse to non-Scottish sources. Thus, documents pertaining to a number of Scottish abbeys
are preserved by the Dean and Chapter of Durham. The study of twelfth-century
hagiography can prove similarly rewarding, with the lives of both contemporary saints, such
as Ælred, Mâel Mâedóc (Malachy) and Waltheo, and much earlier holy men, most notably
Cuthbert, Kentigern and Nynia, providing anecdotal information regarding surviving Scottish
religious traditions, such as the use of Kirkcudbright kirkyard for bull-baiting on holy-days.
The lack of contemporary Scottish narrative history, moreover, is at least partially expiated
by the works of Fordun, Wyntoun and Bower, which, despite their later-medieval provenance
and nationalistic bias, are of great interest for the study of the Canmore period as their
authors often worked from earlier sources which are now lost.

The information which can be gleaned from this diverse range of sources is admittedly
often cursory and incidental. However, when correlated with each other, compared with
evidence from neighbouring countries, especially, although not exclusively, Ireland, and,
crucially, when synthesised with the findings of other academic disciplines, including
archaeology and onomastics, the dearth of relevant sources becomes more apparent than real.
Indeed, approached from this eclectic perspective, twelfth-century documents such as charters
(which, of course, had their Scottish as well as Anglo-French antecedents) can be
transformed from perceived literary emblems of foreign cultural dominance, to essential
sources of information regarding the ecclesiastical balance of old and new. This has been

28, noted, only forty-three books are listed for Dunfermline Abbey, while a fragment from that
monastery’s own catalogue c. 1170 records over 223 volumes.

35 Bishop Robert of St Andrews transferred the library at Lochleven to the priory of St Andrews c.
1152. Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia, ed. C. Innes (Bannatyne Club, 1841), 43.
That these books did belong to Lochleven is argued below.

36 Many of the charters in this collection have been printed or summarised as an appendix to J. Raine,
The History and Antiquities of North Durham (London, 1852). Apart from such extensive collections,
it is also possible to find the odd charter relating to Scotland in the cartularies of relatively minor
religious houses. For example, the cartulary of Holm Cultram Abbey in Cumberland contains a number
of documents pertaining to twelfth-century Dumfriesshire. The Register and Records of Holm Cultram,
eds F. Grainger & W. G. Collingwood (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological
Society, Records Series, 1929).


38 Donaldson, Sources, 34.

39 E.g., A. C. Lawrie, Early Scottish Charters (Glasgow, 1905), nos. V, VI, VII, VIII & XI.
nable demonstrated in the field of secular Church history by Barrow and Rogers in their respective studies of Badenoch and Strathspey⁴⁰ and Perthshire,⁴¹ both of which combine a mixture of charter material with evidence gleaned from other sources, including hagiography, local cult traditions, onomastics and Dark Age and early medieval history, not only to reveal how native religious provisions fundamentally shaped the twelfth-century parish structure, but also prove that despite the sources' inherent weaknesses, an assessment of continuing Scottish influence in other areas of the reformed Church is eminently achievable.

The third of the main reasons why such a study has not previously been attempted is the persistent belief that the original, strongly monastic Columban Church was expelled from northern Britain in 717, only to be replaced by a highly secularised and spiritually torpid Church after 843.⁴² Whilst the malign influence of this received opinion upon perceptions of reformed monasticism in the twelfth-century Church may not be immediately apparent, it is nevertheless fundamental for two reasons. On the one hand, for example, it precludes any suggestion that there could have been a direct spiritual and organisational link between the monastic Church established by the first Irish missionaries in northern Britain and that of the twelfth century. On the other, it implies that by the end of the eleventh century organised religious life in Scotland was in such decay that the monastic reforms implemented by the Canmores were not only inevitable and long over-due, but also likely to have taken little cognisance of existing traditions and hence been revolutionary. With a few notable exceptions,⁴³ this has encouraged, and subsequently been compounded by, the tendency amongst historians of the Scottish Church to confine their studies to specific time-periods, thus creating invisible yet nonetheless strongly perceived barriers between Dark Age, early medieval and twelfth-century developments in ecclesiastical society. Indeed, in spite of the upsurge in interest during the last decade regarding both the spread of Christianity in Dark Age northern Britain and the role played by the Gaelic Church in the formation of Alba,⁴⁴

⁴¹ Rogers, ‘Parishes of Medieval Perthshire’.
few of the resulting studies have researched the continuity of ecclesiastical practice and purpose which arguably underlies these formative developments and firmly connects them with the medieval Scottish Church.

A recently published article re-assessing the crucial 664-717 period in Columban Church history, however, has ostensibly made just such a study of ecclesiological continuity more achievable. Most importantly for example, by demonstrating that rather than suffer a break in their hegemony during the eighth and ninth centuries, the Gaelic clergy played a continuous and ideologically constant role first in Pictland and then in Alba, it has revealed that a direct historical and cultural thread of continuity did indeed exist which connected the Church of Colum Cille’s era to that reformed by the Canmores. The article’s relevance for the study of old and new in the twelfth-century reformed monastic community does not end here, however, as it also highlights certain other aspects of Dark Age ecclesiastical history which enable the apparently momentous Canmore reforms to be put into a more evolutionary historical perspective. Firstly for example, by highlighting the leading part played by Adomnán and other members of the familia lae in the conversion of northern Britain from the Gaelic to the Roman usage, it has not only in general demonstrated that the Church was neither as static nor as resistant to change as historians previously suggested, but also in particular provided a seventh-century, precedential paradigm for the reform of organised religious life initiated by David I in the twelfth century. Secondly, in common with Hudson’s research which has emphasised the importance of the intellectual links between the Scottish and Carolingian clergy to ecclesiastical developments in Alba, it has illustrated the Gaelic

Scotland (Westport, 1994); A. MacDonald, Curadáin, Boniface and the Early Church of Rosemarkie (Inverness, 1992); Macquarrie, ‘Early Christian Religious Houses’, Idem, Saints of Scotland, & S. Taylor, ‘Place-Names and the Early Church in Eastern Scotland’, in Crawford, SDAB, 93-110. There have also been a number of conferences and symposia in recent years which have underlined the vibrancy of Dark Age and early medieval Scottish studies. E.g. the sixth annual SCHA conference held in Edinburgh, 7th of June 1997, entitled Spes Scotorum: Hope of the Scots; St Columba, Iona and Scotland

Veitch, ‘Columban Church’

Ibid.


Church's ability to constantly modify itself by taking account of cultural impulses emanating from elsewhere in Europe, while at the same time maintaining its own traditions and status; and by so doing underlined the benefit of placing the Canmore reforms within as wide a geographical and chronological context possible. Finally, by refuting the popular conviction that the Gaelic Church formed some sort of 'Celtic' separatist organisation whose clergy were ignorant of the pope's status and inherently hostile to Romanist religious practices, it has established that even in an age long before the ideas of papal monarchism and ecclesiological universalism were fashionable, the Scottish clergy nevertheless saw themselves as an integral part of the Catholic polity. Accordingly, it demands that the twelfth-century Scottish Church's intensified relationship with the papacy and the increasing involvement of foreign clergy in Scotland's ecclesiastical affairs, both highly notable and formative aspects of the introduction and development of reformed monasticism in Canmore Scotland, should be viewed in a less revolutionary light.

Significantly, the perception that there was a lack of spiritual and organisational vibrancy about the Gaelic Church after the eighth century has also been effectively challenged by recent research. In illustration, Clancy's study of the céili Dé has highlighted that through the efforts of the abbot of Iona their reforms were not only adopted as early as the second decade of the ninth century by many of the main churches in northern Britain, but also strongly influenced the religious policy of the future kings of Alba. This provided the early medieval Scottish Church with an ascetic, reform-minded elite whose influence extended from the regularisation of parochial provisions to the perpetuation of Gaelic literary traditions. Likewise, a study by Bannerman has emphasised not only that religious society in post-843 northern Britain maintain its essentially Columban character, but also that the abbey of Dunkeld housed the most precious relics of Colum Cille after 849 and hence became the senior partner, not to mention pre-eminent cult centre, in the now divided familia lae. The significance of this, moreover, has been demonstrated by Broun's research, which has revealed the formative part played by this politically confident and culturally dynamic Church in the formation of Alba. It is thus made evident that the traditional interpretation of the early medieval Church in general, and organised religious life in particular, as a decayed

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49 Veitch, 'Columban Church'.
50 Clancy, 'Iona, Scotland, and the Céili Dé'.
51 J. Bannerman, 'Comarba Colum Cille and the Relics of Columba', IR, xlv (1993), 14-47
52 Paper entitled 'Dunkeld and the creation of Alba' given at the symposium Gaelic Churches and Scotland in the Middle Ages held at the University of Edinburgh, 22nd May 1997, to mark the retirement of Dr J. Bannerman.
and isolated institution which was mercifully swept away and peremptorily replaced by a vigorous continental-style reform Church in the twelfth century is no longer accurate.

The fourth, and perhaps least obvious, reason why such a study has not previously been attempted is the fact that during their investigations into the development of the ecclesia Scoticana scholars have been inclined to overlook the fundamental historicity of Christian ecclesiastical reform and thus view the twelfth-century renovation of monastic life in artificial isolation. For example, in spite of its inherent conservatism and apparent immutability, one of the most enduring and successful aspects of the medieval Christian Church was its ability to perpetuate a cycle of self-reform. On the whole, this was an intrinsic, evolutionary process whereby the Church developed almost imperceptibly in line with the local society which it served. Occasionally, however, there were periods when, sometimes in response to changes in secular society, but more often than not in order to arrest a general decline in ecclesiastical discipline and rectitude, this gradual process was intensified and accelerated to such an extent that the reforms initiated appear more revolutionary than evolutionary. In Scottish history this radical tradition is symbolised by the popularly perceived 'thorough-going transformation'\(^53\) of the Church during the twelfth century, when the reforms sponsored by the Canmores resulted in Scotland being 'brought into line with the rest of Christendom'\(^54\) after an alleged period of spiritual decay and isolationism. However, while the twelfth-century reforms were of undoubtedly seminal significance to the formation of the ecclesia Scoticana, the subsequent historical light which has understandably been focused upon them has tended to artificially accentuate both their novelty in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland and, especially, over-emphasise their revolutionary nature, by casting equally notable earlier Church reforms into the shade. To put these reforms and the development of reformed monasticism into a more realistic historical perspective and determine just how revolutionary the 'transformation' in the twelfth-century Church was, it is of crucial importance to appreciate that by the Canmore period ecclesiastical reform already had a long, native pedigree in Scotland. Indeed, there were in fact a number of Gaelic Church precedents to the developments in the twelfth-century Church which demonstrate that despite its revolutionary appearance, the reform of religious life during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by and large followed a long-established pattern.


\(^{54}\) Ibid., 68.
A number of instructive precedents to the twelfth-century monastic reforms are provided, for example, by the campaign waged during the late seventh and early eighth century by Adomnán of Iona and his supporters (most notably Curetán) to convert the *familia lae* from the Gaelic to the Roman usage. In illustration, the resistance to change which Church modernisers in the Canmore period encountered from certain ancient communities (extreme manifestations of which included the failure of David I, Bishop Robert and even Pope Eugenius III to suppress the *céli Dé* of St Andrews, and the sacking of the Benedictine monastery on Iona in 1204) echoed the opposition faced by Adomnán from Paschal traditionalists amongst his own convent. Moreover, the ultimate success of the *familia lae*’s pro-Roman faction paralleled, to a certain extent, the adoption of the Augustinian Rule by a number of twelfth-century native religious houses, such as Inchaffray, and vividly demonstrates that, in spite of the tendency of both medieval and modern historians to depict them as isolationist and hostile to change, the Gaelic clergy were historically willing and able to self-modernise in response to external ecclesiastical developments. Finally, that the Romanisation of the *familia lae* adversely effected neither its adherence to its Gaelic traditions nor its ecclesiastical independence and spiritual hegemony in northern Britain, can, as this study will reveal, be compared with the ability of twelfth-century churchmen to engender cultural and ecclesiastical continuity by embracing, rather than obstructing, change.

An equally illuminating historical paradigm for the transformation of communal religion in the twelfth-century Scottish Church is presented by the reforms initiated throughout Ireland and northern Britain by the *céli Dé*. This is not only because the reforming clergy of both these periods were arguably attempting to address the same two basic ecclesiastical problems, but also as they responded to these problems in a remarkably similar fashion. On the one hand, for example, both the *céli Dé* and the twelfth-century reformers were faced with the delicate task of ameliorating the effects of creeping secularisation amongst religious without endangering either the network of local and national

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For a discussion, see Veitch, ‘Columban Church’, (forthcoming).


58 *Charters Bulls and Other Documents Relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray*, eds. W. A. Lindsay, J Dowden & J. M. Thomson (Scottish History Society, 1908), no. IX.


60 Veitch, ‘Columban Church’.

61 For a discussion, see Clancy, ‘Iona, Scotland and the Céli Dé’.
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alliances between churchmen and laity or the Church's social relevance. Accordingly, just as ninth-century reformers reacted to this problem by establishing célÉ DÉ communities at the most important politico-ecclesiastical sites throughout Pictland in order to re-affirm the Church's ascetic ideal, so too were clerical elite, such as the Cistercians, settled at strategically significant sites by twelfth-century reformers who wanted to provide a spiritual 'spur to the indolent' amongst monks and laity alike. On the other hand, as can be inferred from their similar programmes of reform, both the célÉ DÉ and their later, medieval counterparts encountered a Church system which, either due to a change in the laity's expectations of the clergy or as a result of new ecclesiological thinking, was deemed to be failing in its fundamental pastoral duties. Consequently, analogous to the aspirations of the célÉ DÉ, whose literature demonstrates that they not only envisaged a regulated pastoral network of local churches offering services such as baptism and communion in return for certain payments and dues, but also accorded the role of bishop a much higher prominence in order to achieve this aim, David I regularised and revitalised both the parish system of twelfth-century Scotland by enforcing a tithe, and its episcopal structure by reconstituting old bishoprics and creating new ones; developments which were at least partly advanced through the introduction of canonical orders such as the Augustinians and Premonstratensians.

When viewed from this perspective, therefore, it is evident that, far from being either wholly novel or revolutionary, the developments in the twelfth-century Church were in fact ideologically and, in many ways, practically no different from earlier intense periods of reform in Gaelic/Scottish Church history. Indeed, it can be proposed from the above evidence that they formed but part of a recurrent, ecclesiastically and politically dictated pattern of reform-decay-reform, etc., which dominated the history of the Christian Church in Scotland as elsewhere in Europe. Moreover, while the programmes of reform sponsored by Adomnan, the célÉ DÉ or David I were certainly all high-points in this series of ecclesiological and spiritual peaks and troughs, it is apparent that however decayed the state of regular life in the Church had become it was still based firmly upon ancient religious traditions and practice which were usually revitalised rather than rejected.

62 Ibid.
63 William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (London, 1870), 25
64 Commentaries upon the development of pastoral care and the rise of the bishop in the Gaelic Church include, T. Charles-Edwards, 'The Pastoral Role of the Church in the Early Irish Laws', in Blair & Sharpe, Pastoral Care Before the Parish, 63-80; C. Etchingham, 'The Early Irish Church: some observations on pastoral care and dues', Ériu, 42 (1991), 99-118; R. Sharpe, 'Some Problems Concerning the Organisation of the Church in Early Medieval Ireland', I'埇hita, 3 (1984), 230-70 For a Scottish perspective, see Clancy, 'Annat in Scotland' and idem, 'Scotland, Iona and the Celt Dé'.

13
INTRODUCTION

In spite of the new opportunities presented by the aforementioned seminal changes to Scottish historiographical consciousness and major advancements in early medieval scholarship during the past decade, there remains one outstanding reason why a study of native influence on reformed monasticism in Scotland has hitherto not been attempted. This is the popular perception, alluded to in the opening remarks of this introduction, that in whichever part of Europe it took root, reformed monasticism retained its French cultural credentials and, indeed, remained stubbornly aloof from native culture; i.e. there is an inclination to view it as fundamentally ‘foreign’. For example, commenting upon a remark made by Cruden, Lynch has stated ‘Whether the parentage was direct or indirect, there is an important truth in the saying that every Scottish monastery was “a little bit of France”’.

The French origins of the reformed monastic orders of the twelfth century certainly cannot be disputed. Neither can the fact that the regulae of these orders invariably envisaged highly centralised organisations in which networks of culturally compatible monasteries were vigorously controlled by the French mother-house. This is most in evidence in the Carta Caritatis, the original rule of the Cistercian Order, which instituted a filial system of organisation so that ‘the abbeys in different parts of the world might be indissolubly linked in soul, even though separated in body’. Thus, with the expectation that all abbots of the Order make an annual visitation to the General Chapter where statutes were promulgated to which all houses had to adhere, and the stipulation that all convents had to be self-sufficient and hence divorced from the surrounding lay population, the Cistercian ideal was to create a self-contained replica of Citeaux wherever a monastery was founded. Whether or not, however, Scotland’s reformed monastic communities lived up to their original ideals is a pertinent question which has interestingly remained unanswered by monastic historians.

Perceptions amongst Scottish historians of reformed monasticism’s ‘foreignness’, nevertheless, go beyond the unchallenged belief that it was in practice, and not just in theory, a Francocentric, supranational movement. In illustration, it was the long-held belief of whiggish historians that Scotland was an irredeemably parochial kingdom which only

65 S. Cruden, Scottish Abbeys (Edinburgh, 1960), 49
66 Lynch, Scotland, 97.
67 ‘The monastic families of Cluny and Citeaux, the Crusades, the new schools of learning and the growing universities were all creations of the French-speaking world’. R. W. Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages (rep. London, 1993), 19
68 Statuta Capitulorum Ordinis Cisterciensis, ed. J.-M. Canivez (Louvain, 1933-41), 1. AD 1134, statute no. 34
69 Introduction to the Carta Caritatis. Ibid., I, p. xxvi.
experienced progressive social change through influence from abroad, usually England. The introduction of new monastic orders into Scotland has thus been placed firmly within the context of the military conquest of England by the Normans and the subsequent colonisation of Wales and Ireland, where ‘Stone abbeys...no less than stone castles were a symbol of conquest’ and monks were ‘the spiritual arm of the military conquest’. In their willingness to subordinate Scotland’s monastic history entirely to this Anglo-Norman pattern, some historians have consequently implied that both the Canmore regime and incoming families used reformed monasteries as instruments of Anglo-French political and cultural domination. For example, along with the castle and the burgh, le Patourel stated that monasteries ‘were one of the chief instruments of Norman colonization’; Duncan stressed the common cultural and political assumptions of ‘the mailed knight and the grey-habited Cistercian monk’; Ritchie, in the apparent belief that incoming religious would only accept land already under Norman-style management, remarked that the founding of a reformed monastery was the ‘sure sign’ that an area had experienced a process of ‘intensive Normanization’; while Stuart claimed in relation to the founding of Kinloss Abbey in Moray that ‘It formed part of the civilising policy of David I to carry the blessings of religion into the districts which his arms had vanquished’. Accordingly, statements such as these (some of which could admittedly be applied in restricted instances to certain individual convents in Scotland, but by no means universally) have created the apprehension that reformed monasticism was not

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70 See, for example, Ritchie, Normans in Scotland, xi, which portrays a backward medieval Scotland at the cultural mercy of ‘incoming ideas and institutions which spread northward in a tide’. This attitude is also discernible in the study of Scotland’s architectural history, with E. Fernie, ‘Early Church Architecture in Scotland’, PSAS, 116 (1986), 393-411, preferring to view stone-built churches, such as St Regulus’ at St Andrews, in the context of English precedents; an outlook condemned by N. Cameron, ‘St Rule’s Church, St Andrews and early stone-built churches in Scotland’, PSAS, 124 (1994), 367-378. Modern commentators on Scottish cultural history have likened this to a ‘cultural cringe’. See, for example, the article in The Scotsman, of the 26th of January, 1998, entitled ‘Banish the cringe, Scots told’, which reported a speech made by Saltire Society president, Paul Scott, on the detrimental effects of ‘the Scottish cringe’.


73 There are, of course, certain aspects of Scotland’s reformed monastic settlement which correspond to the English experience. For example, as K. J. Stringer, Earl David of Huntingdon 1152-1219 (Edinburgh, 1985), 1, has highlighted, the combination of castle, burgh and monastery at Dunfermline, Edinburgh, Jedburgh, Perth and Stirling, mirrored similar developments in Anglo-Norman England. See also, M. Chibnall, Anglo-Norman England 1066-1166 (Oxford, 1986), 42.


75 Duncan, Scotland, 133.

76 Ritchie, Normans in Scotland 167-168.

77 Records of the Monastery of Kinloss, ed. J. Stuart (Edinburgh, 1872), ix.
merely ‘foreign’, but moreover the antithesis of and inherently hostile to existing native religious society.

Whilst this received opinion has gone unchallenged, the research which went into the following thesis nevertheless suggests that it is fundamentally flawed. It would therefore appear as if the historical, as well as historiographical, foundations are now firmly in place upon which a comprehensive re-appraisal of the extent to which existing native cultural, organisational and social stimuli influenced the formation and development of Scotland’s reformed monastic community in the Canmore era can be built.

Aims and Objectives

As stated above, the fundamental aim of this thesis is to demonstrate that continuity as much as change distinguished reformed religious life in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland. The best - and, realistically, only - way in which this can be accomplished is, as already intimated, by placing twelfth- and thirteenth-century developments firmly within a much wider historical context. Accordingly, whilst centering primarily upon the 1100s and 1200s, the chronological scope of this thesis will not only extend forward to the sixteenth century, but also, to a much greater degree, back to the sixth century. For example, the similarity between seventh- and sixteenth-century perceptions of Colum Cille’s intercessionary powers will be cited as evidence that specific, and not merely general, aspects of pre-1100 religious customs not only survived the supposedly sweeping reforms of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but were moreover preserved by members of the new monastic communities. Likewise, the patronal relationship between the Canmore monarchs and the reformed convents will be compared to and contrasted with the alliance between the MacAlpin dynasty and Gaelic Church communities in order to assess whether the intensification of royal involvement in monastic affairs in the twelfth century was particularly novel or merely the re-working of a traditional Scottish tune.

It is therefore designed to be neither a history of the new religious orders in Scotland, nor, indeed, a survey of the Canmore’s monastic policy, although it will conceivably shed a revised light on both of these topics by challenging the received opinion that twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scottish conventual life was thoroughly ‘normanised’. This is not to suggest, however, that the introduction of continental ideas and practices or of a large body of Anglo-French clergy did not have a major impact on Scottish religious life; for this thesis to offer such an argument would demand a wilful disregard of the evidence presented by both
reliable primary and secondary sources and result in an account as partial as those which it is attempting to re-evaluate. Neither is it meant to imply that the Scottish Church was either culturally isolated from fellow-churches elsewhere in Europe or ignorant of its place in the wider Catholic family centred on Rome. Again, in light of twelfth-century developments, and the fact that, as aforementioned, contact between the Scottish Church, Europe and Rome long pre-dated 1100, to make such a proposition would be similarly historically naïve. Nevertheless, in its intention to offer an alternative to and compensate for the traditional Anglo-Francocentric perspective of twelfth- and thirteenth-century reformed monasticism in Scotland, the historical focus of this thesis shall consequently concentrate upon the survival of the ‘old’ and themes of ‘continuity’ rather than the introduction of the ‘new’ and examples of ‘change’.

It will be divided into six chapters. The first of these, a brief introductory chapter re-assessing the state of the Church in the Canmore period before 1124, will lay the historical foundations for much of the preceding discussion. The aim of the following chapters is to explore particular aspects of twelfth- and thirteenth-century reformed monastic development and the affect which existing ecclesiastical and spiritual traditions and varying forms of native involvement had upon it. Chapter two, for example, will investigate the extent to which pre-1100 ecclesiastical traditions and provisions created an organisational framework into which twelfth- and thirteenth-century monastic settlement had to be accommodated. Comprising of a brief regional survey supported by more in-depth case studies, just as previously mentioned studies have highlighted the interrelationship between pre- and post-twelfth-century episcopal and parochial boundaries and thus demonstrated that the reforms of the Canmore era merely formalised and, in some cases, revitalised existing Gaelic and Northumbrian Church bishoprics and parishes, this will ideally reveal the important threads of continuity which connected many of the reformed monasteries of the twelfth century with earlier religious sites. Correlative to this investigation into the continuity of actual monastery sites, this chapter will also explore how and why many reformed convents in Canmore Scotland came to possess the traditional patrimony of the ancient houses which they had superseded, and the consequences of this for the survival of pre-1100 ecclesiastical networks. The central objective of chapter two is thus to propose that rather than present a wholly new ecclesiological and spiritual network, the distribution of reformed monasteries in post-1100 Scotland and the patrimonies of these houses conformed for the most part to an existing
pattern of ecclesiastical settlement which had been established as far back as the seventh century.

Chapters three and four, on the other hand, aims to challenge the perception that Anglo-French incomers dominated organised religious life in Scotland after 1100 by highlighting the continued importance of direct native involvement in all areas of reformed monastic life. For example, chapter three it will attempt to revise popular perceptions of monastic personnel by proposing that, in spite of the apparent influx of foreign ecclesiastics during the Canmore period, many abbeys and priories in twelfth-century Scotland continued to be staffed by native Scottish clergy. In the same vein, chapter four will also assess the relationship forged between the native landowning class and reformed monasticism. This will include not only a brief comparison between native and incomer patterns of monastic patronage, but also an evaluation of the contribution made by the native laity to both the conversion of existing convents to a reformed rule and the founding of new monasteries. This facet of the development of reformed monasticism in Scotland needs to be emphasised at this early stage, as it is crucial to realise that it was not only Anglo-French incomers who sponsored Church reform in Scotland, but the native reguli, earls and lesser nobility as well. Thus, Galloway experienced quite extensive monastic regeneration during the twelfth century primarily due to the initiative of its native dynasty. Complementing this discussion, chapter five will highlight the social interaction which occurred between the religious of the new convents and the surrounding lay population, and hence endeavour to demonstrate how, as tenants, serfs, parishioners, pilgrims and beggars, the ordinary people of Canmore Scotland helped shape reformed religious life.

In the sixth and final chapter a conclusion of the thesis’ findings will be presented in the form of a brief discussion regarding the extent to which the aforementioned continuity in patterns of ecclesiastical settlement, adoption of ancient monastic patrimonies and the multifarious ways in which the native laity were involved in the introduction and development of the new monastic orders, resulted in the reformed convents of the Canmore period adopting indigenous religious customs and traditions. Accordingly, the survival of such institutions as the cult of native saints and the veneration of their relics will be investigated. Chapter six will also strive to highlight how foreign monks and canons, far from being cultural imperialists, even furthered the popularity of such cults by promoting them at both a national and a local level. For example, the significance of Inchcolm’s nationally important propagation of St Colum Cille’s cult will be discussed, as will Paisley’s more
localised promotion of the cult of St Meadhrán. In so doing, it is envisaged that this concluding chapter will emphasise the role played by the reformed monasteries in the creation of the medieval Church in Scotland’s ‘composite identity’\textsuperscript{78} and, consequently, the evolution of a distinct Scottish national identity.

\textsuperscript{78} ‘The composite identity of the Scottish Church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries mirrored the shifting, hybrid character of both the macMáel Coluim dynasty and the nobility’. Lynch, ‘Religious Life in Medieval Scotland’, 107.
THE STATE OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH BY 1124

From Margaret the Saint to Margaret the Queen

Due primarily to the nature of the available evidence, there has been a tendency amongst historians throughout the centuries to view medieval Scottish history from the top down, that is interpreting events through the lives of a select group of predominantly royal figures. This is seldom more apparent than in the study of late eleventh-century Scotland, which has been, and continues to be, dominated by the personality of Saint/Queen Margaret. Indeed, just as Máel Coluim III has come to be viewed by later historians as the defining ancestor of the Canmore dynasty, so too has Margaret come to be perceived as the progenitor of the medieval Scottish Church. Margaret’s posthumous reputation, symbolically sealed by her canonisation in 1249, has proved to be so potent that it has bestowed a saintly lustre upon her unashamedly worldly husband and even resulted in her being perceived as the harbinger, not to say instigator, of an anti-Gaelic, radical programme of ecclesiastical reform. However, the pseudo-historical spotlight which has for so long been concentrated upon the zealous innovations of Margaret the Saint, is evidently beginning to be re-focused upon the more balanced religious policy of Margaret the Queen. Whilst this is not the place to give an account of Scotland’s most famous medieval queen, a task performed many times since Thurgot’s hagiography of c. 1100, it is nevertheless necessary for the present study to offer a brief survey of these current, largely re-assessed, views.

80 The extent to which this view has penetrated popular consciousness was demonstrated by a recent visit to Edinburgh Castle, where an official tour guide, on reaching St Margaret’s chapel, expressed such a view. He also, rather jejune, announced that for most of his reign Mael Coluim busied himself with numerous (unspecified) personal pursuits, ‘leaving Margaret to rule the kingdom’!
academic opinions regarding Margaret's ecclesiastical influence upon Scottish religious society. This is not least because, by dissipating somewhat the historical shadow which Margaret's reputation has often cast across studies of the Scottish Church from her marriage to Mael Coluim to the accession of the equally famous David I, this revisionism has made it possible, as demonstrated below, to place both her religious policies and those of her two elder sons, Edgar and Alexander, into a more evolutionary context. In short, it has facilitated a long-overdue re-assessment of the state of the native Scottish Church, its practices and provisions, on the eve of 1124 which is crucial to the better understanding of the threads of continuity which connected twelfth- and thirteenth-century reformed monasticism to the Church of previous centuries.

Margaret and the Scottish Church: the revisionary debate

From Thurgot's influential and apparently interpolated paean,82 to more modern yet equally hagiographical early twentieth-century studies,83 the traditional view of Margaret has been, as Macquarrie succinctly summarised, of 'an intolerant and assertive improver.'84 Indeed, until relatively recently her reputation has been one of an anti-Gaelic Church zealot who successfully eradicated native religious practices by almost single-handedly introducing a programme of continental reform.85 In recent decades, however, Margaret's life has undergone a thorough re-assessment by historians, who have on the whole chosen to play down the significance of her religious legacy. In the vanguard of this revisionary movement was Donaldson, who declared that 'Margaret's programme had been at best a limited one...she did nothing, apart from bringing a few Benedictine monks to Dunfermline.'86 This negative appraisal admittedly prompted a spirited response from

82 Baker, "'Nursery of Saints'", 130-132, has argued that a shorter life was written 1093X1095, while the longer version dates from 1104X1107. He further suggests that the final form of the life 'should perhaps be linked with the canonisation process in the thirteenth century', ibid., 132. Interestingly, many of the events and recollections from the Vita Margaretae upon which Queen Margaret's reputation as a holy woman and Church moderniser are based, such as her pious works and reforming activities, are either not mentioned at all or given far less prominence in the shorter life.

83 For example, T. Ratcliffe Barnett, Margaret of Scotland, Queen and Saint (Edinburgh, 1926); A. M. D. Henderson-Howat, Royal Pearl, The Life and Times of Margaret Queen of Scotland (London, 1948); & L. Menzies, St Margaret Queen of Scotland (London, 1925).

84 A. Macquarrie, 'An Eleventh-Century Account of the Foundation Legend of Laurencekirk, and of Queen Margaret's Pilgrimage There', IR, 47 (1996), 95-109, at 102.

85 See, for example, Andrew Laing, A History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1900), I, 96.

86 Donaldson, Church and Nation, 18-19.
Barrow, who argued not only that the queen was ‘knowingly and deliberately instigating changes’ which were to give impetus to the transformation of the older Scottish Church in general and organised religious life in particular, but also that her correspondence with Lanfranc opened the door to further reform by forging links between Scotland and Canterbury. In spite of this, however, subsequent studies have continued to minimise Margaret’s role. For example, Lynch has suggested that Margaret’s impact ‘must have been muted beyond the immediate circles of the royal court’, while Mr Wilson has proposed that ‘the most important contribution which St Margaret made to Scotland was the production of eight children.’ The popular view, held since the twelfth century, that Margaret had at least exercised a posthumous influence upon Scotland’s religious society through her kingly sons Edgar, Alexander and, particularly, David, has even been challenged. Thus, Baker has argued that of the three, only David I exhibited the type of extrovert piety often credited to Margaret, and that he is more likely to have been inspired by his sister Maud than his mother.

A corollary of this trend to afford Margaret’s impact upon Scottish religious society less prominence is that the history of the late eleventh-century Church as a whole requires revision. Most importantly for the current study, however, it raises questions regarding the extent of Anglo-Norman influence on the Scottish Church during Margaret’s reign, and especially the effect which her introduction of Benedictine monks at Dunfermline had on native religious society and whether it heralded the inevitable decline of the existing Scottish Church.

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88 ‘The impetus given by Queen Margaret to the process by which the older Scottish Church was transformed into the medieval Ecclesia Scotticana, and the prodigality of her youngest son, King David I, to a wide variety of religious orders, were prominent aspects of what was really a family affair’. Barrow, ‘The Royal House and the Religious Orders’, 165.
89 Ibid., 166, & idem, ‘Benedictines, Tironensians and Cistercians’, 194-197.
90 Lynch, Scotland, 76.
91 Wilson, St Margaret, 68. This view is also expressed in J. H. S. Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland (London, 1960), 37, & Donaldson, Church and Nation, 19.
92 See, for example, William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series no. 90, London, 1887-89), bk 5, cap. 400.
93 Baker, ‘“Nursery of Saints”’, 138-140.
Anglo-Norman Influence: more apparent than real?

Arguments for an extensive Anglo-Norman involvement in the late eleventh-century Church are based primarily upon the relationship which developed between Scotland and the Benedictine houses of Canterbury and Durham in general, and that of Margaret with Lanfranc and Thurgot in particular. Thus it is noted that: Margaret requested Lanfranc of Canterbury to be her spiritual adviser and that in reply he despatched three Benedictine monks to aid her religious work;94 that she probably chose Thurgot of Durham as her confessor;95 that Máel Coluim III participated in the ceremony at which the foundation stone of the new Durham cathedral was laid;96 and that from 1109-1115 and 1120-1121 the bishopric of St Andrews was held by the aforementioned Thurgot and Eadmer of Canterbury, respectively.97 While these developments undoubtedly demonstrate that religious contact between Scotland and certain English houses intensified, they do not however necessarily point to either an Anglo-Normanised Church or even one where southern influence was particularly prominent. In illustration, despite the fact that he adopted the style Primas totius Britanniae (Primate of all Britain)98 and in 1072 not only agreed that the archbishop of York was to have primacy over Scotland but also gained recognition of Canterbury's supremacy over all of the English (and hence, indirectly, the Scottish) Church,99 there is no evidence that Lanfranc used Margaret's plea for help to realise these metropolitan ambitions. Thus, in sharp contrast with the letters which he sent to

95 This is implied by a number of statements made in the Vita Margaretae e.g., 'that by reason of her frequent and familiar intercourse with me', prologue; 'When I recall the conversations I had with her...', cap. I; 'Hence she frequently entreated me not to hesitate to point out and reprove in private anything which I saw amiss in her words and deeds', VII; 'She condescended to converse with me in the most familiar way, and to disclose to me her secret thoughts', XI.
98 Letters of Lanfranc, 3-4. See also, M. Gibson, Lanfranc of Bec (Oxford, 1970), 121.
99 For the Canterbury-York dispute regarding the primacy, see William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum, 39-66, & Opera Lanfranci, ed. J. A. Giles (Oxford, 1844), 23-27. Despite Lanfranc's concession to York concerning Scotland, that his successors continued to view the Scottish bishoprics as at least nominally coming under their control is demonstrated by Canterbury's involvement in the battle between York and Bishop John of Glasgow. See Duncan, Scotland, 258-260.
Irish rulers, Lanfranc’s correspondence with Margaret is completely lacking not only in primatial pretensions, but also in any ecclesiological or spiritual advice. Indeed, considering his readiness to intervene in Ireland, the overtly flattering and self-deprecatory tone which distinguishes Lanfranc’s letter to Margaret interestingly gives the impression that he was unwilling to fully comply with the queen’s request and is letting her down gently. In this respect, it can be compared with the effusive letter which Thiebaut d’Étampes sent to Margaret explaining that he was compelled to decline her offer of a post in Scotland on account of his fear of the sea - a rather specious excuse given the fact that he subsequently accepted a teaching position at Oxford.

Regarding the assistance which Lanfranc did give Margaret, i.e. Goldwine and his two fellow monks of Holy Trinity, Canterbury, it is unlikely that they either greatly extended Anglo-Norman influence in or even made much of an immediate impact upon Scottish religious life beyond the confines of the royal court. On the one hand, for example, the idea that the Cantuarian influence introduced by the queen demonstrated that ‘Margaret’s own loyalty [to the king of England] was not in doubt’ and that ‘Here was a permanent link with the English court and...a channel of information for William the Conqueror on Scottish affairs’ is absurd in the extreme. It incorrectly presumes not only that Margaret, an Englishwoman whose dynasty had been brutally ousted by William, was pro-Anglo-Norman, but also that Mael Coluim III, who after all expelled Aldwin and Thurgot from Melrose because they refused to swear allegiance to him, would somehow

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100 Letters of Lanfranc, nos. 9 & 10.
101 Ibid., no. 50. It is, however, possible that other correspondence between the two parties regarding specific ecclesiological and spiritual matters have since been lost.
103 Gibson, Lanfranc of Bec, 127.
104 As Baker, ”‘Nursery of Saints’”, 135-36, stated, those who highlight cultural differences between Margaret and Mael Coluim often overlook the fact that Scottish and Anglo-Saxon societies had interacted closely with each other in Britain years before the arrival of the Normans, with whose culture they arguably shared less than with each others. This is especially the case as Mael Coluim had spent his exile at the Anglo-Saxon court and so presumably was experienced in English language and customs. Some commentators (such as Ritchie, Normans in Scotland, 67-83) also tend to erroneously depict Margaret as an agent of Norman-French customs and fashions in Scotland just because Thurgot (Vita Margaretae, VII) noted that she encouraged merchants to visit Scotland and dressed in fine clothes. This is part of the process which equates anything vaguely continental in eleventh- and twelfth-century Scottish society with the Normans, even if, as in Margaret’s case, it probably owed more to the time she spent at the Anglo-Saxon court of Edward the Confessor.
105 Symeon, Opera, II, 111-112.
have tolerated a Cantuarian fifth-column at the heart of his kingdom. Conversely, Máel Coluim, and perhaps even Margaret - whose confessor Thurgot, rather than an Anglo-Norman, was a fellow English national, as probably was Goldwine - probably welcomed this limited association with the Benedictine Order in the belief that it could aid his political ambitions in northern England. Máel Coluim was certainly not above complementing his violent incursions into Northumbria with religiously orientated diplomacy, as demonstrated by his policy of patronising the shrine of St Cuthbert. Indeed, it is possible that both Thurgot and Margaret’s favourite, yet unnamed priest, used his connections with Durham to act as mediator between the Scottish king and the monks of St Cuthbert. Admittedly, as noted above, the chief bishopric in Scotland did come to be successively held in the early twelfth century by two English Benedictines. However, the difficulties experienced by both Thurgot and Eadmer, especially their disputes with Alexander regarding ecclesiastical jurisdiction, merely underline how precarious their tenure at St Andrews was and the yet superficial nature of Anglo-Norman influence in the Scottish Church. Indeed, further proof that Margaret’s policy did not result in the late eleventh-century Church coming under the thrall of Anglo-Norman archbishops is provided by the papal letters which repeatedly and vainly ordered the primates of Scotland to show obedience to York. It is also

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106 For Thurgot’s background, see Ritchie, Normans in Scotland, 44.
107 It is in this context, and not as the willing subject of an Anglo-Norman bishop, that Máel Coluim’s participation in the ceremony at Durham in 1093 should be viewed. Symeon, Opera, II, 220. Máel Coluim was in fact following a long tradition of Scottish kings attempting to get involved in Northumbrian politics by patronising Durham. For example, the eighth-century king Óengus mac Fergus complemented his political ties with Northumbria by patronising St Cuthbert, as is revealed by his inclusion along with other benefactors in the Liber Vitae of that saint. J. Gerschow, Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen (Berlin, 1988), 149. Alexander mac Máel Coluim’s presence at the translation of St Cuthbert’s bones to a new shrine in 1104 demonstrates that the connections between the Canmores and Durham remained strong into the twelfth century. ES, II, 137.
108 He is mentioned in Thurgot, Vita Margaretae, XIII, as being Margaret’s priest ‘whom...she loved more intimately than any other’. That he was connected with Durham can be inferred from the fact that he retired to become a monk of St Cuthbert after Margaret died.
109 Thurgot was one of the three main participants in the ceremony of 1093 (the other two being Máel Coluim and Bishop William St Carilef). This implies that he had played an important part in its preparation. As a well-known figure at the royal court, he was perhaps responsible for arranging the Scottish king’s involvement.
110 For Thurgot’s difficulties, see Symeon, Opera, II, 204; and for Eadmer’s, his Historia Nororum in Anglia, ed. M. Rule (Rolls Series no. 81, London, 1884), 281-285.
111 For example, Pope Calixtus III sent letters to both Alexander I and Bishop John of Glasgow vainly instructing them to show obedience to York. Lawrie, ESC, nos. XLIII & XI.1V. See also nos. XLV & LXIII. Admittedly, it is claimed that Bishop Fothad was
potently demonstrated by the newly-rediscovered extension to the shorter-version of the St Andrews Historia Fundationis.\textsuperscript{112} This long-overlooked excerpt not only offers fascinating insights into the topography of St Andrews at the end of the eleventh century,\textsuperscript{113} but also makes revealing comments about the see itself. For example, contrary to the traditional perception that after the death of Bishop Fothad in 1093 the see was vacant until the elevation of Thurgot, it states that St Andrews is under the episcopal control of Giric. Significantly, the author not only styled Giric ‘archbishop’, but also stated that ‘the archiepiscopacy of all Scotia ought to be [exercised] from this city, where the apostolic seat is’,\textsuperscript{114} and that consequently ‘no bishop ought to be ordained in Scotia without the approval of the elders of that place’.\textsuperscript{115} It moreover goes on to proclaim St Andrews as a second Rome and the ‘civitas civitatum scotie’ (the city of cities of Scotia). The language thus used is interestingly redolent of that employed by Gregorian reformers and papal monarchists on the continent, further implying that the Scottish Church had formed links with the reforming papacy during the eleventh century. Notably, Broun has tentatively dated this extract to 1093X1107, and views it as a response to Pope Paschal II’s letter of December AD1100X1101 instructing the bishops per Scociam to show obedience to the new archbishop of York.\textsuperscript{116} If this is the case, then the extract not only strongly suggests that the Gaelic episcopal tradition continued at St Andrews after the death of Fothad, but also demonstrates, amongst many other things, the vigour of the St Andrews clergy and their sophisticated perception of their see’s status as the head of a national Scottish Church.

On the other hand, the assertion that Goldwine and his compatriots were sent north to assist Margaret reform the Scottish Church and were actually responsible for convening the council at Edinburgh Castle commented upon by Thurgot\textsuperscript{117} is arguably equally fantastical. It overlooks, for example, the interesting fact that Thurgot, who was otherwise keen to

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compelled by Máel Coluim and Margaret to submit himself to the primacy of York, but evidence for this comes from the twelfth-century, partial account The Archbishops of York and, being uncorroborated, cannot hence be trusted. SAEC, 131n.
\textsuperscript{112} This document is currently being researched and translated by Dr D. Broun of the University of Glasgow and Dr S. Taylor of the University of St Andrews. I am grateful to Dr Broun for providing me with a draft copy of this excerpt and his working translation.
\textsuperscript{113} It comments upon, for instance, the Gaelic community’s mill and the house of Master Samuel.
\textsuperscript{114} ‘Ex ac itaque civitate, esse, archiepiscopatus debet tocius scotie, ubi apostolica sedes est’.
\textsuperscript{115} ‘nee absque consilio seniorum istius loci ullus episcopus in scotia debet ordinari’.
\textsuperscript{116} Personal correspondence with Dr D. Broun.
\textsuperscript{117} Wilson, St Margaret, 78.
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stress his patroness' pious and reforming deeds, makes no mention whatsoever of the presence of the Canterbury monks in Scotland.\textsuperscript{118} Even if this surprising omission was due to a pro-Durham partisanship on the part of Thurgot, the argument for Goldwine and his compatriots having played a leading role in the reform of the Scottish Church also ignores the probability that a mere three foreign monks who presumably spoke no Gaelic were unlikely to have made much impression upon a Church the majority of whose members spoke nothing else and whose clergy naturally used that language rather than Latin or English to debate intricate ecclesiological affairs.\textsuperscript{119} This is especially the case if, as Barrow proposes,\textsuperscript{120} the native clergy and nobility were hostile during this period to incoming religious. It likewise fails to take account of the restrictive conditions which Lanfranc imposed upon their mission to Scotland, as outlined in his letter to Margaret. For example, Lanfranc obviously believed that his three monks could fulfil Margaret's request relatively quickly and asked that they be returned to Canterbury at the first available opportunity.\textsuperscript{121} These are hardly the requisites (in which a note of reluctance can perhaps be detected) which would be inflicted upon a mission either to modernise an allegedly backward Church or to spear-head a monastic reform by an archbishop who had gained extensive reforming experience not least through his intimate involvement in the Irish Church.\textsuperscript{122}

Indeed, the difference between Lanfranc's interest in Ireland and in Scotland strengthens the proposal that he was not overly concerned with supervising a Cantuarian-led reform of the Scottish Church. Thus, as noted above, he appears neither to have sent Máel Coluim III the type of admonishing and instructive letters which he did to Guthric of Dublin and Toirrdelbach Ua Briain of Munster, regarding their subjects' peculiar religious

\textsuperscript{118} Indeed, equally surprisingly, Thurgot likewise makes no mention of Margaret's correspondence with Lanfranc. That this was the case may merely have been due to a bit of Durham-Canterbury rivalry. More probably, however, it implies that the Cantuarian involvement in Scotland had had little affect on Scottish religious society during Thurgot's lifetime. This strengthens the argument made above that Lanfranc had diplomatically rebuffed Margaret's request for his greater involvement in Scottish affairs. \textsuperscript{119} This is implied by the fact that the \textit{Vita Margaretae}, VIII, states that Margaret required a translator at the council held at Edinburgh. Macquarrie, 'St Margaret of Scotland', 213-214, however, questions the assertion that Margaret knew no Gaelic. 
\textsuperscript{120} Barrow, 'The Royal House and the Religious Orders', 170.
\textsuperscript{121} For example, 'I do most urgently entreat you to strive to complete the work that you have begun for God and your soul's welfare as quickly and effectively as you can. Should you be able to achieve it without the help of others, or wish to do so, we most fervently desire that our own monks should return to us...'. \textit{Letters of Lanfranc}, no. 50.
practices, nor gained from the papacy permission to actively intervene in Scotland to put a stop to these religious abuses as he did for Ireland. It is equally illuminating to note that, in spite of this Cantuarrian involvement in Ireland, which, particularly between the years 1074 and 1111, was intensive compared to that in Scotland, the influence which the band of Romanising clergy sponsored by Lanfranc and Anselm had upon the Irish reform movement was relatively inconsequential. If this theory is correct, then it casts even further doubt upon the supposed reforming activities of Margaret’s three Benedictine monks.

In light of these reservations, it can be proposed that the main, if not sole, rational for Goldwine and his brothers’ presence in Scotland was to establish an English-speaking royal chapel at Dunfermline which could serve not only Margaret’s spiritual needs, but also those of the other Anglo-Saxon exiles gathered at the Scottish court, to whom confessing to and gaining advice from Mael Coluim’s Gaelic clergy must have posed problems. Accordingly, despite the fact that under the patronage of successive Canmore kings, most notably David I, Dunfermline was to become not only one of the wealthiest monasteries in medieval Scotland and, indeed, the sacral focus for the descendants of Mael Coluim III...
and cult centre of the latterly beatified Margaret, but also, through its connections with both Canterbury and Durham, created an at times influential ecclesiological and cultural bond between the Scottish and English Churches.\textsuperscript{131} It can be concluded that from this small centre the Cantuarian mission neither introduced a significant Anglo-Norman presence into the late eleventh-century Church, nor, importantly, initiated the reform of Scottish monasticism.\textsuperscript{132}

\textit{Máel Coluim and Margaret: patrons or adversaries of the Gaelic Church?}

Contrary to the belief amongst many post-Reformation scholars that the early Church in Scotland was in some way extra-Catholic and hostile to Rome,\textsuperscript{133} (an attitude which continues to colour popular perceptions of early Scottish religious history to this day),\textsuperscript{134} there is in fact evidence to demonstrate that probably from as early as the sixth century and definitely by the eleventh century, the Gaelic Church was an integral and orthodox member of the greater Catholic Church.\textsuperscript{135} So much so, in fact, that it was even conscious at an early

\textsuperscript{131} It would be foolish to claim that the contacts forged at the time of Margaret with the English Church had no influence at all on Scottish religious society. Apropos of Dunfermline and Canterbury, for example: King Edgar, perhaps in an attempt to replace the monks of Dunfermline who were probably expelled during the reign of Donald Bàn, requested Anselm of Canterbury to send him a party of Benedictines, Lawrie, \textit{ESC}, no. XXV; Alexander I, most probably on the advice of the monks of Dunfermline, sent one of their number - Prior Peter - to negotiate with Archbishop Anselm over the appointment of Eadmer to the see of St Andrews, Eadmer, \textit{Historia Novorum}, 279; while David I brought Prior Geoffrey from Canterbury to be the first abbot of Dunfermline in 1128. \textit{RRS}, I, no. 8. Strong ties between Dunfermline and Canterbury are also implied by a number of literary works: for example, that the story regarding Margaret and her experience at Laurencekirk was circulating in late eleventh-century Canterbury has been credited by Macquarrie, ‘Laurencekirk’, 101, to Dunfermline’s Cantuarian connections; two abbots of Dunfermline and two local noblewomen were included in a thirteenth-century Cantuarian necrology, Barrow, ‘Benedictines, Tironensians and Cistercians’, 197, and it has been argued in Veitch, ‘\textit{De domibus religiosis}’, 23, that the Scottish information in this Cantuarian monasticon was supplied by a Benedictine of Dunfermline. For the influence of Durham in the Scottish Church, see Barrow, ‘The Royal House and the Religious Orders’, 167-169.

\textsuperscript{132} Indeed, in comparison with England and Ireland, the Benedictine presence in Scotland was relatively meagre, with Black Monk houses restricted to only seven sites throughout the kingdom, only two of which were abbeys. Cowan & Easson, \textit{MRHS}, 55.


\textsuperscript{134} An example of this is an article by Allan Massie in \textit{The Scotsman} of the 7th of June, 1997, entitled ‘Christian in a coracle who rocked the Pictish boat’, which claimed that ‘Columba’s church never died but was to be superseded. It had no link with Rome, and his followers known as Culdees, did not seek one. They maintained their independent form of Christianity till at least the 11th century’.

\textsuperscript{135} For a brief discussion, see Veitch, ‘Columban Church’. See also Barrow, \textit{Kingship and Unity}, 61-66, who has noted that none of the ecclesiastical ‘abusés’ which Thurgot alleged Margaret had ‘corrected’ and ‘uprooted’ ‘appears to have touched the fundamentals of 29
date of the Gregorian reform movement. However, as with all of that institution's constituent parts, it had its own peculiar national characteristics. Thus it was distinguished from the Church in neighbouring kingdoms - with the notable exception of that in Ireland, with which it of course shared many cultural foundations - by the traditions and practices which expressed its predominantly Gaelic heritage. For example, in his *Vita Margaretae* Thurgot reveals that during the late eleventh century the Scots observed a number of religious customs which were of a peculiarly Gaelic origin. The practice of abstaining from Communio at Easter - probably only observed by those under penance rather than all Scots as implied by Thurgot - had its roots in the early Gaelic Church penitentials of ascetic religious such as Columbanus. The marriage of in-laws was likewise an ancient Gaelic custom, supported by Mosaic and Brehon, if not canon, law. In the opinion of Thurgot, however, these distinctive Gaelic cultural idiosyncrasies were to be condemned as 'contrary to the rule of faith and the institutions of the Church' and even as 'barbarous rites'. As such they were the natural target for the reforming zeal of Thurgot's Margaret, whom he

136 B. T. Hudson, 'Gaelic Princes and the Gregorian Reform', in B. T. Hudson & V. Ziegler (eds.), *Crossed Paths: Methodological Approaches to the Celtic Aspect of the European Middle Ages* (Lanham, 1991), 61-82. It is possible that the Gregorian reform movement was known in Scotland even earlier than Hudson's estimate, due to Macbeth's pilgrimage to Rome. For a discussion see *appendix 1*. Studies of the contemporaneous involvement of Irish churchmen in the reform movement which can serve as rudimentary models for the eleventh-century Scottish Church can be found in A. Gwynn, 'Ireland and the Continent in the Eleventh Century', in *The Irish Church in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, 34-49; & Hughes, *Church in Early Irish Society*, 253-262.

137 *Vita Margaretae*, VIII.


139 Gwynn, 'The First Synod of Cashel, 1101', in *The Irish Church in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, 167-172. That this practice continued into the twelfth century is revealed by both a letter of Pope Alexander III's from 1172, (extract printed in ibid., 177-78) which remarks that many in Ireland 'marry their stepmothers and are not ashamed to have children by them; that a man will live with his brother's wife while the brother is still alive [etc.], and Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. J. J. O'Meara (London, 1982), 106, which states that 'men in many places in Ireland, I shall not say marry, but rather debauch, the wives of their dead brothers.'

140 Thurgot, *Vita Margaretae*, VIII, asserted that Mass in Scotland was celebrated according to 'nescio ritu barbaro' (I know not what barbarous rite). The exact meaning of this phrase is unknown.
portrayed as the sole agent of their successful extirpation from the Scottish Church. Subsequently, Margaret has been viewed as the scourge of native religious traditions in Scotland; a queen whose reign witnessed the suppression of the Scottish Church’s decaying Gaelic character.

It is crucial to remember, however, that after Margaret fled to Scotland, she did not become queen of a newly converted country, such as her native Hungary, which presented an ecclesiastical blank sheet, as it were, upon which a zealous incomer could make an instant, innovatory individual impression, but a nation which had a long, often distinguished Christian tradition.\textsuperscript{141} Indeed, as a foreign, female exile in a highly conservative, predominantly Gaelic kingdom whose Church had been an integral part of and ideological driving force behind the expanding Scottish state since at least Colum Cille’s mission in the sixth century, and whose religious and secular societies, at all levels, enjoyed an almost symbiotic cultural relationship, Margaret would have had little opportunity to single-handedly initiate and implement widespread and radical ecclesiastical reform.\textsuperscript{142} Nor would she have been able, as Thurgot implies,\textsuperscript{143} to browbeat, bully or dictate to an anciently established and no doubt learned clergy. This is especially the case as, far from being in decline, the Scottish Church arguably experienced something of a \textit{renovatio} during the eleventh century. This was marked partly by an unprecedented expansion in its jurisdiction.

For example, to consolidate their conquests in Lothian, Scottish kings granted ecclesiastical jurisdiction in that province to the loyal houses of Dunkeld and, primarily, St Andrews.\textsuperscript{144}

\textsuperscript{141} Whilst this may appear to be stating the obvious, in light of the often disparaging depiction of the medieval Scottish Church by contemporary Anglo-Norman scribes, and the fact that even the most eminent of modern Church historians are not above comparing religious society in twelfth-century Scotland with that in the newly christianised provinces of formerly pagan Poland and Muslim Spain (R. W. Southern, \textit{Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages} [London, 1970], 261-262), it unfortunately requires reiteration.

\textsuperscript{142} Baker, \textit{"Nursery of Saints"}, 130-131, has highlighted that the shorter, near-contemporary version of the \textit{Vita Margaretae} accords a much more modest reforming role to Margaret than the later version. For example, the shorter \textit{life} states that Margaret held ‘many councils’ in contrast to the expanded version’s ‘frequent councils’. Baker has also noted that whilst most scholars readily recognise her religious influence in general and, often, personal terms, when it comes to ascribing to her actual ecclesiological reforms ‘it is noticeable how unanimity disintegrates, unease and equivocation creeps in’. Ibid., 126.

\textsuperscript{143} \textit{Vita Margaretae}, VIII

\textsuperscript{144} The first king of Alba recorded as actually gaining a permanent foothold in Northumbria was Indulf (954-62), to whom the English relinquished Edinburgh castle and, evidently, the territories north of the (Haddingtonshire) Tyne. W. F. Skene (ed.), \textit{Chronicles of the Picts: Chronicles of the Scots} (Edinburgh, 1867), 10; & Symeon, II, 197. He was closely associated with St Andrews, which could explain why Lothian was ceded to that church. Dunkeld had jurisdiction over five detached parishes in Lothian, at Aberlady.
Accordingly, at the death of Máel Coluim II (1005-34), whose famous victory at Carham in 1018 was probably the culmination of a campaign intended to end Cuthbertine influence in Lothian,\(^{145}\) Scottish Church territory extended as far south as the River Tweed. While disputes between Scottish and English churchmen over the rights to certain lands continued long after this date,\(^{146}\) the annexation of Lothian would have not only markedly increased the wealth of St Andrews, but arguably also, with this expansion echoing the march southwards of their sixth- and seventh-century Columban forebears, given the clergy of the Church as a whole a boost in confidence. In addition to this significant development, the eleventh century also witnessed the assimilation of Strathclyde into the Scottish state.\(^{147}\) Admittedly, unlike that of Lothian, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Strathclyde was not transferred to a religious house in Alba. However, the gaelicisation of Strathclyde’s religious society reveals that in spite of this, the Scottish clergy enjoyed considerable cultural, and hence probably political, influence within its Church.\(^{148}\)

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\(^{145}\) That Máel Coluim II was determined to break the power of the Cuthbertines is implied by his first recorded act as king, the attack on their power-base at Durham in 1006. See *De Obsessione Dunelmii* in Symeon, I, 215-16. For Máel Coluim’s other campaigns, see *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* and *Historia Regum* in ibid., I, 84 & II, 155-56. For discussion, see B. Meehan, ‘The Siege of Durham, the battle of Carham and the cession of Lothian’, *SHR*, lv (1976), 1-19; & A. A. M. Duncan, ‘The Battle of Carham’, *SHR*, lv (1976), 20-28. Notably, a contingent of religious from Durham participated in the battle of Carham.

\(^{146}\) G. W. S. Barrow, ‘The Anglo-Scottish border’, in *Kingdom of the Scots*, 139-161, at 152.

\(^{147}\) It is thought that at the end of the ninth century there was a migration of Britons to Wales due to the increasing scotification of Strathclyde. *ES*, I, 368; & A. P. Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men: Scotland AD 80-1000* (London, 1984), 271-281. This interpretation, however, has been questioned by Hudson, *Kings of Celtic Scotland*, 87-88. There is also some dispute about the extent to which the Scots were involved in the actual kingship of Strathclyde. See Duncan, *Scotland*, 91; Hudson, *Kings of Celtic Scotland*, 72; A. Macquarrie, ‘The Kings of Strathclyde, c.400-1018’, in Grant & Stringer, *Medieval Scotland*, 1-19.

\(^{148}\) In its political and cultural functions, the ecclesiastical site at Govan may have been intended to be a replica of the great church of Dunkeld. There are certainly indications that there was a concerted effort by Scottish clergy to assimilate the religious society of Strathclyde into the Church tradition which Dunkeld represented. This included the composition by a Gaelic churchman of an account of Kentigern’s life which successfully depicted the premier saint of Strathclyde in a distinctly Gaelic context. For the two twelfth-century *lives*, see *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, ed. A. P. Forbes (Edinburgh, 1874), 159-252. For discussion, see K. H. Jackson, ‘The Sources for the Life of Kentigern’, in N. Chadwick (ed.), *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge, 1958), 273-357; A. Macquarrie, ‘The Career of Saint Kentigern of Glasgow: *Vita*, *Lectones* and Glimpses of Fact’, *IR*, xxxvii (1986), 3-24; & J. MacQueen, ‘Yvain, Ewen and Owein ap Urien’, *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Archaeology Society*, 3rd
Significantly, this territorial expansion was complemented by a vigorous Gaelic cultural revival. For example, during the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, there was a marked increase in the Irish Church’s literary output. Rather than in Latin, however, the plethora of commentaries, hagiographies and homilies were written in Irish. This development, with its concomitant increase in scholarly interest in Irish antiquities, could only have led to a heightened awareness amongst the clergy in Ireland of the cultural and historical foundations of their Church. Accordingly, with the magnificent round towers at Abernethy and Brechin demonstrating that Irish cultural influence remained one of the most potent forces in the development of the Scottish Church right up until the early twelfth century, it is likely that the transition from Latin to the vernacular in Ireland was paralleled in Alba. Admittedly, in comparison with the wealth of eleventh-century ecclesiastical documents written in Irish, extant literature produced by religious communities in the Scottish Church in Gaelic during this period is notably meagre. Nevertheless, an indication of Gaelic’s heightened literary status (and how, as in Ireland, scholarly attention in Scotland was focused largely upon historical matters) is provided by the Prophecy of Berchán and, possibly, Duan Albanach. The rise in importance of Gaelic in Alba is interestingly also implied by the frequent mention in twelfth- and

series, xxxiv (1956), 107-131. Interestingly, that one of the late tenth-century kings of Strathclyde was called Mael Coluim (d. 997) indicates that the Scottish cult of Colum Cille had successfully penetrated Strathclyde by at least the mid tenth century. K. Hughes, Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources (London, 1972), 270-301; & J. F. Kenney, The Sources for the Early History of Ireland, I, ecclesiastical (New York, 1929), 10-11.

Opinion concerning the construction date of the round towers at Abernethy and Brechin is divided. Fernie, ‘Early Church Architecture in Scotland’, 393-411, argues that they were built during the period c. 1090 to c. 1130, while Cameron, ‘St Rule’s Church, St Andrews and Early Stone-Built Churches in Scotland’. 374-375, proposes an earlier, eleventh-century date. The cultural confidence and continuing wealth of Gaelic Church communities is also evident in the contemporaneous square tower at Restennet. R. Fawcett, Scottish Abbeys and Priorities (London, 1994), 19.

Current research by Dr T. O. Clancy, dept. of Celtic, University of Glasgow, suggests that the Leabar Breatnach was written in Scotland, possibly at Abernethy. I am grateful to Dr Clancy for allowing me a preview of his initial researches.

It has been proposed in B. T. Hudson, The Prophecy of Berchán: Irish and Scottish High-Kings of the Early Middle Ages (Westport, 1996), 90-103, that part of the Prophecy was written in the eleventh century by a person close to the Scottish monarchs, and was but one manifestation of a general Gaelic intellectual revival in tenth- to eleventh-century Scotland which had a strong political aspect. The provenance of the Duan Albanach, however, is disputed, with K. Jackson, ‘The Duan Albanach’. SHR, xxxvi (1957), 125-137, at 127, & Broun, ‘The Birth of Scottish History’, 7n, arguing for an Irish authorship, while
thirteenth-century documents of the *fer léginn* (lector). This is because in Ireland the rise to literary prominence of the vernacular was characterised by the gradual replacement from the ninth century onwards of the *scriba* (scribe) by the *fer léginn*. It is hence notable that post-eleventh-century clerks, either through use of the title *fer léginn* itself or one of its probable cognates - of which, *rector scholarum*, *rex scholarum*, and, possibly, *magister scholarum* highlight the basic educational role of the office - recorded the existence of this office at the Gaelic Church houses of Abernethy, Dunblane, Iona, Muthill, St Andrews, and Turriff. Interestingly, this not only demonstrates the continued presence of Gaelic-style lectors at some of the most ancient and important religious sites throughout Alba, including the influential episcopal church of St Andrews, long after 1093, but also suggests a much wider distribution of such officials at lesser, traditional communities throughout the kingdom benorth the Clyde-Forth line. Indeed, from the reference to *macleins/scolocs/scolastici* scattered throughout the sources, it can be inferred that *fer léginn* were possibly once present at as diverse sites as Arbuthnott, Dunkeld.

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155 Robertson, *On Scholastic Offices*, 19-22, suggests that the office of *magister scholarum* (master of scholars) was one rank below that of *fer léginn*, citing as his evidence the document from 1211X1216 in *St A. Lib.*, 316-18, which lists a *ferlano*, a *magister scholarum* and *scolastici*. For an alternative interpretation, see pp. 259-260 below.
156 Lawrie, *ESC*, no. XIV.
157 *Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores*, ed. J. Dowden (SHS, 1903), no. XLVI.
158 *ES*, II, 253.
159 *Lind. Cart.*, no. XLVI.
160 *St A. Lib.*, 316-318.
161 Lawrie, *ESC*, no. XC VII. If ‘master of scholars’ was a cognate for *fer léginn*, then it can be proposed that there were formerly Gaelic sites at Ayr and Perth. *Pais. Reg.*, 164, 173-174 & 229. This is nevertheless doubtful, as discussed below.
162 For a discussion, see Robertson, *On Scholastic Offices*, 7-18.
164 *Lind. Cart.*, nos. XXXIII & XXXIV. Significantly, both of these charters contain the phrase ‘*maclein* and *scolocs’*, suggesting that, unless their author was indulging in a bit of scribal tautology, there was a recognisable difference between these two positions. Perhaps the *maclein* (*mac léginn > son of the lector*) was so-called because he had reached a higher grade of learning, or perhaps even because he was a descendant of the original *fer léginn*. That these charters record the chapter of Dunkeld transferring the *convent* which once sustained the *maclein* and *scolocs* of that church to the monastery at Lindores, implies that by the early thirteenth century at least their original function had decayed. A similar scenario can be witnessed at Arbuthnott, where by the early thirteenth century the local landowner had ‘removed the *nativi* and *scolocs’* from the kirktoun. *Spalding Misc.*, V,
Ellon,\textsuperscript{166} Fetteresso,\textsuperscript{167} and Monymusk\textsuperscript{168} in Alba and Kirkcudbright\textsuperscript{169} in Galloway. It can therefore be proposed that throughout the Scottish Church before the advent of large numbers of foreign religious during the twelfth century, and at certain native-dominated communities after that, the \textit{fer lèginn} ensured that the language of the Church, and hence learning, in Alba at least, was Gaelic. This could only have further defined the fundamentally Gaelic nature of the Scottish Church during Margaret’s reign and consequently strengthened the traditional cultural bonds between laity and clergy.

Whilst this depiction of the late eleventh-century Church in Scotland as a culturally vibrant and internally evolving institution conflicts with the impression given by Thurgot of a Church so decadent and lacklustre that it offered little or no resistance to the changes imposed upon it by an incomer, it significantly correlates with the aforementioned recent re-assessment of Margaret’s reputation as the scourge of Scottish religious society’s distinctive Gaelic characteristics. For example, Macquarrie in particular has highlighted that rather than ‘an assertive colonial improver’ of religious society in Scotland, Margaret, in a role surely reflective of the vigour of native ecclesiastical culture, was in fact a discerning, not to say ardent, patroness of the existing Scottish Church.\textsuperscript{170} Perhaps surprisingly, information for this is presented by Thurgot himself. In illustration, he records that Margaret established a free ferry-crossing across the Forth and bothies on either side of it for pilgrims travelling to St Andrews, a church upon which she bestowed ‘a most beautiful crucifix’.\textsuperscript{171} By patronising St Andrews, Margaret was demonstrating not only her appreciation of native religious sensibilities and importance as a major pilgrim centre in northern Britain,\textsuperscript{172} but also that site’s contemporary relevance to both Scottish Church and

\textsuperscript{166} Collections for the History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff (Spalding Club, 1843), 311-312.
\textsuperscript{167} Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc, 2 vols. (Bannatyne Club, 1848-56), I, no. 89.
\textsuperscript{168} Simpson, ‘Augustinian Priory’, 43.
\textsuperscript{169} Cowan & Easson, \textit{MRHS}, 50.
\textsuperscript{170} See discussions in Macquarrie, ‘Laurencekirk’; \textit{& idem}, ‘St Margaret of Scotland’.
\textsuperscript{171} \textit{Vita Margaretae}, IV.
\textsuperscript{172} Thurgot, ibid., IX, stated that St Andrews ‘was much frequented by the devout, who flocked to it from all sides’. St Andrews appears to have attracted important pilgrims since the tenth century. For example, it is recorded in the \textit{Chronicon Scotorum} (quoted in \textit{FS}, I, 472) that in 965 Aed mac Mæl mithig died on pilgrimage to \textit{Cennrígmonaid} (St Andrews).
state. Margaret’s awareness of and support for the existing network of religious communities in Fife is further demonstrated by a charter preserved in the register of St Andrews which records that, in conjunction with Máel Coluim, she patronised the ancient and undoubtedly influential célè Dé monastery of Lochleven. It can thus be proposed that, adumbrating twelfth- and thirteenth-century developments in reformed monasticism, a balance was struck in Margaret’s religious policy between support for the old, as at Lochleven, and for the new, as at Dunfermline.

In addition to patronising religious sites of national importance (which, according to the uncorroborated testimony of Orderic Vitalis, included Iona) it is also recorded that Margaret was devoted to and visited many ascetics and hermits in Scotland. Thus, Thurgot notes:

At that time there were very many in different parts of the kingdom of Scotland who, shut up in separate cells, were leading lives of great strictness, in the flesh but not according to the flesh. In these the Queen venerated Christ and loved Him, and frequently occupied herself in visiting and conversing with them, and used to commend herself to their prayers.

Whilst many of these ascetics would probably have lived completely solitary lives in hermitages, some would have lived in small communities as prescribed by the rule of the célè Dé. Laurencekirk, which, according to a near-contemporary account of her visit there, Margaret ‘adorned...with a great silver cross and a beautiful chalice, and with other royal gifts’ was perhaps one such community to which Thurgot alluded.

Interestingly, both Margaret’s visit to Laurencekirk and Thurgot’s testimony that she often conversed with native anchorites has led Macquarrie to question her hagiographer’s assertion that she knew no Gaelic. Why Thurgot would have elected to lessen his subject’s abilities in this way Macquarrie does not explain. Perhaps it was an artistic artifice employed by Thurgot in order to emphasise the difference between Margaret and the native churchmen, and hence further advance the theme which arguably runs throughout the life, while Reginald of Durham, Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici, Heremite de Finchale (London, 1845), 28, remarked that St Godric of Finchale ‘often visited that famous house of the holy apostle Andrew which is known to be in the wild territory of Scotland’.

173 Lawrie, ESC, no. VIII.
174 Orderic Vitalis, Ecclesiastical History, VIII, xx.
175 Vita Margaretae, IX.
176 For the identity of some medieval Scottish hermits, see Barrow, ‘Benedictines, Tironensians and Cistercians’, 190-91.
178 Idem, ‘St Margaret of Scotland’, 214.
i.e., of a saintly, reform-minded incomer guiding a backward native Church to spiritual and ecclesiological enlightenment. Thurgot may also have drawn upon Durham's Gaelic Church traditions and simply paralleled Bede's account of the conversion of Northumbria, in which Oswald is depicted as translating for Ædán.\textsuperscript{179} It might even be that, with Thurgot writing soon after Margaret's death and to an audience who would probably have had at least a rudimentary knowledge of her exploits,\textsuperscript{180} his insistence that the king had to translate for her is possibly an implicit recognition that Mael Coluim, rather than his wife, had played the prominent role in convening and presiding over the councils in question - a role which needed to be placed within the context of the hagiography without belittling the achievements of its saintly subject.

Whatever the case, with regard to the current discussion, it is significant to note that in addition to the evidence which presents Margaret as a noted benefactress of native religious communities, the aforementioned peculiarly Gaelic practices which Thurgot claims the queen zealously eradicated at these councils were in fact still prevalent after 1093. This is demonstrated by Pope Paschal II's letter to Thurgot c. 1114.\textsuperscript{181} That such 'abuses' survived well into the twelfth century and beyond in areas of Scotland which lay outwith the royal writ in Margaret's time can be inferred not only from Walter Daniel's criticism of Galwegian sexual mores,\textsuperscript{182} but also \textit{inter alia} charters from the diocese of Moray dating from the 1220s and 1250s,\textsuperscript{183} both of which reveal a custom condemned by reformers in Ireland during the late eleventh century.\textsuperscript{184} These examples clearly demonstrate that the Scottish Church's individuality in matters of ecclesiastical practice did not come to


\textsuperscript{180} The \textit{Vita Margaretae} was written by Thurgot at the request of Margaret's daughter Maud (Edith): 'Forasmuch as you have requested, you have also commanded me, to present to you in writing the story of the life of your mother, whose memory is held in reverence, and whose life, which was well pleasing to God, you have often heard by the concordant praise of many'. \textit{Vita Margaretae}, prologue.

\textsuperscript{181} Although the 'abuses' mentioned in Paschal's letter are not identical to those recorded by Thurgot, they are very similar. For example, the pope advises Thurgot on the four seasons of fasting and ordination, the reception of the eucharist, confession, and marriage laws. For a discussion, see Bethell, 'Two Letters of Pope Paschal II', 36-42.

\textsuperscript{182} 'There [Galloway] chastity founders as often as lust wills, and the pure is only so far removed from a harlot that the more chaste will change their husbands every month and a man will sell his wife for a heifer.' W. Daniel, \textit{The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx}, ed. & trans. F. M. Powicke (Oxford, 1950), cap. 38.

\textsuperscript{183} \textit{Registram Episcopatus Moraviensis} (Bannatyne Club, 1837), nos. 257 & 260.

\textsuperscript{184} Gregory VII and Lanfranc both condemned the ease with which Irish men could put aside, and even sell, their wives and take another. \textit{Letters of Lanfranc}, nos. 9 & 10.
an end in the late eleventh century and Gaelic-style traditions and customs continued to be observed despite the increasing homogeneity of the medieval Catholic Church.

Consequently, when viewed against the probable background of an eleventh-century Gaelic cultural revival led by the clergy, and alongside the evidence which clearly reveals Margaret's support of native religious communities, this persistence of characteristically indigenous practices raises serious doubts not only concerning the veracity of Thurgot's account, or certainly his claims for the success, of the reforming councils allegedly convened and chaired by the queen in particular, but, crucially, also in general the extent to which the vitality of the Scottish Church's religious communities and their Gaelic character had decayed or been eradicated by the beginning of the twelfth century.

**Edgar & Æthelred**

Edgar has a strong historical persona. He is the 'loyal vassal' of William Rufus who 'abandoned' Iona,\(^\text{185}\) the proponent of Norman-style kingship, the first 'Scoto-Norman King'.\(^\text{186}\) As such, he is believed to have 'allowed an influx of Normans to [sic] Scotland. The nobles were given lands and filled the most important offices in church and state'.\(^\text{187}\) Edgar's reputation as the 'proto-Normaniser' of Scotland's political and ecclesiastical societies, however, is ill-deserved. Regarding his secular policy, for example, the negligible amount of pertinent extant evidence not only illustrates that he was more pro-Anglo-Saxon than pro-Norman (and even then he balanced this by establishing a royal residence at Invergowrie in Alba), but also suggests that, far from colonising his kingdom with foreigners, he attempted to maintain its traditional ethnic balance.\(^\text{188}\) Notably, this impression of a traditional kingship is strengthened by the admittedly equally meagre, yet oft-ignored, ecclesiastical evidence from Edgar's reign. This demonstrates that if he did not

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\(^{185}\) Duncan, *Scotland*, 126-128.

\(^{186}\) Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, 85.

\(^{187}\) Wilson, *St Margaret*, 112.

\(^{188}\) In a succinct account of Edgar's balanced secular policy, Duncan, *Scotland*, 126, has noted, for example, that he addressed his charters to 'Scots and English'. (see Lawrie, *ESC*, nos. XVIII-XX). A further indication of Edgar's conservative policy is that the only foreign supporter of his recorded to have been granted land in Scotland was a knight of apparently Anglo-Saxon stock (his name was Robert son of Godwin) and he was settled in the Anglo-Saxon province of Lothian. W. Bower, *Scotichronicon*, gen. ed. D. E. R. Watt (Aberdeen & Edinburgh, 1987-1998), book V, cap. 30. For further comment on the balance which Edgar managed to strike between old and new, see Lynch, *Scotland*, 78-79.
exactly pursue a vigorous ecclesiastical policy, the measures he did take (excluding, perhaps, the cessation of Iona to Norway) were largely conservative. For example, he strengthened the relationship which Mael Coluim and Margaret had forged with Durham when he granted land in Lothian to the monks of St Cuthbert. That this included the extensive estate of Coldingham (which probably comprised of the ancient patrimony of the Northumbrian Church monastery established there in the seventh century) not only arguably testifies to Edgar's appreciation of Northumbrian Church history, but also provides an early example of the balance of old and new in the monastic history of the Canmore period.

Edgar's religious policy benorth the Forth appears to have similarly taken a via trita. Thus, his patronage, and possibly re-building, of Margaret's church at Dunfermline, Duncan, *Scotland*, 127, called the history of the Church during Edgar's reign 'unremarkable'.

Edgar has been vilified for this act. For example, ibid., 127-128, stated that he 'abandoned... the place which should surely have been uniquely holy to a king of Scots'. In the face of the Norwegians' overwhelming military power in the western isles, however, it would appear that Edgar did try to maintain Scottish control of Iona. Thus, the transferral of Domnall Bán's bones to Iona was probably an attempt by Edgar to further the (possibly fantastic) claims by the eleventh-century king-lists that it was the traditional burial site of the Scottish kings and so resist Norwegian suzerainty. Magnus Bareleg's expedition of 1098, which prompted the cessation, (ES, II, 112), demonstrated the futility of such propaganda. Edgar's undoubtedly historic decision should therefore probably be viewed as an acceptance of this political and military reality, rather than a wilful betrayal of his kingdom's religious heritage. It also reflects the fact that by the eleventh century, while Iona evidently remained a revered site, the physical foci of the King of Scots' devotion were, as with their centres of secular power, in the east, at Dunkeld and St Andrews. See, E. Cowan, 'The Scottish Chronicle in the Poppleton Manuscript', *IR, xxxiii* (1981), 3-21, at 6-7; & Hudson, 'Kings and Church', 159, for a discussion on the burial notices of Scottish kings in the king-lists.

Lawrie, *ESC*, nos. XVIII-XXII.


It also, incidentally, demonstrates Edgar's political astuteness, as his munificence further promoted the idea, current since the Scottish annexation of Lothian, that the King of Scots was the pre-eminent patronal, and hence political, force in the lands between Forth and Tees.

Lawrie, *ESC*, no. LXXIV. It is possible that during the 'anti-foreigner' reaction (which was probably aimed at Anglo-Saxon, rather than Anglo-Norman, influence at court) sparked by Domnall Bán's seizure of the throne, Margaret's church was targeted and her small Benedictine community expelled. This is one interpretation of the letter sent to Anselm of Canterbury by Edgar requesting that the archbishop send him some monks. Ibid.,
which merely preserved his mother’s work, is the only evidence of his support for the Benedictines in Alba. Indeed, on the whole, there appears to have been an acceptance of existing Gaelic Church provisions, with royal expressions of religious munificence very much following traditional patterns of patronage. For example, both Edgar and his brother Æthelred patronised the cél Dé house at Lochleven,195 which had been the recipient of numerous royal and episcopal grants during the eleventh century.196 Notably, the witness-list to Æthelred’s grant contains the names and offices of the clergy of Abernethy, revealing the continued presence at this site of a traditional Gaelic Church community staffed by native religious c. 1100.197 It moreover affords an early indication of the intimate relationship between Abernethy and the earls of Fife198 which was later to result in the comital family possessing the Gaelic Church abbacy of Abernethy.199 Indeed, that the quite extensive list of Abernethy clergy does not appear to mention an abbot could signify that a member of the comital family of Fife was already fulfilling this role.200 Certainly, Æthelred by that time held a similarly Gaelic Church post in the abbacy of Dunkeld,201 the apparent revival of which during this period further emphasises the continuity of Gaelic customs and the prevailing conservatism in attitudes towards the Church. Interestingly, in spite of being the abbot of Dunkeld, Æthelred was allegedly buried in St Rule’s church at St Andrews.202 While this choice may have been related to his relationship with the earls of Fife, it more

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195 *St A. Lib.*, 116.
196 Ibid., 115-117.
197 The clergy mentioned include: Mael Snechtae and Mael Brigte priests, Tuathal and Augustin priests of the cél Dé, and Beabhdhe the fer léginn. Ibid., 116.
198 Æthelred appears to have been styled earl of Fife in the charter recording his grant to Lochleven. Interestingly, the charter also mentions Earl Constantin of Fife who was a member of the traditional comital family. J. Bannerman, ‘MacDuff of Fife’, in Grant & Stringer, *Medieval Scotland*, 20-38, at 30n., persuasively argued that this confusion was due to the translator of the Gaelic notitia misinterpreting what was a joint grant made between Æthelred and the earl of Fife (perhaps Constantin’s successor).
199 Orm, the abbot of Abernethy during the reign of William, was the grandson of Earl Gille Mhiceil of Fife. *RRS*, II, no. 114.
200 This suggestion is possibly not as far-fetched as it may initially appear. For example, when Gaelic Church abbots of the twelfth century granted lands, their charters were often witnessed by the clergy of the house with which their abbacy was associated. For example, when Donald, abbot of Brechin, granted land to Arbroath Abbey, the witnesses included the senior religious of Brechin, including Bishop Ralph, Gregory the archdeacon, Mael Brigte prior of the cél Dixv. and Andrew the parson. Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc, 2 vols. (Bannatyne Club, 1848), I, no. 74. See discussion in Appendix 5.
201 For a discussion on the abbacy of Dunkeld see Appendix 5.
probably reflected the fact that by the early twelfth century St Andrews was long-established as the premier ecclesiastical site in Alba.\(^{203}\) As such, it was the appropriate resting place of a ‘man of venerable memory’\(^{204}\) who had probably played a prominent part in the life of both state and, especially, Church. Indeed, \(\text{\&E}\)Ethelred’s career, more so than Edgar’s, presents a tantalising glimpse of how the Gaelic Church’s network of religious houses in Fife continued to thrive under the patronage of the native dynasty.

It can consequently be proposed that the failure of reformed monasticism to make an impact on Scottish religious life before 1107 was arguably not due to the Scots ‘being unaware that there was any other way to go’,\(^{205}\) but rather because they were content that the existing provisions were functioning satisfactorily and were hence adequate for their needs.

\textit{Alexander I: founding father of reformed monasticism in Scotland}

If Edgar’s reign was distinguished by a ‘masterly inactivity’,\(^{206}\) then that of his successor Alexander was typified by a vigour which prompted Symeon of Durham to announce that ‘\textit{Regnum laboriosissime tenuit}’ (he held the kingdom with great exertion).\(^{207}\) This is no more so obvious than in the history of the Church. Certainly, Alexander’s religious policy often conformed to the same traditional pattern of patronage followed by Edgar. Thus, he too supported Margaret’s foundation at Dunfermline\(^{208}\) and patronised the \textit{congregatio sancti Cuthberti} in Lothian.\(^{209}\) Alexander’s propensity for ‘great exertion’ nevertheless meant that he was willing to use these traditional ecclesiastical associations to re-invigorate the Scottish Church as well. For example, in spite of what turned out to be intransigent disputes with the archbishop of York and the papacy,\(^{210}\) he exploited his intimate relationship with Durham\(^{211}\) and the connections which his mother had forged with

\begin{footnotes}
\item[203] Hudson, ‘Kings and Church’, 164-166.
\item[204] \textit{St A. Lib.}, 116.
\item[205] Barrow, ‘Benedictines, Tironensians and Cistercians’, 190.
\item[206] Lynch, \textit{Scotland}, 78.
\item[207] Symeon, II, 275.
\item[208] Lawrie, \textit{ESC}, no. LXXIV.
\item[209] Ibid., nos. XXVI, XXVII & XXXI.
\item[210] For a contemporary, albeit partial, account, see Eadmer, \textit{Historia Novorum}, 198-199, 236, 279-288 & 298-302. See also, Lawrie, \textit{ESC}, nos. XXXVII-XLIII. There are, unfortunately, no comprehensive modern commentaries. For a brief interpretation, see Duncan, \textit{Scotland}, 128-131.
\item[211] Recalling his father’s participation in the founding of the new cathedral at Durham, Alexander was the only layman to be present at the official examination of St Cuthbert’s body prior to its translation. Symeon, l, 258.
\end{footnotes}
Canterbury in an attempt to reform the ancient Gaelic Church bishopric of St Andrews.212 Even more significantly, however, in Alexander such reverence for tradition was infused with a more innovative ambition. He therefore also channelled his pious dynamism213 in to re-establishing the Scottish Church’s place and participation in mainstream European religious culture. One manifestation of this was his correspondence with Pope Paschal II, of whom he requested guidance on various matters of faith and observance.214 Another was his plan to introduce the rule of the ‘shock-troops’215 of reformed monasticism, the Augustinian Order, at various key sites throughout Alba.

As Barrow has stated ‘We can hardly over-emphasise the significance of King Alexander’s action in bringing to serve its church members of an order of priests who represented the very vanguard of the Gregorian reform and of the new ideas at work in the western church’.216 Nevertheless, whilst Alexander’s plan was of undoubted consequence for the future infiltration of Scottish ecclesiastical society by reformed religious orders, and hence the re-orientation of the Church in Scotland as a whole, it is crucial to recognise that this apparently radical policy was in fact built upon foundations of ecclesiastical continuity. This is no more so evident than in his successful attempt to establish an Augustinian convent at Scone.

Scone: the marriage of tradition and innovation

Scone’s importance as the focal point for Scottish kingship has long been appreciated.217 Sacred site of the inauguration of kings and home of the Stone of Destiny, it attracted due reverence from the Canmores. A charter of Máel Coluim IV’s, for example, states that the priory of Scone was ‘in principali sede regni nostri’ (at the principle seat of

212 Alexander appointed Thurgot, the prior of Durham and his mother’s erstwhile confidant, to the bishopric in 1107. Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, was elected to the same post in 1120. SAEC, 130 & 138-145. See also, J. Dowden, The Bishops of Scotland, ed. J. Maitland Thomson (Glasgow, 1912), 1-4.
213 This is testified to by Ælred, who said of Alexander: ‘he was literate, and most zealous in establishing churches, in seeking out relics of the saints, in the making and regulating of priestly robes and holy books...And regarding the poor he was so devout that he seemed in nothing to have greater delight than in receiving them, washing, nourishing, and clothing them’. SAEC, 155.
217 See, for example, Anderson, Kings and Kingship, 132; Bannerman, ‘The King’s Poet’, 120, 130 & 145; & Barrow, Kingship and Unity, 24.
our kingdom), while David I chose it as the resting-place of his queen, Matilda. Wyntoun, moreover, implied that Alexander based his power partly at Scone, which suggests that it was also a royal administrative centre. Scone’s ancient religious heritage, however, is less well represented in the sources. This has resulted in descriptions of the early sites religious significance being rather vague or, if specific, uncorroborated. Evidence from the *Scottish Chronicle*, however, reveals that there was a Gaelic Church monastery adjacent to the moot-hill of Scone from at least 906, which possibly dated back to the time of Colum Cille when he ‘turned them, the mouths of the fierce ones who lived on the Tay, to the will of the King’.

Admittedly, that Alexander converted this existing community to the Augustinian rule rather than establish a wholly new monastery is not immediately apparent from the extant sources. For example, the most comprehensive account of the foundation asserts that the Augustinian monastery of Scone was a wholly new establishment staffed by a foreign convent. Bower thus explains that in gratitude for his deliverance from a gang of ruffians who tried to abduct him whilst constructing a palace at Liff, Alexander

conferring so many great privileges on the aforesaid church of the Holy Trinity at Scone, which he founded and built in the place where both Pictish and Scottish kings from ancient times had established the chief seat of their kingdom; and he had dedicated after it had been built of stone construction in the manner of that time...Under God’s dispensation he unreservedly handed over the church with all its pertinents to be governed by canons regular who were summoned from Nostell.
Bower’s late account - or, more accurately, his interpretation of - this event can nonetheless be questioned. Thus, as with many other Scottish monasteries established in the twelfth century (including Holyrood, Kinloss and Lindores) it would appear as if an elaborate legend developed regarding the foundation of Scone Priory. These legends were, arguably, less related to actual events than concocted to satisfy the religious needs of a medieval audience which looked for God’s providence in every event. Bower, whose *Scotichronicon* reflects this demand, was therefore required to reconcile this popular legend with the historical fact presented by Scone Priory’s foundation charter that the Augustinian’s church was already built and dedicated even before the arrival of the new convent. Bower’s confusion may have been made more acute by the possibility that Alexander, following a trend evident in both Ireland and Scotland, re-built the wooden church of the existing monastery in stone, perhaps in anticipation of converting it to the Augustinian rule. Interestingly, the foundation charter states that this church was dedicated not only to the Holy Trinity as attested to by Bower, but also to Sts. Mary, Michael, John, Laurence and Augustine. Whilst this ‘unusual multiplication of saints’ to whom Scone...
Priory was dedicated was one of the factors which led Sir Archibald to doubt the foundation charter's authenticity, it in fact had a famous Gaelic Church precedent. For example, providing an early example of the balance of old and new which was later to distinguish religious life in Canmore Scotland, the seven churches of early medieval Cennrigmonaid were dedicated to saints of various cultural origins: Brigid and Meadhhrán (Gaelic); Andrew, Mary and Michael (Biblical); and Damien (Mediterranean). These dedications arguably reveal the Gaelic Church community's cultural influences. The significant commemoration of Damien, for instance, reflects the Mediterranean influence at Cennrigmonaid which art historians have noted in the site's carved monuments. Scone's multi-dedications also reflect a practice evident at other sites where a new convent was settled at an existing church. For example, the Cluniacs of Paisley preserved the existing church's dedication to St Meadhhrán, but to this they also added dedications to saints who reflected both their heritage and contemporary religious fashions as well, in this instance James, Mary and Milburga. As at Paisley and St Andrews, therefore, it can be speculated from the above evidence that the reformed monastery was established on the site of the existing church.

Whether the existing Gaelic Church community at Scone either formed or were assimilated into this newly established reformed convent appears unlikely in light of Bower's above-quoted remarks. However, when the disparate strands of evidence relating to the foundation of the priory are synthesised, it is possible to argue that Bower was confusing two separate events and that at least a proportion of the Augustinian convent did indeed comprise of Gaelic clergy from the original community at Scone. Bower, for example, ascribed the foundation of Scone Priory to 1114. This date, however, conflicts with his testimony that the new convent was staffed by canons from St Oswald's, Nostell, as an Augustinian community was not established there until about five years later. This

235 Lawrie, ESC', 282.
236 Chron. Picts-Scots, 187. The identity of the seventh of the saints to be commemorated, Anaglas, is unknown. The saints who can be identified arguably reveal the Gaelic Church community's cultural influences.
238 See discussion below, p. 276.
239 Scolichrol1., V, 36.
has led Barrow to propose that rather than in 1114, Scone Priory was most probably founded c. 1120. Bower's earlier date is nevertheless corroborated to a certain extent by two other sources, including the usually reliable Chronicle of Melrose which gives a foundation year of 1115. With reference to later examples of Gaelic Church communities which converted to a reformed rule, the dissonance between the evidence afforded by the extant sources can not only be accounted for, but also used to reveal that the last members of the Gaelic community were also the first members of the reformed priory. It is possible that c. 1114 Alexander undertook to convert the Gaelic community at Scone to the Augustinian rule, just as Earl Gille Brigte was to achieve at Inchaffray nearly a century later. However, in common with Earl Gille Brigte's probable experience at Inchaffray, the native clergy at Scone were perhaps initially either hostile to or merely unsure of the proposed changes, and hence the process of conversion was prolonged for a number of years. In addition to, or perhaps as a result of, this reluctance, Alexander may have been waiting for the current, perhaps recalcitrant, Gaelic Church abbot to die. The abbotship of Scone's Columban monastery would no doubt have been a prestigious office, and it is unlikely that the king would have been able simply to eject its presumably respected and influential incumbent. The resultant time-lapse may also have been lengthened by delays to Alexander's re-construction of their church of the Holy Trinity. Subsequently, either in order to force the pace of conversion (which could have been accompanied by threats of expulsion for recalcitrant clergy as was to occur at Lochleven) or because the process was finally complete and Alexander wanted to provide his new convent with both a small core of canons experienced in such a transitional procedure and an accomplished leadership, a group of Augustinians were brought from Nostell c. 1120. Interestingly, tacit acknowledgement of this arrangement is discernible in Bower's account:

The noble king Alexander summoned from the church of St Oswald...six devout and prudent canons, who kept the rule of the blessed Augustine very strictly in themselves, and offered it for others to

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242 Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1115. The other source is an unpublished manuscript cited in E.N. II, 159n.
243 For a discussion on the conversion of Inchaffray to the Augustinian rule, see below pp. 71-75.
244 See below p. 67.
245 Notably, the reason why Alexander chose to approach Nostell Priory was because its history mirrored his plans for Scone, as it was originally an English eremetic community which was converted to the Augustinian rule. For the conversion of Nostell, see J. C. Dickinson, The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England (London, 1952), 120, & Wilson, 'Nostell and Scone', 153-154.
follow by word and example....One of them was Robert...who was immediately elected in preference to the others as prior of Scone. 246

These first-mentioned ‘others’ could only be the existing clergy of Scone. Consequently, it would appear as if Bower conflated the sources which recorded the original attempt by Alexander to convert the existing clergy 1114X1115 with the evidence provided by the interpolated foundation charter which focused upon the completion of this process and arrival of the canons from Nostell, and thus disguised the fact that continuity of personnel as well as site distinguished Alexander’s Augustinian foundation at Scone.

St Andrews and Inchcolm: unfinished business

In addition to Scone, Alexander also planned Augustinian convents at three other ancient Gaelic Church sites - Dunkeld/Inchcolm, 248 Loch Tay, 249 and St Andrews. However, unlike at Scone, and perhaps due to the same contumacy from the native clergy which most likely caused the delay in the founding of its reformed priory, these foundations were never realised by Alexander. Nevertheless, whilst St Andrews and Inchcolm remained unfinished business which was only to be completed by David I and Bishop Gregory of Dunkeld, respectively, 250 Alexander had evidently laid the groundwork for these foundations before his death in 1124. Subsequently, as in the creation of Scone Priory, it is possible to detect in the provisions made by Alexander for the foundation of Augustinian convents at both

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246 Scotichron., V, 36a.
247 This is suggested by the fact that the foundation charter mentions that Alexander’s contact at Nostell was Prior Ethelwulf, as he did not achieve this office until 1122. Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales 940-1216, eds. D. Knowles et al. (Cambridge, 1972), 178. It can consequently be proposed that the foundation charter from which the extant copy was transcribed was itself a copy of the original made sometime after 1122, the scribe of which used hindsight to elaborate the original with further grants to the house since its establishment and his own perceptions of the convent’s early history.

248 There is a possibility that the reformed priory founded on Inchcolm was in fact a substitute for an aborted Augustinian convent at Dunkeld. This is suggested by the fact that it took so long for Inchcolm to be established, during which time Bishop Gregory of Dunkeld acted as guardian of its patrimony (which consisted mainly of Dunkeld diocesan lands), and that, moreover, Dunkeld was a more likely site for a reformed monstery. That this substitution was made during Alexander’s reign, however, is implied by the evidence presented in the following discussion.

249 The Gaelic Church heritage of the island on Loch Tay where Alexander’s wife was buried is not immediately apparent. It may be assumed that the modern name for the island, Eilean nam Bananchoim (isle of the holy women), is suggestive of an earlier religious association. Unfortunately, however, it appears to have been an invention of the sixteenth or the seventeenth century. Alexander granted the canons of Scone the island so that they could build a church upon it Scon. Lib., no. 2.

250 Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 91 & 96.
Inchcolm and St Andrews his desire to pursue a religious policy which struck a moderate balance between new and old. For example, in the final year of his life, at a ceremony which probably reflected an ancient Gaelic, rather than Norman, custom, Alexander granted the *Cursus Apri* (Boar’s Raik)²⁵² to the church of St Andrews ‘so that religious life might be established in that church’.²⁵³ This gift, which has been acknowledged as initiating the long process of founding the Augustinian cathedral priory,²⁵⁴ was no new patrimony created by the king, however. Rather, as the *Historia Fundationis* of St Andrews reveals,²⁵⁵ the *Cursus Apri* was the original *paruchia* of the monastery at Cennrigmonaid which rose to prominence under the patronage of the ninth-century king of Pictland, Óengus mac Fergusa.²⁵⁶

Continuity between pre- and post-1100 Scottish religious society was likewise to be stressed at the envisaged reformed priory on Inchcolm by endowing it with the ancient patrimony of the Gaelic Church centre it was intended to replace. Admittedly, evidence of

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²⁵¹ *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), VII, 5, records that Alexander had brought his fully caparisoned Arabian steed and ‘Turkish’ arms and armour to the altar. Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, 172-175, made a forceful case for this ceremony’s Norman antecedents. ‘It is Norman and it illustrates the spread of Norman ideals in the Scottish Kingdom’, he concluded. Ibid., 172. However, as the ceremony was to confirm an ancient patrimony to the existing church of St Andrews, there is no reason to believe that it was not merely the similar revival of an ancient Gaelic or Pictish rite which pertained to the original founding of the monastery of Cennrigmonaid. Certainly, the claim made by Ritchie, ibid., 174, that the horse was ‘unimportant in Celtic ... history’, wilfully overlooks the central role which this beast played in Celtic legend and, notably, kingship. Indeed, it is possible that the inauguration ritual which the bishops persuaded David to go through with was the eating of horse-flesh, a traditional aspect of Gaelic inaugurations. *SAEC*, 232.
²⁵² This name implies that the *Cursus Apri* once formed the actual, or legendary, huntingground of the original royal residence at Cennrigmonaid. Macquarrie, ‘Early Christian religious houses’, 119; & W. J. Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (rep. Edinburgh, 1986), 397-398.
this may not be as apparent for Inchcolm as it is for St Andrews. From the data supplied by the extant charters relating to the island’s Augustinian priory, it is nevertheless possible to both identify the lands reserved for the foundation of this convent and demonstrate that most of them had originally formed the patrimony of the Gaelic Church site which it superseded. For example, the earliest surviving charter reveals that in anticipation of the priory being founded, Bishop Gregory of Dunkeld held in trust the convent’s initial endowment; i.e. the lands of Cockairnie, Donibristle, Lennie, Ecclesmaline, Innerkinglassie and Tealing, the rights to the church of Rosyth, and a teind of his cain on ‘this side’ of ‘Irenside’ (?Earnside). Whilst the implication of this charter is that David I had merely appointed Bishop Gregory as the temporary guardian of these territories and rights, it can be inferred from the clause which granted the teind of the bishop’s expenses and his victuals from Inchcolm to the reformed monastery, that the island was actually an ancient possession of the diocese of Dunkeld. Accordingly, it can be hypothesised that the Gaelic chapel dedicated to St Colum Cille on the island was of ancient origin (perhaps founded as early as the seventh century as part of a mission-station established to serve travellers on the route between Iona and its daughter-house of Lindisfarne) and came under the jurisdiction of Dunkeld after 849 when the translation of the scrin Coluim Chille from Iona

258 Ibid., no. 1.
259 ‘their lands which, by the precept and commendation of King David, I have kept and looked after for the use of the canons until they should be in the island of Emonia, as the king has enjoined me… as those [lands] in which I have no right except only the custody from King David and the episcopal right from God’. Ibid., no. 1.
260 The phrase in ibid., no. 1, is an obscure one; ‘decimam totius expense mee in Insula et omniam victualium meorum que ibi adlata fuerint’. It nevertheless suggests that the bishops of Dunkeld were accustomed to receive some sort of render in kind from the island, perhaps in recognition of their jurisdiction or as the leaders of the Columban capital in Alba.
261 Although the tradition that there was a hermitage dedicated to St Colum Cille on Inchcolm comes from the relatively late and ardently pro-Colum Cille *Scotichronicon*, (V, 37), the attempt by the editors of the *Inchcolm Chrs.* (xv-xix) to totally dismiss any pre-twelfth-century connections between Colum Cille and the island and suggest that its name derives from a St Colm of the ‘Brito-Celtic Church’, is perhaps somewhat misguided. Their belief (ibid., xix) that Bower’s ‘St Quhalme’ pun was really an unwitting betrayal that the island was originally called ‘St Colm’s’ is equally disingenuous. For example, Bishop Gregory’s charter (AD1162X1169) states that the land was for ‘ecclesie Sancti Columbe de Insula’, with ‘Columbe’ the dative for Columba and not a mis-spelling of Colm. That ‘Columba’ became the ‘Colm’ of Inchcolm is not unusual, as this contraction is visible in other Scottish place-names, such as Kirkcolm in Kirkcudbrightshire.
THE STATE OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH BY 1124

elevated the Atholl monastery to the status of mother-church of the *familia lae* in Alba. As with the larger eremetic community at Lochleven, it is therefore probable that Gaelic landowners granted the hermitage of Inchcolm land and churches, the revenues of which would have supported its occupants. Whilst documentation of these grants has failed to survive, it is possible that they pertained to some of the aforementioned properties quit-claimed by Bishop Gregory to the Augustinians at the same time as the island itself. The most likely of these to have originally belonged to Inchcolm were the properties which were not only, as with the island itself, under the jurisdiction of Dunkeld, but were also in its immediate vicinity. It can therefore be proposed that Cockairnie, Donibristle, Lennie and Rosyth formed the hermitage's ancient patrimony, to which Bishop Cormac of Dunkeld arguably added the land of Tealing and the teindal rights of ‘Irenside’, and Alexander the lands of Ecclesmaline and Innerkinglassie to form the full endowment.

Whilst it would therefore appear as if Bishops Cormac and Gregory of Dunkeld were instrumental in planning and facilitating the creation of the Augustinian priory on Inchcolm, Alexander’s personal role in the process was clearly once more crucial. This is

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262 This suggestion was made by Dr S. Taylor in a paper he presented at the symposium *Gaelic Churches and Scotland in the Middle Ages* held at the University of Edinburgh, 22nd May 1997, to mark the retirement of Dr J. Bannerman.

263 For Dunkeld’s significance as a cult centre of St Colum Cille, see Bannerman, ‘*Comarba Colum Chille*’

264 Lawrie, *ESC*, nos. III, V, VI, VII, VIII, XI & XIV.

265 For the episcopal jurisdiction of these areas, see Cowan, *Parishes*, 15, 37, 43, & 173. See also, *Rentale Dunkeldensis* (SHS, 1915), 208, 245 & 256.

266 Bishop Cormac of Dunkeld appears to have been active throughout Alexander’s reign and, as a witness to Scone’s foundation charter, evidently supported the king’s reforms. Dowden, *Bishops*, 47-48.

267 Both of which were at some distance from Inchcolm, Tealing being in Angus, and ‘Irenside’ probably an ‘Earnside’ in north-western Fife.

268 Ecclesmaline and Innerkinglassie were in the diocese of St Andrews, and so were unlikely to have been in the gift of the bishops of Dunkeld. It is therefore plausible that they were possessions of Alexander or he persuaded the bishop of St Andrews to donate them. Cowan, *Parishes*, 196 & 205.

269 This is not only implied by the role played by Bishop Gregory as guardian of the endowment and the likely alliance between Bishop Cormac and Alexander, but also by the fact that the bishops of Dunkeld and not the royal dynasty were the Augustinian priory’s main patrons after its foundation. Indeed, in comparison with other ‘royal’ monasteries, there is a marked lack of royal patronage for Inchcolm, with Mael Colum IV and William appearing but rarely in the cartulary. This surely reflects the pre-1100 relationship between Dunkeld and Inchcolm. It is further possible that the Bishop of Dunkeld marked the (re-)foundation of Inchcolm by transferring certain relics associated with Colum Cille to the new convent. Thus, a charter of c. 1180 notes that the canons were in possession of relics. *Inchcolm Chr.*, no. V.
demonstrated by the fact that, in spite of evidence to the contrary,²⁷⁰ he came to be widely accepted as the actual founder of the convent. Indeed, as early as the 1180s the canons of Inchcolm (some of whom must have formed the original convent of no more than twenty years earlier) identified Alexander as the founder of their monastery.²⁷¹ This tradition appears to have been preserved and even elaborated upon by the canons over the centuries, for Abbot Bower's fifteenth-century Scotichronicon not only asserts that the convent was founded by Alexander c. 1123, but also provides a detailed foundation legend to account for his munificence. Thus, it states:

> when the noble and most Christian lord king Alexander the first of his name was making the crossing at Queensferry in pursuit of some business of the kingdom, a violent storm suddenly arose as wind blew from the south-west, and compelled the ship with its crew scarcely clinging to life to put in at the island of Inchcolm, where a certain island hermit lived at that time. He was dedicated to the service of St Colum Cille, and earnestly devoted himself to it at a certain little chapel on the island, content with a meagre diet of the milk of one cow, shells and little fish that he gathered from the sea. The king with his very large number of fellow soldiers gratefully lived on this food of his for three days on end under compulsion from the wind. But on the previous day when he was giving up hope of surviving, as he was being buffeted by the very great danger of the sea and the madness of the storm, he made a vow to the saint that if he brought him safely to the island along with his men, he would leave on the island such a memorial to his glory as would serve for asylum and solace to sailors and victims of shipwreck. This is how it came about that he founded a monastery of canons in that same place, just as can be seen at the present day.²⁷²

Whilst this legend no doubt contains elements of truth,²⁷³ the real motivation behind Alexander’s desire to establish an Augustinian convent on the island was probably less prosaic. In illustration, as proposed above, Inchcolm was no minor hermitage chanced upon by the king, but a long-established and renowned Columban cult centre which mirrored the more famous Í Coluim Chille on the west coast. Indeed, with the loss of Iona to the Norwegians at the end of the eleventh century, Inchcolm’s importance as a focus for

²⁷⁰ Inchcolm Chrs., no. 1.
²⁷¹ Ibid., no. V.
²⁷² Scotichron., V, 37.
²⁷³ For example, there was probably a member of the Gaelic Church settled on the island whose duty was to offer hospitality to pilgrims and maintain the shrine to Colum Cille. It is also possible that Alexander did visit the island with a large retinue to pay his devotion to the shrine and/or survey the site of his planned monastery after the possible plan for Dunkeld fell through.
Columban devotion amongst the Scots must have intensified. Accordingly, it was most probably deliberately chosen as the location of an Augustinian convent by Alexander, whose policy was clearly to settle reformed convents not at obscure retreats, but at sites of both historical and contemporary significance throughout Alba.

Encapsulating both innovation and renewal, therefore, Alexander’s vision for reformed monasticism in Scotland, as revealed at Inchcolm, St Andrews and Scone, set a pattern for his successors to follow which was to ensure that its future was firmly rooted in its past.

*The Decline and Fall of the Gaelic Church: an overstated case?*

When assessing the extent to which the development of reformed monasticism in Scotland was influenced by native religious society, it is necessary to ascertain the form and state of existing ecclesiastical provisions at the beginning of the twelfth century. This, however, is no easy task, for as Barrow has highlighted in medieval Scotland there was a notable lack of churches of ancient foundation which had succeeded in preserving their clerical establishments, or even their buildings, libraries and records intact. It is this fact more than any other which makes it difficult and in many respects impossible to reconstruct the life of the Scottish Church in the long period between Adamnan and Bede on the one hand and Thurgot, Eadmer and Ailred of Rievaulx on the other. Nevertheless, historians (not least Barrow) have mitigated this problem through painstaking research. They have thus built up a rough picture of ecclesiastical provisions in pre-twelfth-century Scotland which can briefly be summarised as follows. Benorth the Forth the ecclesiastical landscape was dominated by small, local churches and chapels associated with a specific kin-group and *erlám* (patron saint). In addition to this, there were numerous larger sites, from now unidentifiable communities at Forteviot, Meigle and Monikie.

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274 According to Bower’s admittedly partisan testimony, Alexander ‘had always, even from his youth, revered St Colum Cille with particular honour’. Scotichron., V, 37. If this was so, then it is possible that he particularly rued the loss of Iona and in compensation planned to create a new monastery at a Columban centre in Alba.


276 See, for example, the following articles: Barrow, ‘Badenoch and Strathspey: 2. The Church’; I. B. Cowan ‘The Post-Columban Church’, Records of the Scottish Church History Society, 18 (1974); & Macquarrie, ‘Early Christian religious houses’.


278 Forteviot was mentioned in the St Andrews foundation legend. Chron. Pict.-Scot., 140. Its importance as a royal centre from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries and early religious site has been noted in L. Alcock, ‘Forteviot: A Pictish and Scottish Royal Church
and famous episcopal centres at Brechin, Dunkeld and St Andrews, to coenobitic houses at Inchaffray, Iona, Lochleven and Turriff, and semi-pastoral convents at Abernethy and Laurencekirk. Beside the Forth, ancient mother-churches, dedicated to native saints such as Baldred and Cuthbert and presiding over extensive parochiae served by dependent chapels, predominated. In Galloway and Strathclyde, a mixture of these two systems existed. Predominantly concentrated at a local level, therefore, the Scottish Church had evidently settled into a pattern which conformed to and met with the religious expectations and needs of society. As with Churches elsewhere in Europe before the impact of the Gregorian reform, it was consequently very much the sum of its constituent parts. Whilst it would therefore be erroneous to view the Scottish Church of this period as homogenous in the post-reform sense, it can nevertheless be suggested from, on the one hand, the implication that the chief monasteries and mother-churches, of Alba at least, had to pay a tax (presumably to the king), and, on the other - as forcibly demonstrated by the aforementioned extract from the shorter version of St Andrews’ Historia Fundationis - the emergence during the eleventh century of an ‘ardespoc Alban’ that there was a

and Palace’, in S. Pearce (ed.), The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland (Oxford, 1982), 211-239. Evidence of a church on the site which survived into the twelfth century is revealed by a charter recording the grant of the church to Richard of Stirling in 1164. RRS, I, no. 257.

Meigle too was mentioned in the Historia Fundationis. Chron. Picts-Scots, 188. Hudson, Kings of Celtic Scotland, 39, conjectured that it was a royal villa. The church and chapel of Meigle were granted to St Andrews Priory 1178X1185. RRS, II, no. 201. The wealth of carved stones in the vicinity of Meigle suggests that it was a monastery with a well-patronised and experienced carving school by the end of the eighth century. J. Romilly Allen & J. Anderson, The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland, 2 vols. (rep. Balgavies, 1993), II, 296-308.

Again, Monikie was mentioned in the foundation legend of St Andrews. Chron. Picts-Scots. 140. The church and chapel of Monikie were granted to Arbroath Abbey 1189X1194. RRS, II, no. 328.

Macquarrie, ‘Laurencekirk’, 100-102, argued for the presence of a community of clerici or canonici at Laurencekirk by the eleventh century.

Cowan, ‘Post-Columban Church’, 249.

G. Tellenbach, The Church in Western Europe from the tenth to the early twelfth century (Cambridge, 1993), 85.

This is implied by notitia no. V in the Book of Deer, which records ‘in return for the dues on four davochs [worth] of that which should devolve on the chief religious houses of Scotland in general and on its chief churches.’ K. Jackson, Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer (Cambridge, 1972), 35. That religious houses in all parts of Scotland were very much fitted into the framework of Gaelic secular obligations is demonstrated by Bishop Robert of St Andrews’ charter of 1127 to Durham regarding the status of Coldingham, which frees the convent from cùm and conoth. Raine, North Durham, II, no. CCCXLVI.

The Annals of Ulster (to AD 1131), eds. S. Mac Airt and G. Mac Niocaill (Dublin, 1983), accorded this title to Fothis II of St Andrews at his death in 1093. A similar prominence was afforded to his predecessor but one. Maelduin mac Gilla Odrain (d. 1055),
developing perception of a ‘national’ Scottish Church, at the symbolic (and perhaps even administrative)\textsuperscript{286} centre of which was the widely renowned,\textsuperscript{287} wealthy and thriving ecclesiastical city of St Andrews.\textsuperscript{288}

That so many of the aforementioned ancient foundations were still recognisable religious sites at the start of the twelfth century certainly demonstrates how, despite various social and religious upheavals, the early pattern of ecclesiastical settlement established by the first missionaries of the Gaelic and Northumbrian Churches had endured. More difficult to ascertain, however, is whether or not these surviving communities had maintained their original vitality into the twelfth century and are hence likely to have been viewed as ‘living’ houses worthy of consideration by reformers and patrons alike. In spite of the lack of evidence, most modern surveys are emphatic on this point - by 1100 the communities of the old Scottish Church were in terminal decline. Thus, a commentator on Alexander I’s religious policy merely echoes the received opinion in his conclusion that ‘There is little doubt that in Scotland as well as England, the reformation, according to Norman standards, proceeded on the ruins of the ancient church.’\textsuperscript{289} Certainly, by the early twelfth century, some ancient sites had evidently decayed from their former glory.\textsuperscript{290} Moreover, the Gaelic who was styled by the \textit{Annals of Tigernach} ‘epscop Alban [ocus] ordan Gaedel o cleircib’ (bishop of Scotland and glory of the Gaels from amongst the clergy). ‘The Fragmentary \textit{Annals of Tigernach},’ ed. W. Stokes, \textit{Revue Celtique}, xvi-xviii (1895-97), at xvii, 397.

\textsuperscript{286} St Andrews’ widespread holdings throughout both Alba and Lothian suggest that many of the chief religious sites in these areas were intentionally brought under the jurisdiction of its bishop as part of an attempt to establish St Andrews as the ‘capital’ of the Scottish Church. This is evident in the episcopate of Fothad I (d. 963), who received the church of Lochleven from Abbot Ronan in return for providing the community with food and clothing. Lawrie, \textit{ESC}, no. III.

\textsuperscript{287} St Andrews had evidently become a popular pilgrimage site by the late tenth century. For example, it is recorded in the \textit{Chronicon Scotorum} (quoted in \textit{ES}, I, 472) that in 965 Aed mac Mael mithig died on pilgrimage to \textit{Cennrigmonaid} (St Andrews), while Reginald of Durham, \textit{Libellus}, 28, remarked that St Godric of Finchale ‘often visited that famous house of the holy apostle Andrew which is known to be in the wild territory of Scotland’. That there were also numerous unnamed pilgrims is implied in ibid, 376, 426 & 446, and by the tounding of Queens ferry by Margaret. \textit{Vita Margaretae}, IV.

\textsuperscript{288} Indeed, with its priests and their servants, the \textit{céli Dé} and their families and dependants, the scholars, parsons and pilgrims, St Andrews would have been a bustling town probably unmatched in size anywhere else in Scotland.

\textsuperscript{289} Wilson, ‘Nostell and Scone’, 141.

\textsuperscript{290} For example, Ecclesgreig and Logie Mahedd were important sites during the early medieval period, the former probably a monastery, the latter the chief church of Atholl and thus no doubt consisting of a sizeable community. By the twelfth century, however, they had apparently become mere parish churches. Other prominent ancient sites which had similarly failed to maintain past glories included Forteviot, St Vigeans and Monifeith. \textit{RRS}, II, no. 336; \textit{Scon. Lib.}, no. 55; Cowan & Easson, \textit{MRHS}, 48 & 50; Macquarrie. ‘Early Christian religious houses’, 125 & 129.
Church in Scotland as a whole had clearly developed certain idiosyncrasies which proponents of ecclesiastical reform would undoubtedly have abhorred. In Ireland, for example, ‘lay’ abbots, who drew revenue from traditionally ecclesiastical estates, thus impoverishing the local church and affecting its spiritual work, were condemned by reformers at the first synod of Cashel in 1101. 291 To those in Scotland familiar with the reform movement (i.e. King Alexander, Bishop Thurgot of St Andrews, Prior Robert of Scone, and, probably, Bishops Cormac of Dunkeld and Gregory of Moray) the prominence of Gaelic Church-style abbots at important sites such as Abernethy, Brechin and Dunkeld, 292 was probably likewise a reflection of the native Church’s ecclesiological and disciplinary decay. Indeed, it can be inferred from his ambitious plan to establish a network of Augustinian convents in southern Alba and his attempt to revivify the bishopric of St Andrews under Thurgot and Eadmer, that Alexander was on the whole dissatisfied with both the spiritual vigour displayed by and the leadership on offer from the Gaelic Church.

In spite of the fact that the reform movement had undoubtedly exposed some of the flaws in Scottish ecclesiastical life, the contemptuous received view of the early twelfth-century Gaelic Church can be accused of being unduly pessimistic. This, on the one hand, is because it tends to rely on hindsight, and thus presents a distorted picture which contracts and concentrates a gradual evolution into a rapid and inexorable revolution and thus presumes that by the 1100s the extinction of native religious communities was inevitable.

On the other hand, more importantly, this is due to the fact that, often dismissing sources which evidently contain reliable pre-reform material, 293 it is based upon inherently biased evidence from sources produced by supporters of the reforms, usually incoming clergy who had no sympathy for, nor, importantly, appreciation of the indigenous forms of religious life which they encountered. 294 The detrimental affects of this on the understanding of

293 For example, Dowden, Bishops, 47, condemned Myln’s sixteenth-century Vitae Dunkeldensis Episcoporum as ‘worse than useless for determining the succession of the early bishops of the see’, while in fact it contains unique information regarding not only the episcopal lineage, but also the bishop’s relation to the abbot of Dunkeld.
294 Such as the Augustinian account of the cêle De community at St Andrews. See discussion immediately below. It has been noted that in England ‘Norman chroniclers often made accusations against Anglo-Saxon bishops which were unfounded’. R. R. Darlington, ‘Ecclesiastical Reform in the Late Old English Period’, English Historical Review, 51 (1936), 385-428, at 401.
reformed monasticism’s relationship with existing communities is no more so apparent than in the study of the céli Dé.

For example, the main evidence used to assess the spiritual and ecclesiological vigour of the céli Dé of St Andrews is the Augustinian-compiled version of the Historia Fundationis. A more partial source, however, could not be imagined, as the Augustinian author had everything to gain (both ideologically and for the attempts by his order to claim the possessions and rights which previously pertained to the Gaelic community) by denigrating the céli Dé. Nevertheless, on the strength of such testimony, it is concluded that ‘the Culdees were obviously decadent, and unable to hold their own against the invasion of living missionary churchmen’. Indeed, prompted by such depictions of decay, one eminent Church historian even questioned whether ‘the term [céli Dé] in Scotland was ever anything more than a descriptive one used in the Gaelic-speaking areas to describe a churchman’. By placing the hostile twelfth-century evidence within a much wider context, however, it can be demonstrated that the ‘kelederi’ of medieval sources were indeed descendants of the cèle Dé reformers of the ninth century. Recognition of this is important, as such a widespread cèle Dé presence in twelfth-century Scotland would undoubtedly have had a significant influence on the development of reformed monasticism. For here, at principal sites throughout the kingdom, was an existing network of well-established communities which (even if the once elite ascetic convent had, through secularisation, been absorbed by and thus become indistinguishable from the other clergy) had a tradition of reform and asceticism reflecting, as highlighted above, the aspirations of the new religious orders. Admittedly, as with other aspects of the native Church, the original discipline of some of these traditional convents had unquestionably

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297 For example, ‘the céli Dé were accustomed to recite their office after their own fashion in a very small corner of the church’. *Chron. Picts-Scots*, 190.

298 G. G. Coulton, *Scottish Abbeys and Social Life* (Cambridge, 1933), 44.


300 See the discussion in appendix 2.

301 Evidence suggests that there were cèle Dé communities at Abernethy, Brechin, Dornoch, Dunblane, Iona, Lismore, Lochleven, Monifieth, Muthill/Dunkeld, Rosemarkie and St Andrews. See Reeves, *Culdees*, 105-143, for the evidence, and 25-63, for a discussion.

302 See appendix 2
degenerated by the 1100s. However, that many of these allegedly corrupt convents of céli Dé went on to form or amalgamate with diocesan chapters, the vigour with which the evidently thriving monastery of Lochleven battled that ‘furnace and fire of all iniquity’, Robert the Burgundian, and that of St Andrews resisted the demands of King David, Bishop Robert and the papacy, all strongly suggest that the arguments for endemic decay amongst Scotland’s céli Dé communities, as with those for the similar wholesale decline in the Gaelic Church itself, are at times overstated.

_A Landscape of Faith: popular religion in Scotland by 1124_

This chapter has so far been guilty of the very failing which was criticised at its commencement, that is of viewing the history of the period 1070-1124 from the top down through the deeds of a few royal individuals. Whilst this tendency has a deleterious affect on all studies of the Canmore era, to rely on a purely elitist interpretation of late eleventh-early twelfth-century religious life to ascertain the extent to which native society influenced the development of reformed monasticism would be particularly detrimental. This is because, on the accession of David I in 1124, the Scots had a popular Christian history dating back at least seven hundred years. During this period Christianity had not only helped shape, but was itself shaped by the society in which it developed, as it adapted to the native community in order to flourish. This was a complex process, for as the kingdom of the Scots expanded from the sixth century onwards and assimilated neighbouring kingdoms and peoples, so too did the Scottish Church enlarge and absorb the diverse range religious traditions of these assimilated peoples, who of course had their own

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303 For example, the original rules of the céli Dé envisaged a coenobitic life-style, but by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries they are depicted performing the diverse tasks of priests (Abernethy), canons (Monymusk), and monks (Lochleven). For the Metrical and Prose Rules of the céli Dé, see Reeves, _Culdees_, 82-97. See also, P. O’Dwyer, _Céli Dé: Spiritual reform in Ireland 750-900_ (Dublin, 1981); & Reeves, _Culdees_, 51-55.

304 For example, in the diocese of Argyll, Brechin, Caithness, Dunblane, Dunkeld, Lismore and Ross. Veitch, ‘De domibus religiosis’, 17-19.

305 As demonstrated by the aforementioned royal patronage it continued to attract throughout the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Moreover, that Lochleven had maintained its literary vigour is implied by the fact that the céli De composed documents recording their grants and rights, which were written in Gaelic. _St A. Lib._, 113.

306 Lawrie, _ESC_, no. XX.

307 _St A. Lib._, 48-49 & 186

308 Other communities which evidently maintained their original vigour into the twelfth century were Abernethy, Deer, Iona and Turriff. See _ES_, II, 253; Jackson, _Gaelic Notes_, 31-32, 79, 84, & 89; & Lawrie, _ESC_, nos. XIV & CCXXIII.

309 See above, p. 20.
distinctive Christian histories. Consequently, as the reformers of the Canmore period encountered a Church which had evolved into an organisation which reflected the structures and needs of a multi-cultural society, so too would they have been confronted by a well-established popular devotion which expressed the diverse religious beliefs and customs of this society.

The emergence in Scotland of a powerful popular Christianity by the twelfth century is demonstrated by the extent to which the cult of native saints dominated this landscape of faith. The impetus for this may have partially come from the Church itself. The Dunkeld Litany, for example, provides documentary evidence that the clergy actively preserved the cult of numerous native saints. The widespread devotion to Colum Cille in Alba and Cuthbert in Lothian, moreover, was probably partly due to their official cults being propagated by the clergy of Dunkeld and Melrose, respectively. Parish church dedications in the diocese of Strathearn, for example, also demonstrate the official popularity of native and often local saints: Dunning, Duplin, Logie, Monzieard and Tullieden (Serf); Callendar and Comrie (Ceaság); Kilmaddock (Cadog); Tullibody (Mungo); Dunblane (Bláán); Findogask (Findóc); Strowan (Rónán); Kilbride (Brigid); etc. Popular devotion, however, appears more usually to have resulted from less official, more demotic impulses which were prompted by a kin-group's reverence for a particular saint. This relationship sometimes indicated the kin-group's Irish ancestry, with the widespread cults of saints such as Brigid being disseminated throughout northern Britain by early Scotti settlers. More often, it reflected a personal association between locality and saint, the presence of whose relics at the local church would have elevated him to the status of érlam (patron saint) of the local

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310 When assessing the cultural life of the Scottish Church at the beginning of the twelfth century, it is important not to overlook the strong Welsh religious influences in Galloway and Strathclyde, the Northumbrian Church traditions in Lothian and Teviotdale, and even the residual Pictish ecclesiastical customs in Alba. Barrow, Kingship and Unity, 65-66.


313 There were thirty-six pre-twelfth-century dedications to St Cuthbert besouth the Forth. Barrow, ‘The Kings of Scotland and Durham’, 311-312.

314 This is demonstrated in the especial reverence paid to St Comgan by the mormaers of Moray, who themselves came to be styled Gille Chomghain. AU, s.a. 1032. Notably, the name Mac Gille Chomghain was long popular in the district of Moray. G. F. Black, The Surnames of Scotland (rep. Edinburgh, 1993), 510.

315 Watson, CPNS, 274-276.
kin-group.\textsuperscript{316} In such instances, popular devotion could become not only intensely localised, but also distinctly personalised.\textsuperscript{317}

This conflation of saint and locality is demonstrated by the prevalence of saints' names in Scottish place-names.\textsuperscript{318} These commemorations were not merely antiquarian toponymic fossilisations of a saint’s name, however. Rather, they were reflective in most cases of a living local devotion to the holy man or woman thus memorialised. This is not only implied by the frequent presence of a church or chapel dedicated to the saint of the place-name, but moreover demonstrated by the active cults to them which so often flourished at these sites. For example, in the parish of Forglen there was a church dedicated to St Wallach which contained his relics.\textsuperscript{319} Nearby there was a well and bath also dedicated to Wallach to which the sick of the parish would come to be cured.\textsuperscript{320} St Wallach’s memory was further preserved, as was so many other saints’ in Alba,\textsuperscript{321} by an annual fair held on his feast day, during which his relics may have been processed through the crowds.\textsuperscript{322} Likewise, the church of Kilallan, which pertained to Paisley Abbey, held an annual fair on St Fillan’s Day, whilst nearby was a well and a ‘chair’ dedicated to the same saint.\textsuperscript{323} A similar situation can be identified in Lennox, where the frequent commemorations in place-names to Ceasāg is indicative of an ingrained local devotion to that saint.\textsuperscript{324} This association was in fact so strong that not only did the twelfth-century earls of Lennox look upon Ceasāg as ‘our patron’,\textsuperscript{325} but also the church of Luss remained the focus for the cult of the saint until

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\footnote{316 The importance of the \textit{ér\l am} to the development of a local church is explicitly stated in the secular law tract known as \textit{Corús Béscnai}, with the succession to the office of abbot determined by reference to the \textit{fine érlama} (family of the founding saint). See Clancy, \textit{‘Annat in Scotland’}, 100-101.}
\footnote{317 For example, the leader of the Clan Chattan was styled Gille Chattain Mhóir, emphasising the relationship between St Cattan and the local ruling family, who may have been the hereditary keepers of the saint’s relics. I. F. Grant \\& H. Cheape, \textit{Periods in Highland History} (London, 1987), 66.}
\footnote{318 As is evident from Watson’s comprehensive study of the subject. Watson, \textit{CPNS}, 270-338. See also, Redford, \textit{‘Commemorations of Saints’}.}
\footnote{319 J. M. MacKinlay, \textit{Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland}, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1910-14), II \textit{Non-Scriptural}, 143.}
\footnote{320 A. Mitchell (ed.), \textit{Geographical Collections Relating to Scotland made by Walter Macfarlane}, 3 vols. (SHS, 1906-08), I, 76.}
\footnote{321 For example, St Serf’s Fair at Culsalmon, St Berchán’s Fair at Tain, and St Ceaság’s Fair at Callander. Ibid., I, 16, \textit{Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum}, eds. M. livingstone \textit{et al.}, 11 vols. (Edinburgh, 1882-1914), AD 1612, \\& Watson, \textit{CPNS}, 278-280.}
\footnote{322 \textit{Origines Parochiales Scotiae}, 2 vols. (Bannatyne Club, 1854), I, 81.}
\footnote{323 Watson, \textit{CPNS}, 278-280.}
\footnote{324 Watson, \textit{CPNS}, 278-280.}
\footnote{325 \textit{Cartularium Comitatus de Levenax} (Maitland Club, 1833), 21.}
\end{footnotes}
the Reformation. Indeed, it is interesting to note that of the twenty eight major shrines in medieval Scotland, twenty six of them were associated with pre-1100 saints, nearly all of whom were of native origin - compelling testimony to the devotion which local communities in Scotland continued to show for their traditional saints throughout the Dark Age and medieval periods.

Evidence of the extent to which this worship of native saints had actually pervaded the popular psyche of the Scottish people by the twelfth century is provided by the widespread custom, especially amongst the Gaels, of giving Christian names which denoted the bearer as a specific saint’s ‘servant’. Thus, a cursory glance through any collection of twelfth-century charters will reveal an array of names prefixed with the Gaelic ‘gille’ (lad/servant) or, less frequently, the Cumbric ‘cos’ (gwas > boy/servant). Interestingly, perhaps echoing the numerous dedications in Scotland to St(s) Brigid, the most common name in the sources appears to be Gille Brigit. Whilst names such as Gille Brigit, Gille Colum and Gille Crist were general to much of Alba, it should not be presumed that by the twelfth century ‘servant of’ names had lost their original significance and merely become essentially meaningless customary appellations. Indeed, it would appear as if in many cases such names continued to signify a close relationship between its bearer, the designated saint and a locality. For example, various forms of the name Gille Ma-Hagu (servant of my Hagu) can be found in twelfth-century charters relating to the church and lands of Lesmahagow, the centre of the cult of that saint. Similar threads of continuity are visible in the connections between Gille Ceasáig (servant of Kessog) and the aforementioned cult centre of St Ceaság, Luss, and Gille Brigit mac Gille Fhiar (servant of Brigid son of the servant of Finnén) and Cill Fhiar. ‘Servant of’ appellations were not restricted to individuals, with there being a group of tenants in Clackmannan who were known in the twelfth century as

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326 Atlas II, 377. St Ceaság was reputedly buried at Luss in the sixth century. OPS, I, 30.
327 The two which were of a post-1100 provenance were St Gilbert’s at Dornoch and St Gile’s at Edinburgh. Atlas II, 377.
328 Data from ibid., 377. Saints of Irish extraction are counted as being ‘native’. Those of doubtful origin include Palladius and Regulus.
329 There were fifteen saints who bore the name Brigid. Watson, CPNS, 274.
330 Before 1100 the most common prefix for ‘servant of’ names in Scotland was ‘måel’. The twelfth century witnessed its gradual displacement by ‘gille’. Black, Surnames, xxxvii.
331 Liber S. Marie de Calchoun, 2 vols. (Bannatyne Club, 1846), I, 114.
332 OPN, I, 30.
333 Liber Cartarum Sancie Crucis (Bannatyne Club, 1840), no. 50.
'Gilleserfis', probably due to an ancient association with St Serf's monastery at Culross. The continuing connection between such names and religious devotion is perhaps most compellingly demonstrated by the fact that it was a thirteenth-century landowner called Gille Crist mac Gille Dubh who established a parish church on his property in Tarradale dedicated to Christ, known thereafter as Kilchrist.335

It certainly should not be inferred from the preceding discussion that before the Canmore period the people of Scotland were ignorant or dismissive of the worship of non-native saints. For example, documentary sources, such as the notitiae in the Book of Deer336 and the Dunkeld Litany,337 and dedicatory evidence338 both reveal that scriptural and continental saints were worshipped throughout Scotland. Nevertheless, it was to those holy men and women who had proselytised the various peoples of Scotland and thus moulded its distinctive Christian faith that the greatest devotion was paid by the populace. By so doing, the diverse ethnic groups of Scotland, from small communities honouring their ërlam, to whole peoples worshipping their 'national' saint, were demonstrating an often unrecognised appreciation of a Christian past whose emotional, as well as physical, legacy clearly continued to impinge upon the common consciousness well after the original fervour of conversion had cooled. Indeed, from the enduring devotion to and identification with traditional saints, and the numerous hills, passes, fairs, wells and shrines dedicated to them, to the great carved crosses of the Pictish and early medieval periods339 and the presumably more plentiful wooden crosses of itinerant preachers,340 the people of Scotland lived with constant reminders of the Christian heritage which defined them both individually and...
collectively. It can thus be argued that by the twelfth century Scotland had a deep-rooted and highly complex landscape of faith which no reformer or incoming churchman could afford to ignore.

*The Scottish Church by 1124: a revised model*

Further research into this seminal period in Scottish history will have to be undertaken before the full potential of the revised theories regarding Margaret’s consortship can be realised. This is particularly true of the arguably little understood reigns of Edgar and Alexander, of which the preceding studies are but the preliminaries of what could have been far more in-depth re-assessments. Nevertheless, by viewing the ecclesiastical history of 1070-1124 from the revisionaries’ perspective, it is evident even at this early stage that the traditional picture of the late eleventh- and early twelfth-century Scottish Church as an irreparably secularised, spiritually decrepit, ecclesiologically anachronistic and torpid institution which was so bereft of internal vigour and initiative that it required to be dragged into the mainstream of Catholic Church life by exasperated incomers, is far from accurate. In its place emerges a revised, although as yet rudimentary, model:

It remained a conservative and distinctly individual, Scottish institution still dominated and shaped by its predominantly Columban past and a Gaelic culture which under its patronage continued to flourish. Reflecting the various cultures in which it had developed as the kingdom of the Scots expanded, it displayed certain organisational idiosyncrasies and peculiarities of religious practice (such as abbatial dynasties and a reluctance by certain sections of the laity to take Communion) which put it out of step with the Church on the continent. Its network of ancient monasteries and churches were like the curate’s egg - good in parts, bad in others. As the religious focus shifted from monastic to pastoral concerns, a rationalisation had arguably taken place amongst its once dominant coenobitic communities. Many of the great houses of the Dark Age and early medieval period in Alba, such as Meigle and St Vigeans, had therefore decayed, displaced by the small chapels and churches of the localities. The loss of Iona during Edgar’s reign to the Norwegians also deprived the Scots of one of the greatest symbols of their Gaelic Church past. The ecclesiological landscape was nevertheless still distinguished by a number of ancient foundations (e.g. Lochleven and Turriff) which maintained their spiritual and cultural vigour, and in some cases, as at Abernethy and St Andrews, perpetuated Gaelic religious education. In the survival of many *cèle Dé* communities, even though many of
them no longer adhered to their original principles, the Church was served by a network of ancient houses which had a tradition of asceticism and, importantly, internal reform. The confidence of many of its ancient sites was expressed in ambitious building programmes, as at Brechin, which reflected its continued cultural links predominantly with Ireland, but also, as at Restennet, with England. From large religious houses, as at Abernethy, to local chapels, as in Badenoch and Strathspey, its clergy continued to be drawn from native society. At a less official level, its ascetic reputation was maintained by the numerous hermitages alluded to by Thurgot, and its traditions by the devotions and commemorations of the laity. Tradition and continuity rather than innovation and change therefore continued to be its defining characteristics.

It was nevertheless far from an insular Church. The ecclesiastical fashions of the countries with which it traditionally had contact, such as England and Ireland, continued to influence religious society in Scotland to varying degrees. The ambition of the early Canmore kings to consolidate their rule south of the Forth and Máel Coluim III’s marriage to Margaret brought it into even greater contact with the Church in England, especially the great Benedictine centres of Canterbury and Durham. Before 1124, this intensified relationship with England re-inforced Anglo-Saxon, rather than Anglo-Norman, influence in the Scottish Church, as demonstrated by Goldwine’s presence at Dunfermline, Thurgot’s tenure as bishop of St Andrews, and the recognition of the congregatio sancti Cuthberti’s traditional role in Lothian. Indeed, despite the archbishop of York’s vigorously renewed primatial claims, Anglo-Norman interference in the ecclesiological and political affairs of the territorially expanding and self-confident Scottish Church as yet remained negligible.

It was also far from a reactionary Church. Macbeth’s pilgrimage to Rome and Alexander’s correspondence with Pope Paschal II demonstrated that it was an integral, willing member of the greater Catholic Church which was cognisant of and (as at the councils held by Gaelic churchmen alluded to by Thurgot) participative in the reform movement initiated by the eleventh-century papacy. The introduction of Benedictines at Dunfermline may have proved a false dawn for supporters of monastic reform, with Edgar’s uneventful religious policy implying that there was little enthusiasm for change. Moreover, the difficulties experienced by Alexander I at Inchcolm, Loch Tay and St Andrews were perhaps caused by the conservatism of the Church’s established clergy and lay supporters. However, Alexander’s success in reviving the ancient bishopric of St Andrews and founding an Augustinian convent at the sacral and royal centre of Scone,
demonstrates a willingness to sponsor reform, if at the Church’s own pace. Accordingly, with the king’s initiatives being backed by senior native ecclesiastics, such as Bishops Cormac of Dunkeld and Gregory of Moray,\footnote{A Bishop Gregory of an unnamed see witnessed the foundation charter of Scone Priory. He was probably the same person as the Bishop Gregory of Moray who witnessed another of Alexander I’s charters for Scone c. 1124. The evidence, however, is not conclusive. Dowden, Bishops, 144.} and accepted by certain ancient communities, as at Scone, it continued its long-established policy of engendering cultural and spiritual continuity by embracing change and adapting its impulses to suit native religious aspirations and expectations. Emphasising the continuation of its close, not to say symbiotic, relationship with the ruling dynasty, the Scottish Church thus played its part in the formation of a religious policy which laid the pattern for its own transformation over the next century and a half.

The recognition by the early Canmore monarchs and their ecclesiastical allies, both incoming and native, that a balanced programme of reform, not least of organised religious life, was necessary to ensure its continuing role in the wider Catholic Church may therefore have brought the Scottish Church to the threshold of a period of great change by the accession of David I. In so doing, they had nevertheless also ensured that the future ecclesia Scotticana was to be built firmly upon the ancient foundations of the existing Scottish Church. Indeed, to the majority of the populace outside of Dunfermline, and to a lesser extent Scone, the Scottish Church of 1124, in its organisation, personnel and pastoral provisions, would have appeared little different from that of 1070.

It is from this revised perspective of the Scottish Church in 1124 that any subsequent re-appraisal of the balance of new and old in Scotland’s reformed monastic community of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has to be approached.
2
CONTINUITY OF SITE

Introduction

One of the most striking, yet oft-overlooked aspects of Scotland's reformed monastic community is the extent to which it conformed to an existing pattern of religious settlement. This could take a number of forms, ranging from the creation of a new monastery on or near an abandoned religious site of historic significance, to the absorption by a reformed convent of an old ecclesiastical estate. The importance of such continuity of settlement to the successful introduction of reformed monasticism into Scotland and its subsequent expansion during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries should not be under-estimated. For, as will be explored in the proceeding chapter, by preserving, and even revitalising, traditional ecclesiastical networks and thus providing readily apparent physical expression to the interrelationship between the pre- and post-1100 Scottish Church, it greatly facilitated the transition from the traditional to the reformed, which, as demonstrated by Alexander I's difficulties, had the potential to provoke stubborn resistance from conservative elements in native society. This is especially the case as continuity of site often also resulted in the continuity of other aspects of pre-twelfth-century religious life at reformed monasteries, thus helping to further engender the balance of old and new which was to distinguish the ecclesia Scoticana.

The Conversion of Existing Communities to a Reformed Rule

The most obvious manifestation of site continuity in Scotland's reformed monastic community is the Gaelic Church convent which converted to the Augustinian Rule. An early, if somewhat ill-defined, example of this is provided by the aforementioned conversion of Scone monastery by Alexander I. More explicit evidence of how this seminal process of ecclesiastical absorption worked, however, is presented by the similar transformation of the native convents of Abernethy, Inchaffray, Lochleven and Monymusk between 1152 and 1273.

343 See above, pp. 43-48.
344 For evidence, see Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 89, 91, & 93.
The reason why all of the aforementioned communities converted to the rule of the Augustinian Order, rather than to that of the Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Tironensians or Valliscaulians, is yet to be convincingly explained. Certainly, there is a received theory which argues that the Augustinians’ espousal of a form of eremetic pastoralism ‘suited their take-over and reform of a number of old Céli Dé communities’, where they could ‘be installed...as Benedictines could not have been’. Persuasive though this proposal is, and accurate up to a point in some instances, it is nevertheless a generalisation. For example, although the Black Canons professed the vita Apostolica, they originally expressed this not by performing pastoral services but by revitalising conventual life. Indeed, during the early twelfth century ‘a substantial element in the canons regular refused to be directly involved in the cure of souls, and opted for a more austere life of strict enclosure and separation from the world’. It is thus unlikely that Alexander I would have chosen to convert Scone to the Augustinian Rule because of its compatibility with the supposed (yet notably unrecorded) pastoral activities of its existing native community. Rather, it was probably chosen because, unlike those of the Cistercians and Tironensians, the rule of the Augustinians was highly flexible and was thus easily adapted to the reforming needs of a twelfth-century Gaelic Church monastery. As noted above, this ability had been proven a few years earlier at Nostell, from where Scone gained six canons and its first Augustinian prior, Robert. That the Céli Dé of Lochleven (for whom there is significantly no evidence to suggest a previous pastoral role) were converted to the Augustinian Rule was most probably due to the fact that their conversion was enacted on the initiative of the same Robert, who had by this time been promoted to the bishopric of St Andrews. That the final three native convents to convert also adopted the Augustinian Rule was probably partly due to the success of Scone and Lochleven’s transformation into reformed priories, and partly because by the late twelfth century the canons had indeed come to play an active role in Scotland’s pastoral life. Only

345 Lynch, Scotland, 98
346 Ritchie, Normans in Scotland, 172.
347 Lawrence, Medieval Monasticism, 167. For a more in-depth discussion on the Augustinians’ attitude towards parochial duties, see Dickinson, The Origins of the Austin Canons, 224-241.
348 Southern, Western Society and the Church, 249. See also the introduction to The Rule of Saint Augustine, ed. T. J. Van Bavel & trans. R. Canning (London, 1996), 3-8.
349 Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 93; & Dowden, Bishops, 4.
to the houses of Abernethy, Inchaffray and Monymusk, therefore, does the above received theory appear generally to apply, and even then with reservations.\textsuperscript{351}

Whatever the case, whilst in retrospect the conversion of the houses of Abernethy, Inchaffray, Lochleven and Monymusk appears to be part of an inevitable and uniform transformation of the network of traditional Gaelic Church convents into a more regular form of religious life, they in fact all converted at different times and due to varying stimuli and pressures. Only by studying each of these houses individually, therefore, can this process of conversion and the continuity which it engendered within the reformed monastic community be fully appreciated.

\textit{Lochleven}

The transformation of the \textit{cèle Dé} monastery of Lochleven into an Augustinian priory by David I and Bishop Robert of St Andrews is undoubtedly the most famous example of the conversion of a Gaelic Church community to a reformed rule. This is not only because documents relating to this conversion have survived, but also due to the fact that they present a vivid picture of an aggressive attempt by an intolerant king and bishop to force the Augustinian Rule on a native convent. The most compelling evidence of all is David’s charter which records that he had

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given and granted to the canons of St Andrews the island of Lochleven, that they might establish canonical order there; and the \textit{cèle Dé} who shall be found there, if they consent to live as regulars, shall be permitted to remain in society with, and subject to, the others; but should any of them be disposed to offer resistance, his will and pleasure is that such should be expelled from the island.\textsuperscript{352}
\end{quote}

Reflecting the proprietorial rights which the bishop of St Andrews had enjoyed over the house of Lochleven since the agreement made between Abbot Rónán and Bishop Fothad mac Brain in the mid tenth century,\textsuperscript{353} Bishop Robert correspondingly conveyed the actual monastery to the canons.\textsuperscript{354} The paternal relationship envisaged by Rónán and Fothad was nevertheless clearly betrayed by Bishop Robert when, in what was surely a calculated move
designed to herald the end of the Gaelic Church era at the monastery of Lochleven and emphasise its loss of independence, he also transferred the cēlī Dé’s holy vestments and books to the priory of St Andrews.\textsuperscript{355} Under concerted attack from the most powerful secular and ecclesiastical authorities in Scotland, both of whose predecessors had sworn to protect them,\textsuperscript{356} the cēlī Dé of Lochleven were thus suppressed and, at best, permitted to become second-class Augustinian canons.

This extirpation of the ancient cēlī Dé community at Lochleven admittedly conflicts with the proposal that the Canmore kings pursued a moderate religious policy which attempted to balance the new with the old. Indeed, it would appear to confirm the traditional view that the reformers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were inherently hostile to existing ecclesiastical provisions. It can nevertheless be argued that the aggressive conversion of Lochleven monastery was atypical.

As noted above, for example, throughout the eleventh, and even into the twelfth, century, the cēlī Dé of Lochleven had been patronised by a succession of members of the royal dynasty and bishops of St Andrews.\textsuperscript{357} By 1124, it is therefore likely to have been one of the most important and wealthiest religious sites in Alba. Unlike many other Gaelic Church monasteries at this time, there is no evidence to suggest that Lochleven’s original discipline had been weakened by secularisation. For example, in contrast to the house of Abernethy in the neighbouring province of Strathearn,\textsuperscript{358} there was evidently no abbot of Lochleven by the twelfth century, with a document of c. 1128 describing the head of the convent, Dubhtach, as not only an abbot, but also a priest.\textsuperscript{359} Indeed, rather than experiencing a period of decline during the early 1100s, it is probable that the cēlī Dé of Lochleven were aware of current continental ecclesiastical developments, and had perhaps even initiated a programme of self-reform independent of the Canmore-sponsored movement.

This may initially appear a fantastic suggestion. Such a scenario, however, can be inferred from the list of books contained within the charter recording Bishop Robert’s grant of Lochleven monastery and its possessions to the priory of St Andrews.\textsuperscript{360} Admittedly, the long-held belief that these books were confiscated from the Lochleven cēlī Dé has been

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\textsuperscript{355} Ibid., no. CCLXIII.
\textsuperscript{356} Ibid., nos. III & V-VIII.
\textsuperscript{357} See p. 67.
\textsuperscript{358} RRN. II, no. 114.
\textsuperscript{359} Lawrie, ESC, no. LXXX.
\textsuperscript{360} Ibid., no. CCLXIII.
\end{flushright}
challenged by Barrow. On the one hand, for example, he argued that they were actually from Bishop Robert’s library which was bestowed upon St Andrews priory as part of its original episcopal endowment. This proposal, however, raises the question why the scribe chose to list the books which Bishop Robert had granted from his own library in 1144 nearly ten years later in a document which otherwise pertained solely to the property of the cèle Dé community of Lochleven. The most obvious answer is that Bishop Robert wanted to create a cathedral library. Consequently, when he sequestered the possessions of Lochleven c. 1152, he added the cèle Dé’s collection of books to those of his own library which he had already donated to the priory. On the other hand, Barrow asserted that the books catalogued in the charter of c. 1152 could not possibly have belonged to Lochleven because the cèle Dé are unlikely to have had up-to-date religious texts. This argument nevertheless relies upon the negative theory that the Gaelic Church in Scotland was isolated from continental ecclesiastical developments, which recent studies have proven to be erroneous.

Amongst the seventeen named texts which can therefore be ascribed to the ownership of the cèle Dé, were the works of two of the periods most influential churchmen, Bishop Ivo of Chartres and Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux. The latter of these was of course one of the most famous proponents of monastic reform. Whilst his Sentences would not have provided Abbot Dubhtach or his successor with guidance on such matters, its presence in the library of his monastery demonstrates that the cèle Dé were nonetheless receptive to contemporary intellectual impulses. It is therefore possible that rather than through the introduction into Scotland of new orders by the Canmore, the cèle Dé of Lochleven had learnt of the monastic reforms from direct contact with the continent. If so, then this evidently still thriving

362 Lawrie, ESC, no. CLXII.
364 As highlighted in the introduction. See above, p. 2.
365 Interestingly, one of Macbeth’s most notable recorded religious acts was to free the monastery of Lochleven from its secular exactions. Whilst of course having Gaelic Church precedents, this was in concordance with the strongly held view of the reforming pope Leo IX that the Church should be completely free from the demands of and dependence on laymen, whose interference in ecclesiastical matters was condemned at a number of papal synods, including one convened at Rome in the very year when Macbeth was on pilgrimage to that city, 1050. It is thus possible that influenced by the reforming atmosphere in Rome and prompted by the Gaelic churchmen who would had been in his retinue, Macbeth decided to demonstrate his piety once home by freeing a Gaelic Church monastery. That he chose Lochleven may have been due to political reasons, but equally it may have been because it was the premier monastery in Alba. Indeed, it is possible that amongst his clerical attendants on the pilgrimage to Rome was the abbot of Lochleven. Whatever the case, this episode demonstrates how reforming impulses could have come to affect the cèle Dé community of Lochleven as early as the mid eleventh century and through direct contact with the Church on the continent. For a discussion on
convent, which notably did not attract the sort of criticism which the canons of the cathedral priory levelled at the céilí Dé of St Andrews, may indeed have been gradually adopting and adapting some of the reformers’ ideas.

Consequently, combined with its wealth and prestigious traditional links with the ruling dynasty, Lochleven’s continued spiritual vitality would undoubtedly have made it a potent force both in the politics of the Scottish Church and the still native-dominated secular society of Fife. Even more significantly, it would have presented a vibrant reminder to the surrounding populace of the continuing viability of Gaelic Church life, especially if it had begun a programme of independent self-reform. As such Lochleven would have been viewed by David I and Bishop Robert as a direct threat not only to the territorial and patronal ambitions of their newly founded Augustinian priory of St Andrews, but more crucially also to its probable intended role as the spiritual and practical focus for the new religious order in Fife. These fears would arguably also have been fuelled by Bishop Robert’s determination not to allow the Gaelic Church community to jeopardise the ethos of episcopal precedence in his diocese. It was for these reasons, and not because the convent was decayed, that David I (whose patronage of the Gaelic Church house of Deer demonstrates that he was quite prepared to support a thriving native community when it was in an area outwith his own power-centre and thus posed no threat to either his secular authority or to one of his reformed monasteries) and Bishop Robert (who was a patron of the céilí Dé elsewhere in Alba) felt compelled to bring Lochleven within the Augustinian fold. That such harsh measures were required to do so implies that the céilí Dé had offered fierce resistance to the proposal that they be converted into an Augustinian convent dependent on St Andrews priory, further strengthening the impression that by the mid twelfth century Lochleven remained a spiritually and culturally confident monastery.

Accordingly, whilst the preceding discussion suggests that the aggressive conversion of Lochleven monastery was a special case, it nevertheless emphasises that beneath the moderate façade of David I’s balanced religious policy there was a determination to reform the Scottish Church according to continental, and not native, models.

Macbethad’s pilgrimage, see appendix 1. For the freeing of Lochleven Lawrie, ESC, no. V. For further discussion on the Gaelic traditions of ecclesiastical freedom, see K. Veitch, ‘The Alliance between Church and State in Early Medieval Alba’, Albion, 30 (1998), 193-220

366 Lawrie, ESC, no. LXXX, demonstrates that the ruling classes of Fife still consisted predominantly of local families and hereditary officials. See also Duncan, Scotland, 180.

367 Lawrie, ESC, no. CXXIII, & Jackson, Gaelic Notes, 36 & 89.

368 For example, the record of an early thirteenth-century convention reveals that Bishop Robert had actually patronised the céil Dé of Monymusk. St A. Lib., 371.
CONTINUITY OF SITE

Inchaffray

Unlike Lochleven, little is known about the early history of the Gaelic Church religious house at Inchaffray. Indeed, it does not appear in the records until the 1190s. From this late evidence it is nevertheless possible to sketch a rough picture of its character on the eve of its conversion. It was staffed by religious who were styled by evidently non-native scribes simply as ‘fratres’ (brethren). The exact meaning of this term is obscure but the brethren were most probably predominantly eremetic. They were certainly led by men who were specifically identified as hermits. Despite its name, their house was clearly not a parish church, as the brethren had to obtain special rights of sepulture from the bishop of Dunblane. Nonetheless, by 1200 the community was in possession of a network of ancient local churches (two of which it had newly been granted) at which certain of the brethren may have performed pastoral services. Perhaps the fact that Inchaffray was dedicated to St John the Evangelist reflected this role. Described in the thirteenth century as being surrounded by a ‘fossa’ (ditch) and apparently also protected by a ten-foot wide earth-bank, the original house appears to have been contained within a typically early Gaelic Church monastic enclosure, suggesting that it had been long established by the twelfth century. The significant lack of any reference to a céle Dé presence at Inchaffray, however, implies that it

369 Inchaff. Chrs., nos. I-VIII.
370 Ibid., II, III, & VI-VIII. The scribe of the papal bull of protection was obviously non-Gaelic. That the other documents were also composed by non-Gaels can be inferred from their rendering of certain local place-names. See discussion in D. Broun, ‘Gaelic Literacy in Eastern Scotland Between 1124 and 1249’, in H. Pryce (ed.), Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies (Cambridge, 1998), 183-201, at 194-196.
371 The papal bull of protection dated 4th December 1200 was addressed to ‘J. the hermit’, who was probably the same person as the Isaac who was mentioned as the leader of Inchaffray in the copy of Bishop Simon of Dunblane’s charter of c. 1190. The first prior of the Augustinian convent was styled ‘Mael Isu presbyter and hermit’ in Earl Gill BrigitÈ’s foundation charter of 1200. Inchaff. Chrs., nos. I, VIII & IX.
372 Ibid., no. I.
373 The charter recording the foundation of the Augustinian priory of Inchaffray reveals that the Gaelic Church community had possessed the churches of Abruthven, Auchterarder, Kinkell, Madderty and Strogeith. Ibid., no. IX.
374 See, for example, ibid., no. I. It is difficult to assess the number of dedications to John the Evangelist in Scotland, as they are for the most part impossible to differentiate from those to John the Baptist. The only other definite dedications to the Evangelist are at Kildalton and Soulseat. Many of the places named Killean in Alba could nevertheless conceal a commemoration to this saint. MacKinlay, Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland, I, Scriptural, 276-295.
375 Inchaff. Chrs., no. XC.
was founded, or had only risen to prominence, after the expansion of this reform movement during the ninth century. It appears to have enjoyed an intimate, yet indiscernible, relationship with the comital family of Strathearn, who continued to patronise the community right up until the end of the twelfth century. Indeed, as late as c. 1198-1199 Earl Gille Brigt augmented the convent’s already extensive possessions with grants of the churches of Abruthven and Madderty.

In common with the céile Dé convent at Lochleven, it is therefore apparent that on the eve of its conversion to the Augustinian Rule, the brethren at Inchaffray continued to form a thriving community which, far from lapsing into decadence, had actually maintained its discipline and thus arguably remained a powerful and respected force in local religious society.

Interestingly, Lindsay, one of the editors of the *Scottish History Society’s* edition of the charters of Inchaffray, proposed that the brethren tried to resist Earl Gille Brigt of Strathearn’s attempt to convert their house into an Augustinian priory, much in the same way as the céli Dé of Lochleven unsuccessfully defied the similar plans of David I and Bishop Robert of St Andrews. In illustration, he interpreted the bull issued by Pope Innocent III in 1200 as the result of an attempt by the brethren of Inchaffray to gain papal protection against the earl’s proposed changes. That this bull was addressed to ‘I. the hermit’ while in the foundation charter of the Augustinian priory Gille Brigt recognised Máel Ísu ‘presbyter and hermit’ as the head of the converted convent, led Lindsay to further propose that the former was the leader of Inchaffray’s anti-reform faction and was subsequently replaced by the latter who had championed the proposed change amongst the brethren. This attractive theory certainly appears to be corroborated by the fact that Earl Gille Brigt appears to have anticipated legal challenges to the new convent from recalcitrant members of the superseded community when he declared his previous charters annulled. Conflict between anti- and

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377 For example, in 1198 Earl Gille Brigt and his wife Matilda chose Inchaffray as the burial site for the body of their first-born son, Gille Crist. They also announced that they too were to be buried there. *Inchaff. Chr.,* no. IX.
378 Ibid., nos. III & IV. Earl Gille Brigt also granted a croft of three acres at Fowlis and a teind of his *caíin* to the brethren of Inchaffray. Ibid., nos. II & V.
379 Ibid., xxv-xxviii.
380 Ibid., xxv.
381 Ibid., xxvii.
382 Ibid., no. XVII.
pro-reformers at Inchaffray could also have been the cause of the three year delay between
the earl’s foundation charter and Innocent III’s bull of confirmation of June 1203.383

Apart from this inferential evidence, however, there is no actual proof, as there is for
Lochleven, that there was an aggressive conversion of the native community of Inchaffray.
Indeed, the same evidence as used by Lindsay can be interpreted in a way which suggests that
there was no conflict between Earl Gille Brigte and the brethren. For example, apropos of the
papal bull of protection of 1200 which was requested by l., such bulls were commonly
sought by reformed religious convents throughout twelfth-century Scotland, especially when
their patrimony was subsequently augmented.384 As aforementioned, during the mid to late
1190s Gille Brigte of Strathearn did indeed greatly increase the possessions of Inchaffray by
granting it two churches, a croft and the teind of his cain.385 Moreover, it was evidently
immediately after this succession of grants that l. solicited papal protection for his convent’s
assets, with the bull interestingly making specific mention of Gille Brigte’s recent
donations.386 It can thus be proposed that l., reflecting the apparently orthodox and self­
confident nature of the native community of Inchaffray,387 was simply following standard
twelfth-century ecclesiastical procedure. In so doing, as when abbots of reformed monasteries
requested papal protection,388 he was not demonstrating his distrust of or hostility towards his
patron, but merely conforming to the expectations of papal monarchy and prudently
legislating against potential future challenges to his community’s proprietor rights by
obtaining the protection of western Christendom’s greatest temporal authority. The convent’s
alleged split into traditionalist and pro-reform factions under the leadership of l. and Mâel
Ísu, respectively, can likewise be accounted for. It is possible, on the one hand, for example,
that Gille Brigte entrusted the reformed priory to Mâel Ísu because l. (who may possibly have
been the Isaac to whom Bishop Jonathan of Dunblane had made a grant c. 1190)389 had either
died in the interim between writing to the papacy and 1200 or had merely become too old to
implement the envisaged changes.390 On the other hand, it is entirely possible that l. and Mâel

383 Ibid., nos. IX & XXI.
384 For example, see St A. Lib., 286.
385 Inchaff. Chrs., nos. II-V.
386 The bull stated that the assets of the house were to be taken into the pope’s protection, ‘especially
those possessions which G. earl of Strathearn donated to your house in alms’. Ibid., no. VIII.
387 The very fact that l. wrote to the papacy demonstrates that the convent recognised the authority of
the pope and were thus assured of their place within the greater Catholic Church.
389 Inchaff. Chrs., no. I.
390 Mâel Ísu may have been chosen by Gille Brigte to replace l. because he was a member of the
comital family of Strathearn. See discussion below, p. 159.
Ísu were the same person. The papal scribes, for instance, may have believed Mael to be an honorific which could be omitted, and unsure of Ísu, represented it simply as ‘I.’ Finally, apropos of the time-lapse between Earl Gille Brigte’s foundation charter of 1200 and the papal confirmation of 1203, there was nothing unusual in such a delay. For example, there was a four year interval between the issuing of Lindores Abbey’s foundation charter in 1191 and its first papal confirmation of 1195, while in Inchcolm’s case it would appear as if there was a delay of at least ten years.

When these points are viewed in conjunction with the fact that, in comparison with David I, who evidently did not continue the Canmore tradition of patronising the céli Dé of Lochleven, Gille Brigte was a generous benefactor of the brethren, it would appear as if the reform of the Gaelic Church convent of Inchaffray is unlikely to have been achieved through the intimidation and partial expulsion of the existing clergy. It would alternatively suggest that throughout the mid to late 1190s, Earl Gille Brigte (who appears to have struck a masterly balance between Gaelic and Anglo-French traditions and practices in other areas of his comital policy) with the support of the brethren, laid the groundwork of what was to be an amicable transition at Inchaffray from Gaelic Church to Augustinian convent. In so doing, Gille Brigte may have solely been expressing an admiration for Anglo-French culture which his marriage to Matilda d’Aubigny had possibly instilled in him. More probably, however, he and his wife, perhaps prompted by the death of their son Gille Crist, were eager to make a pious gesture which they anticipated would re-invigorate religious life in their earldom. Certainly, the foundation charter of Inchaffray priory states that they established it ‘wishing by the inspiration of divine grace to exalt the church of God in our fief and to sow the seeds of holy religion for the cultivation of God there.’ Possibly the earl chose to convert

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391 Lind. Cart., nos. II & XCIII.
392 Bishop Gregory quitclaimed Inchcolm’s patrimony 1162X1169 in recognition of its founding, whilst Pope Alexander III confirmed its possessions in March 1179. Inchcolm Chrs., nos. I & II. This lengthy delay was possibly caused by the upheavals in the papacy at this time. For brief details, see J. N. D. Kelly, The Oxford Dictionary of Popes (Oxford, 1986), 176-177.
393 Gille Brigte’s household still had a full complement of Gaelic officials: Henry the rannaire. Constantin the judex, Gille Naomh the senescal and Anecol the thane. There were also holders of French-style offices in his household: Constantin the pincera and Robert the dispensarius. The earl also feudalised areas of his fiefdom, but balanced his grants between natives, such as his brother Mael Isu, and incomers, such as Nigel de Lovetoft. Inchaff. Chrs., lxxxii & nos. V, IX, & appendix no. I.
394 Matilda was clearly considered to be the co-foundress of Inchaffray priory along with her husband. Inchaff. Chrs., no. IX.
395 Inchaffray Priory’s foundation charter states that it was established ‘especially for the soul of Gille Crist, our first-born son, who rests there’. Ibid., no. IX.
396 Ibid., no. IX.
Inchaffray to the Augustinian Rule in order to accelerate the proposed process whereby the brethren were adopting a more pastoral role and thus ensure that the parochialisation of his earldom was undertaken by loyal, local clergy.397 As at Scone, however, such a transformation naturally took a number of years to implement. Again as at Scone, its completion appears to have been marked by the transfer of a group of experienced Black Canons from an established convent to the new priory.398 However, as the first Augustinian prior of Inchaffray, Māel Ísu, was evidently chosen from the existing Gaelic Church community and, moreover, entrusted by Gille Brìgte and Matilda to select his own convent,399 it is probable that most of the canons were recruited from the former community of brethren. That Gille Brìgte could delegate such responsibility to Māel Ísu,400 not only further suggests that the prior was probably a relative of the earl, but more importantly also demonstrates that unlike David I and Bishop Robert of St Andrews' perceptions of the céití Dè of Lochleven, he did not consider the brethren of Inchaffray to be a threat. Accordingly, in sharp contrast to events at Lochleven, and perhaps in common with Alexander I's conversion of Scone, the transition from old to new at Inchaffray was virtually seamless.

_Monymusk_

Hector Boece recorded the tradition that Māel Coluim III, advancing against the men of Moray, arrived at Monymusk, and discovering that it was royal land, vowed it to St Andrew in order to procure him victory.401 This has led some historians to claim that Māel Coluim founded the monastery of Monymusk.402 The veracity of these claims is nevertheless doubtful, as Monymusk was staffed by céití Dè,403 which suggests a much earlier date for its foundation than the late eleventh century. This should not lead to the conclusion, however, that the account offered by Boece is a complete fabrication. Firstly, for example, there is

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397 For Earl Gille Brìgte's possible motivations for establishing an Augustinian convent and his connections with the monastery of Scone, see pp. 191-197 below.
398 Thus claims the uncorroborated testimony of Bower, Scotichron., VIII, 73. In Inchaffray's foundation charter, however, it states that Gille Brìgte had given Māel Ísu the authority to instruct the new canons 'as he thinks fit, in the service of God and according to the rule of St Augustine'. Ibid., no. IX.
399 Ibid., no. IX.
400 Indeed, Gille Brìgte and Matilda pronounced that they could 'entirely rely' on Māel Ísu's 'discretion and piety'. Ibid., no. IX.
401 A.B. Coll., I, 169.
402 Ibid., I, 169, & Lawrie, EYC. 235.
evidence to suggest that Máel Coluim III did lead an expedition into Moray in 1078 from which he returned triumphant.\textsuperscript{404} Secondly, a charter recording the boundaries between Monymusk and Keig states that 'these are the marches which King Máel Coluim gave to God and the church of St Mary of Monymusk on account of the victory granted to him.'\textsuperscript{405} Thirdly, thirteenth-century documents demonstrate that the célè Dé monastery of Monymusk was under the jurisdiction of the bishop of St Andrews.\textsuperscript{406} It can consequently be proposed that Máel Coluim III gave thanks for his victory over the men of Máel Snechtæ not by founding the monastery of Monymusk, but by endowing the existing house with more land, perhaps constructing a new church for the célè Dé,\textsuperscript{407} and re-confirming the bishop of St Andrews' jurisdiction over it.\textsuperscript{408}

Significantly, although the bishop of St Andrews thus enjoyed extensive control over the Gaelic Church monastery of Monymusk, in stark contrast to Bishop Robert's aforementioned treatment of the célè Dé of Lochleven, there was evidently no episcopal attempt to suppress the célè Dé at this site.\textsuperscript{409} Indeed, the process whereby the célè Dé of Monymusk were brought into line with reformed religious life was actually initiated by a Gaelic earl and subsequently achieved in the face of stern opposition from a bishop of St Andrews. This is evident from a collection of documents relating to the monastery of Monymusk from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries which were preserved in the Great Register of St Andrews.\textsuperscript{410} For example, a charter of c. 1200 states that Earl Gille Crist of Mar had built a monastery 'in the church of St Mary in which the célè Dé formerly

\textsuperscript{404} The D version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that Máel Coluim 'captured Máel Snechtæ’s mother ... and all his best men, and all his treasures and his cattle, and he himself escaped with difficulty' in 1078. Máel Snechtæ was the son of Lulach, the mormaer of Moray and stepson of Macbeth. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, trans. & ed. M. Swanton (rep. London, 1996), 213.

\textsuperscript{405} A.B. Coli., I, 171.

\textsuperscript{406} St A. Lib., 369-375.

\textsuperscript{407} Boece tradition state that Máel Coluim marked out the tower of the proposed new church in the earth with his sword. Cited in A.B. Coll., I, 169.

\textsuperscript{408} Interestingly, three of the churches in Monymusk's patrimony by the thirteenth century, Alford and Eglismenythok in Angus, and Kindrochet in Mar, were dedicated to St Andrew, further suggesting an ancient connection with the Fife house. Perhaps during the tenth century when the rise of the bishop of St Andrews witnessed churches such as Lochleven being brought within his protective jurisdiction, (Lawrie, ESC, no. III) Monymusk too entered into a mutual pact with him. More probably, as M. Ash, 'The diocese of St Andrews under its "Norman" bishops', SHR, Iv (1976), 106-126, at 109, proposed, the bishop of St Andrews was Monymusk's original founder, and as such had a different relationship with that house than with other cells of St Andrew, such as Lochleven, Portmoak and Pittenweem, which were specifically granted to the see.

\textsuperscript{409} Indeed, as aforementioned, Bishop Robert of St Andrews was a patron of the célè Dé of Monymusk. St A. Lib., 371.

\textsuperscript{410} Ibid., 369-374.
were'. With subsequent Monymusk charters being addressed to 'Keledei sive canonici' (céli Dé or canons) and ‘canonici qui Keledei dicuntur' (canons who are called céli Dé), this must record, not the foundation of a totally new monastery, but an attempt by Earl Gille Crist to convert the existing céli Dé convent to a canonical rule. In so doing, he can be seen as paralleling the aforementioned initiative taken by his contemporary, Earl Gille Brigte of Strathearn, to convert the brethren of Inchaffray to the Augustinian Rule. Indeed, the ecclesiological developments which facilitated the near-simultaneous conversions of the Gaelic convents of Inchaffray and Monymusk were probably very similar. For example, it is arguable that by the late twelfth century the native convent at Monymusk, as at Inchaffray, was a thriving community, self-confident of its place in the greater Catholic Church, which had begun to play a more pastoral role in the religious life of the surrounding countryside. Consequently, in common with Gille Brigte of Strathearn, Gille Crist of Mar (who was evidently conscious of continental-style religious life elsewhere in Scotland) was able to demonstrate his piety and cultural awareness merely by harnessing and accelerating

411 Ibid., 374. The exact date of the céli Dé of Monymusk’s conversion is difficult to ascertain as the scribe who copied the house’s charters in the Great Register of St Andrews excluded the witness-lists.
412 Ibid., 362 & 374.
413 For example, ibid., 370, records that the native community was patronised by the earls of Buchan and Mar. The confirmation of the convention between the bishop of St Andrews and the céli Dé of Monymusk, moreover, implies that the latter not only had an extensive pre-1200 patrimony, but also maintained their original collegiate discipline into the early thirteenth century. Ibid., 370-372.
414 Again as at Inchaffray, this is evident in the convent’s willingness to gain papal confirmation for its possessions. Ibid., 375.
415 This is suggested by the fact that Earl Gille Crist granted/confirmed to the céli Dé a number of local churches, as attested to by Bishop John of Aberdeen’s confirmation charter. Ibid., 374. These churches included Alford, Invernochtie, Leochel and Logie Mar. The céli Dé house at Monymusk evidently did not have parochial status, however. Ibid., 371. See also, Cowan, Parishes, 5, 90, 111, 130 & 137.
416 Gille Crist of Mar was witness to a grant made by the earl of Atholl to Dunfermline Abbey of 1183X1194, as well as royal grants to the reformed religious houses of Arbroath and Coupar Angus. Dunf. Reg., no. 147, & RRS, II, nos. 299, 284, & 414. His involvement in current Church affairs is also demonstrated by his connection with the mission of John of Salerno to Scotland in 1201-1202. A. Macquarrie, Scotland and the Crusades 1095-1560 (rep. Edinburgh, 1997), 32-33, suggested that he may have been present at the council held at Perth in 1201 where John of Salerno preached the crusades. Interestingly, Gille Brigte of Strathearn is recorded as being at this council as well, (ibid., 32), which reveals the sort of places where the two native earls could have met and discussed their respective attempts to create a reformed convent from an existing Gaelic Church site. Gille Brigte and Gille Crist probably also met while attending the perambulatory court of King William, as they are co-witnesses to a number of royal grants dating from AD1180X1184-1189X1195. RRS, II, nos. 251, 284, 344, 347, 361 & 362. Gille Crist may also have been influenced by the feudal settlement of Anglo-French incomers in the earldom of Mar, especially Mael Coluim of Lundie (Durward) who held extensive estates in Mar, married the earl’s daughter and whose son came to claim the earldom itself. W. D. Simpson, The Province of Mar (Edinburgh, 1944), 115-116. For a discussion on the religious and secular policies of the earls of Strathearn, see C. J. Neville, ‘The Earl’s of Strathearn from the Twelfth to the Mid-Fourteenth Century’ (Aberdeen University Ph.D. thesis, 1983).
these developments and converting, over a number of years. 417 the native community to a reformed rule.

Interestingly, the extant documents suggest that this transformation was initially accepted by the Church hierarchy, including Bishop William Malvoisin of St Andrews. 418 However, sometime before 1210 419 Bishop William had either altered his opinion or realised the full implication of the proposed changes to the convent of Monymusk and acting in his capacity as the house’s ecclesiastical patron/abbot 420 tried to have them reversed. Thus he complained to the papacy that ‘certain céli Dé who profess to be canons...and certain others of the diocese of Aberdeen in the vill of Monymusk, 421 which pertained to him, do not fear to establish a kind of regular canony in opposition to him...to the prejudice and hurt of his church’. 422 In response, in 1210 Pope Innocent III appointed the abbots of Dryburgh and Melrose and the archdeacon of Glasgow to investigate these claims and broker a settlement between the céli Dé and Bishop William. 423 Fortunately, the document recording the resulting convention between these two parties has survived. 424 Cited by many historians since, 425 the details of this confirmation reveal that the papal commissioners envisaged the following basic arrangement at the céle Dé house of Monymusk. There were to be twelve céli Dé and a prior.

The first prior, Bricius, was to be presented to the bishop of St Andrews for confirmation. When Bricius either retired or died, the bishop was to be presented with three members of the community, one of whom he would select as the new prior. The convent was not to exceed

417 As with Gille Brigte’s series of grants to Inchaffray immediately before its adoption of the Augustinian Rule, Gille Crist’s late twelfth-century donations (or confirmations) of churches and lands to Monymusk were probably made in preparation for the céli Dé’s conversion. St A. Lib., 372 & 374.
418 For example, a charter from the bishop of St Andrews from -1209 recording his grant of the church of Keig demonstrates his acceptance of the change by styling the clergy of Monymusk ‘canons’. Ibid., 366. Confirmations from the diocesan bishop, John of Aberdeen, likewise recognise the convent as canons. Ibid., 367 & 374.
419 Pope Innocent III had obviously received Bishop William’s objections to the conversion of the Monymusk community by at least the beginning of 1210, as in the March of that year he appointed commissioners to investigate the dispute. Ibid., 370.
421 The principal one of these ‘others’ so criticised was most probably Earl Gille Crist of Mar, who, as has been suggested, probably initiated the process whereby the céli Dé of Monymusk adopted a canonical rule. Gille Crist’s resented involvement in this change is further implied by the fact that he was the only secular patron mentioned in the convention between the Bishop of St Andrews and the céli Dé, in which the latter were criticised for accepting land he granted without gaining episcopal assent. St A. Lib., 372.
422 Ibid., 371.
423 Ibid., 370.
424 Ibid., 370-372.
425 See, for example, Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 93; Reeves, Culdees, 55-56 & 137-138; Simpson, ‘The Augustinian Priory and the Parish Church of Monymusk’, 43; & Skene, C.S. II, 390-391.
thirteen in number. The céli Dé were also expressly forbidden to adopt ‘the life or order of monks or regular canons’ without the consent of the bishop. Moreover, all newly elected members of the community had to swear before the bishop, or his representative, that they would adhere to these terms. In return, the Bishop of St Andrews, acting as patron, confirmed the céli Dé’s patrimony and undertook to protect their rights. Regarding the actual structure of the community, the document reveals that ‘the céli Dé in future should have only one refectory and one dormitory in common, and one oratory without cemetery, and that the bodies of the céli Dé and of clerks or laymen who might die with them should receive the rights of sepulture at the parish church of Monymusk.’

This is fascinating testimony for the study of old and new in the Scottish Church of the Canmore period, not least because it appears to be a re-affirmation of the pre-reform arrangement at Monymusk. Thus, it arguably not only reveals some of the traditional rights and privileges which the Bishop of St Andrews had regarding the staffing and leadership of the ancient Gaelic Church sites under his jurisdiction, but also affords a rare and valuable glimpse of the duties,426 rights427 and organisation of a cèle Dé community in the twelfth century.428 Its importance does not end here, however, for it also demonstrates that the main reason for Bishop William’s opposition to the reform of the cèle Dé community was that, by becoming canons, they threatened the parochial revenues of his church in the vill of Monymusk.429 Accordingly, the convention denied the cèle Dé house the enriching parochial privilege of sepulture.430 Indeed, in burial a cèle Dé was to be treated the same as any other parishioner of the bishop’s church.

From this unique testimony, therefore, two significant conclusions can be drawn regarding the relationship between old and new in the medieval Scottish Church. Firstly, it reveals that despite nearly one hundred years of Anglo-French leadership at St Andrews, the

426 For example, the document states that when the bishop of St Andrews visited Monymusk, the céli Dé had to receive him with a solemn procession; perhaps an ancient duty of the convent. St A. Lib., 372. Ash, ‘The diocese of St Andrews’, 110, however, proposed that this was a modern duty.
427 The document records various rights which the céli Dé ‘had possessed from ancient times upto this time’. St A. Lib., 371.
428 As such it can be compared with and contrasted to the arguably biased testimonies regarding the native communities at Dunkeld and St Andrews, to build up a more complete picture of cèle Dé life after 1100.
429 For example, Bishop William’s letter to the papacy, as aforementioned, stated that the changes had ‘hurt his church’ of Monymusk, while the convention itself emphasised that the cèle Dé community was to do nothing ‘in detriment of the parish church of Monymusk’. Ibid., 371 & 372.
430 J. Dowden, The Medieval Church in Scotland (Glasgow, 1910), 186, highlighted how valuable this privilege was to a medieval parish church.
bishops of that see remained highly conscious of the rights which they had inherited from their Gaelic Church predecessors. Secondly, that the bishops of St Andrews’ policy towards Gaelic Church communities such as Lochleven and Monymusk was not dictated by an inherently anti-céli Dé sentiment, but rather by their concern to maintain their own privileges. Accordingly, just as the céli Dé convent of Lochleven was suppressed and converted to a subordinate Augustinian priory in order to protect the bishop’s cathedral priory, so too was the céli Dé community of Monymusk prevented from converting to a canonical rule and preserved as a subordinate Gaelic Church-style house to protect the parochial revenues of the bishop’s local church. In the case of Monymusk, however, it appears as if the bishop of St Andrews’ success was short-lived. For in May 1245 Pope Innocent IV issued a bull which was addressed to the ‘Prior and convent of Monymusk of the Order of St Augustine’.431 Whilst some historians have inferred from this evidence that the agreement of c. 1210 had led to the native convent’s decay and subsequent suppression,432 it is more probable that the céli Dé community of Monymusk, maintained by strong priors433 and with the continued support of both Earl Gille Crist’s successor434 and, arguably, the bishop of Aberdeen,435 built upon their earlier attempt to convert to a reformed rule and finally gained recognition as Augustinian canons.

At Monymusk, as at Inchaffray, a picture thus emerges of a thriving, late twelfth-century Gaelic Church community which, through the clergy’s own desire to reform and, importantly, the sponsorship of a native comital family which was eager to give visible expression to its piety and cultural enlightenment, yet was at the same time unwilling to disrupt the age-old stability of their earldom’s religious society by founding a new monastery staffed by imported canons, was transformed into an Augustinian priory. Whilst this

431 St A. Lib., 372.
432 Reeves, Culdees, 56.
433 Bishop William, at the request of the prior of Monymusk, chastised certain of the céli Dé for not upholding their discipline and forbade any who took regular profession in this house to be received elsewhere without the prior’s license. Admittedly, this may initially appear to confirm Reeves’ doubts about Monymusk’s discipline after the settlement. However, documents warning religious houses not to allow their discipline to slacken and forbidding those who had taken profession in a community from going elsewhere were also issued to reformed convents of monks and canons during this period, which are not considered to have declined into general decadence. See, for example, Lind. Cart., no. XCIII; & Registrum Monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth (Grampian Club, 1872), no. 25.
434 Charters recording two of Earl Donnchad of Mar’s grants to Monymusk survive, and both, significantly, continue to style the celi Dé canons St A. Lib., 362 & 367
435 Two confirmation charters issued by Bishop Gilbert of Aberdeen 1228X1239 survive, and, as with Earl Donnchad’s above-mentioned charters, both continue to style the celi Dé canons Ibid., 367 & 368
transformation took much longer to achieve at Monymusk than at Inchaffray, it nevertheless provides another example of how continuity of both site and community could make the transition from old to new in medieval Scottish religious life effectively seamless.

Abernethy

Allegedly founded in honour of St Brigid by an early king of Picts,\textsuperscript{436} by the late eleventh century Abernethy had evolved into a wealthy and influential Gaelic Church monastery whose convent comprised of a typically Columban mixture of priests, lectors and \textit{céli Dé}.\textsuperscript{437} By the end of the twelfth century, however, its wealth had evidently been diminished and its status eclipsed by newly established reformed monasteries such as Arbroath Abbey, to which William the Lion, perhaps on the death of the hereditary abbot of Abernethy, Órnn mac Áeda, had made a generous grant of old abbatial chapels and lands.\textsuperscript{438} In spite of these developments, nonetheless, it is apparent that the \textit{céli Dé} component of the old monastery of Abernethy continued to survive under the protection of a member of the traditional abbatial dynasty.\textsuperscript{439} For example, in his aforementioned grant to the Tironensians of Arbroath, William stressed that the \textit{céli Dé} of Abernethy were to continue to enjoy their ancient estate.\textsuperscript{440} This was a quite substantial patrimony, including as it did not only half of the abbot's own teinds, but also the teinds owing from part of his demesne, namely from Mugdrum, Carpow, 'Balcolly', 'Balehirewell', and Innermuth to the east of the burn. Whilst this would suggest that the \textit{céli Dé} remnant of the old monastery of Abernethy remained a powerful economic force in the area, their religious functions by this time are hard to assess. Certainly, with those chapels which had once pertained to Abernethy now in the possession of Arbroath Abbey, it is unlikely that they performed a pastoral role in the surrounding countryside.\textsuperscript{441} That they nonetheless maintained their collegiate discipline is suggested by

\textsuperscript{436} There are two extant versions of the Abernethy foundation legend. One credits 'Necton Morbet filius Erip' with its creation, the other 'Garnard filius Domnach sive Makdomnach'. \textit{Chron. Picta-Scots}, 6-7; & \textit{Scotichron.}, IV, 12. As Macquarrie, 'Early Christian Religious Houses', 116, stated, 'The foundation stories of Abernethy are irreconcilably muddled'.

\textsuperscript{437} Ibid., 116-118.

\textsuperscript{438} These included the chapels of Dron, Dunbog and 'Erolyn' (?Abdie), and the lands of Ballo and Pitlour. \textit{Arb. Lib.}, I, no. 35. For a discussion on the 'lay abbots' of Abernethy, see appendix 5.

\textsuperscript{439} Whilst distinct at the beginning of the twelfth century (Lawrie, \textit{ESC}, no. XIV), it is possible that the \textit{céli Dé} and clerical sections of the convent of Abernethy had merged by the end of the 1100s.

\textsuperscript{440} \textit{Arb. Lib.}, I, no. 35.

\textsuperscript{441} Abernethy may once have had a pastoral function. For example, the \textit{sacerdotes} of Abernethy referred to in the charter of c. 1100 possibly served the compact group of local chapels which were associated with their monastery. Macquarrie, 'Early Christian Religious Houses', 117-118.
the fact that documents dating from 1214 and 1235-1239 record the existence of a prior of the Abernethy céili Dé. Interestingly, the prior referred to in the later of these documents was called Andreas, which Cowan took to be a Latin rendering of the Gaelic name Gille Andrais. If this is the case, then it would suggest that the convent continued to be led by a Gaelic cleric and hence probably preserved its Gaelic religious and cultural character.

Unfortunately, the mention of Prior Andreas in 1239 is the last extant notice pertaining to the céili Dé community at Abernethy before its conversion to the Augustinian Rule in 1273. This lengthy hiatus in the evidence, combined with the fact that the only record of Abernethy’s transformation is the terse statement preserved in the Scotichronicon that ‘In this year the priory of Abernethy became an establishment for canons regular. They had previously been céili Dé’, consequently makes it difficult to ascertain by whom and through what process this conversion was affected. Difficult to ascertain but nevertheless not impossible. For example, in light of the role played by Earl Gille Brigte at Inchaffray and Earl Gille Crist at Monymusk, it is probable that the impetus for change at Abernethy came from a member of the local dynasty with which it was closely associated, i.e. the lords of Abernethy. This suspicion is strengthened when it is noted that it was a member of this dynasty who was behind the subsequent transformation of Abernethy’s Augustinian priory into a collegiate church during the fourteenth century. It can therefore be proposed that as head of this family in 1273, Hugh of Abernethy was the secular driving force behind the conversion of the céili Dé convent to the Augustinian Rule at Abernethy.

Whether Hugh presided over the expulsion of the Gaelic Church convent at Abernethy or if the existing céili Dé simply became the priory’s first regular canons is less easy to discern. Once more, however, the precedents set by earlier conversions of Gaelic Church sites can help to illuminate the problem. For example, it is evident that at Scone, Inchaffray and Monymusk, the native convent formed the core of the new Augustinian priory. Indeed, even at Lochleven there were provisions made by David I and Bishop Robert for the

442 Arb. Lib., I, no. 214; & Lind. Cart., nos. LI & LIV.
443 Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 46.
444 And it seems unlikely, as in contemporary Latin documents the name Gille Andrais was usually rendered into a more accurate phonetic form, such as Gillandres, Gillendrias, Gillanders, etc. See St A. Lib., 181 & 246; & Jackson, Gaelic Notes, 36.
445 Scotichron., X, 33. This testimony is corroborated by the mention of a reformed house and prior of Abernethy in Bagimond’s taxation rolls for 1274-1275 and 1275-1276. Vetera Monmenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantis, ed. A. Theiner (Rome, 1864), no. CCLXIV.
446 Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 215.
448 See discussion above, pp. 43-48 & 71-81.
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recalcitrant céli Dé to remain at the site.\(^{449}\) It thus seems unlikely that the céli Dé convent of Abernethy would have been 'disposed of'\(^{450}\) during the events of 1273; a view arguably supported by the wording of the above-quoted extract from the Scotichronicon.\(^{451}\) It is nevertheless also apparent from the preceding discussion that in order to complete their transition from traditional to reformed community, as well as to provide them with an experienced leadership, a group of Augustinian canons from an established community was introduced to the native convents of Inchafray and Scone.\(^{452}\) It is consequently interesting to note that Bishop Spottiswoode claimed Abernethy 'became a priory of canons brought from Inchafray in the year 1273'.\(^{453}\) Whilst this uncorroborated claim has been dismissed,\(^{454}\) it could nevertheless represent the conflation of a basically sound tradition that a task-force of veteran canons from Inchafray Abbey was despatched to help implement the Augustinian Rule at the newly established priory of Abernethy. Why Hugh of Abernethy should have requested help from the Augustinian convent of Inchafray, rather than from the more senior priory of St Andrews, is admittedly not immediately apparent. However, around the time of the conversion of Abernethy, Hugh of Abernethy married Moire, daughter of Eogan of Argyll,\(^{455}\) whose previous marriage to Earl Maël Ísu of Strathearn would have brought her into close contact with the Augustinian convent at Inchafray.\(^{456}\) It can thus be speculated that Hugh used his new wife's connections with Inchafray to accomplish the conversion of his community at Abernethy. Indeed, it is entirely possible that it was on Moire's initiative that this process was initially instigated.

Whatever the case, during a period when the passion for establishing convents of reformed monks and canons was all but spent, the patronage of a native dynasty had once more stimulated the transformation of a surviving Gaelic Church site into an Augustinian priory. In so doing, the descendant of the abbots of Abernethy had not only preserved his

\(^{449}\) See above, pp. 67-68.

\(^{450}\) Skene, CS, II, 400.

\(^{451}\) For example, the statement that Abernethy had become a house of canons regular was qualified by the remark that 'They had previously been céli Dé'. Scotichron., X, 33.

\(^{452}\) See above, pp. 47 & 75.

\(^{453}\) J. Spottiswoode, An account of all the religious houses that were in Scotland at the time of the Reformation, in R. Keith, An Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops (Edinburgh, 1824), 393.

\(^{454}\) Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 89. The fact that there is no record of Abernethy being a daughter house of Inchafray, even amongst the documents of the latter house's cartulary, strengthens the conclusion that Spottiswoode's statement is not to be taken at face value.

\(^{455}\) Earl Maël Ísu had died in 1271 and Moire subsequently married Hugh sometime before 1275. Scots Peerage, VII, 401.

\(^{456}\) As earl of Strathearn, Maël Ísu was the hereditary patron of Inchafray Abbey, to which he made a number of grants. Inchafr. Chr., nos. LXXXVI, LXXXVII & XC VII.
family's traditional intimate relationship with the monastery and through it with local religious society as a whole, but also helped emphasise that even in a time of great ecclesiastical change, a fundamental thread of continuity bound Christian life in the area to the earliest days of the Gaelic Church.

Conclusion

Whether or not the introduction of reformed monasticism into Scotland during the reign of Alexander I made the decline of Gaelic Church forms of organised religious life inevitable is open to debate. Certainly, the fact that the houses discussed above were converted over a period of 160 years and by a variety of royal, episcopal and aristocratic patrons does not suggest that there was a concerted programme instituted by the reformers to systematically supplant existing communities. Indeed, events at Lochleven and Monymusk demonstrated that stability and the protection of episcopal rights were considered more important by progressive churchmen than the reform of Gaelic Church sites. Moreover, that many of these communities (most obviously Inchaffray) maintained their basic religious character and functions right up until their conversion, and, as proposed for Lochleven, had sometimes even begun to accommodate reforming ideas within their traditional organisational framework, invites the conclusion that over time a Gaelic Church-style reformed community could have evolved and perhaps co-existed with houses following continental rules.

This, however, did not happen, and the fact is that by the end of the Canmore period no Gaelic Church community had remained unaltered by continental religious influences. The primary reason for this was not that they had fallen victim to an organised purge, but merely because, due to a change in the ruling class' expectations of organised religious life, native communities had gone out of fashion. Indeed, in comparison with the convents of reformed orders, the surviving Gaelic Church communities, and the often idiosyncratic spiritual services which they offered, were evidently perceived by the majority of Scotland's religious patrons as ineffectual and obsolete. Accordingly, reformed monasteries attracted the patronage and gained the privileges which they had once enjoyed. Being thus marginalised both spiritually and economically in the increasingly regulated ecclesia Scoticana, existing communities were under intense pressure to self-reform, not to say conform: a pressure which and no doubt grew as the reformed monastic community expanded. This is reflected by the fact that the initiative for change at the three houses which converted in the later Canmore
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period, Abernethy, Inchaffray and Monymusk, did not come from an external power or through compulsion, but from the native patron and the convent itself.

Significantly, the transformation of Scone into an Augustinian priory had provided the patrons of these three sites, Hugh of Abernethy, Gille Brigit of Strathern and Gille Crist of Mar, with a practical and ideological precedent for the conversion of the Gaelic Church sites under their patronage. Indeed, one of the most notable points to emerge from the preceding study is the extent to which the conversions of Abernethy, Inchaffray, Monymusk and even Lochleven conformed to the pattern established by Alexander I at Scone. Thus, they were all also initiated by the community’s traditional patron, and, with the notable exception of Lochleven, achieved with the support, or at least consent, of the existing convent. They, moreover, all included a core of experienced religious from an established house being assimilated with the existing convent. Notably, all were also converted to the Augustinian Rule. Finally, the perhaps most over-looked common factor between Scone and the houses of Abernethy, Inchaffray, Lochleven and Monymusk, is that on the eve of their conversions they were functioning religious communities all of which, arguably, perceived themselves as integral members of both the Scottish Church and the greater Catholic polity.

Consequently, whilst their adoption of the Augustinian Rule probably altered their internal organisation and perhaps even created a more distinct division between religious and laity, the reform of these Gaelic Church houses, in the initial period of reform at least, would arguably have had little impact on the perceptions of the surrounding area’s populace. The monastery would have sat where it had done for generations, dominating the countryside, demanding respect, perhaps inspiring devotion, but most importantly providing a tangible symbol of the constancy of the Christian experience in Alba.

New Monasteries, Ancient Sites

The conversion of existing Gaelic Church houses into Augustinian priories is undoubtedly the most obvious way in which the post-1070 pattern of religious settlement was shaped by that of the pre-Canmore period. Continuity of site in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scottish Church, however, was actually engendered to a far larger extent by the widespread practice of establishing reformed monasteries on or near to sites which may not have recently (or ever) been occupied by a native community, but were nevertheless in some way strongly associated with the area’s religious heritage. Pre-1124 examples of this practice are provided not only by Margaret’s choice of site in Dunfermline for her Benedictine chapel.
but also by Alexander I's plan to establish Augustinian communities on *Eilean nam Bannoamh* in Loch Tay and Inchcolm. Parallels can interestingly also be drawn with contemporary developments in Ireland, where fifty-seven Augustinian, and thirteen Cistercian, houses were established on sites of earlier religious significance.\(^{457}\) Admittedly, the absorption of ancient sites in Scotland, as with the reformed monastic community itself, was on a much smaller scale than in Ireland. The influence which this practice had upon the religious landscape of Canmore Scotland was nonetheless arguably equally profound, for, as the following survey will demonstrate, it was not restricted to native-dominated parts of the kingdom, but was prevalent even in areas where Anglo-French influence was at its most intense.

**Lothian and Teviotdale**

Of all the provinces of Canmore Scotland, Lothian and Teviotdale were the most affected by Anglo-French settlement. Indeed, from the munificent grant of Lauderdale to Hugh de Morville\(^ {458}\) to the more modest endowment of Athelstaneeford to Alexander St Martin,\(^ {459}\) David I's feudalising policy had resulted in the landowning class besouth the Firth of Forth being transformed by the introduction of incomers.\(^ {460}\) David famously accompanied his transformation of Lothian and Teviotdale's secular society with a re-invigoration of its religious provisions. Thus, from there being no religious house between Forth and Tweed on his accession in 1124, by the time of David's death in 1153 there were seven major reformed monasteries in Lothian and Teviotdale (six of which he had personally founded) representing four of the new religious orders.\(^ {461}\) Reflecting the upper echelons of secular society in the province, the reformed monastic community besouth the Forth was comprised predominantly of Anglo-French incomers.\(^ {462}\) It might be expected that, with the introduction of such large numbers of both lay and religious Anglo-French colonisers who were in no way beholden to

\(^{457}\) G. Carville, *The Occupation of Celtic Sites in Ireland by the Canons Regular of St Augustine and the Cistercians* (Kalamazoo, 1982), 2.


\(^{459}\) Lawrie, *ESC*, no. CLXXXVI.

\(^{460}\) Although, Barrow, 'The Beginnings of Military Feudalism', 282, has highlighted that 'David did not eliminate the substantial Northumbrian aristocracy native to the soil of Tweeddale, Teviotdale and Lothian'.

\(^{461}\) They were Selkirk/Kelso (Tironensian), Holyrood and Jedburgh (Augustinian), Melrose and Newbattle (Cistercian), and Dryburgh (Premonstratensian). Dryburgh had been founded by Hugh de Morville. Cowan & Easson, *MRHS*, 66, 72, 88, & 101.

\(^{462}\) See below, p. 144.
support or revere the religious traditions and history of the province, a wholly new pattern of monastic settlement would have developed between Forth and Tweed. In fact the opposite was true, with the majority of the new monasteries in Lothian and Teviotdale being established on or near to sites with ancient religious associations.

The evidence for this is not always apparent. For example, the likelihood that David’s original Tironensian foundation at Selkirk was established on an ancient religious site is implied only by its name.\(^{463}\) Likewise, it has been proposed that Dryburgh, where Hugo de Morville introduced Premonstratensian canons from Alnwick,\(^{464}\) possibly got its name from \textit{Daroch-Bruach} meaning the oak-grove.\(^{465}\) As is well known, oak groves were sacred to the pagan Celts and often converted into early Christian sites.\(^{466}\) Dryburgh’s early Christian heritage, however, does not rely solely on this admittedly dubious onomastic deduction. Tradition also recalls that the monastery was built on the site of an ancient church dedicated to St Modán.\(^{467}\) This appears to be borne out by the fact that the Premonstratensian monks of Dryburgh erected a chapel to this saint in their monastery.\(^{468}\)

A more obvious example of direct continuity between pre- and post-1100 religious site in Teviotdale is provided by the Augustinian priory established by David I at Jedburgh c. 1138. This assertion admittedly runs contrary to traditional perceptions of Jedburgh Priory’s relationship with its Northumbrian Church predecessor. For example, there were ‘two vills of

\(^{463}\) Barrow, ‘Benedictines, Tironensians and Cistercians’, 205, proposed that Selkirk derived from \textit{Selechirche} (O.E. \textit{sele>hall}, and \textit{circe>church}).

\(^{464}\) \textit{Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh} (Bannatyne Club, 1847), no. 14; & \textit{Chron. Melrose}, s.a. 1152.

\(^{465}\) J. F. S. Gordon, \textit{Monasticon: An Account (Based on Spottiswoode’s) of All the Abbeys, Priories, Collegiate Churches, and Hospitals in Scotland at the Reformation} (Glasgow, 1868), 322. The earliest recorded spelling of Dryburgh is Drieburc in \textit{Chron. Melrose}, s.a. 1152.

\(^{466}\) For example, St Columba’s famous monastery of Derry (\textit{Doire}, O.Ir. grove) was established at Calgach’s oak-grove. Other examples include the monasteries of St Colman at \textit{Doire-Mor} (Co. Tipperaray) and St Maelanfaid at \textit{Doire-inis} (Co. Waterford). See, A. Gwynn & R. N. Hadcock, \textit{Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland} (rep. Dublin, 1988), 33. For the importance of oak-groves to the pagan Celts, see N. K. Chadwick, \textit{The Druids} (2nd edn Cardiff, 1997), 34-38.

\(^{467}\) Camerarius proposed that Modán was the abbot of an early monastery of Dryburgh c. 522. A. P. Forbes, \textit{Kalendars of Scottish Saints} (Edinburgh, 1872), 402, disputed this claim, stating that Modán’s mission was nowhere near this area of northern Britain. However, although Camerarius’ claims for an early monastery at Dryburgh are unsubstantiable, it is possible that the Modán commemorated at Dryburgh was actually the famous Columban missionary to Northumbria, Bishop Aedan. That Aedán could have become known in the Dryburgh district as Modán is not impossible, as the names of Gaelic saints were often pre-fixed with the affectionate possessive \textit{mo-} (my): hence \textit{Mo- Aedan}/Modan, my Aedán.

Jedword' both pertaining to the congregatio Sancti Cuthberti.\textsuperscript{469} It was thought that the monastery founded by Bishop Ecgred of Lindisfarne in the 830s was located at what was later termed Old Jedburgh, about five miles from the other vill of Jedword in which the Augustinians were later to be settled.\textsuperscript{470} Recent archaeological work undertaken at the site of Jedburgh Abbey, however, revealed a number of early medieval artefacts (including an eighth-century ornately carved shrine, a ninth- or tenth-century stone depicting Christ in His Majesty, various other sculpted stones, and a wealth of Anglo-Saxon coins)\textsuperscript{471} which strongly suggest that Ecgred's monastery was actually in the same vill of Jedword as the later reformed priory. Interestingly, c. 1080 the church of Jedword, which had evidently replaced the earlier monastery, was apparently still in the possession of the monks of St Cuthbert, then at Durham.\textsuperscript{472} Thus, with this old church, as well as its dependent chapels and lands, forming part of reformed priory's original patrimony,\textsuperscript{473} the convent of Durham must have been persuaded to relinquish its control over Jedburgh sometime between c. 1080 and c. 1138; most probably by King David himself.\textsuperscript{474}

Jedburgh was not the only reformed house in Lothian and Teviotdale to be closely connected with an earlier monastery or other major centre of the Northumbrian Church. It was, however, something of a rarity as the others were established at a distance from their associated ancient site. That in such cases it was near, and not actually on, the original site, is partly because the sites were not always suited to the requirements of a twelfth-century monastery. The Benedictines of Coldingham, for example, shunned the historic, yet precarious promontory, site of Urbs Coludi to establish their church at a more practical location nearby.\textsuperscript{475} In the case of what was probably King David's most famous monastic foundation - Melrose - it is more probable, however, that the nearby Northumbrian Church site was not utilised because of its continued intimate association with the monks of Durham. For example, as heirs of St Cuthbert, the monks were especially jealous of their rights in southern Scotland. This had been demonstrated during Máel Coluim III's reign when Aldwin...
and Thurgot, two monks of Durham Priory, attempted to revive religious life at Old Melrose and in so doing refused to pay homage to the King of Scots because it was on St Cuthbert’s land, and possibly also at Coldingham in the early twelfth century. King David would therefore probably have been anxious to avoid lending authority to similar historically based claims by creating an intimate geographical connection between his royal foundation at Melrose and the original Northumbrian Church site; especially as the episcopal jurisdiction of Teviotdale had but newly been transferred to Glasgow from Durham, whose bishop may not yet have come to terms with the loss of his rights in the area. Accordingly, Melrose Abbey was established in 1136 at a site about two miles up the River Tweed from St Cuthbert’s monastery.

However, whilst thus geographically distinct, it is evident that David I wanted the reformed house of Melrose to be identified with its nearby Northumbrian Church site. This is implied by the very fact that from its foundation, the new monastery was known by the name of the earlier church, i.e. ‘Melros’. That this name was adopted by the incoming convent is unusual. This is because it was common for Cistercian communities to provide their abbeys ‘with holy names, such as Maison-Dieu, Clairvaux, Bonmont, and l’Aumône and others of a similar kind, so that the sweet sound of the name alone invites all who hear to hasten and discover for themselves how great the blessedness must be which is described by so rare a name’. Examples of this practice elsewhere in Scotland include Sedes Animarum (the seat of the soul, Soulseat), and in Ireland Castrum Dei (the fort of God, Fermoy), Fons Mellis (fount of honey, Mellifont) and Beatiadro Dei (the blessedness of God, Bective). Even when the Cistercians named their monasteries to reflect the local natural environment, rather than express a religious sentiment, they were invariably either francosised or latinised. For example, elsewhere in Scotland Viride Stagnum (the green loch, Soulseat), in England and

476 It is possible that the concessions made by the Bishop of St Andrews to the house of Coldingham were prompted by Archbishop Thurstan of York putting pressure on David I to secure the congregatio Sancti Cuthberti’s traditional rights. Lawrie, ESC, no. LXXIII.


478 Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 76.

479 Lawrie, ESC, no. CLXXXIX, & Melr. Lib., I, no. 1.

480 Orderic Vitalis, Ecclesiastical History, IV, 326-327.

481 Gordon, Monasticon, 313. Whilst Soulseat became a Premonstratensian monastery, it is thought that it probably orginated as a Cistercian convent founded by St Malachy. See J. G. Scott, ‘The Origins of Dundrennan and Soulseat Abbeys’, TDGNHS, lxiii (1988), 35-44.

482 G MacNiocaill, Na Manaigh Laiitha in Eirinn (Dublin, 1959), 6.

483 Gordon, Monasticon, 313.
Wales, Beaulieu (beautiful place), Rievaulx (valley of the Rye), and Valle Crucis (vale of the cross, Denbigh); and in Ireland, Viride Lignum (the green tree, Newry), Rosea Vallis (the flowering valley, Monasterevan) and Albus Tractus (the white coast, Tracton). That Melrose remained Melrose, either indicates a lack of inventiveness on the part of its Rievaulx-originated convent, or, more probably, that the name was considered to have valuable associations and was thus worth preserving.

Further evidence of David I's intention to conflate the identity of the reformed abbey of Melrose with that of its Northumbrian Church namesake is provided by its initial endowment. For example, he granted the Cistercian convent the chapel dedicated to St Cuthbert which had superseded the monastery of Old Melrose. A dependent chapel of Durham, St Cuthbert's Old Melrose was not originally in the king's gift. However, no doubt in preparation for the foundation of Melrose Abbey, David made an agreement with the monks of Durham sometime prior to 1136 whereby they would be given his church of Berwick in exchange for this property. A similar scenario can be envisaged for the above-mentioned transfer of the Northumbrian church of Jedburgh to the new Augustinian convent. That David was willing to go to such lengths to directly associate both Jedburgh and Melrose with these Northumbrian Church sites, not only suggests that he wanted to neutralise potential threats to the reformed monasteries of Jedburgh and, especially, Melrose from both the priory and bishop of Durham, but also demonstrates once more his appreciation of the benefits of imbuing the new with the old in his monastic policy.

Even in cases where a reformed monastery's relationship with an ancient site was far less intimate, and thus less apparent to modern scrutiny, there are signs that David I consciously tried to associate them with a nearby Northumbrian Church centre. For example, although undertaken probably for purely secular reasons, the transfer of the convent of Selkirk to Kelso in 1128 brought it into the vicinity of the old Northumbrian religious centre of Roxburgh. Accordingly, David I granted the newly settled Tironensian community

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485 MacNiocaill, Na Manaigh Liath a Eirinn, 6.
486 If Melrose had been latinised literally, it would possibly have been rendered as Nudum Promonturium, a name which would hardly have inspired potential recruits.
487 Melr. Lib., I, no. 1.
488 Haddan & Stubbs, Councils, II, i, 161.
489 Lawrie, ESC, no. XCIX. For a brief commentary, see Barrow, ‘Benedictines, Tironensians and Cistercians’, 206-207.
490 i.e. so that the convent would be closer to the royal burgh of Roxburgh. Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 68.
Roxburgh’s ancient mother-church and its *paruchia*. Similarly, King David’s founding grant to the Augustinian abbey of Holyrood included the nearby ancient Northumbrian mother-church of St Cuthbert’s. This brought with it not only the church itself, but also its extensive *paruchia*, including the dependent chapels of Corstorphine and Liberton.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, this balanced policy is visible elsewhere in the twelfth-century religious settlement of Lothian and Teviotdale. For example: Abercorn, a seventh-century Northumbrian episcopal centre, then monastery pertaining to the bishop of Lindisfarne, became a mensal church of the bishop of Dunkeld; Stobo, a mother-church with a large *paruchia*, was transformed into the occasional centre of one of the diocese of Glasgow’s deaneries, and Stow of Wedale and Tynghame, ancient church with sanctuary girth and monastery allegedly founded by St Baldred in the eighth century, respectively, both likewise became mensal churches and centres of episcopal baronies, in this instance of the bishop of St Andrews. This, it should be noted, is only a selective list of the most prominent examples of religious site continuity between Forth and Tweed, which also affected many lesser known sites.

By absorbing such ancient religious centres of both local and national significance within the reformed organisational structure of the *ecclesia Scoticana*, twelfth-century churchmen and their secular patrons were undoubtedly encouraging the perception that the re-invigorated and re-constituted churches and newly founded monasteries of Lothian and Teviotdale were the spiritual - not to say, proprietorial - successors of the Northumbrian Church sites. In so doing, the reformers gave the twelfth-century religious settlement an appearance of permanence, and thus arguably lessened the culture shock to and subsequent

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491 Kel. Lib., I, no. 2.
492 Holy. Lib., no. 1.
493 Ibid., no. 1.
494 An episcopal centre was established at Abercorn by Bishop Trumwine in the early 680s. It was abandoned after the Picts defeated the Northumbrians at Dunnichen in 685. HE, IV, 12 & 26.
495 SAEC, 60n.
497 *OPS*, I, 196-197.
500 *Chron. Melrose*, s.a. 941; & *SAEC*, 56.
502 For example, a number of pre-1100 chapels, such as Glenholm and Lyne, emerged as medieval parish churches. Cowan, *Parishes*, 75 & 141.
resistance from the still predominantly native local population that such innovations as the wide scale introduction of continental monastic orders would undoubtedly have engendered.

Galloway and Strathclyde

From the founding of Candida Casa by St Nynia and the mission of St Kentigern, to the creation of a Northumbrian bishopric at Whithorn and the eleventh-century gaelicisation of Strathclyde, the area of Scotland between the Clyde and Solway had a rich Christian history by the commencement Canmore period. This was reflected in its diverse range of religious sites, which included Gaelic Church-style monastic centres as at Govan, mother-churches with extensive plebaniae such as Hoddam, Edingham and St Oswalds, and plentiful smaller churches and chapels dedicated to a variety of Cumbric, Gaelic and Northumbrian saints. Unfortunately, in spite of this, a general lack of evidence relating not only to Galloway and Strathclyde’s apparently complex pre-1070 ecclesiastical history, but also to their large number of reformed monastic houses, makes it difficult to ascertain the extent to which the new religious orders were established on traditional church sites.

This is illustrated by the fact that only one convent of Galloway’s impressive reformed monastic community - which was established largely through the munificence of the native Gaelic dynasty can definitely be claimed to have been established on an ancient site: the Premonstratensian priory at Whithorn. There is nevertheless inferential evidence that another of Galloway’s famous ancient religious sites, St Cuthbert’s Desnesmor (Kirkcudbright), was absorbed within the province’s reformed monastic community on the initiative of the native reguli. In illustration, Uchtred of Galloway granted this ancient church to Holyrood Abbey 1160X1164. According to Holyrood’s cartulary, the canons were by this time already in possession of the island of Trail, a peninsula of land just south of

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503 This can be inferred from the witnesses listed in charters such as the one of 1200 recording a boundary settlement at Stobo. Registrium Episcopatus Glasguensis (Bannatyne & Maitland Clubs, 1843), no. 104. See also, Barrow, ‘The Beginnings of Military Feudalism’, 282.
505 By 1286 there were 14 reformed religious convents in Galloway and Strathclyde: Kilwinning and Lesmahagow (Tironensian); Crossraguel and Renfrew/Paisley (Cluniac); Dundrennan, Glenluce, and Sweetheart (Cistercian); Blantyre, Canonbie, and Trail (Augustinian); and Holywood, Soulseat, Tongland, and Whithorn (Premonstratensian).
507 Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 103. For an in-depth survey of the monastic site of Whithorn, see P. Hill. Whithorn and Ninian: The Excavation of a Monastic Town 1984-91 (Stroud, 1997).
508 Holy. Lib., no. 27.
Kirkcudbright. This grant was allegedly made by Fergus, perhaps in preparation for the creation of an Augustinian convent. Certainly, sometime before c. 1173 an Augustinian daughter-priory of Holyrood Abbey was settled on Trail and Fergus was recognised as its founder. It is therefore possible that in conjunction with the canons of Holyrood, Fergus planned to create an Augustinian priory at Trail which would represent the reform Church successor to the ancient religious site of Kirkcudbright. The choice of Trail would certainly have had symbolic significance for the surrounding populace, as it was land belonging to the church of Galtway which had until recently been in the plebania of St Cuthbert’s Desnesmor.

Indeed, the proposal that Fergus was planning a reformed successor to the ancient church of St Cuthbert’s is strengthened by the fact that he broke up its plebania to grant Holyrood the land and churches of Dunrod and Galtway. Perhaps due to his father’s retirement, it was Uchtred who completed this process by granting not only another of Kirkcudbright’s dependent churches, Tongland, to Holyrood, but also, as aforementioned, the church of St Cuthbert itself. That the priory was not merely established on the ancient site itself was probably due to the same reason why David I chose not to settle his new convent of Melrose on the original Northumbrian Church site; i.e. potential disputes with the traditional owners of the site. For example, in 1164 the church of St Cuthbert’s Desnesmor (which by this time was in the nominal possession of Holyrood) was evidently still dominated by the native quasi-clerical class of ‘Scolloflhes’, whose kirkyard antics so offended Ælred of Rievaulx. These Scolloflhes, descendants of Kirkcudbright’s monastic tenants, probably maintained their ancient proprietorial rights to the lands, and perhaps even revenues, of the church, making it difficult to either evict or assimilate them within a reformed convent. Established on land anciently associated with Kirkcudbright and administering to the churches and chapels of its old plebania, the populace of the surrounding countryside would nevertheless

509 Ibid., no. 24.
510 A ‘William, prior of Galloway’ appears in a charter of c. 1173 along with the abbot and prior of Holyrood. St A. Lib., 125.
512 Holy. Lib., nos. 25-26 & 49.
513 Ibid., no. 27.
514 Ibid., no. 27.
515 Reginald, Libellus, 179.
516 For a discussion on this class, see Roberston, Scholastic Offices.
517 That the canons of Holyrood encountered resistance from the native population when they tried to exploit their new-found lands and churches, is implied by Mael Coluim IV’s charter issued after the death of Fergus which informed Uchtred, his brother Gille Brigte and other local worthies that he had given his firm peace to those travelling to and dwelling in Holyrood’s lands of Dunrod. It also notably
have been left in little doubt that Trail Priory was the direct successor of St Cuthbert’s ancient community.

Another Galwegian reformed monastery which appears to have been established on an (admittedly less august) ancient site was Holywood Abbey. Holywood’s original name, for example, was Dercongal which stemmed from doire-Congaill, meaning (St) Conall’s oak-grove.\(^{518}\) This prompted Watson to speculate that it was once the chief seat of Kentigern’s disciple, Conall.\(^{519}\) Whether this was the case or not, that the thirteenth-century foundation came to be known as Sacre Nemore (hence Holywood)\(^{520}\) certainly suggests that the site was considered by the Premonstratensian convent to have had an earlier sacred significance. It would be interesting to know whether the reformed convent nurtured this association by dedicating a chapel to St Conall in Holywood Abbey as their fellow-Premonstratensians had honoured St Modán at Dryburgh.

Unfortunately, whilst there is evidence to demonstrate that other pre-twelfth-century religious sites in Galloway were absorbed into the reformed organisational network of the ecclesia Scoticana (such as Hoddam, whose traditional connections with St Kentigern resulted in it becoming part of the bishop of Glasgow’s patrimony)\(^{521}\) the scarcity of information for the province’s many other new monasteries makes any judgement on their antecedents all but impossible.

In comparison with Galloway, Strathclyde had a relatively small reformed monastic community. By 1286 there were only four monasteries, representing two orders: Crossraguel and Paisley (Cluniac) and Lesmahagow and Kilwinning (Tironensian).\(^{522}\) Again in contrast to Galloway, information relating to the early Church antecedents of these reformed convents is quite plentiful. Indeed, pre-reform sites can confidently be ascribed to three of them.

In Kilwinning’s case, this is made possible by a mixture of onomastic, hagiographic and archaeological evidence. In illustration, the name Kilwinning derives from cill Fhinnéin,\(^{523}\) indicating the presence of a church dedicated to a St Finnén. Quite which Finnén...
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is difficult to discern, although Watson identified him as Finnén of Moville (d. 579). This proposal is certainly strengthened by the fact that, due to his alleged association with Candida Casa, Finnén of Moville was widely revered in the south west of Scotland. It does not, however, concur with the tradition that the church was founded c. 715 by a Winnin/ Finnén who was an Irish prince. That this hagiographic legend did not identify the far more illustrious Finnén of Moville as Kilwinning’s founder, may prompt the conclusion that there was in fact no connection between the two. Whatever the exact pedigree of Kilwinning, the importance of this tradition for the current study is that it provides further testimony to the presence of an earlier religious centre at or near to the site of the Tironensian monastery. That it was, moreover, not merely a chapel or insignificant church, but more probably a wealthy community which was the religious focus for the surrounding countryside, is implied by the survival at Kilwinning of a tenth-century, ornately carved high-cross. Apparently preserved by the Tironensian convent, this ancient cross would have been a strong physical symbol of the continuity between old and new at Kilwinning.

A similar inter-relationship between pre- and post-reform religious society in Strathclyde is evident at the Cluniac priory established by the fitzAlan’s at Paisley in the 1160s. For example, that the reformed monastery succeeded an older site is initially suggested, as at Kilwinning, by place-name evidence. Paisley (Mod.Gael. Paislig) is a corruption of the Middle Irish baslec, which derives from the Latin basilica meaning church/churchyard. Again as at Kilwinning, this onomastic data is supported by an hagiographic tradition which associates an early saint with the site; in this instance,

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524 There were a number of Gaelic Church saints called Finnén, including Finnén of Clonard, Finnén of Lindisfarne and Finnén of Swords. For dedications to Finnén in Scotland, see Forbes, Kalendars, 466; & Mackinlay, Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland, II, Non-Scriptural, 81-86.
525 Watson, CPNS, 165 & 187.
527 Watson, CPNS, 159 & 165.
528 The name Winnin derived from the British latinised form of Finnén, Vinniamus. See, for example, the record of Finnén of Moville’s death in the Annals of Ulster which reads: ‘quies Vinniani episcopi’. AU, s.a. 579.
529 Whereas Finnén of Moville was a sixth-century missionary who is thought to have come from Britain. Dumville, ‘Gildas and Uinnianu’. For the Kilwinning foundation legend, see Forbes, Kalendars, 463-466; & Breviarium Aberdonense (Bannatyne, Maitland & Spalding Clubs, 1854), pars hymen fo. xxxviii.
531 Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 64.
532 Watson, CPNS, 194.
The presence of whose bones at Paisley made it a focus for pilgrims right up until the Reformation. Indeed, whilst site continuity alone would have created the perception that Paisley Priory was the successor of the older church, it was greatly reinforced by the Cluniac monks' adoption and propagation of Meadhraín's cult.

Of the three reformed monasteries in Strathclyde which were established at sites of ancient religious note, Lesmahagow arguably provides the most valuable insight into how this process of site absorption actually worked. For example, in 1144 David I and Bishop John of Glasgow granted the church of 'Lesmahagu', along with its lands, to Kelso Abbey so that a priory might be established on the site. That this church was of ancient provenance is suggested by its name, which translates either as church (eagaisal) or enclosure (lios) of 'Mahagu'. That it was moreover an important cult centre of this saint, and perhaps even once the site of a clerical community, is implied not only by the significant survival into the

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534 It is possible that it was Paisley's connections with St Meadhraín that prompted the Cluniacs of Renfrew to transfer their convent to that site. Interestingly, before the Cluniac convent moved to Paisley their monastery at Renfrew appears to have only been dedicated to James and Mary. *Pais. Reg.*, 249. For the importance of St Meadhraín's cult to the monks of Paisley, see the discussion below, pp. 276-277.
535 *Kel. Lib.*, I, nos. 8 & 180.
536 As suggested by Gordon, *Monasticon*, 486.
537 As suggested by Watson, *CPNS*, 196.
538 The exact identity of this saint is obscure. He was identified in King David's charter, and thus thereafter, (*Kel. Lib.*, I, nos. 3, 8, 181, 186, 202, 204, etc.) as *Sanctus Machutus*, probably denoting the sixth- or seventh-century holyman, probably from Wales, who proselytised in Brittany, where he is commemorated in the place-name St Malo. Watson, *CPNS*, 196-197, dismissed this identification. He proposed instead that 'Mahagu' was in fact a derivation of *Mo-Fhécu*, 'the reduced affectionate name of Féchin of Fobhar'. A. Boyle & M. Dilworth, 'Some Identifications of Scottish Saints', *IR*, xxxv (1984), 39-41, at 40-41, elaborate on this theory. They persuasively propose that Lesmahagow's dedication to the Irish Mo-Fhécu was substituted for saint Machutus by the monks of Kelso whose order, the Tironensians, had close associations with Brittany. Whilst Watson's linguistic argument and Mr Boyle & Rev. Dilworth's theory are both very persuasive and probably depict the true story of Lesmahagow's dedication, the idea that St Machutus was commemorated in the name Lesmahagow should perhaps not be rejected altogether. For example, Lesmahagow was situated in the old kingdom of Strathclyde which had strong connections with fellow-Cumbrian societies in Wales. Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*, 217-218. It is thus possible that, even though he may never have travelled to Strathclyde, the cult of the Welsh St Machutus was introduced at Lesmahagow by one of his followers or by a nobleman or cleric returning from the south. That St Machutus' cult did spread northwards is demonstrated by the monastery which was dedicated to him on the Isle of Man. R. H. Kinvig, *A History of the Isle of Man* (3rd edn Liverpool, 1975), 48. That his cult was still flourishing on Man in the twelfth century is revealed by the entry for 1158 in the *Chronicle of Man* which accredits St Machutus with a miracle. *Chronicle of Man and the Sudreys*, eds. P. A. Munch & Rev. Goss (Manx Society, 1874), 71-75. It is moreover unlikely that the site's associated lay population, which continued to play an active role in the church after its conversion, would have allowed their patron saint to be so easily ousted. It is possible, if not likely, that 'Lesmahagu' could therefore be a composite place-name dating from the period when Strathclyde was gaelicised, in which the 'les' was a purely Gaelic element, while 'mahagu' was a Gaelic rendering of Machutus.
twelfth century of a sanctuary girth marked out around the church by four stone crosses.\textsuperscript{539} but also the use of the name ‘Mahagu’ in local place- and personal-names.\textsuperscript{540} By the twelfth century, however, there was evidently no religious community at Lesmahagow, whose lands were now in the hereditary possession of local families.\textsuperscript{541} Significantly, it was members of one of these families who bore the ‘Gille Magu’ names, indicating that they in particular enjoyed an ancient association with the site. They were perhaps the descendants of monastic tenants, or even laicised clerics. In spite of the secularisation of its lands, that Lesmahagow was maintained as a working religious site can be inferred from the fact that David’s grant to Kelso mentions a ‘church and cell’ and the appearance of a ‘Constantin the presbyter’ in a charter of 1180X1203.\textsuperscript{542} Indeed, Bishop John of Glasgow’s foundation charter states that Lesmahagow church was given with its ‘whole parish’.\textsuperscript{543} It was into this typically integrated, semi-secularised native religious landscape that the new Tironensian priory of Lesmahagow had to assimilate.

This was obviously partly achieved by the very fact that the Tironensians’ conventual buildings were established at the ancient site of Lesmahagow. It would also have been greatly facilitated by their readiness to preserve Lesmahagow’s traditional role both as a cult centre for St ‘Mahagu’ and a place of sanctuary.\textsuperscript{544} The extent to which the incoming Tironensians went to accommodate native provisions within the new, reformed regime at Lesmahagow is nevertheless most forcefully demonstrated by their treatment of the existing religious and lay tenants of the old church. For example, 1180X1203 Abbot Osbert of Kelso granted the vill of Dowan to the aforementioned presbyter of Lesmahagow, Constantin.\textsuperscript{545} By this time, however, the parsonage and vicarage teinds of Lesmahagow were devoted to the reformed priory and the parochial charge served by a curate,\textsuperscript{546} making it doubtful that Constantin was

\textsuperscript{539} David’s charter states that ‘Whosoever, in order to escape danger to life or limb, flee to the said cell, or come within the four crosses which stand around it, out of reverence to God and St Machutus, I grant them my firm peace’, Kel. Lib., I. no. 8. For a discussion on sanctuary girths in northern Britain, see W. Davies, "'Protected Space'" in Britain and Ireland in the Middle Ages", in Crawford, SDAB, 1-19.

\textsuperscript{540} For example, the place-names Lesmahagow and ‘Gilmehaguston’, and the personal-names ‘Gilmagu’ and ‘Gilmalagon’. Kel. Lib., I. nos. 110 & 114.

\textsuperscript{541} Ibid., I, nos. 110 & 114.

\textsuperscript{542} Ibid., I. 104.

\textsuperscript{543} Ibid., I. 180.

\textsuperscript{544} See below, pp. 275-276.

\textsuperscript{545} Kel. Lib., I. no. 104.

\textsuperscript{546} Cowan, Parishes, 130.
(or had ever been)\textsuperscript{547} the actual priest of the church. Indeed, that he was expected to render twenty shillings \textit{per annum} and feudal services, such as merchet, for the vill of Dowan,\textsuperscript{548} suggests that he was considered, by the Tironensians at least, to be a secular tenant. On the other hand, that the charter recording this grant accorded Constantin the title ‘\textit{presbyter} of Lesmahagow’ implies that the monks of Kelso nevertheless accepted that he was in some way clerically connected with the church.\textsuperscript{549} The most probable explanation for this apparent anomaly is that Constantin was the descendant of a hereditary dynasty of priests which had served the church of Lesmahagow for generations before its transformation into a reformed priory. Thus, whilst the advent of the Tironensians deprived him of his potential spiritual responsibilities at Lesmahagow, Constantin’s status in the area was nonetheless such that the abbot of Kelso not only recognised his hereditary title,\textsuperscript{550} but also confirmed him in what was possibly part of his dynastic lands.

A similar policy was evidently employed by the Tironensians with regard to the families of lay tenants who possessed the church lands of Fincurrock. For example, Gille Moire mac Gille Conaill, Gille Magu mac Aldic and Gille Brigte mac Saludis (two of whom, at least, were of the same family)\textsuperscript{551} were each granted part of the land of Fincurrock by Abbot John of Kelso.\textsuperscript{552} Interestingly, the render for these grants was the same as that expected of Constantin (i.e. the payment of twenty shillings \textit{per annum} and feudal service); a uniformity which strongly implies a deliberate division of Lesmahagow’s traditional patrimony by the incoming Tironensians. Admittedly, not all of the re-distributed lands were granted to natives. For example, Abbot Osbert granted part of Glenane to Ralph, one of the priory’s servants.\textsuperscript{553} Ralph, however, was evidently very much in the minority; as demonstrated by the fact that his two neighbours in Glenane were Gille Magu mac Aldic and Gille Crist Kide.\textsuperscript{554} Indeed, from the extant charter evidence it is apparent that the

\textsuperscript{547} It is unlikely that Constantin was styled \textit{presbyter} because he was the last \textit{active} representative of Lesmahagow’s traditional clerical dynasty before the advent of the Tironensians, as the grant of Dowan was made to him 1180X1203, i.e. between thirty-six and fifty-nine years after the reform of the church \textit{Kel. Lib.}, I, no. 104.

\textsuperscript{548} Ibid., I, no. 104.

\textsuperscript{549} For the medieval usage of the word \textit{presbyter}, see J. H. Baxter & C. Johnson, \textit{Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources} (Oxford, 1934), sv.

\textsuperscript{550} Much in the same way as those landowners who held Gaelic Church abbacies continued to be styled ‘abbots’ in twelfth- and thirteenth-century charters. For example, ‘Laurence, son of Orm, abbot of Abernethy’. \textit{Arb. Lib.}, I, no. 35.

\textsuperscript{551} Gille Magu mac Aldic was Gille Brigte’s uncle. \textit{Kel. Lib.}, I, nos. 109 & 114.

\textsuperscript{552} Ibid., I, nos. 108, 109 & 114.

\textsuperscript{553} Ibid., I, no. 110.

\textsuperscript{554} Ibid., I, no. 110.
The Tironensians did not initiate a purge of the native tenants who had come to possess land traditionally pertaining to the church, but rather regularised existing patterns of land-holding within a feudal framework. In so doing, the monks were able to reclaim the revenue from the church’s secularised lands with the minimum disruption to the well-established native society of Lesmahagow.

It is thus apparent that in order to assimilate their new priory and the ideals which it represented into a local society where traditional secular and ecclesiastical interests had become intertwined, the Tironensians of Kelso pursued a remarkably conservative policy at Lesmahagow which was distinguished as much by its re-affirmation of the old as its promotion of the new. Striking proof of the success of this balanced policy is provided by the charter which records that one of the aforementioned native tenants of Lesmahagow, Gille Moire mac Gille Conaill, entered into a bond of confraternity with the new priory.555

In spite of the lack of evidence, it is nevertheless apparent from the preceding discussion that the reformed monastic community of the south west of Scotland, even to a greater extent than that in Lothian and Teviotdale, by and large conformed to an existing pattern of ecclesiastical settlement. The predominant role played by native nobles, such as Fergus of Galloway, and incoming landowners, such as the fitzAlans, in this development is highly significant; not least because it highlights that the practice of balancing the new with the old when establishing a reformed convent was far from exclusive to the members of the Canmore dynasty. Indeed, from Whithorn and Trail to Kilwinning and Paisley, the reformed convents of Galloway and Strathclyde demonstrate a sophisticated recognition amongst native and incomer monastic patrons alike of the benefits of engendering continuity by embracing change.

Alba

The extent to which the aforementioned conversion of Gaelic Church communities to the Augustinian Rule characterised a more general appropriation of the existing ecclesiastical network by the reformed orders benorth the Forth-Clyde line is surprisingly difficult to ascertain. Indeed, in contrast to the reformed monastic community in southern Scotland, and especially that in Strathclyde and Teviotdale, a pre-1070 religious site can confidently be ascribed to very few of the reformed monasteries in Alba and Caithness which did not emerge from an existing convent. This is partly due to the fact that scarcely any early charters

555 Ibid., I. no. 187.
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relating to the many non-royal monasteries established benorth the firths of Forth and Clyde survive. For example, there are no extant foundation charters (documents which occasionally reveal a site’s antecedents) for the houses of Ardchattan, Beauly, Saddell and Urquhart. In spite of this documentary dearth, by employing the same eclectic approach to the available evidence as in the preceding surveys, it is nevertheless possible to highlight the Gaelic Church heritage of at least some of these more obscure reformed religious sites.

The aforementioned priory of Ardchattan is a case in point. Established either in 1230 or 1231 by Donnchad mac Dubgaill, the history of this Valliscaulian convent is largely obscure. Indeed, none of its early charters have survived. The site’s pre-reform religious significance and the likelihood that the convent maintained its ancient traditions can nevertheless be deduced from a mixture of place-name, ethnographic and later documentary evidence. In illustration, the district in which Ardchattan Priory was founded was strongly associated with an unidentified Gaelic Church holyman called St Baodán. This is implied not only by the fact that Ardchattan was alternatively known as Baile Bhaodáin (the homestead of Baodán), but also the presence of both a healing spring and a church dedicated to him. That the Valliscaulian convent was assimilated into this existing religious landscape, and not merely imposed upon it, is suggested by the fact at some stage (most probably at the convent’s foundation in 1230X1231) the church of St Baodán (cill Bhaodáin) was appropriated to the new priory. The same inference can be drawn from the allusion to a sanctuary girth delineated by stone crosses at Ardchattan priory. It can consequently be proposed that Dunchad of Lome chose Ardchattan as the site of his priory because of its ancient religious associations, and intentionally conflated the identity of the local church of St Baodán with that of the Valliscaulian priory. The arrival of a reformed convent certainly did not disrupt traditional religious society, as locals continued to be buried in St Baodán’s

556 For evidence of this dearth, see Davies, Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain, 129-137. For a commentary, see Webster, Scotland from the Eleventh Century, 61-92.
557 Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 91.
558 See Beauty Chrs., 142-151.
559 The widespread belief that St Modán was commemorated at Ardchattan was, according to Watson, CPNS, 122-123, the result of a mis-translation of ‘Boadán’ by the author of the New Statistical Account (volume VII, 498). See, for example, the description of Ardchattan in OPS, II. 148-149.
560 Watson, CPNS, 122.
561 OPS, II, 149.
562 Cowan, Parishes, 8.
563 Whilst this may indicate the survival of an early Gaelic Church termoon, the evidence for a sanctuary at Ardchattan is dubious, being both late and uncorroborated. Beauty Chrs., 150.
564 The two sites were certainly physically close, with Ardchattan Priory established a mere three-quarters of a mile to the south of cill Bhaodáin.
churchyard and believe in the miraculous properties of St Baodán’s Well as late as the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{565}

Even when records relating to a reformed convent’s foundation do indeed exist, they sometimes offer merely a vague indication of the site’s earlier associations which can similarly only be verified by a synthesis of evidence presented by a wide range of disciplines. For example, a copy of Earl Máel Coluim of Fife’s foundation charter for the Cistercian abbey of Culross survives. It records that the new monastery was to be dedicated to ‘God, St Mary and St Serf of Culross’.\textsuperscript{566} Whilst this evidence is interesting in that it demonstrates that the incoming Cistercian convent\textsuperscript{567} recognised a connection between their abbey and the seventh- to eighth-century holyman, St Serf,\textsuperscript{568} it does not specify the nature of that connection. Fortunately, this can partly be remedied by recourse to hagiographic evidence. Thus, according to the \textit{Vita Sancti Servani}, Culross was St Serf’s principal church, the place of his burial and later cult centre.\textsuperscript{569} This discovery, however, raises the subsequent question as to whether or not the reformed monastery was established near to the earlier church of St Serf. An answer to this can be found in the archaeology of the site. For example, the buildings of the reformed monastery are situated on an awkward site atop a steep bank,\textsuperscript{570} whilst in their immediate vicinity are fragments of ninth- or tenth-century stone crosses.\textsuperscript{571} This evidence led Macquarrie to conclude that the site of Earl Máel Coluim’s reformed abbey ‘was not a “greenfield site” which the Cistercians were choosing for themselves, but a place with ancient associations which they were re-using for a good reason’,\textsuperscript{572} i.e. St Serf’s monastery.

Unfortunately, not all reformed monastic sites in Alba and Caithness are so rich in pre-reform evidence as Culross. Indeed, in the majority of cases the inferential information contained in early charters largely go uncorroborated. For example, a charter recording the settlement of a land dispute between the bishop of Dunblane and Walter Comyn of Menteith in 1238 refers to the earl’s plan to establish an Augustinian convent on ‘Inchmaquhomock’

\textsuperscript{565} \textit{OPS}, II, 149.
\textsuperscript{566} W. Douglas, ‘Culross Abbey and its Charters, with notes on a fifteenth-century transumpt’, \textit{PSAS}, lx (1925-6), 67-104, at 70.
\textsuperscript{567} Culross Abbey’s original convent was sent from Kinloss. \textit{Chron. Melrose}, s.a. 1217.
\textsuperscript{568} For a succinct discussion on the career of this saint, see Macquarrie, \textit{Saints of Scotland}, 145-159.
\textsuperscript{569} The \textit{Vita Sancti Servani} is printed in \textit{Chron. Picts-Scots}, 412-420. It has been newly edited and translated by Alan Macquarrie, \textit{‘Vita Sancti Servani: the Life of St Serf’}, \textit{IR}, xlv (1993), 122-152
\textsuperscript{570} MacGibbon & Ross, \textit{The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland}, II, 231-243.
\textsuperscript{571} Douglas, ‘Culross Abbey and its Charters’, 67.
\textsuperscript{572} Macquarrie, \textit{Saints of Scotland}, 152.
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(i.e. Inchmahome).\textsuperscript{573} This translates as 'the island of my Colmóc',\textsuperscript{574} suggesting that the priory was founded on a site closely associated with an early saint. The exact identity of this saint is not made apparent in the charter. The \textit{Aberdeen Breviary}, however, mentions a Colmóc of Inchmahome at the 7th of June,\textsuperscript{575} which is the same date given in Irish martyrologies for Colmán of Druim Mór,\textsuperscript{576} a sixth-century bishop whose cult was popular in both Ireland and northern Britain.\textsuperscript{577} That there was a church on the island before the erection of the reformed monastery is fortunately revealed in a charter of c. 1210, which records a parson of 'insula Macholem'.\textsuperscript{578} This, however, is the earliest extant pre-1238 reference to the island. Consequently, whilst it can thus be \textit{speculated} that Inchmahome Priory was established on the site of an ancient church dedicated to St Colmán of Druim Mór, its earlier provenance and status nevertheless remains obscure.

The preceding examples have all been of convents which were established by non-royal patrons during the thirteenth century. This reflects the fact that by and large the reformed monastic community in Alba benorth the Tay\textsuperscript{579} developed later than that of southern Scotland and was largely the work of comital founders.\textsuperscript{580} That this was the case is on the one hand because reformed monasticism tended to flourish in areas where the patronal classes had been exposed to continental cultural influence.\textsuperscript{581} Thus, it was not really until William's reign, when Alba above the Tay experienced extensive Anglo-French settlement and the concomitant feudalisation of native earldoms, such as Strathearn,\textsuperscript{582} that reformed monasteries began to be established in this part of the kingdom.\textsuperscript{583} This correlation between

\textsuperscript{573} W. Fraser, \textit{The Red Book of Menteith} (Edinburgh, 1880), II, no. 74.
\textsuperscript{574} Watson, \textit{CPNS}, 279.
\textsuperscript{575} \textit{Aberdeen Breviarum}, par hymen fos. ci & cii.
\textsuperscript{577} Ibid., II, 493-494.
\textsuperscript{578} \textit{Camb. Reg.}, no. 122.
\textsuperscript{579} Due to its intimate contact with the royal dynasty, Fife was something of a special case in this respect. This resulted in the foundation during David's reign of Augustinian priories at Lochleven and St Andrews.
\textsuperscript{580} For example, Ardc Chattan was founded by Donnchad MacDougall of Lorne; Deer by William Comyn of Buchan; Fearn by Ferchar Mactaggart; Inchaffray by Gille Brigte of Strathearn, & Inchmahome by Walter Comyn of Menteith. Beauly, on the other hand, was established by John Bisset, who was of aristocratic, but not comital, rank. Data from Cowan & Easson, \textit{MRHS}, 83, 84, 74, 101, 91 & 91.
\textsuperscript{581} This could result from diplomatic contacts with Anglo-French magnates, as well as actual Anglo-French settlement. For example, it has been proposed by McDonald, 'Scoto-Norse Kings and the Reformed Religious Orders', 192, that Fergus of Galloway's patronage of reformed orders was influenced by his relationship with King Henry of England.
\textsuperscript{582} \textit{RRN}, II, 16, Barrow, \textit{Kingship and Uny.}, 49, & Duncan, \textit{Scotland}, 175-180.
\textsuperscript{583} The Augustinian convents which David founded in Fife at Lochleven and St Andrews are notable early examples of reformed monastic settlement benorth the Forth.
continental cultural influence and the dissemination of reformed monasticism is demonstrated by the fact that the only province in Alba to undergo foreign settlement of any note in David I’s reign, Moray, was also where the first reformed convent was established north of the royal palace at Scone; i.e. at Kinloss in 1150. Likewise, the only native earldom in Alba which was not home to a reformed monastery by 1286, Atholl, was the one upon which Anglo-French feudal culture had had the least impact. On the other hand, the reason why it was predominantly the work of aristocratic benefactors is probably due to the fact that, by the thirteenth century at least, royal ecclesiastical patronage was beginning to be focused upon the emerging orders of friars, such as the Dominicans and Franciscans. This is not to imply, however, that after David I’s death the Canmore kings ceased to establish houses for the reformed monastic orders. Rather, it implies that the remarkably high rate of patronage set by that overtly munificent king naturally slowed down. Thus, in stark contrast to David I, Máel Coluim IV and William established only one reformed convent each, and Alexander II only two. In so doing, they interestingly nevertheless continued David’s balanced monastic policy of establishing new convents on or near to sites of earlier religious significance. This can best be demonstrated by brief surveys of the foundation of two of Alba’s most prestigious post-1153 royal monasteries: Arbroath and Balmerino.

Arbroath

Ever since Jordan Fantosme wrote ‘He cherished, loved and held dear people from abroad. He never had much affection for those of his own country’, William the Lion has been perceived by many historians as a stereotypical ‘Frankish’ king who was contemptuous of his native subjects and their customs. Thus, Duncan proposed that William’s ‘outlook was very much that of Anglo-French baronial society’, whilst Barrow concluded that his

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584 Duncan, Scotland, 138; & Ritchie, Normans in Scotland, 232.
585 Notably, Moray was also home to the Benedictine priory of Urquhart, which David had established c. 1136. Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 61 & 76.
586 Atlas II, 413; & Duncan, Scotland, 178.
587 See Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 116-128.
588 Máel Coluim founded Coupar-Angus Abbey c. 1164; William the Lion founded Arbroath Abbey in 1178; and Alexander II founded Balmerino c. 1227 (in conjunction with his mother, Ermengarde) and Pluscarden Priory in 1230. Ibid., 66, 73, & 84.
591 Duncan, Scotland, 214.
personal attachment to the old native traditions seems to have been slight or non-existent’. In light of this, the likelihood that William would have taken account of existing religious traditions when he established the abbey of Arbroath in 1178 appears slight. Nevertheless, whilst William’s undoubted predilection for all things Anglo-French was reflected in his plans to establish a Tironensian abbey at Arbroath (as demonstrated by its dedication to St Thomas the Martyr of Canterbury) it is possible to detect threads of continuity which connected his new convent to a nearby prominent religious centre of the Gaelic Church era.

In illustration, Arbroath Abbey was established just over a mile south of the church of St Vigeans. St Vigeans’ antiquity is implied by its very name, which commemorates Fechin, a seventh-century Irish abbot whose cult was popular throughout the Gaelic Church. That it was moreover a high status early religious site can be inferred from its impressive sculptural remains. Indeed, the presence at St Vigeans of numerous carved monuments dating from the eighth and ninth centuries indicates the existence of a wealthy church with an accomplished and well-patronised carving school, and one which was obviously part of the Gaelic Church’s great cultural axis in northern Britain. Whilst modern commentators have otherwise labelled St Vigeans’ history ‘obscure’, an argument can be made to suggest that it was once a monastery with an extensive parochia.

That St Vigeans was once a monastery, for example, can be deduced from the fact that a number of charters relating to Arbroath Abbey were witnessed by an ‘abbot’ Maurice. Admittedly, he was styled ‘abbot of Arbirlot’ and not ‘abbot of St Vigeans’. However, as scribes tended to use both ‘Arbroath’ and ‘St Vigeans’ indiscriminately to

592 Barrow, ‘William the Lion’, 72. Although elsewhere Barrow highlights that ‘it cannot be said that he [William] discriminated against his native subjects, whether of Scottish, Anglian, Cumbrian or Gallovidian stock, in matters of fundamental importance such as law and landholding, or even in military service’. RRS, II, 21.
593 Arb. Lib., I, no. 17.
594 F. H. Groome (ed.), Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland, 6 vols. (2nd edn Edinburgh & Glasgow, 1895), VI, 316. For Arbroath Abbey’s foundation charter, see RRS, II, no. 197.
596 For a catalogue of which, see Allen & Anderson, E.C.M.S., II, 267-280. For a brief commentary, see A. Ritchie, Picts (Edinburgh, 1989), 34-37.
598 O. Clancy, in his article ‘The Drosten Stone: a new reading’, PSAN, 123 (1993), 345-354, proposed that this monument dated from 839X842, and indicates both the presence of Gaelic-speakers in Angus before 843, and that the church in Pictland had become extensively gaelicised by this time.
600 Arb. Lib., I, nos. 39, 41, 43, & 46.
describe the old church of St Vigeans after 1178, this was probably to avoid unnecessary
documentary confusion between Maurice and the new abbot of Arbroath. That ‘Arbirlot’ was
arguably deemed a suitable substitute for ‘St Vigeans’ was possibly because, after the abbacy
of St Vigeans became secularised (presumably leaving a prior in charge of the community, as
occurred at Abernethy, and was envisaged at Monymusk), a separate residence for the
abbot was established on nearby church land. This proposal is strengthened when it is
noted that Bishop William of St Andrews (most probably on the death of the said Abbot
Maurice, who is last mentioned in 1207) granted Arbroath Abbey the manorial rights of
Arbirlot whilst reserving for himself the actual mansion. Certainly, by the late twelfth
century Arbirlot and St Vigeans were distinct ecclesiastical districts, as demonstrated by the
fact that 1197X1202 Bishop Roger granted the church of Arbirlot to Arbroath Abbey, which
was of course already in the possession of the church of St Vigeans. It is
nevertheless possible that there was a chapel at Arbirlot pertaining to the old Gaelic Church
community of St Vigeans which was subsequently elevated to the status of parish church
during the twelfth century and thus gained a degree of independence from the mother-
church.

This suggestion admittedly cannot be corroborated. That there was nevertheless a
strong connection between Arbirlot and St Vigeans is insinuated not only by the probability
that the bishop of St Andrews held proprietorial rights over them both, but also their close
proximity. Their proximity also suggests that they could not both have been monasteries, as it
is highly unlikely that two major Gaelic Church communities would have been established so
near to each other. That, moreover, St Vigeans was the senior site is demonstrated by the
aforementioned sculptural remains to be found at the site, the like of which is wholly absent

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601 See, for example, both Arbroath Abbey’s foundation charter and King William’s confirmation
document, which style St Vigeans ‘the church of the vill of Arbroath’. RRS, II, nos. 197 & 513
602 See above, pp. 81-84.
603 St A. Lib., 370-372. Interestingly, it would appear as if before the advent of the Tironensian convent
led to the reform of the area’s religious society, Maurice performed some spiritual function, as one of
Arbroath’s charters styles him ‘once called chaplain of Arbirlot’. Arb. Lib., I, no. 44. Perhaps the
church of Arbirlot was served by a hereditary priesthood who happened also to be the abbots of St
Vigeans. By c. 1214 the church of Arbirlot was served by a chaplain called Geoffrey appointed by the
abbot of Arbroath. Ibid., I, no. 25.
604 The land of Arbirlot was adjacent to that of St Vigeans. Groome, Gazetteer, I, 56.
605 Arb. Lib., I, no. 236.
606 Ibid., I, no. 146; & RRS, II, no. 513. See also Cowan, Parishes, 7 & 178.
607 RRS, II, no. 197.
608 There are other examples of dependent chapels emerging from the control of larger sites to become
parish churches, such as Glenholm and Lyne. Cowan, Parishes, 75 & 141.
609 Arb. Lib., I, no. 146; & RRS, II, no. 513.
from Arbirlot. They also, importantly, support the view that St Vigeans was a monastery, and one which was well aware of its place in the great Christian coenobitic tradition, as one of the carved stones depict patron saints of monasticism, Anthony and Paul. St Vigeans’ superiority and monastic status can also be deduced from Arbroath Abbey’s foundation charter. For example, after recording that King William had granted ‘the church of the same vill’ (i.e. St Vigeans) to the new convent, the scribe went on to catalogue the properties and privileges which formed the abbey’s initial endowment. Included in this list was a compact network of churches, comprising of Banchory-Ternan, Dunnichen, Ethie, Glamis, Kingoldrum, Maryton of Old Montrose, and Newtyle. Some, if not all, of these churches had probably formed the original paruchia of the religious community settled at St Vigeans. If this was the case then the fact that the church of Maryton was granted with land ‘which is called abthen in Gaelic’, strengthens the proposal that St Vigeans was once a Gaelic Church monastery.

Significantly, it was arguably the very fact that St Vigeans was an ancient monastery with an extensive paruchia which persuaded King William to establish a reformed convent at Arbroath. In illustration, during the Angevin occupation of Edinburgh from 1175-1186, the focus of Scottish royal government shifted benorth the Forth. Symptomatic of this was William’s readiness ‘to push northward the area in which royal demesne was most frequented and exploited’. This resulted in Forfar becoming a major centre of royal administration, as demonstrated by the forty-five surviving acts which William issued at that burgh. In spite of its undoubted administrative significance, and in contrast to Edinburgh, Scone and Stirling, where reformed monasteries were established adjacent to centres of royal power, Forfar was not chosen as the site of the king’s great abbey. This honour went rather to the royal thanage of Arbroath, just over ten miles to the east of Forfar on the Angus coast. To be chosen in preference to the royal burgh of Forfar, Arbroath must have possessed a particularly attractive feature. This could only have been the church of St Vigeans, whose reputation as the historical focus for local devotion possibly remained so strong that William

610 For a discussion on the significance of this motif, which also appears at a number of other sites, see Henderson, *The Picts*, 147-149.
611 *RRS*, II, no. 197.
612 This has been suggested by Macquarrie, ‘Early Christian Religious Houses’, 125.
613 *RRS*, II, no. 197. For a chart of abthane lands, see appendix 5.
614 Ibid., II, 28-29.
615 Ibid., II, 28.
616 Ibid., II, 28.
617 Cowan & Easson, *MRHS*, 89, 90, & 97.
appreciated the need for it to be closely associated with, not to say subsumed within, his new convent. That St Vigeans possessed an extensive *parochia* would probably also have attracted William, as it could readily be converted into the reformed monastery’s founding patrimony. This presented the king with the opportunity to significantly reduce the cost to himself of establishing such a major new abbey; an important consideration in light of the financial restrictions which the English occupation of the trading centres of Berwick, Edinburgh and Roxburgh would have imposed upon him.\(^{618}\) Interestingly, the subsequent wholesale appropriation of the church and *parochia* of St Vigeans was probably facilitated by the death of Bishop Richard of St Andrews and the resultant turmoil in the diocese’s affairs.\(^{619}\) Indeed, it may have been partly undertaken by the headstrong and determined King William in order to demonstrate to the recalcitrant canons of St Andrews, who had audaciously opposed the royal nomination for the see,\(^{620}\) that the fate of their episcopal patrimony, at least, was very much in his hands.

A rough summary of St Vigeans’ history and its relationship with Arbroath Abbey can thus be hypothesised: St Vigeans was an early monastic community established by Irish missionaries before 800; it was part of a network of Gaelic Church religious sites in the Pictish province of Circenn which also included Brechin, Ecclesgreig and Meigle; it attracted the patronage of both the local aristocracy and, perhaps, members of the royal dynasty; it was subsequently a wealthy community which established an extensive *parochia* of dependent chapels and lands; lay patronage also encouraged the development at the site of a highly skilled carving school which produced some of the finest Christian monuments in early medieval northern Britain; by the ninth century, St Vigeans was consequently the religious and artistic focus for the largely gaelicised populace of the surrounding countryside. Probably during the tenth century, the abbacy of St Vigeans was secularised and passed into the hereditary stewardship of a lay family who established their residence on land pertaining to the community at Arbirlot; the coenobitic discipline of the community, now under the spiritual leadership of a prior, subsequently decayed; the monks perhaps began to serve their dependent chapels and so came to resemble secular clerics; by the twelfth century the monastery had apparently evolved into a parish church. As such, it was granted, along with its *parochia*, to the Tironensian abbey of Arbroath at its foundation in 1178 by William; Bishop Roger completed this process by granting the church of Arbirlot to the new convent.

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\(^{618}\) *RRS*, II, 8

\(^{619}\) For a commentary on which, see Duncan, *Scotland*, 270-274.

\(^{620}\) Ibid., 270.
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1198X1202; significantly, the appropriation of St Vigeans did not result in a decline in its local status, however, as it became the parish church for the emergent burgh of Arbroath.

It can accordingly be proposed that William, in conjunction with the bishop of St Andrews, intentionally conflated the identity of his new Tironensian abbey of Arbroath with that of the ancient Gaelic Church site of St Vigeans. In so doing, he could on the one hand simply have been mechanically following the well-established royal policy of establishing new convents at existing religious sites. On the other, the supposedly anti-Gaelic king could have been demonstrating a keen awareness of native religious traditions which modern critics of his Francocentric policy have arguably failed to appreciate.

Balmerino

The Cistercian abbey of Balmerino was co-founded by Ermengarde, the queen mother, and Alexander II c. 1227. This was only achieved, however, after a quite complex legal process whereby Adam de Stawel resigned the lands of Ardist, Balmerino and Coultra before the king’s court at Forfar and surrendered the relevant charters in return for one-hundred pounds which Ermengarde swore to pay him at the Temple of Lundie. The documents relating to this deal record a basically secular transaction, and consequently give no apparent indication that the site of the new reformed convent at Balmerino had any significant ecclesiastical heritage. In Ermengarde’s will, however, her executors were directed to pay two-hundred merks to Laurence, the abbot of Abernethy, for his interests in the lands of Ballendard, Ballindean, Balmerino, Corbie and Coultra, and the patronage of the church of Balmerino. This strongly implies a relationship between the church and estates of Balmerino and the parochia of the Gaelic Church community at Abernethy; a connection which other charters, including those relinquished by Adam de Stawel, would appear to confirm. They reveal, for example, that by marrying Margaret, the daughter of Abbot Orm of Abernethy, Henry Revel was granted the maritagium of a ten merk territory ‘of old extent’. That this marriage gift included the aforementioned lands of Ballendard, Balmerino, Coultra, Corbie and Ballindean is suggested by the fact that the former three were later recorded as

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621 Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 72-73. For a history of Balmerino, see J. Campbell, Balmerino and its Abbey (2nd edn Edinburgh, 1899).
622 Liber Sancte Marie de Balmerinach (Abbotsford Club, 1841), nos. 1-4.
623 Ibid., nos. 4 & 7.
624 RRS, II, no. 147. When Orm was confirmed in the abbacy of Abernethy 1173X1178, a ten-pound worth of land was reserved to Henry Revel. Ibid., II, no. 152.
being in the possession of Henry’s nephew and heir, Richard Revel, whilst the latter two were stated elsewhere as being pertinents of the church of Balmerino.

Whilst this demonstrates that Balmerino Abbey’s original patrimony was carved out of the ancient parochia of Abernethy, whether it actually led to a conflation of the identities of the two sites, or even engendered the perception that the Cistercian convent was the direct successor of the Gaelic Church community, is doubtful. This is partly because most of Abernethy’s primary religious pertinents, including the actual church of Abernethy, and its network of dependent chapels, had already been granted to the abbey of Arbroath by the time Balmerino Abbey was established. Moreover, by c. 1227 the Abernethy lands granted to the newly founded Balmerino Abbey had been in the possession of an Anglo-French family (albeit one which was related in marriage to the native abbatial dynasty) for at least fifty years, and so their association with the Gaelic community was at best second-hand. Indeed, from the witness list appended to the charter recording Henry and Margaret Revel’s grant of fifteen acres of land in Coultra to St Andrews Priory, it is evident that Balmerino’s landowning society quickly became francised. Whilst a lack of evidence makes it difficult to ascertain whether there was a concomitant transformation in the religious personnel at the churches of Balmerino and Coultra, examples of clerical appointments in other areas where incoming families were predominant makes it highly likely. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, it must not be forgotten that, despite the dismemberment of its parochia, Abernethy itself remained a living religious community throughout the thirteenth century and thus continued to serve as the local reminder of the continuity of Gaelic Church provisions.

At Balmerino, therefore, whilst the absorption of part of a Gaelic Church patrimony by the reformed abbey can be viewed as an example of continuity of religious site in Alba, in contrast to many of the previously discussed convents established on or near to traditional ecclesiastical centres, there is unlikely to have been anything but a superficial fusion between the old and the new. This proposal is arguably borne out by the fact that, again in contrast

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625 Bal. Lib., no. 3
626 Arb. Lib., I, no. 34
627 King William granted the church of Abernethy, with its chapels of Dron, Dunbog, and ‘Erolyn’ (‘Abdie), to Arbroath Abbey in AD1189X1195. RRS, II, no. 339. At the same time, Laurence son of Orm granted half of his own tithes, and the whole of Abernethy’s tithes (saving those of the churches of Fisk and Coultra) to Arbroath. Arb. Lib., I, no. 35.
628 The names include: Adam of Ardist, Jocelin of Ballindard; and Odo of ‘Corhic’ (prob. Corbie) St A. Lib., 271.
629 See discussion above, pp. 81-84.
with other reformed monasteries which absorbed older sites,\(^{630}\) the Cistercian convent at Balmerino does not appear to have attempted to engender the perception that it had an ancient link with pre-reform ecclesiastical society by adopting and preserving any aspects of native religious culture. Rather, the new convent appears to have ascribed the foundation of their abbey solely to Ermengarde’s association with the estates of Balmerino. Thus, tradition attests that the Queen Mother had often repaired to the estates of Balmerino for a rest cure, and, admiring the site so much, decided to establish a Cistercian convent there in honour of God.\(^{631}\)

**Ross**

The civil history of Ross-shire during the Canmore period is largely obscure, save for the isolated mention of the earls of Ross in Scottish and Norwegian chronicles and their even rarer appearances in the witness-lists of charters.\(^{632}\) If possible, the province’s ecclesiastical history is even more opaque. Despite this, the extent to which new convents in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland went to associate their monasteries with pre-1100 Church sites is perhaps best demonstrated by a brief survey of the early history of Ross’ only reformed religious house, Fearn Abbey. In the absence of Fearn’s cartulary, its history is known mainly from a sixteenth-century tract entitled *Ane Brieve Cronicle of the Earlis of Ross*.\(^{633}\) Whilst the chronology of the Brieve Cronicle is at times hopelessly confused,\(^{634}\) it nevertheless provides revealing information which can often be corroborated or modified with reference to other evidence. It recounts, for example, that the first canons of the Premonstratensian abbey of Fearn came from Whithorn in the company of Earl Ferchar of Ross and that they carried with them relics of St Nynia. The link with Whithorn is confirmed by the fact that at least three thirteenth-century abbots of Fearn were presented by the prior of Whithorn.\(^{635}\) There is,

\(^{630}\) For example, Jedburgh and Melrose.

\(^{631}\) Campbell, *Balmerino*, 110-114.

\(^{632}\) For a brief survey of which, see *The Scots Peerage*, V, 231-233.


\(^{634}\) For example, it places Earl Ferchar of Ross (d. 1251) at the coronation of Edward I of England (mis-dated at 1272). *Breve Cronicle* (Baillie), 1-3. See also, comments in MacGill, ‘*Ane Breve Cronicle*’, 314.

\(^{635}\) Cowan & Easson, *MRHS*, 101. There is interestingly another, non-ecclesiastical, link between easter Ross and Galloway which may have initially resulted from the Fearn-Whithorn relationship. This is the rise to prominence in the parish of Tarbat (as tenants of Cadboll and Shandwick) and at the abbey of Fearn (both as canons and abbots) of the MacCullochs, a family traditionally associated with Galloway. *The Calendar of Fearn: text and additions 1471-1667*, ed. R. J. Adam (SHS, 1991), 76-77 & 103, &
moreover, record of a dispute between the convent of Fearn and the priors of Whithorn during the fourteenth century regarding the latter's right to present, or at least confirm, Fearn's abbots.636 Likewise, the claim that relics of Nynia were transferred to Fearn appears to be confirmed by the emergence of a cult to the saint of Candida Casa in Ross during the thirteenth century.637 Furthermore, although there is no evidence to suggest a connection between the earl of Ross and Whithorn as early as the mid 1220s (when the founding of Fearn is traditionally dated),638 Ferchar is nonetheless recorded as having been in Galloway during 1235. In this year he was instrumental in the defeat of Thomas, the bastard son of Alan of Galloway, and his Irish ally, Gilrod.639

The capacity in which Earl Ferchar came into contact with Whithorn during this campaign goes unrecorded. In light of his military mission, and the likelihood that the convent at Whithorn supported the cause of the native dynasty,640 it might nonetheless be presumed that he garrisoned or even sacked the priory.641 There is certainly evidence to suggest that the Scottish army of occupation targeted religious houses which had been founded by Thomas' ancestors. The Chronicle of Melrose, for example, records that they 'despoiled the abbeys of that land', making special reference to the attacks on Glenluce and Tongland.642 Notably, the latter of these was apparently established by Thomas' father, Alan of Galloway.643 Moreover, as with Fearn, it was a house of Premonstratensian canons. The Melrose chronicler blamed 'certain Scots' for these outrages.644 This is interesting as during this period the term 'Scots' appears still to have been used in the Chronicle of Melrose to

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Black, Surnames. 483-484. Whether they were introduced by the earls of Ross as tenants, or arrived in the retinue of a Whithorn-appointed abbot, is impossible to ascertain.

636 Brieve Cronicle, 5-9.
637 For a discussion on this, see pp. 279-280 below.
639 Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1235.
640 This is suggested by the disputed succession to the see of Whithorn during the same year. The canons' candidate, Odo of Idonchester, railed against the 'foreigner's' candidate, a monk of Melrose, who had been put forward by Alexander II. For Odo's letter, see The Register of Walter Grey: Lord Archbishop of York, ed. J. Raine (London, 1870), 170 & 171. For discussions, see A. Ashley, 'Odo, the elect of Whithorn, 1235', TDGNHAS, xxxvii (1958-59), 62-69; & R. Oram, 'In Obedience and Reverence: Whithorn c. 1128-c. 1250', IR, xlii (1991), 83-100.
641 This is even more probable in light of the archaeological findings which demonstrated that the medieval cathedral priory was in the centre of a thriving trading and craft town. Hill, Whithorn and Nimman, 24-25 & 58-60.
642 Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1235.
643 Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 103
644 Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1235.
describe Scots of native, rather than Anglo-French, origin. He could therefore have been referring to Ferchar’s host from Ross. Nevertheless, whilst Earl Ferchar certainly appears to have carried away relics of St Nynia from Whithorn, it is unlikely that they were acquired by violence. This is suggested by the fact that Whithorn Priory provided Ferchar with two canons to help him establish his new monastery. Indeed, that one of them, Mael Coluim, became Fearn’s first abbot bespeaks a cordial arrangement between the earl and the priory.

If not in war, then Ferchar of Ross must have come into contact with Whithorn for some other purpose. The available sources suggest two possible scenarios. On the one hand, the *Chronicle of Melrose* records that after putting the Galwegian army to flight, ‘the aforesaid earl [Ferchar], and many others beside, pursued them, making great slaughter, and harassing them until dark’.

Whilst it is more than likely that Earl Ferchar’s host comprised of native, Scoto-Norse troops who were unconcerned with the chivalric niceties of Anglo-French forms of warfare, the code of war to which most thirteenth-century aristocrats adhered frowned upon the pursuit and slaughter of a fleeing enemy, even if they were perceived to be rebels. Indeed, the Melrose chronicler contrasted Ferchar’s intemperate actions with those of King Alexander who ‘On the following day...with his accustomed piety, granted peace to all who came to him’.

On reflection, the knighted and ennobled Ferchar of Ross perhaps felt remorse for his unchivalric behaviour and undertook an act of penance. This could

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646 It is also implied by the fact that there is no archaeological record of the sacking of Whithorn in the 1230s, as there is for the 1180s. The monastic town of Whithorn certainly appears to have been depopulated during the thirteenth century, but at a later date. Hill, *Ninian and Whithorn*, 23-24 & 60.

647 Brevie Cronicle, 2.

648 *Chron. Melrose*, s.a. 1235.

649 For the Norse impact on Ross, see B. E. Crawford, *Earl and Mormaer: Norse-Pictish relationships in northern Scotland* (Groam House, 1995).


651 *Chron. Melrose*, s.a. 1235. Alexander’s ‘chivalric’ attitude towards defeated enemies was further demonstrated by his treatment of Thomas son of Alan. The *Chronicle of Melrose* reveals, for instance, that ‘The bastard, being thus deprived of counsel and support, was compelled to seek the king’s peace. And the king detained him for a short time in the castle of the Maidens, and afterward allowed him to go away’.

652 As M. J. Strickland, ‘Slaughter, Slavery or Ransom: the Impact of the Conquest on Conduct in Warfare’, in C. Hicks (ed.), *England in the Eleventh Century* (Stamford, 1992), 41-59, noted, by the eleventh century, under the influence of Church teaching which had always been opposed to the killing of Christians, the warrior aristocracy of western Europe had adopted the attitude that the slaughter of enemies was to be avoided. This owed much to the teachings of the Church which, based upon the
have involved a pilgrimage to the famous shrine of St Nynia at Whithorn.\footnote{Whithorn’s reputation as a pilgrimage site was evidently well-established by the twelfth century, for in his \textit{Life of St Ninian}, \textit{Elred of Rievaulx} noted that pilgrims ‘frequented with the greatest devotion that which seemed to them all that was left of him, namely his holy relics’ \textit{Lives of St Ninian and St Kentigern}, 23.} It could equally have resulted in him swearing to establish a monastery of an order favoured by his vanquished enemy.\footnote{There was a tradition in medieval Europe of monasteries being founded in penance for a misdeed. For example, the surge in the number of monasteries founded in England during the civil war between Stephen and Matilda has been attributed to combatants trying to atone for their violent conduct. A. L. Poole, \textit{From Domesday Book to Magna Carta} (Oxford, 1951), 189. A possible Scottish example of a penitential foundation is Dundrennan, which Oram, ‘Colonisation and settlement in Galloway’, 115, suggested was established by Fergus of Galloway in penance for the atrocities committed by his men at Northallerton in 1138.} Significantly, the order most favoured by the \textit{reguli} of Galloway, the Premonstratensians,\footnote{The native dynasty of Galloway evidently founded four Premonstratensian houses. Cowan \& Easson, \textit{MRHS}, 101.} was the one which Ferchar settled at Fearn. As Whithorn was the senior White Canon house in the province it would only have been natural for Ferchar to have looked there for guidance.\footnote{It is conversely possible that Ferchar’s troops had sacked Whithorn, and that in recompense the earl had agreed to grant the convent an extensive estate in Ross. Members of the Scottish army had certainly targeted Galwegian monasteries in 1235: \textit{Chron. Melrose}, s.a. 1235.}

On the other hand, the \textit{Brieve Cronicle} states that by founding an abbey at Fearn, Ferchar was honouring a pledge to establish a monastery if he was granted victory over his enemy.\footnote{\textit{Brieve Cronicle}, 3.} Admittedly, this is contained within an incredible account of the earl’s encounter with a ‘Frenchman called Dougal Duncansone’ in a wrestling match held at the coronation of Edward I of England. It is nonetheless possible that at the core of this fantasy is a basically sound tradition,\footnote{For example, there are a number of possible historical candidates for ‘Dougal Duncansone’ (including Donnchad mac Dougall of Lorne and a son of Donnchad of Carrick) with whom Ferchar may indeed have at one time been in conflict.} perhaps alluding to a promise made by the earl of Ross before his encounter with Thomas of Galloway’s force. Accordingly, it can be conjectured that Earl Ferchar - who may have offered up his prayer to the local saint, Nynia - repaired to Whithorn after the battle in order both to give thanks for his victory and request aid in setting up his promised convent.

It would therefore appear as if it was after his Galwegian expedition of 1235 that Ferchar introduced the Premonstratensian Order into his earldom. In so doing, he chose to pacifist views of the early Fathers, had long advocated the evil of murder. Even the killing of pagans necessitated an abstension from church-going for upto forty days. Ibid., 54.}
settle the canons of Whithorn at Fearn in the parish of Edderton. In light of the current discussion regarding the absorption of ancient religious sites by new monasteries during the Canmore period, this may initially appear an peculiar choice. This is not only because Fearn evidently had no significant pre-twelfth-century religious associations, but also as Ferchar’s earldom contained two of northern Britain’s most famous centres of early Gaelic Christianity, Applecross and Rosemarkie. It is nonetheless possible to account for these anomalies, and, moreover, demonstrate that Ferchar’s longer-term intentions were actually in accordance with the practice of site association evident elsewhere in thirteenth-century Scotland.

For example, that Earl Ferchar overlooked the ancient religious sites of Applecross and Rosemarkie was no doubt because by the mid thirteenth century they had come to serve other important functions. This is most clearly the case with Rosemarkie, which had evidently evolved from being the seat of a Gaelic Church abbot-bishop in the late seventh century into the see for the diocese of Ross by the 1100s. Interestingly, in spite of the changing role of site, it arguably maintained certain aspects of its Gaelic Church character. Thus, the primate of Ross continued to be known as the Bishop of Rosemarkie until the mid 1200s, whilst the see was apparently served by the site’s traditional célè Dé community until they were reconstituted as a secular chapter in the early thirteenth century. Rosemarkie therefore had its own, long-established identity and function by the 1230s which precluded it from being associated with Earl Ferchar’s new monastery.

The reason why Ferchar chose not to establish his reformed convent at Applecross is less apparent. Indeed, that Applecross’ original religious community, unlike that of Rosemarkie, had disappeared, combined with the fact that, as with Culross and St Serf, the site nevertheless continued to be associated with the cult of a highly popular local saint, Mael Rubha, appears to have made it an ideal location for a reformed convent. This impression

660 For these two houses, see K. Hughes, Early Christianity in Pictland (Jarrow Lecture, 1970), 8 & 15; C. D. Lines, Church and Monastery in the Far North: an archaeological evaluation (Jarrow Lecture, 1989), 7; A. MacDonald, Curadān, Boniface and the Early Church of Rosemarkie (Groom House, 1992); Skene, CS, I, 320 & II, 169 & 411; & Smyth, Warlords and Holy Men, 109-110 & 127-128.
661 Curetán of Rosemarkie is styled bishop in the Cāin Adomnāin. G. Markus, Adomnán’s ‘Law of the Innocents’ (Glasgow, 1997), 15; whilst Bishop Macbeth of Rosemarkie witnessed David I’s charter to Dunfermline Abbey of 1128. Lawrie, ESC, no. LXXIV.
662 Dowden, Bishops, 209.
663 Reeves, Culdees, 46.
664 The continuing popularity of Mael Rubha’s cult in and around Applecross is attested to by the number of churches and chapels dedicated to him in Ross-shire and the extent to which he was commemorated in place-names such as Loch Maree (Loch Ma-Ruibhe). W Reeves, ‘St Maelrubha: his
is strengthened when it is noted that Ferchar appears to have been intimately connected with Applecross. However, the reasons which suggest that Ferchar should have utilised this ancient site are in fact the very ones why he did not. In illustration, the Gaelic Church monastery established at Applecross by Máel Rubha in 673 was clearly an early victim of Scandinavian depredations, as it is last mentioned in the records in 802. It would appear as if the paruchia of Applecross subsequently came under the control of a hereditary dynasty of ‘priests’ who allegedly bore the name O’Beollain. Under their ‘stewardship’, the monastic estates were most probably granted out to the kinsmen and dependants of the O’Beollain. If this was the case and, as seems likely, the extensive mainland territory of the later, medieval sheriffdom of Skye was coterminous with Applecross’ original paruchia, then the O’Beollain would have been a large and powerful kindred. Ferchar of Ross is traditionally considered to be a descendant of this family, a claim which would certainly account for his surname, mac in-tasairt (son of the priest; anglice Mactaggart), and perhaps also his ability to raise enough men to vanquish the MacWilliam-MacHeth expeditionary force. Significantly, it would also explain why Ferchar did not elect to establish a Premonstratensian abbey at Applecross, for to do so would have dangerously eroded his traditional power-base. Indeed, in order to establish a reformed convent on this ancient site, Earl Ferchar would have required not only to alienate a sizeable portion of the very patrimony which had made the O’Beollain the pre-eminent landowning family in Ross, but arguably also to dispossess

665 See discussion below.
666 AU, s.a. 673.
667 Ibid., s.a. 802.
668 Reeves, ‘St Maelrubha’, 257-258; & Skene, CS, II, 411.
670 See, for example, Skene, CS, II, 411, where it is proposed that the O’Beollain was a clerical dynasty, & Reeves, ‘St Maelrubha’, 275, where it is suggested that they were a lay family the chief of which should be compared to the Irish erenagh. See also, Duncan, Scotland, 197. Doubts have recently been raised, however, regarding this tradition. The origins and rise of Ferchar were discussed in a revisionary paper presented by Craig Haggart at the Department of Celtic, University of Edinburgh, on the 28th May 1998.
671 Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1215.
672 The chronicler at Melrose dismissed the invading host as ‘a numerous band of malignants’, suggesting, if not a well-organised army, then at least a sizeable party of warriors. Ibid., s.a. 1215.
673 Interestingly, a similar reluctance amongst the kin of Alexander I (which perhaps included the earl of Atholl) to relinquish long-held, secularised abbatial lands may have caused the aforementioned proposed abandonment of the king’s plan to establish an Augustinian convent at Dunkeld.
members of his own kindred of the erstwhile monastic estates which they had presumably held for generations.674

In contrast, the lands of eastern Ross had but recently been confirmed to Ferchar as earl.675 He was therefore not constrained by the same kinship considerations as at Applecross from using them to provide a patrimony for his reformed convent. Even aside from this, it was more pragmatic and made political sense for Ferchar to establish his new abbey in the eastern part of his earldom. This, on the one hand, is because it provided him with a loyal power centre - not to mention a convenient lodging - in an area removed from his traditional centre of influence. On the other, it secured his tenure over a part of the earldom which was arguably of great local significance.676 Admittedly, Fearn’s importance is not immediately apparent. There is, nevertheless, a theory - based upon the belief that the ‘Reothaide abbot of Ferna’ whose death is recorded in the Annals of Ulster under the year 763678 was the same person as the ‘Reo(te)tii’ commemorated in the Latin stone of Tarbat679 - that there was an eighth-century monastery at Fearn which was a daughter-house of the Irish abbey of Ferns.680 However, as Henderson has argued,681 this claim is extremely doubtful.682
The presence of an eighth- or ninth-century cross-slab at the entrance to the present-day kirkyard of Edderton is nonetheless suggestive of an earlier religious significance for the general area in which Fearn was located.\textsuperscript{683} Indeed, viewed within its wider archaeological and geographical setting this cross-slab indicates an artistic and organisational relationship between Edderton and nearby sites with similar monumental remains such as Hilton of Cadboll, Nigg, Shandwick and Tarbat.\textsuperscript{684} Notably, this impressive cluster of Christian sculpture has prompted the conclusion amongst archaeologists and historians that there was a major ecclesiastical centre with an associated highly-skilled and well-patronised carving school located somewhere on the Tarbat peninsula.\textsuperscript{685} The most likely location for such a community appears to be the site of the later parish church of Tarbat.\textsuperscript{686} This, and the likelihood that it was an early Gaelic Church monastery,\textsuperscript{687} is implied not only by the number of ecclesiastically related sites in its immediate vicinity, including Portmahomack (the name of which clearly commemorates an Irish saint),\textsuperscript{688} three chapels (one dedicated to St Brigid), and a holy-well,\textsuperscript{689} but also the fact that the later parish church of Tarbat was dedicated to St Colmán.\textsuperscript{690}

In light of this, it is surely highly significant that two years after the accession of Máel Coluim of Nigg to the abbacy of Fearn c. 1238 the Premonstratensian community was transferred to the Tarbat peninsula.\textsuperscript{691} It can initially be inferred from this that, unlike his

\textsuperscript{683} For a description of this stone, see Allen & Anderson, \textit{ECMS}, II, 57-59.
\textsuperscript{684} For a description of these stones, see ibid., II, 61-83. For discussions on their inter-relationship and craftsmanship, see Henderson, \textit{The Picts}, 152-157, Higgit, ‘The Pictish Latin inscription at Tarbat’, 300-321; & Ritchie, \textit{Picts}, 34-35.
\textsuperscript{687} Higgit, ‘The Pictish Latin inscription at Tarbat’, 301, stated that ‘there is no basis for... the view that Tarbat was an Irish monastic foundation and consequently a centre for Irish influence in Pictland’, an argument which appears to be contradicted by the dedicated evidence discussed immediately below.
\textsuperscript{688} The \textit{Aberdeen Breviary} notes that the St Colmán whose feast was celebrated on the 18th of February was the patron of Tarbat. It can consequently be presumed that the same saint was commemorated in this place-name. Watson, \textit{CPNS}, 279.
\textsuperscript{689} \textit{OPN}, II, ii, 435.
\textsuperscript{690} Ibid., II, ii, 434. Ritchie & Ritchie, \textit{Scotland}, 170.
\textsuperscript{691} The dating of the abbacies of Abbots Máel Coluim I & II is largely dependent upon the \textit{Brieve Cronicle}, whose chronology of events can be erratic. Máel Coluim of Nigg is recorded witnessing a charter issued by Earl William of Ross AD1255X1271, whilst his successor was a witness to a charter issued by the same earl in 1258. His abbacy, therefore, evidently came to an end 1255X1258. \textit{Moray Reg.}, no. 220 & \textit{Beautly Chrs.}, 313.
predecessor from Whithorn, Abbot Mæl Coluim of Nigg was appreciative of the historical importance of the Tarbat peninsula to the religious life of eastern Ross and consequently initiated the convent's translation from the parish of Edderton to that of Tarbat. It is possible, however, that this explanation is too simplistic. Earl Ferchar, for example, would no doubt have been aware of Tarbat's religious distinction. The canons whom he brought from Whithorn, moreover, had first-hand experience of belonging to a convent which was based on an earlier community and could therefore have advised Ferchar on the financial and spiritual benefits to be gained from such site association. It can accordingly be presumed that the process whereby the reformed convent of Fearn was re-located in Tarbat was a more complex one than the meagre evidence available relating to the early history of the abbey reveals. On the information which does exist, it is nevertheless possible to envisage the following scenario:

Probably inspired by his experiences in Galloway during 1235, Earl Ferchar of Ross planned to found a Premonstratensian abbey in his earldom. Aware of the benefits of associating a new convent with an ancient site, and probably eager to secure his tenure over an historically important district, he anticipated settling his canons on land traditionally associated with the site of Ross' third major early religious site, Tarbat. In preparation for the revival of religious life at Tarbat, Earl Ferchar established the Whithorn canons at Fearn in the parish of the once associated site of Edderton. There the two Galwegian religious began to recruit local men into the convent, whilst Ferchar attempted to carve a patrimony for his new convent out of that of the Gaelic Church monastery. The latter task was no doubt the more difficult, as the dynasty who would have inherited the monastic paruchia and subsequently used it to enrich their kinsmen and dependants presumably resisted any attempt by their new earl to diminish what had become their kin-lands. Certainly, Mæl Coluim died before the transfer of the community could be undertaken. Crucially, this was achieved during the abbacy of a local man whose toponym - 'of Nigg' - reveals that he was associated with a property which had evidently been an integral and prominent part of the network of

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692 That the abbey of New Fearn was not located at the actual site of the proposed Gaelic Church monastery was most probably because Tarbat had not only become a parish church by the thirteenth century, but also the property of the Bishops of Ross. Cowan, Parishes, 195
693 A possible precedent for this was set when the fitzAlans settled their Cluniac convent at Renfrew before transferring them to the adjacent ancient site of Paisley.
694 That Mæl Coluim of Whithorn 'was considered by the people as a saint' on his death, suggests he was well-received in Ross and therefore perhaps attracted a number of recruits to the new convent. Brive Cronicle, 2.
CONNUlLY OF SITE
early ecclesiastical sites on the Tarbat peninsula. It is even possible that he was a member of the dynasty which had inherited the Gaelic Church's *paruchia*. If so, then this appointment could have been part of a settlement brokered between Earl Ferchar and the local chief whereby the former received land in Tarbat for his monastery in return for placing the convent under the leadership of one of the latter's kinsmen. This arrangement not only maintained the local kindred's proprietorial connection with the new abbey's Tarbat estate, but also enabled Ferchar and his convent of canons to erect a new abbey on a site which was adjacent to Hilton of Cadboll and probably associated with the ancient monastery of Tarbat. Significantly, it would also have given the convent an abbot who provided a symbolic, and perhaps even physical link, with the hierarchy of the erstwhile Gaelic Church monastery of Tarbat.

This is an admittedly speculative theory. Nevertheless, that the identity of the abbey of New Fearn was subsequently conflated with that of the Gaelic Church site is demonstrated by the fact that sometime before 1274 the vicarage of Tarbat parish church was granted by the Bishop of Ross to the Premonstratensian convent. As a result, it is likely that the canons of New Fearn served the cure of Tarbat. They were probably also responsible for restoring and administering to the chapels located at Hilton of Cadboll and Shandwick. By thus preserving, or even re-constituting, Tarbat's pre-twelfth-century ecclesiastical network, the canons would most probably have engendered the perception that they were both the spiritual and the proprietorial heirs of their Gaelic Church predecessors. This, as Earl Ferchar and his religious advisors no doubt anticipated, would have encouraged the surrounding, probably culturally conservative and fiercely local, population not only to tolerate the creation of a new abbey in their district, but also to give it their patronage.

Conclusion

The policy of associating reformed monastic convents with decayed, yet nonetheless still locally important, ancient religious sites in Scotland was evidently widely adopted not only by members of the Canmore dynasty, such as David I, but also non-royal patrons,

695 Nigg's status as an important early church site is implied not only by its impressive monumental remains, but also the fact that it later became a mensal church of the Bishops of Ross, just as the ancient religious sites of Stow of Wedale and Tyninghame became mensal churches of the Bishops of St Andrews. Cowan, *Parishes*, 157, 189, & 203

696 Ibid., 195.

697 Ibid., 195.

698 The remains of medieval chapels are still in evidence at both Hilton of Cadboll and Shandwick.
CONTINUITY OF SITE

significantly both native and incomer. That this was the case reflects, on the one hand, the general acculturation of native and Anglo-French traditions which occurred in Scotland during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. On the other, it demonstrates that there was a definite cross-cultural recognition amongst Scotland’s ethnically diverse patronal class of the potential benefits which could accrue from implementing this policy.

The most obvious advantage to be gained from effecting this programme was a financial one, as most of the existing religious sites presented a ready-made patrimony which founders could exploit to off-set the sometimes prohibitive expense of establishing a reformed convent. The benefits of this are perhaps best demonstrated in the respective exploitation of the paruchiae of St Cuthbert’s Edinburgh and St Vigeans’ by David I and William to provide patrimonies for their abbeys at Holyrood and Arbroath.

An equally attractive benefit of this policy was that by absorbing an ancient religious site, either directly as at Whithorn or indirectly as at Kirkcudbright, the threat which these traditional foci for local devotion potentially posed to nearby reformed monasteries could effectively be neutralised. It could notably also engender the perception that the new convent was the spiritual successor of the old site, and thus not only helped ameliorate the culture shock to and subsequent prospective hostility from the surrounding lay native population, but also encouraged them to continue their reverence, and hence patronage, towards the site. Gille Moire mac Gille Conaill’s aforementioned bond of confraternity with the Tironensian convent of Lesmahagow demonstrates the beneficial potential of this policy for both reformed convent and local laity.

Whilst in such cases the assimilation and propagation of local religious customs by a reformed convent often resulted in their identity being conflated with that of their Gaelic or Northumbrian Church predecessor, the picture can nevertheless be over drawn. Thus, whilst Paisley Abbey became strongly connected with the ancient cult of St Meadhhrán and Culross Abbey with that of St Serf, it is doubtful whether Balmerino Abbey maintained any actual cultural or spiritual bond with the monastery of Abernethy, part of whose patrimony it absorbed. Indeed, the example of Balmerino Abbey suggests that continuity of site only engendered continuity in religious identity when there was no break between the native and the reformed period at the site. Thus, when the ancient church or patrimony had previously come under the control of incoming settlers, as at Balmerino, the continuity, and hence the potential cultural conduit between the two traditions, was severed.
The absorption of ancient ecclesiastical estates

The conversion of existing native communities to the Augustinian Rule and the absorption of other historical religious sites by many incoming reformed convents not only resulted in continuity of worship at a number of pre-Canmore northern Britain’s most significant ecclesiastical centres, it significantly also contributed, in many cases, to the preservation, even re-invigoration, of traditional networks of local churches, shrines and landed estates which would arguably have otherwise been broken up due to the increasing secularisation of the Church in Scotland during the eleventh century. As highlighted above, one way in which this could be achieved was when a reformed convent was granted at its foundation the paruchia of the pre-1070 site which it had superseded. This is most evident, of course, when an existing community converted to a reformed rule. For example, the bishop of St Andrews’ grant of Lochleven to his cathedral priory appears to have simply transferred the possessions of the existing céle Dé community. Whilst Scone Priory’s initial endowment is difficult to ascertain due to the likelihood that its extant foundation charter was re-written and conflated during David I’s reign, it apparently likewise comprised mainly of the Gaelic community’s patrimony. Along with extensive landed estates, this evidently included the churches of Blair, Cambusmichael, Dundee, Invergowrie, Kilspindie, Kinfauns, Liff, Logie, Redgorton and Scone itself. Earl Gille Brigte of Strathearn similarly confirmed to the newly established Augustinian convent of Inchaffray a network of local churches, most of which probably traditionally pertained to the Gaelic Church monastery. Certain lands in the vicinity of Inchaffray which came to be in the possession of the reformed convent can similarly be presumed to have originally pertained to the Gaelic Church community. The most obvious example of this is ‘Ballemacgillon’ (field of the son of the servant of [St] John) two miles to the south west of the monastery, which itself was dedicated to St John the Evangelist. Notably, lands such as ‘Ballemacgillon’ appear to have only come into the possession of the Augustinian convent of Inchaffray after its

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699 For example, the aforementioned relationship between St Vigeans’ paruchia and Arbroath Abbey’s initial patrimony.
700 St A. Lib., 43.
701 See discussion above, p. 48n.
702 Scon. Lib., no. 1.
703 Inchaff. Chrs., no. IX.
704 Ibid., no. XXXIII.
continuity of site

foundation, which suggests that they had been alienated sometime before 1200. That such
land could consequently be regained is testimony not only to the power of tradition in
Scottish religious society, but also the increased legal and jurisdictional authority which the
Gregorian and post-Gregorian reforms brought to the Church throughout Europe, including
Scotland.

Incoming reformed convents probably found it more difficult to gain possession of the
churches, lands and privileges which traditionally pertained to the religious site on or near to
which they were established. This is because the communities which had originally occupied
such sites had invariably decayed, not to say disappeared altogether, long before the arrival of
the reformed convent. Consequently, the site's original patrimony had often been divided
amongst lay landowners and secularised clerical dynasties (as envisaged above at
Lesmahagow) or, in the case of dependent chapels, become independent churches. This
created a break in the proprietorial traditions of a site which reformed regimes arguably had
to struggle to re-establish. As Ash demonstrated, the most compelling, albeit non-monastic,
example of this was the aggressive assertion by the bishops of St Andrews of their rights to
the erstwhile possessions and privileges of Cennrigmonaid. Characteristic of this was the
famous division of the church of St Andrews' altarage (three-sevenths of which went to the
Augustinian convent, one-seventh to the bishop, and three-sevenths remained in their former
condition), and Bishop William's aforementioned patronal involvement in the attempted
conversion of the céle Dé community of Monymusk. This policy is also evident in the
dispute between Dunfermline Abbey and St Andrews Priory of 1165X1171 over the lands of
Balchristie, with the canons claiming that they were acting as the representatives of the old
céle Dé community. The mixture of tradition and legal power deployed by the bishops of

705 'Ballemacgillon' was granted to Inchaffay Priory 1210X1218 by Earl Gille Brigte. Ibid., no.
XXXIII

706 The public oath taken by Earl Robert of Strathearn that he was 'never in his whole life to unjustly
harass Innocent, abbot of Inchaffray, or the convent, but rather treat them as his most special friends',
not only implies the continuing threat which lay interference posed to the possessions of Scottish
religious sites, but also how, unlike in the pre-reform period, the legal strength of the Church could
prevent such threats from being fully realised. For a discussion on the Catholic Church's greatly
increased legal powers by the twelfth century, see Tellenbach, The Church in Western Europe, 304-348.

707 For example, it would appear as if at least some of St Vigeans' presumably dependent chapels had
evolved into local churches by the time they were granted to Arbroath Abbey in 1178. RRS, II, nos.
197 & 513.

708 Ash, 'The diocese of St Andrews'.

709 St A. Lib., 122-123.

710 See above, pp. 78-79.

711 RRS, II, no. 35.
CONTINUITY OF SITE

St Andrews to re-strengthen their hold on the see’s original possessions is nevertheless probably best illustrated by Bishop William’s attempt to have his traditional privileges in Arbuthnott recognised. For example, in April 1206 an ecclesiastical court was convened at Perth to decide upon a dispute between the church of St Andrews, represented by Bishop William, and the tenants-in-chief of Arbuthnott. At this assembly, fourteen men testified that the bishops of St Andrews had always been acknowledged as the direct lords of the kirktoun of Arbuthnott and many declared that they had witnessed up to four different bishops being given hospitality by its tenants. The parson of Neudosk and a local man called Gille Pedair affirmed that Bishops Robert, Arnold, Richard and Hugh had all received conveth from their own men in Arbuthnott, while Somerled of Fettersso added that Bishop Robert had declined to accept his conveth due to the poverty of the tenants.712

Interestingly, many of the churches which had once pertained to the ancient site of Cennrigmonaid were successively granted by the bishops of St Andrews to the Augustinian canons of their cathedral priory. Thus, 1165X1178 the canons were granted the church of Ecclesgreig with its chapel and abthane.713 Other ancient sites which came into the possession of the priory through episcopal munificence included Lochleven, Markinch and Tyningham,714 all of which must have at some time before 1070 come under the direct jurisdiction and patronal power of the bishop of St Andrews. By thus granting some of the bishopric’s most ancient and illustrious religious pertinents to the Augustinian convent, the bishops of St Andrews were not only providing their cathedral priory with a worthy endowment, but arguably also consciously accommodating it within the pre-1144 traditions of the see, ostensibly in order to provide it with historical roots which would have helped it to

713 Ecclesgreig ‘cum terra abbacie’ was granted to the priory of St Andrews by Bishop Richard, and the ‘abbacia de Ecclesgreig’ with its paruchia was confirmed by William the Lion. St A. Lib., 138, & 229-230. That the connection between St Andrews and Ecclesgreig was of greater antiquity than the twelfth century is suggested by the charter recording this grant which mentions a dependent chapel dedicated to St Regulus. Even more intriguingly, the church of Ecclesgreig was dedicated to St Cyrus, the martyr of Tarsus, whose cult (despite the fact that he was killed in the fourth century) became popular in western Europe during the very period when eastern Christian influences, such as the cult of St Regulus, were being adopted by the Gaelic Church. (The oldest extant representation of St Cyrus is a series of frescoes at S. Maria Antiqua in Rome which date from the eighth century. Farmer, Dictionary of Saints, 120-121.) This not only suggests an eighth-century provenance for the monastery of Ecclesgreig, but also demonstrates how well-informed the Gaelic churchmen were of cultural developments in the continental Church and confirms that they were far from isolated from their European brethren.
714 St A. Lib., 43; & Cowan, Parishes, 203.
withstand any ideological conflict with the surviving célè Dé community at St Andrews.\(^715\)

Indeed, that the canons were eager to conflate their history with that of the ancient Gaelic Church community can be inferred from the Augustinian-compiled ‘B’ version of the Historia Fundationis which presents their priory as an integral part of the evolution of Christian worship at St Andrews, and not, as might be expected, a radical departure from the site’s traditions. That the absorption of part of the Gaelic Church site’s ancient patrimony was perceived as crucial to these claims for historicity is implied by the fact that the Augustinian author emphasised it was Alexander I’s grant of Cennrigmonaid’s original paruchia, the Cursus Apri (Boar’s Raik), to the church of St Andrews ‘so that religious life might be established in that church’, which initiated the creation of the reformed priory at St Andrews.\(^716\) The ancient estate of the Cursus Apri, granted to the church of Cennrigmonaid by the eighth-century king of Pictland, Óengus mac Fergus,\(^717\) was therefore preserved by the representatives of a foreign-inspired religious movement who, in spite of their criticism of existing célè Dé provisions at St Andrews, nevertheless chose to portray themselves as the direct heirs of the site’s original native clergy.

Notably, most often through the post-foundation patronage of individual benefactors, reformed monasteries also absorbed ancient religious sites with which they had no historical associations. Whilst this was part of the general trend for parish church appropriation in medieval Scotland which in the longer term was seriously to weaken the kingdom’s parochial provisions,\(^718\) it nonetheless further helped preserve Dark Age and early medieval local ecclesiastical networks after the Canmore-inspired reform of the Church, and thus presented additional physical proof of the continuity between pre- and post-1070 Scottish religious society. Earl Mael Coluim of Atholl, for instance, bestowed the historically important church of Logierait\(^719\) with its network of chapels at Dunfallandy, Killiechassie, Killiehangie and

\(^715\) The potential for such antagonism is implied by the two versions of the St Andrews’ Historia Fundationis, one of which was written by a célè Dé and stressed the monastic nature of the original foundation, the other by an Augustinian canon who emphasised the episcopal aspect of Regulus’ mission. Ash & Broun, ‘The Adoption of St Andrews as the Patron Saint of Scotland’, 18-20.

\(^716\) Chron. Picts-Scots, 183-193, at 190.

\(^717\) Anderson, ‘St Andrews before Alexander I’; eadem, ‘The Celtic Church in Kinrhumd’; & Hall, St Andrew and Scotland.


\(^719\) Logierait, otherwise known as Login-Mahedd, was the principal church of the earldom of Atholl, and had a number of dependent chapels. This, and the fact that it was dedicated to St Coeddi, abbot of Iona (d. 712), implies that Logierait was a Columban foundation which had risen to pre-eminence in the earldom. See Scone. Lib., no. 27; Taylor, ‘Place-names and the Early Church’, 102-103; & Watson, CPNS, 314.
CONTINUITY OF SITE

Kilmichael of Tulliemet on the reformed house of Scone c. 1154X1189; whilst Gille Crist of Angus granted the erstwhile cèle Dé church of Monifieth to Arbroath Abbey 1201X1204. The old cèle Dé centre at Dornoch and the ancient church of the Holy Trinity at Dunkeld, moreover, were granted to the abbey of Dunfermline, most probably because of the connection between these sites and Bishop Andrew of Caithness who was himself once a member of that Benedictine house. Similarly, the place-name Findogask implies the presence of a cult to St Findoc in the diocese of Dunblane; an association which most probably prompted Aed mac Mael Coluim MacNachtan’s grant of the church of St Findóc’s Inishail to the Augustinian convent of Inchaffray in 1257.

A more obvious example of a reformed convent which absorbed non-historically related religious sites is Holyrood Abbey, which, as aforementioned, came to possess the mother-church and plebania of Kirkcudbright. It similarly absorbed not only the nearby mother-church of St Constantine of Edingham and its plebania, which included the churches of St Brigid of Blaiket and St Colmanel of Urr, but also Iona’s network of churches and chapels in Galloway. The canons of Holyrood were also granted less august, individual churches. For example, Thor son of Swan granted the church of Tranent with all of its pertinents ‘and that which my ancestors bestowed upon the said church’ to the convent c. 1150. Whilst Tranent church may not have been the mother-church of an extensive parochia, it was nevertheless evidently of local historical significance and probably had a small associated estate which Thor’s grant to Holyrood would have helped preserve.

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720 Scon. Lib., no. 27.
721 Monifieth’s cèle Dé credentials are suggested by Countess Matilda of Angus’ grant to Arbroath Abbey of the eastern part of the lands of the church of Monifieth ‘which the celi Dè held in my father’s lifetime’. Arb. Lib., I, no. 115. That Monifieth was certainly an early monastic centre is demonstrated by the fact that it had an associated abthane. Ibid., I, appendix, no. 4.
722 Ibid., I, no. 39.
725 Watson, CPNS, 287.
726 Inchaff. Chrns., no. LXXXV.
727 See above, pp. 92-94.
728 Holy. Lib., no. 52.
729 These included Barncrosh, Kelton, Kirkcormack, and St Andrews Balmahagie. RRS, II, no. 141.
730 McDonald, The Kingdom of the Isles, 205-206, suggests that William’s act of deprivation was indicative of tensions between him and Somerled of the Isles.
In spite of the substantial testimony offered by the charters of Holyrood Abbey, it can be proposed that, due to its relatively extensive twelfth- and thirteenth-century records and the fact that it attracted a high proportion of its patronage from Gaelic areas where ancient ecclesiastical estates were preserved longer than in regions affected by Anglo-French settlement, the Cluniac abbey of Paisley provides the best example of a reformed monastery which inherited and preserved existing local church networks in the Canmore period. In illustration, c. 1163 Walter the Steward granted all of the churches of Strathgryf (with the notable exception of Inchinnan, which David I had previously bestowed upon the Knights Templars)\textsuperscript{731} to his new priory at Paisley. This compact group of churches (which appears to have comprised of Erskine, Killellan and Kilmalcolm)\textsuperscript{732} most probably once formed the parochia of Inchinnan, whose carved crosses, standing stones and allegedly intimate connection with St Conall distinguishes it as the chief church in Strathgryf.\textsuperscript{733} If this was the case, then being assimilated with Paisley Abbey’s patrimony probably saved this ancient parochia, albeit minus its mother-church, from dismemberment.

The monks of Paisley inherited another Gaelic Church parochia in 1204 when Alan the Steward granted them the church of Kingarth situated near the centre of the southern peninsula of the isle of Bute.\textsuperscript{734} Kingarth had been the site of a thriving missionary centre and Columban monastery established by St Blánn in the sixth century.\textsuperscript{735} By the twelfth century its role had been reduced to that of one of Bute’s two parish churches, although its erstwhile Gaelic Church monastic status was still discernible not only from its location atop an artificial mound enclosed by a wall measuring fifty feet in circumference composed of rough stones, but also its network of dependent chapels and lands on the island.\textsuperscript{736} It was this ‘whole parochia’ which was granted to Paisley Abbey in 1204. Interestingly, Alan’s charter recorded that the grant also included ‘the land which St Blánn is said to have enclosed from sea to sea by certain and apparent boundaries’. This was probably a sanctuary girth established by St Blánn, or in his name, surrounding the ancient church of Kingarth. Whilst there is certainly no evidence to suggest that the Cluniacs of Paisley maintained the enclosed land’s probable early

\textsuperscript{731} \textit{Pais. Reg.}, 7, & \textit{RRS}, II, no. 82.
\textsuperscript{732} A papal charter of 1202X1207 lists the patrimony of Paisley Abbey, from which it can be deduced that these three churches were those of Strathgryf granted by Walter the Steward. \textit{Pais. Reg.}, 113.
\textsuperscript{733} For a commentary on Inchinnan’s monumental remains, see Ralegh-Radford, ‘The Early Christian Monuments at Govan and Inchinnan’. The tradition that St Conall was buried at Inchinnan is mentioned in \textit{Scotchchron.}, III, 29.
\textsuperscript{734} \textit{Pais. Reg.}, 15.
\textsuperscript{735} For a brief discussion on Kingarth’s early status, see appendix 3.
\textsuperscript{736} \textit{OPS}, II, 212-213; & \textit{Pais. Reg.}, 15.
function as a sanctuary, it is nevertheless highly instructive that the charter firmly associated it with St Bláán. This is because it demonstrates not only the conscious preservation of Bute’s religious traditions, but also that the charter’s evidently non-Gaelic scribe, or its commissioner, deemed this ancient association with St Bláán important enough to be stressed in the charter.

Significantly, the monks of Paisley also attracted patronage from Gaelic landowners benorth the Clyde. This resulted in the reformed convent absorbing local churches and associated estates most of which evidently dated back to the early medieval period. For example, 1230X1246 Donnchad mac Ferchair and Laumann mac Máel Columm granted their patronal rights in the church of Kilmun and its affiliated portions of land to Paisley Abbey. The church of Kilmun was believed to be the burial place of Fintán mac Tulcháin (aka St Munnu of Taghmon, d. 635) and at one time the probable home of his bachull. As such it would undoubtedly have been a focus for both local and provincial devotion. That it was indeed perceived to be an important religious site is demonstrated by the fact that in 1442 Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochawe founded a collegiate church for a provost and six prebendaries at Kilmun. In the same grant, Donnchad and Laumann also bestowed the church of Kilfinan (dedicated to the sixth-century saint, Finnén of Swords) upon the Cluniac convent. This gift brought with it the church’s estate and chapel of Kilmorie on the eastern shore of Loch Gilp, suggesting that it too was an important, well-patronised religious centre. Notably, Bishop Laurence of Argyll’s charter of 1327 confirming Paisley Abbey’s ecclesiastical possessions in his diocese confirms this view, by entitling Kilfinan a ‘mother-
church'. Paisley's patrimony of ancient churches and chapels in Argyll was further augmented during the thirteenth century when it was granted Kilkerran by Óengus mac Domnaill in the 1240s, and Kilcolmanell by Dubgall mac Syfyn in 1261, both of which were similarly termed 'mother-churches' in Bishop Laurence's charter. That these grants not merely resulted in the transference of Kilcolmanell, Kilfinan and Kilkerran's proprietorial and patronal rights to the monks of Paisley, but most probably also helped to preserve and even re-constitute their traditional paruchiae, can be inferred from the documents relating to a dispute between the Cluniac convent and the tenants of what was perhaps their most historically significant property benorth the River Clyde, Kilpatrick.

**The Example of Kilpatrick**

One of the many traditions surrounding the life of St Patrick identifies Kilpatrick in Lennox with his birth-place, Bannavem Taberniae. Although this claim is debatable, it is evident that with its holy well and sacred stone dedicated to St Patrick, Kilpatrick had

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744 Ibid, 136.
745 Ibid., 127-129. Kilkerran derives from cill Chiaráin, but which of the twenty two saints of that name it commemorates is difficult to discern.
746 This grant brought with it Kilcolmanell's dependent chapel of St Colum Cille. Ibid., 120-121. Kilcomanell commemorates the Irish saint Colman Elo (d. 611), who is reputed to have had contact with St Colum Cille. Adomnán, _Columba_ (Sharpe), I, 5; & 263-264n.
747 Ibid., 136.
748 St Patrick's early life remains shrouded in mystery. For modern commentaries on his life, see D. A. Binchy, 'St Patrick and his Biographers, ancient and modern', _Studia Hibernica_, ii (1962), 7-173; J. B. Bury, _The Life of St Patrick and his place in history_ (London, 1905); J. Carney, _The Problem of St Patrick_ (Dublin, 1973); D. Dumville et al. (eds.), _St Patrick, AD 493-1993_ (Woodbridge, 1993); & T. F. O'Rahilly, _The Two Patricks_ (Dublin, 1942). See also, Forbes, _Kalendars_, 431-434. For a more recent Scottish perspective, including a discussion on the relationship between St Patrick and Kilpatrick, see Macquarrie, 'St Patrick of Ireland', in _Saints of Scotland_, 31-49.
749 Various sources suggest that St Patrick played a significant role in Dal Riata's Christian development. For example, the _Duan Albanach_ states that the sons of Erc 'obtained the blessing of Patrick'. _Chron. Picts-Scots_, 59. This particular view probably derived from the _Tripartite Life of St Patrick_ which attested that the saint 'received welcome in that territory [i.e. Scottish Dal Riata] from the twelve sons of Erc'. It is this text, composed c. 900, which claimed that St Patrick was born in the kingdom of Strathclyde near Dumbarton Rock, which of course is not too distant from Kilpatrick. However, just as the author of the _Tripartite Life_ had a vested interest in pre-empting Columba's mission to the _Scotti_ and affording Patrick a prominent role in Scottish Dal Riata (Adomnán, interestingly, makes no mention of Patrick in his work on Colum Cille, who is linked with the continental St Martin rather than the British missionary, but again this could be explained away as seventh-century hagiographical politicking), so too did he arguably have a motivation for claiming a Patrician link with an area which had newly been Gaelicised and was hence ripe for ecclesiastical appropriation. Thus, whilst Macquarrie, 'St Patrick', 39, cautions that 'the possibility that St Patrick came from North Britain cannot be ignored', he also concludes that Kilpatrick's dedication to this saint dated from the ninth century. For the _Tripartite Life_ see _The Tripartite Life of St Patrick_, ed. W. Stokes (London, 1887).
nevertheless developed into an important centre for his cult by the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{750} That this was not merely a localised cult, but one which also attracted adherents from further afield, is implied by the fact that as late as the 1190s four tenants of Kilpatrick were responsible for sheltering and feeding pilgrims visiting the church.\textsuperscript{751} Probably the most important of these occasional pilgrim-hosts was Bede Ferdan, whose ‘great, wattle/thatched (\textit{virgis}) house’ was situated in a prime position beside Kilpatrick’s kirkyard.\textsuperscript{752} Whilst there were obvious differences,\textsuperscript{753} an interesting parallel can nevertheless be drawn between the provisions for pilgrims at Kilpatrick and Cennrigmonaid. For example, during the twelfth century pilgrims to both churches were evidently served by an hereditary class of keepers who possessed certain ecclesiastical revenues traditionally pertaining to the sites.\textsuperscript{754} Unfortunately, the extant documents do not reveal whether the twelfth-century pilgrim-hosts of Kilpatrick performed a spiritual function in the local church. It can nevertheless be conjectured that Bede Ferdan and his fellow-tenants held the office of guest-master, and their rights to the lands and revenue of the church of Kilpatrick, because they were descended from the site’s original Gaelic Church community. This is suggested by the fact that the land possessed by the aforementioned Bede was called ‘Monachkennaran’,\textsuperscript{755} the first element of which would appear to derive from the Gaelic \textit{manaig}.\textsuperscript{756} Although the exact meaning of this word is disputed, it is generally thought to denote a hereditary tenant of a Gaelic Church monastery.\textsuperscript{757} It can thus be conjectured that Kilpatrick was once a monastery, and that the


\textsuperscript{751} \textit{Pais. Reg.}, 166-168. As much of the proceeding discussion is based upon the letter of examination of 1233 regarding an alienated part of Kilpatrick’s patrimony, a translation of it is presented in \textit{appendix 4}.

\textsuperscript{752} Ibid., 166.

\textsuperscript{753} For example, Bede’s house seems to have acted as only one of four informal hostels for pilgrims, whilst Cennrigmonaid maintained an official guest-house. Ibid., 166-168; \& \textit{Chron. Picts-Scots}, 189.

\textsuperscript{754} One of the jurors cited in the aforementioned letter of examination stated that Kilpatrick’s land ‘was divided into four parts, of which the said Bede Ferdan possessed one part, and three others the three other parts, each of whom were answerable to the named church for guests within their borders’. \textit{Pais. Reg.}, 166-167. Likewise, the B-version of the \textit{Historia Fundationis} attested that the céli Dé of Cennrigmonaid’s ‘only obligation was to provide, after their custom, lodging and entertainment for pilgrims and strangers, when more than six chanced to arrive, determining by lot whom and how many each of them was to receive.’ \textit{Chron. Picts-Scots}, 189.

\textsuperscript{755} \textit{Pais. Reg.}, 166.

\textsuperscript{756} Another of Kilpatrick’s properties whose name may have contained this element was Cochno, which was occasionally rendered as Cochmanach. Ibid., 160.

\textsuperscript{757} For example, Clancy, ‘Annat in Scotland’, 94, remarked that ‘its possible meanings range at least from “monk” to “lay-tenant”,’ although both Etchingham, ‘The Early Irish Church’. 104-105, and R. Sharpe, ‘Churches and Communities in Early Medieval Ireland: towards a pastoral model’, in Blair & Sharpe, \textit{Pastoral Care Before the Parish}, 110-133, at 102, proposed that they were married male tenants who existed within the monastic family by supporting the church through their labour and taxes.
four pilgrim-hosts of the twelfth century were the secularised descendants of the quasi-monastic lay tenants who served, and in turn were served by, the original Gaelic Church community at Kilpatrick.

Notably, there survives a series of charters relating to Kilpatrick in the cartulary of Paisley Abbey which casts a revealing light on the relationship between this important local church and the Cluniac convent. Most importantly for the current study, these documents reveal not only how Kilpatrick's traditional patrimony was alienated to various secular tenants during the early thirteenth century, but also how the reformed community at Paisley used a mixture of folk-memory and legal power to re-unite these lands to the church.

A letter of examination from 1233, for example, records that Gille Bríte mac Samuel was adjudged by the three papally appointed commissioners to have unjustly alienated the aforesaid land of ‘Monachkennaran’, ‘as the rights which are owed pertain to their [the monks of Paisley’s] church of Kilpatrick’. In order to reach this decision, the commissioners held two courts (the first at the parish church of Irvine, the second at the parish church of Ayr) to which a total of fifteen witnesses were called. These jurors were evidently chosen not only because they were natives of the parish of Kilpatrick, but also for their seniority (that is in age, not rank). For example, Alexander mac Áeda ‘declared that sixty years and more had elapsed since he witnessed one named Bede Ferdan live in a certain great, wattle/thatched house in the yard beside the eastern part of the church of Kilpatrick...He also said that when he was a boy he was sometimes received there with his father as a guest’; Thomas Gaskel ‘said that more than forty years had elapsed, as he was brought up in the same place since infancy’; Nemias announced that ‘fifty years or more had elapsed...and he certainly held to what he said, as he was born in that parish’; whilst Roderic


Unfortunately, many of the early thirteenth-century charters relating to Kilpatrick cannot be ascribed a definite date. (Although the often expansive dates provided by the editor of the register can occasionally be narrowed down; e.g. the charter recording Earl Mael Domhnaich’s confirmation of Kilpatrick’s patrimony is dated 1225X1248. The terminal date however can be reduced to 1241, as it was witnessed by Walter II the Steward. Ibid., 158). This makes it difficult to place them and, subsequently, the events which they record in a definite historical sequence. The proceeding discussion, therefore, is based upon a personal interpretation of their probable issue date. As aforementioned, a translation of this document is presented in appendix 4.

These were the deacons of Carrick and of Cunningham, and the master of the scholars of Ayr. Ibid., 164.

Ibid., 166.

Ibid., 166-168.
Beg stressed the reliability of his evidence by stating that 'he was born and raised in the parish of Kilpatrick'.

The testimonies of these ancient local worthies depict a church and its hereditary tenants, under intense pressure from the forces of secularisation. Thus, Gille Bethaig attested that Bede Ferdan was murdered defending the rights and liberties of the church,\(^{763}\) whilst Mael Coluim Beg claimed (probably truthfully in light of the previous incident) that he was forced to sell the land of 'Kachconnen', which he had held of the church of Kilpatrick, through fear. Whilst the perpetrators of this regime of violence and intimidation go unnamed, the finger of suspicion points to the comital family of Lennox. For example, the rector of Kilpatrick who allowed 'Monachkennaran', and 'many other' lands pertaining to his church, to be alienated 'through his failure and neglect' was Dubgall, the brother of Earl Mael Domhnaich of Lennox.\(^{764}\) Questioned by the commissioners,\(^{765}\) Dubgall pleaded that he had allowed this to happen 'because he was unwilling to offend his father or brother or ancestors'.\(^{766}\) Notably, the commissioners also found him guilty of forging charters in order to substantiate the claim that the church lands were his, and hence his family’s, by hereditary right.\(^{767}\) The affect of this nepotism is evident from the state of Kilpatrick’s patrimony by the 1230s. In illustration, Earl Mael Domhnaich’s nephew, Dubgall mac Gille Crist, was in ownership of Kilbowie and certain other lands to the immediate east of the church;\(^{768}\) Mael Domhnaich’s son, Mael Coluim, held the lands of Cochno, Dalmonach, Edinbarnet and Fynloch;\(^{769}\) whilst Rector Dubgall himself continued to possess the lands of ‘Craguentalach’, Duncryne and the symbolically important ‘Patrick’s Seat’.\(^{770}\) The majority of the lands

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\(^{763}\) In spite of this, Bede Ferdan’s family evidently remained prominent in the area. This is implied by the appearance of a ‘William son of Bede’ in the witness-lists of two of Earl Mael Domhnaich’s charters relating to Kilpatrick from 1225X1228. Ibid., 158.

\(^{764}\) In this instance, it would appear as if the rectorship of Kilpatrick had become secularised, as the spiritual cure of the church was evidently served in the 1230s by a chaplain and not Dubgall mac Alun. Interestingly, this chaplain, (who witnessed Dubgall’s confirmation of Paisley Abbey’s rights in Kilpatrick), was called Patrick. Ibid., 162. That the secularisation of rectorships was a common problem in the thirteenth century is suggested by the fact that successive councils of the Scottish Church had to issue statutes demanding that all rectors should be ordained and serve their churches. Statutes of the Scottish Church, 1225-1559, ed. D. Patrick (SHS, 1907), 43, 56, 65 & 67.

\(^{765}\) Pais. Reg., 164-165.

\(^{766}\) Ibid., 167.

\(^{767}\) Ibid., 164.

\(^{768}\) Ibid., 174-175.

\(^{769}\) Ibid., 161-162.

\(^{770}\) Ibid., 162-163.
confirmed to Kilpatrick by Alún in c. 1199\textsuperscript{771} were therefore in the hands of the comital family. Consequently, with ‘Monachkennaran’ in the possession of Gille Brigte (who may have been Earl Máel Domhnaithe’s cleric),\textsuperscript{772} only Duntiglennan appears to have successfully been absorbed within Paisley Abbey’s patrimony.\textsuperscript{773}

In light of this evidence, it can be proposed that certain members of the comital family of Lennox resented the financial and patronal implications of Earl Alún’s generous grant of Kilpatrick and its extensive patrimony to the Cluniac monks of Paisley,\textsuperscript{774} who were subsequently entitled to collect the revenues from the ecclesiastical estate, and could in theory also appoint their own candidate to the rectorship of the church. Admittedly, Earl Máel Domhnaithe was not openly hostile to Paisley’s ownership. Thus, probably not long after his father’s death in 1225, he confirmed the convent’s right to the church and lands of Kilpatrick.\textsuperscript{775} Máel Domhnaithe also supplemented the monks’ patrimony in the parish of Kilpatrick by granting them Duntocher 1225X1228,\textsuperscript{776} while in 1230 he granted Abbot William of Paisley the right to present a candidate to the first vacant church in which the patronal rights pertained to the earls of Lennox.\textsuperscript{777} The monks of Paisley likewise clearly did

\textsuperscript{771} Ibid., 157. That these lands were being confirmed to the church by Earl Alún, and not granted, is suggested by later charters which state that they had pertained to it ‘since a time before memory’. Ibid., 180, 192 & 198. This act should perhaps be viewed in the same light as Earl Gille Brigte’s confirmations of Inchaflray’s ancient churches prior to the foundation of the Augustinian convent.

\textsuperscript{772} In the witness-lists of a number of Earl Máel Domhnaithe’s charters there is cited a ‘Gilbertus’ variously styled ‘cleric of Lennox’, ‘cleric of the lord earl of Lennox’ and, most often, ‘my cleric’. Ibid., 159, 160, 161, 162 & 164. There is also, notably, a reference to ‘Gilbert my cleric’ in a charter of Máel Domhnaithe’s brother, Dubgall. Ibid., 163. The decision to translate Gilbertus as Gille Brigte is admittedly contentious, as it is possible that he was a foreign cleric. However, neither of the earl’s other two known clerics bore a specifically Anglo-French name. Thus, one was known as Luke, while the other bore the local Gaelic name of Somerled. It is therefore probable that all three were of local extraction. Certainly, knowledge of Gaelic would have been invaluable at the court of the earl of Lennox.

\textsuperscript{773} This can be inferred from Máel Domhnaithe’s charter regarding Duntiglennan and Duntocher. The editor of the Pais. Reg. ascribed this charter with the issue date 1225X1270, i.e. Máel Domhnaithe’s reign as earl of Lennox. However, it was evidently issued 1225X1228, as in 1228 Alexander II issued a charter confirming this grant. Ibid., 158 & 172. Interestingly, Duntiglennan was in the possession of the king’s cleric, Ralph.

\textsuperscript{774} This grant was made before 1207, the resignation date of Florence, bishop-elect of Glasgow, by whom it was confirmed. Ibid., 113.

\textsuperscript{775} Ibid., 158. Notably, Máel Domhnaithe is listed among the witnesses of Earl Alún’s grant to Kilpatrick.

\textsuperscript{776} Ibid., 158-159. The land of Duntocher was not mentioned in Alún’s confirmation of Kilpatrick’s estate in 1199, which suggests that Máel Domhnaithe was making a wholly new grant. However, this charter records that Máel Domhnaithe also granted Duntiglennan to the abbey. Duntiglennan was mentioned by Alún’s charter and hence should have been covered by Máel Domhnaithe’s charter confirming Kilpatrick’s existing estates. This raises questions concerning the status of Duntiglennan and Duntocher which the paucity of relevant evidence makes it impossible to answer.

\textsuperscript{777} Ibid., 160.
not consider Máel Domhnaich as an enemy, as the aforesaid grant of Duntocher was made on the condition that the earl and his wife be buried at the abbey and receive a funeral oration.\(^{778}\)

In spite of this compelling evidence, the aforementioned fact that his son, Máel Coluim (who must have been quite young in the 1220s and 1230s)\(^{779}\) held a number of properties rightfully pertaining to Kilpatrick (and hence to Paisley Abbey) as late as 1238, nevertheless strongly suggests that Máel Domhnaich’s patronal support for the Cluniacs was far from orthodox. Indeed, it not only implies a certain amount of collusion on the earl’s part in the alienation of the church’s traditional lands, but also indicates an active refusal by his immediate family to accept the proprietorial ramifications of Alún’s grant. In light of the aforementioned relationship between Máel Domhnaich and Paisley, it would seem unlikely that this attitude was motivated purely by familial self-interest and greed. It more probably resulted initially, at least, from the fact that the Gaelic comital family of Lennox and their tenants’ kin-based perception of land-ownership and proprietorial rights was fundamentally different from that of the feudal-minded reformed monks of Paisley. Certainly, in the wording of a charter issued by Earl Máel Domhnaich in 1238 relating to the church and its estate, especially its reference to the ‘offerings and collations made to God and St Patrick by our ancestors since ancient times’,\(^{780}\) it is possible to detect the voice of Lennox’s conservative, kin-based Gaelic society regretfully recalling the earl’s ancient relationship with and traditional rights in Kilpatrick. Interestingly, it was in this very charter, however, which recorded Máel Domhnaich’s acceptance that the patrimony of Kilpatrick pertained to Paisley Abbey.

By 1238, therefore, it would appear as if the monks of Paisley had finally gained possession of the lands which Earl Alún had bestowed upon their monastery along with the church of Kilpatrick over thirty years earlier. In order to achieve this, however, they were compelled to mobilise the full legal might of the post-Gregorian Church; which included invoking the authority of the papacy at least twice.\(^{781}\) At the resulting ecclesiastical courts held at Irvine and Ayr parish churches, the kin-based claims of the comital family of Lennox were - as the hierarchy of Paisley Abbey would undoubtedly have anticipated - dismissed by papal commissioners to whom such lay interference in Church affairs was anathema. Accordingly, Dubgall mac Alún resigned the lands of ‘Craguentalach’, Duncryne and

\(^{778}\) Ibid., 158-159.

\(^{779}\) This can be inferred from the fact that Máel Coluim lived until \(\sim 1292\). \textit{Lenn.Cart.}, xi.

\(^{780}\) \textit{Pais. Reg.}, 161.

\(^{781}\) Ibid., 164 & 174.
'Patrick's Seat' after appearing before the court at Irvine in 1233; the same year in which Gille Brigte mac Samuel was deprived of 'Monachkennaran'. Arraigned before the papal commissioners at Ayr in 1234, even the previously 'contumacious' Dubgall mac Gille Crist, nephew of Earl Mael Domhnaich, admitted defeat and promptly resigned Kilbowie and the land to the immediate east of the church 'to the abbot and convent and monastery of Paisley and their church of Kilpatrick'. Finally, in 1238, Mael Coluim mac Mael Domhnaich relinquished the lands of Cochno, Dalmanoch, Edinbarnet and Fynloch.

In spite of this tangible reversal of fortune for Gille Brigte mac Samuel and the earl's relatives, it would be erroneous to conclude that the Kilpatrick episode was simply a case of the new vanquishing the old in thirteenth-century Scotland. Indeed, whilst modern, continental-style methods were certainly employed in order to accomplish it, conservatism rather than innovation arguably underpinned Paisley's success in re-uniting Kilpatrick's ecclesiastical estate. This is demonstrated by the very fact that the implicit aim, and achievement, of the Cluniacs was to re-establish the church with its traditional patrimony. Although undoubtedly motivated more by the desire to secure their financial and patronal rights in Kilpatrick than by a sense of antiquarianism, without the monks' intervention this ancient ecclesiastical unit would assuredly have been irreversibly dismembered.

Interestingly, there is also evidence to suggest that the monks of Paisley, despite having canon law and the authority of the courts on their side, found it necessary to reach an accommodation with those who were guilty of alienating Kilpatrick's patrimony. For example, in an agreement of 1239, the Cluniac convent 'pro bono pacis' paid sixty merks to Mael Coluim mac Mael Domhnaich in compensation for the resignation of the aforementioned church lands which he held. Likewise, despite admitting to the wilful neglect of its estate, Dubgall mac Alun was permitted to remain rector of Kilpatrick, albeit with the much reduced portion of half a carucate of land in Cochno. Gille Brigte, who was otherwise treated relatively harshly for his role in the alienation of Kilpatrick's patrimony, was even compensated for the loss of 'Monachkennaran'. Thus, at a court held before Walter

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782 Ibid., 162.
783 Ibid., 169.
784 Ibid., 174-175. This charter notably reveals that Kilbowie was previously held by Dubgall's father, Cristin, and was hence treated not as a gift of the rector of Kilpatrick, but as hereditary property.
785 Ibid., 160-161.
786 Ibid., 161.
787 Ibid., 165.
788 He was excommunicated by Bishop William of Glasgow. Ibid., 168-169.
the Steward and Abbot William of Paisley at Blackhall\(^\text{789}\) in 1236, Earl Máel Domhnaich pledged to pay Gille Brigte sixty silver merks.\(^\text{790}\) Why in this instance the compensation was to be paid by the earl of Lennox, rather than the convent, is not immediately apparent. One possible reason is that the abbot of Paisley may have ordered Máel Domhnaich to pay the compensation as a penance for his involvement in the alienation of Kilpatrick’s lands. The possibility that Gille Brigte was the earl’s own cleric would certainly have made this punishment pertinent. A more probable explanation, however, is that the abbot of Paisley could not treat directly with the excommunicant Gille Brigte and had to rely therefore on an intermediary from the ‘\textit{brachiam seculare}’ (secular arm)\(^\text{791}\) of the state; i.e. Máel Domhnaich.\(^\text{792}\) Significantly, this proposal appears to be corroborated by the document which records the agreement between Máel Domhnaich and Gille Brigte. For example, it suggests that after being petitioned by the papal commissioners,\(^\text{793}\) Alexander II delegated his authority to Máel Domhnaich, who as earl of Lennox was the king’s representative in the area\(^\text{794}\) and ordered him to settle with Gille Brigte.\(^\text{795}\)

\(^{789}\) Blackhall was a parish to the immediate south east of the abbey of Paisley. It contained a residence of the Stewarts, who had granted the church and much of the parish lands to the Cluniac convent by the early thirteenth century. See G. W. S. Barrow, ‘The Earliest Stewarts and their Lands’, in Kingdom of the Scots, 337-361, at 340-341.

\(^{790}\) Pais. Reg., 170-171.

\(^{791}\) A term used a number of times in the document recording the convention. Ibid., 170-171.

\(^{792}\) Excommunication, of course, was the ultimate sanction available to the medieval Church. Nevertheless, it was only effective if the secular ruler lent his support. This is why the papal commissioners sent a letter of condemnation against Gille Brigte to King Alexander II. Alexander subsequently delegated his authority to his local representative, Earl Máel Domhnaich. Consequently, whilst the Cluniacs had to observe the formal restrictions which the papal sentence imposed upon him, Gille Brigte’s excommunication was probably ineffective in practice. Certainly, it did not prevent the abbot of Paisley witnessing, (and probably initiating), the convention whereby he was compensated for the loss of ‘Monachkennaran’ by Earl Máel Domhnaich. Interestingly, it can be inferred from the settlement brokered at Blackhall that Máel Domhnaich continued to support Gille Brigte; a situation which, incidentally, strengthens the above proposal that ‘\textit{Gilbertus filius Samuel}’ of ‘Monachkennaran’ was the same person as ‘\textit{Gilbertus clericus domini Comitatis de Levenax}’. For the letter to Alexander II, see ibid., 169-170. For in-depth discussions on medieval excommunication, see F. D. Logan, Excommunication and the Secular Arm in Medieval England: A study in legal procedure from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century (Toronto, 1968); & E. Vodola, Excommunication in the Middle Ages (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1986).

\(^{793}\) Pais. Reg., 169-170.

\(^{794}\) Local legal authority in Alba was usually in the hands of the provincial \textit{judex}. In this instance, however, the \textit{judex} of Lennox, Dubgall mac Gille Crist, appears to be one of those guilty of alienating Kilpatrick’s land and, in any case, appears to have been dead before 1234. For the role of the \textit{judex} in Alba, see G. W. S. Barrow, ‘The \textit{Judex}’, in Kingdom of the Scots, 69-82.

\(^{795}\) Pais. Reg., 171. The fate of Dubgall mac Gille Crist is an obscure one. A charter apparently issued at the same time as he relinquished possession of Kilbowie, records that due to extreme poverty he and his wife had been forced to resign the lands of Knock (just south of Renfrew) which they held hereditarily of the convent of Paisley. In return they were quitclaimed the payments which they owed to
The conciliatory policy pursued by the Church towards those who had unjustly 
alienated the lands pertaining to the church of Kilpatrick was arguably founded on 
pragmatism rather than altruism. Abbot William was probably well aware, for example, that 
to cause a rift between his convent and the ruling classes in Lennox would only have 
threatened the abbey’s long-term interests in Kilpatrick and jeopardised any future patronage 
from the comital family.\(^{\text{796}}\) He was no doubt equally conscious that to achieve the immediate 
aim of reclaiming the convent’s full rights and privileges in Kilpatrick by re-uniting the 
church’s estate, it was expedient to work as far as possible with, rather than against, local 
secular society. As demonstrated by the aforementioned inquiry held to ascertain the rightful 
owner of ‘Monachkennaran’, where the full force of post-Gregorian canon law was 
augmented by the oral testimonies of Kilpatrick’s native elders, this resulted in Paisley’s 
campaign being characterised by a balance of old and new. It was undoubtedly the promotion 
of this \textit{modus vivendi} which not only enabled the abbey of Paisley to successfully absorb 
within its patrimony an ancient religious site with which it apparently had no previous 
association, but equally importantly also ensured the preservation of its historic \textit{paruchia}.

This achievement was certainly not unique to Paisley. Indeed, as the preceding survey 
has revealed, the Cluniacs were fulfilling a role at Kilpatrick which was common to many 
reformed communities in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland. Nevertheless, due 
primarily to the relative wealth of detailed pertinent documentary evidence, the Kilpatrick 
affair provides an exemplar not only for this specific form of ancient religious site 
absorption, but arguably also for the relationship between reformed monasticism and native 
society as a whole in the Canmore era.
Conclusion

The tenacity with which certain abbatial dynasties in Alba maintained possession of their abthane lands into the thirteenth century and beyond, highlights the stern task which confronted Church reformers in Canmore Scotland. After years of secularisation, whole ecclesiastical estates, and evidently even churches, had become mere civil appurtenances to be granted to tenants or passed onto heirs by their lay owners. Indeed, by the twelfth century they were an ingrained feature of secular lordship. Thus, the wealth of prominent dynasties, such as the lords of Abernethy, and families of more local significance, such as that of Thor son of Swan of Tranent, were partly based upon such estates. Accordingly, as suggested not only by the forcible removal of the socolos from Arbuthnott, but also by the fact that many native landowners clearly did not relinquish their quasi-religious rights and privileges until the pressure of reform intensified during the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, resistance to what was after all a fundamental piece of social engineering was apparently endemic amongst conservative factions of Gaelic society. However, in their attempt to reverse decades of proprietorial custom, the reformers not only had the support of the ruling dynasty (who themselves had profited in the past from the secularisation of ecclesiastical land) but also the legal might of the increasingly centralised, papal-monorich Catholic Church. Paisley’s attempt to reclaim the lands of Kilpatrick demonstrates how a reforming abbot could mobilise this support in order to reconstitute a church’s patrimony which had fallen into the determined hands of a powerful local family. Indeed, that the spiritual and secular arms (be it the Canmore dynasty, or that of native reguli, such as the lords of Galloway) appear to have shared common reforming goals in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland, meant that the secularised, Gaelic characteristics which continued to distinguish the medieval Irish Church (e.g. erenaghs) were virtually absent from Scottish religious society by 1286.

It is nevertheless evident that, on the whole, the reformers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did not attempt to eradicate native religious settlement patterns and institute a totally new organisational framework. Rather, they appear to have tried to achieve their reforming objectives by actively promoting reformed monasteries as the natural heirs of the Gaelic and Northumbrian Church sites to which the alienated property had once pertained. This is no more so apparent than in the Augustinian-compiled ‘B’ version of St Andrews’ Historia Fundationis. Similar, if not so explicit, claims to history

797 For a discussion on abbatial dynasties in Scotland, see appendix 5
can also be seen in many other reforming acts of the period, such as the lengths to which David I went in order to grant the old church of St Cuthbert’s Melrose to his new abbey of Melrose, and the absorption of St Vigeans’ ancient patrimony by Arbroath Abbey, and even the prominent reference made to St Bláán in Paisley’s charter concerning Kingarth. The reformed orders clearly benefited in this respect from the continuing influence which pre-1070 religious traditions had on twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scottish society. It was arguably only through the survival of these traditions in the popular consciousness of Scotland, for example, which resulted in the proprietorial relationship between certain reformed houses and ancient churches, such as Inchaffray and St Findóc of Inishail, and Trail and the *plebaniae* of St Cuthbert’s Desnemor, being forged.

Pragmatism, rather than a benevolent antiquarianism, undoubtedly lay behind this policy however. Thus, despite invoking the power of papacy and state, the Cluniac convent of Paisley was obliged to accommodate native traditions and social structures in order to reach a beneficial settlement at Kilpatrick. It was by thus harnessing - or, from a more cynical perspective, exploiting - native ecclesiastical traditions, that the reformed monasteries of Canmore Scotland came into the possession of whole networks of churches, chapels and lands which had previously pertained to the Gaelic or Northumbrian religious sites on or near to which they were founded. It notably also evidently resulted in new convents attracting the patronage of native landowners, such as Donnchad mac Ferchair and Laumann mac Máel Coluim, and hence absorbing ancient churches and estates with which their site had no previous connection. This is an important point, as it emphasises that reformed monasteries, such as the abbeys of Holyrood and Paisley, did indeed come to be perceived by many natives to be the successors of pre-1070 churches and communities. The resulting absorption of traditional ecclesiastical estates by the new convents was crucial for the success of reformed monasticism in Canmore Scotland. This is not only because it injected wealth into a new monastic system whose financial demands could be prohibitive, but just as importantly also helped integrate the new abbeys and priories within the existing religious landscape. Indeed, the absorption of early medieval churches and estates by the new religious orders typifies the extent to which reformed monasteries in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland were consciously grafted onto and subsequently expanded within an existing framework of religious settlement.

It can consequently be proposed that the pattern of reformed monastic settlement at every level in Canmore Scotland was characterised by continuity as much as change.
CONTINUITY OF PERSONNEL

Imported Talent: the received view of the twelfth-century Scottish Church

For many years, the received opinion amongst historians has been that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed an influx of Anglo-French churchmen who subsequently came to dominate all classes of Scottish religious society. Although by no means the first academic to express this view, Ritchie undoubtedly popularised it through his influential book on the Normans in Scotland. He declared that ‘David’s idea of a chaplain, Bishop or Abbot, was a Norman cleric’, and in Scotland ‘the first parish priests were French’. As with all historical truisms, this theory was built upon a certain amount of fact. It would certainly appear, for example, as if there was an appreciable injection of foreign personnel into the ranks of twelfth-century Scotland’s secular clergy. The most compelling evidence for this is the predominance of Anglo-French clerics in the Scottish episcopate by 1200. It is nevertheless also apparent at a parochial level, especially in areas of Anglo-French settlement. This is hardly surprising, as French-speaking priests would have been invaluable not only for hearing the confessions of and delivering sermons to incoming families, but also for the clerical role which patrons often expected their clergy to perform. In many cases, it is evident that Anglo-French landowners achieved this by presenting a relative to the church of which they were patron. In illustration, William de Montfort, the parson of Kinneff 1189X1199, was related to the local landowner, John de Montfort; whilst successive members of the Hay family held the rectorship of the church of Errol in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

Whilst the social and cultural impact which this influx of foreign secular clergy had on the Scottish Church was undoubtedly seminal, it must nevertheless be remembered that native landowners and tenants remained prominent throughout Canmore Scotland. Accordingly, the aforementioned reasons why foreign clerics gained preferment in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scottish Church are equally likely to have resulted in churchmen of Anglo-Saxon, Cumbric and Gaelic stock continuing to be appointed by native patrons. This proposal

798 See, for example, MacEwen, History of the Church in Scotland, I, 198.
799 Ritchie, Normans in Scotland, 198 & 201.
800 See Dowden, Bishops of Scotland.
801 Arb. Lib., I, no. 70.
802 Ind. Cart., no. LXXIX.
is borne out by the evidence. For example, that clerics of Anglo-Saxon lineage continued to hold high ecclesiastical office besouth the Forth, in spite of extensive Anglo-French settlement, is demonstrated by the fact that the archdeacon and deacon of the diocese of St Andrews in Lothian in the mid twelfth century were called Thorald and Aiulf, respectively.\textsuperscript{804} Clerics of apparently Cumbric provenance also continued to flourish in this region, with the church of Eddleston in the spiritual care of ‘Cosmungo the priest’ during the mid twelfth century.\textsuperscript{805} Similarly, in native-dominated areas of the south-west, such as Nithsdale, the local clergy remained predominantly Gaelic. In the late 1100s, for example, the church of St Carpre’s Dunscore was served by a priest styled Muirchertach.\textsuperscript{806} The picture of continuing native involvement in the Scottish Church benorth the Forth is even more conclusive. The notitia\ae{} in the Book of Deer, for example, highlights the predominance of native secular clergy, such as Gille Cailline the priest, in mid twelfth-century Buchan.\textsuperscript{807} From the evidence offered by a range of charters’ witness-lists it is also possible to demonstrate that, in contrast to that of St Andrews, the diocesan chapter of Dunblane predominantly comprised of native clerics at the end of the twelfth century. Thus, there was a deacon of Dunblane called Gille Moire (c. 1190),\textsuperscript{808} bishop’s chaplains called Gille Crist and Padraig (c. 1200),\textsuperscript{809} chaplains called Bean, Cormac, Macbeth and Máel Pol (c. 1196),\textsuperscript{810} and Máel Moire (1198),\textsuperscript{811} and canons called Máel Giric (1190) and Máel Ísu (c. 1196).\textsuperscript{812} It would therefore appear as if the Canmore-inspired reform movement did not in fact herald the decline of native secular clergy in the Scottish Church \textit{per se}, but rather created a pattern of clerical preferment where the ethnicity of the cleric depended upon the ethnicity of the surrounding populace or at least of its patronal classes.

In light of these findings, it is tempting to assume that a similar balance would have been struck between incomer and native in the ranks of Canmore Scotland’s regular clergy. The received historical opinion, however, strongly argues against such a scenario. Indeed, adopting the language more commonly used by commentators primarily concerned with essaying the violent intrusion of Norman customs on conquered kingdoms such as

\textsuperscript{804} Holy. Lib., nos. 2 & 11.
\textsuperscript{805} Glas. Reg., 89.
\textsuperscript{806} Holy. Lib., app. II, no. 8.
\textsuperscript{807} Jackson, Gaelic Notes, 35.
\textsuperscript{808} Inchaff. Chrs., no. I.
\textsuperscript{809} Camb. Reg., no. 217.
\textsuperscript{810} Ibid., no. 122.
\textsuperscript{811} Inchaff. Chrs., no. III.
\textsuperscript{812} Ibid., nos. 1 & III.
England,813 certain historians have not only declared that the regular clergy of the medieval
Scottish Church were foreigners, but also implied that they formed the spiritual wing of a
perceived aggressive cultural colonisation of Canmore Scotland by the Anglo-French
nobility. Ritchie, for example, tersely opined that ‘The dwellers in the castles and the
monasteries were fellow-Frenchmen’;814 whilst Bishop Dowden, notably invoking militaristic
images, similarly proposed that ‘The castles of the Anglo-Norman laymen seemed to have
their counterparts in the monasteries garrisoned with monks from south of Scotland’.815 The
belief that these incoming religious were some sort of cultural fifth-column for Anglo-French
secular settlers, moreover, is evident in both Cruden’s remark that ‘These men [reformed
monks and canons] fortified the Norman element’ in twelfth-century Scotland,816 and Stuart’s
argument that the arrival of Cistercian brothers at Kinloss ‘formed part of the civilising policy
of David I to carry the blessings of religion into the districts which his arms had
vanquished’.817

Although the intemperate tone and dogmatic conclusions of these traditional arguments
can, and will, be challenged, they are nonetheless accurate in their basic assumption that there
was a significant foreign element in Scotland’s reformed monastic community. Indeed, it is
evident that foreigners dominated the ranks of the regular clergy in Scotland to a far greater
extent than they did those of the secular clergy. That this was the case, as the following
examples will demonstrate, was very much due to the nature of reformed monasticism itself.
For example, the very essence of this movement was (in the eyes of its founding fathers at
least) its supra-nationalism. This is expressed most powerfully, though not uniquely, in the
Cistercian Order’s Exordium Parvum and Carta Caritatis,818 which instituted, in Southern’s
words, ‘the first effective international organization in Europe’.819 It was also reflected
in contemporary hagiography. Walter Daniel, for example, heralded in his Life of Ælred that
‘monks in need of mercy and compassion flocked to Rievaulx from foreign peoples and from

813 For example, Le Patourel’s thesis that ‘a fortified centre with Norman knights, Norman monks or
monks and often Norman burgesses would have seemed a formidable instrument of domination’. Le
Patourel, The Norman Empire, 318.
814 Ritchie, Normans in Scotland, 339.
815 Lind Cart., xvi. (My italics).
816 Cruden, Scottish Abbeys, 49.
817 Kinloss Recs., ix.
818 For which, see Les Plus Anciens Textes de Citeaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, Studia et
Documenta (Achel, 1974), II, 54-85; & Canivez, Statuta, I, xxvi-xxxi. Commentaries on the Cistercian
Rule can be found in J. R. Sommerfeldt, Cistercian Ideals and Reality (Kalamazoo, 1978), 4-61.
819 Southern, Western Society and the Church, 255.
the far ends of the earth'. Although obfuscated by the obligatory amount of hagiographic hyperbole, these accounts nevertheless reveal that one of the main features of the religious orders' supra-nationalism was the ready migration of religious from one kingdom to another. Whilst it would be unwise to completely discount the role played in this phenomenon by the personal magnetism of individual saints, the main reason for the mobility of the reformed monastic work-force during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was more prosaic. For example, as is well known, the reformed orders were highly specialised organisations, which were governed according to well-established rules. It was adherence to these regulations which distinguished the new orders from the secular clergy and made them so successful in their colonisation of Europe. In order to maintain this discipline, every new reformed monastery required at least a core of experienced personnel trained in the order's rule. Accordingly, it was necessary for the pioneers of reformed monasticism in Canmore Scotland to import regular clergy from kingdoms where the movement had already been established. Occasionally, this resulted in a convent arriving in Scotland direct from France. Thus, David I's Tironensian abbey of Selkirk was initially staffed by canons who had been brought from the order's mother-house of Tiron. French monks also reached Scotland via England. For example, the Premonstratensian canons who first colonised Hugo de Moreville's abbey at Dryburgh travelled from the monastery of Alnwick, which itself had recently been colonised from Licques (Pas-de-Calais). Personal contacts which patrons in Scotland had with England similarly resulted in the introduction of foreign religious north of the border. Walter the Steward, for example, brought a prior and twelve monks from the monastery of Wenlock in Shropshire c. 1160 to help establish a new priory at Paisley. Even where the evidence is extremely scarce, it is possible to ascribe a foreign convent to a Scottish monastery. In

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820 The Life of Aidan of Rievaulx, 37.
821 St Malachy's journey to meet Bernard of Clairvaux, and David I's alleged meeting with Benard of Tiron both demonstrate the charisma of such saints. ES, II, 144.
822 For a discussion, see Burton, Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 159-186; Lawrence, Medieval Monasticism, 149-205; & Southern, Western Society and the Church, 240-272.
823 As Southern remarked of the Cistercians; ibid., 255-257. Indeed, the Cistercians were so successful that in 1152 the general chapter of the order issued a statute prohibiting the foundation of any more abbeys. Canivez, Statuta, I, 1152, no. 1.
824 The importance of this for the success of a monastery was such that most orders stipulated that on their foundation, a new house had to be supplied with an abbot/prior and twelve monks or canons from an established community.
826 Pais. Reg, 2.
illustration, that the first prior of Beaul was called Giacomo Battista.\textsuperscript{828} suggests that its founder (probably John Bissett)\textsuperscript{829} imported the original community from dynastic lands in southern France.\textsuperscript{830} The incoming religious, however, were evidently not always of French or even Anglo-French extraction; English regular clergy could also provide the necessary experience. Thus, David I's English chaplains, Alwin and Osbert, were made the first abbot and prior, respectively, of Holyrood Abbey.\textsuperscript{831} Significantly, Osbert, and most probably also Alwin, belonged to the honour of Huntingdon.\textsuperscript{832} Their presence in Scotland can therefore be seen as a direct result of their pre-1124 connections with David. This is instructive, as it would suggest that, as with previously cited examples, foreign clergy were not introduced haphazardly into Scotland, but rather, initially at least, recruited by Anglo-French or royal patrons from amongst their already established clientage furth of Scotland. It can hence be proposed that the doors of the Scottish Church were not thrown open to any foreign cleric during the Canmore period, but specifically to those who had ties of lordship with settlers in Scotland.

Importantly, these initial links forged at the re-birth of Scottish monastic life helped establish enduring organisational conduits through which foreign personnel arguably continued to flow into Scotland. Thus in 1128, David I requested that the church of Holy Trinity, Canterbury, provide its daughter-house of Dunfermline with its first abbot.\textsuperscript{833} Archbishop William de Corbeil duly obliged and despatched Geoffrey, prior of Canterbury, to Scotland.\textsuperscript{834} It can be inferred from this evidence presented by the Liber Vitae of Canterbury and the monasticon known as De Domibus Religiosis that Benedictines of lesser note also travelled between Canterbury and Dunfermline.\textsuperscript{835} A similar relationship can be envisaged between Melrose and its mother-house of Rievaulx in Yorkshire. For example, the Chronicle of Melrose reveals not only that the English abbey provided its Scottish daughter-

\textsuperscript{828} Beauly Chrs., 329.
\textsuperscript{829} Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 84.
\textsuperscript{830} Notably, the admittedly uncorroborated testimony of the Wardlaw MS. is that the original convent of Beaul was brought from France. Chronicles of the Frasers: The Wardlaw MS. (SHS, 1905), 63.
\textsuperscript{831} The name of the first abbot, Giacomo Battista, implies an Italian origin. Interestingly, the Bissets originated from Pay-de-Caux in southern France where there is likely to have been a considerable Italian influence. This arguably strengthens the suggestion that the first convent was imported from France.
\textsuperscript{832} Ibid., 179.
\textsuperscript{833} Ibid., 179.
\textsuperscript{834} Ibid., 1 no. 8.
\textsuperscript{835} See discussion above, p. 29n.
Continuity of Personnel

House with its first abbot and convent, but also that three abbots of Melrose subsequently either retired to or were elected as abbot of Rievaulx. Due, however, to the Cistercian system of affiliation whereby the abbot of the mother-house was expected to visit its daughter-houses every year, and had certain powers over their convents, the relationship between Rievaulx and Melrose was much more intimate. This is demonstrated by the fact that in 1261 the abbot and chapter of Rievaulx deposed Abbot Matthew of Melrose. That these hierarchical comings and goings probably once more reflect a more general movement of Anglo-French clergy to and from Scotland is again suggested by monastic literature from the period. It is evident from the style and content of the Chronicle of Melrose, for example, that it was written by and for Anglo-French religious. A similar conclusion can be drawn from the Chronicle of Holyrood, which was originally compiled at Melrose's daughter-house of Coupar Angus. That all of the monks mentioned in Jocelin of Furness' early thirteenth-century Life of Waltheof were given non-native names - such as Fulco, Robert, Roger, Walter and William - further suggests the presence of Anglo-French religious not only at Melrose Abbey, but most probably at many of its daughter-houses throughout Canmore Scotland as well.

The case for an influential foreign contingent in Scotland's reformed monastic community is therefore undeniably strong. Nevertheless, there are also examples of reformed abbeys and priories in Canmore Scotland being staffed by native religious. The most obvious of these are the Gaelic Church communities which converted to the Augustinian Rule. Thus, at Inchaffray it was one of the Gaelic brethren, Mael Ísu, who was made the first

836 Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1136.
837 Ibid., s.a. 1189, 1195, & 1216.
838 Canivez, Statuta, I, 1134, nos. 333 & 34.
839 Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1261.
840 As Webster, Scotland from the Eleventh Century, 38, stated, the authors of the two Scottish chronicles 'merely happened to be established in Scotland'.
841 Ibid., 38-40.
843 Melrose Abbey's daughter-houses in Scotland were Balmerino, Coupar Angus, Kinloss and Newbattle. Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 72. As the mother-house, the convent of Melrose Abbey was obliged by the Cistercian Statutes to colonise these new monasteries with an abbot and twelve monks. If this requirement was fulfilled, then it can be assumed that these abbeys would have also been initially colonised by a proportion, at least, of Anglo-French monks.
844 For a discussion, see above pp. 65-85.
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Máel Ísu, moreover, was given license to select his own convent,\textsuperscript{845} the majority of whom no doubt came from the existing community. Similar scenarios can be anticipated for the aforementioned monasteries of Abernethy and Monymusk, both of which appear to have independently adopted the Augustinian way of life.\textsuperscript{847} Admittedly, as previously envisaged at Scone,\textsuperscript{848} in some of these cases a core of experienced foreign canons may have been introduced in order to facilitate the transition from the traditional to the reformed. Even so, the main body of the convent is likely to have remained of native origin. The situation at Lochleven was of course somewhat different, for as previously mentioned, the incoming canons were given the right to expel recalcitrant \textit{céli Dé}.\textsuperscript{849} There is certainly no record of a mass expulsion of native religious from Lochleven after c. 1152. Nonetheless, the wording of David I's charter suggests that the ex-\textit{céli Dé} who remained at Lochleven Priory were treated as second class monastic citizens.\textsuperscript{850}

Whether or not natives were recruited into these Gaelic Church convents after conversion, or indeed into the newly established religious houses of Canmore Scotland, is far less clear. This is primarily due to the nature of the extant sources. In illustration, the primary source for medieval Scottish history - the charter - only refers to people either directly involved in the deed which it records, or those who acted as its witnesses.\textsuperscript{851} Consequently, it usually only mentions the most important officials of a monastery, such as the abbot or the prior, rather than the more numerous ordinary monks and canons. As a legal document, moreover, the charter was unconcerned about the cultural or social background of those religious whose names it did record. Hagiographies of twelfth- and thirteenth-century monastic saints certainly refer more often to ordinary regular clergy, and even lay brethren.\textsuperscript{852} Nonetheless, being no more than bit-players in scenes which were designed essentially to demonstrate the subject's sanctity, information about these religious again rarely extends beyond their name and sometimes their office.

In order to assess direct native involvement in Scottish reformed monasticism, it is therefore necessary to rely for the most part upon the personal-name evidence presented by

\textsuperscript{845} \textit{Inchaff. Chrs.}, no. IX.
\textsuperscript{846} Ibid., no. IX.
\textsuperscript{847} See above, pp. 75-84.
\textsuperscript{848} See above, pp. 46 & 75.
\textsuperscript{849} Lawrie, \textit{ESC}, no. CCXXXII.
\textsuperscript{850} Ibid., no. CCXXXII.
\textsuperscript{851} For a discussion on the weaknesses of charter evidence, see Webster, \textit{Scotland from the Eleventh Century}, 73-92.
\textsuperscript{852} As will be illustrated in the examples given in the following discussion.
these sources. The use of personal-names as signposts to ethnic origin is an inexact science; not to mention fraught with pitfalls for the credulous investigator. Indeed, if academics have been wary of entering the 'hazardous terrain of place-names' then they have tended to avoid completely the far more dangerous territory of personal-names. Before proceeding, therefore, the weaknesses of personal-name evidence need to be acknowledged, not least so its potential benefits can be defined.

One of the main weaknesses is that the documents from which personal-names can be harvested, such as charters and hagiographies, were primarily the work of incoming scribes. These scribes were largely unfamiliar with native, especially Gaelic, appellations, and hence often merely replaced them with likely Anglo-French alternatives. In most circumstances they were phonetically similar. Thus, Gaelic names prefixed with the element Gille- were frequently rendered as Gilbert. This is evident in the case of Earl Gille Brigte of Strathearn, and of Gille Crist mac Mael Coluim MacNachtan of Loch Awe, both of whom were styled 'Gilbert' by non-Gaelic scribes. Likewise, Earl Gille Mhicheil of Fife's grandson, Eggu, was occasionally styled 'Hugo'. Sometimes, however, the Anglo-French substitute name bore no resemblance at all to the native original. Most famously in west highland history, for instance, the name Gille-espuig became Archibald. It also needs to be remembered that, then as now, there were no cultural boundaries to the naming of twelfth- and thirteenth-century children. Thus, just as any modern-day chart of the nation's favourite names will reflect the year's cultural influences, with traditional 'Scottish' names such as Alexander, Andrew and David vying with names held by American pop-stars and Australian soap opera actors, so too did personal-names given in medieval documents often express contemporary cultural trends. That Romance literature was probably responsible not only for the appearance of the names Merlin and Tristram in thirteenth-century Strathearn, but also for Lachlan of Galloway being known as Roland, presents an appealing early paradigm of

853 Lynch, Scotland, 24.
854 Significantly, Anglo-Saxon names were rendered far more accurately than Gaelic names in Scottish charters. This suggests that the majority of scribes in Canmore Scotland were actually from, or had been resident in, England, and were hence familiar with Anglo-Saxon spelling conventions.
855 Inchaaff. Chrs., nos. IV, V, IX & LXXXV.
856 RRS, II, no. 85.
857 The earls of Argyll were often called Archibald in English and Gille-espuig in Gaelic. Black, Surnames, 306.
858 St A. Lib., 132. The name Arthur was also to be found in the earldom of Lennox. Lenn. Cart., 84 & 86.
859 Holy, Lib., no. 24. It would appear as if (perhaps prompted by the example of Lachlan of Galloway) the name Roland became the accepted Anglo-French surrogate for Lachlan. For example, Lachlan the
this centuries-old tradition. Similarly, Anglo-French cultural influence (notably distinct from actual Anglo-French settlement) in Buchan resulted in the adoption of Anglo-French personal-names by natives during the early thirteenth century.860

The potential affect which contact with different cultures could have in the naming of children is probably best demonstrated, however, by an example from the cultural melting-pot which was twelfth-century Lothian. Liulf son of Elgi, a member of the old Anglo-Saxon landowning class, had five sons, each of whose names represented one of Lothian’s main ethnic constituencies of the Canmore period. They were: Cospatric (Cumbri); Eggard (Anglo-Saxon); Gamal (Scandinavian); Macbeth (Gaelic); and Reginald (Anglo-French).861

Another Lothian example, which is best presented in the form of a simplified family tree, intriguingly highlights that - again in common with modern naming patterns - native families also adopted the ‘foreign’ names of reigning monarchs.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acolf of Ashkirk862</th>
<th>(early 12th century)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uchtred I</td>
<td>Orm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1162X1174)863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uchtred II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1187X1194)864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Henry865</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1214X1249)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alexander</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Apart from providing compelling testimony to the political loyalties (and perhaps pretensions) of this particular Lothian family, this suggests that native names were increasingly giving way to Anglo-French names by the late twelfth century. Certainly, there are few Acolfs, Liulfs and Uchtreds recorded beyond the Forth after 1200. More importantly

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862 This genealogy is presented in *Glas. Reg.*, no. 149. Uchtred’s line is given as the senior branch of the family, but it would appear as if it was Orm’s descendants were in possession of Ashkirk.
863 Ibid., no. 30; & *RRS*, II, no. 145.
865 Henry was the elder, yet illegitimate, son of William. *Glas. Reg.*, no. 149.
for the current discussion, however, the Ashkirk genealogy also forcibly highlights the danger of relying too heavily on individual personal-names to distinguish ethnic origin. For example, without the knowledge that Richard was the son of Uchtred, and William the grandson ofOrm, and both descended from Acolf, it could easily be presumed from their names alone that they were merely Anglo-French settlers.

A similarly erroneous presumption could be made for many other of the Anglo-French-named individuals who populate the extant documents of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland, especially those who are depicted holding titles or offices which are of a foreign origin. This is underlined by the prominent example of Herbert, sheriff of Roxburgh (d. c. 1202). Both Herbert’s name and office would lead to the initial conclusion that he was an incomer. Nevertheless, once more the survival of a patronymic reveals him to have been of native stock, in this instance the son of Maccus son of Undewin. That the adoption of foreign names by native families was evidently so widespread throughout Scotland demonstrates the practical impact which the vigorous culture of the Franks had on even the most conservative of kingdoms. It also provides a potent warning that the monks and canons of Scotland’s twelfth- and thirteenth-century monasteries who bore Anglo-French names were not themselves necessarily of Anglo-French origin.

On the strength of this argument it may be concluded that the information provided by personal-names is at best ambiguous, and at worst wholly misleading. However, whilst an undeniably imperfect source, some of the inherent weaknesses of personal-name evidence can at least partially be mitigated. For example, as demonstrated above with the descendants of Acolf of Ashkirk, the survival of a patronymic often reveals the true ethnic origin of an individual. The presence of a surname, such as Maxwell, although rare in this period, can also be instructive. A Scottish toponym attached to a Christian name can be of similar use, for although they do not necessarily indicate the individual’s actual birth-place, they at least identify him as a resident in Scotland prior to entering the convent. It is equally helpful to be aware of local cultural and political influences - such as the name of the earl or feudal superior - as they often affected naming patterns. Incoming families in Fife, for example, sometimes gave their children Gaelic names which were specifically associated with the comital family. Thus, Alan de Lascelles, a notable landowner in north-east Fife, called one of his sons Donnchad, whilst a Mael Coluim de Warrenne witnessed one of the earl of

866 Kel. Lib., I, nos. 1, 166 & 207.
867 Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 115.
868 St A. Lib., 260.
Fife’s charters to Culross Abbey. By naming their children Donnchad or Mael Coluim, Anglo-French settlers were arguably demonstrating their allegiance and gratitude to their patrons, the earls of Fife. There may also have been an element of flattery involved, prompted by the anticipation of gaining further favour from the comital family. It was perhaps even the case that the earl of Fife acted as the god-parent of such children, whose names reflected this sponsorial relationship. The royal associations of the name Mael Coluim made it equally popular amongst incomers elsewhere in Scotland no doubt for the same basic reasons. Thus, Simon Lockhart, most probably in recognition of Mael Coluim IV’s generous patronage, named a son after the king. Likewise, Hugh de Moreville, constable of Scotland, called one of his sons Mael Coluim.

Significantly, apart from this limited deferential practice, it was apparently rare for incomers to adopt Anglo-Saxon or Gaelic names. The brothers of Donnchad de Lascelles, for instance, were known by the more traditional Anglo-French names of Alan, Henry and Richard. Similarly, the siblings of David and Mael Coluim de Warrenne were called Reginald and Robert. Indeed, the continued adherence of incoming families to their customary names is so obvious from the evidence that the point need not be laboured. The important corollary of this for the current argument is that it is more than likely the bearer of a native name which had no national or local political associations was in fact of native origin.

It is therefore apparent that when synthesised with evidence presented by other sources and placed within as wide an historical context as possible, personal-names can provide valuable raw material for the study of ethnic origins in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland. Indeed, as the following survey will demonstrate, they can help to reveal that in every constituent province of the kingdom of the Scots there were reformed religious houses which were comprised at least partly of native recruits.

869 Douglas, ‘Culross Abbey and its Charters’, 71-72. Mael Coluim’s brother was called David, perhaps after David I, but more probably after the earl of Huntingdon who was himself, as with Mael Coluim IV, descended from the de Warrennes through his mother, Ada.
870 Simon Lockhart was granted an estate in Upper Clydesdale by King Mael Coluim. Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, 46.
871 *Pais. Reg.*, 70. Notably, Mael Coluim thereafter became a family name of the Lockharts. For example, Simon’s grandson was also called Mael Coluim. *Ibid.*, 21.
872 *Dryb. Lib.*, no. 94. Another contemporary example of a son of an incoming landowner being given a Scottish royal name is Mael Coluim Melville. *Dumf. Reg.*, nos. 114 & 145.
873 *St A. Lib.*, 200.
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Lothian and Teviotdale

Since its gradual conquest by the Scots, culminating in the battle of Carham in 1018, Lothian had been a distinctive part of Scotland. Home to Cumbric, Gaelic and Scandinavian settlers, it was nevertheless a predominantly Anglo-Saxon society. Even after the influx of Anglo-French settlers during the twelfth century, the Anglo-Saxon element in Scotland besouth the Forth remained strong. Indeed, as argued by Barrow, the advent of the Anglo-French appears to have consolidated certain aspects of Anglo-Saxon culture in Lothian, such as the English language. Testimony of this, and of the survival of Lothian’s pre-1100 dual identity, is provided by Adam of Dryburgh, who in the second half of the twelfth century claimed that he was ‘writing in the land of the English and the kingdom of the Scots’. Accordingly, just as in certain areas of Lothian traditional Anglo-Saxon families continued to flourish, so too did native clergy. Indeed, as has already been highlighted in the case of Thorald and Aiulf of the diocese of St Andrews, Anglo-Saxons continued to fill the highest offices in Lothian’s secular Church. It can be argued that this was also the case in its reformed monasteries.

In illustration, the previously mentioned Adam of Dryburgh rose to become the abbot of that Premonstratensian house. Although born in the vicinity of Dryburgh, there is admittedly no explicit evidence to prove that he was of Anglo-Saxon stock. Adam’s native origins, nevertheless, can be inferred from his writings. The above-cited quote from the De Tripartito Taburnaculos, for example, demonstrates that he identified himself with Lothian’s Anglo-Saxon heritage. This is further emphasised by the fact that he traced the king of Scots’ ancestry back through Queen Margaret rather than Mâel Coluim III. He evidently spoke

875 For the assimilation of Lothian into the kingdom of the Scots, see Barrow, ‘The Anglo-Scottish Border’, 150-153; Duncan, ‘The Battle of Carham’, Hudson, Kings of Celtic Scotland, 96, 100-101, & 112-116; & Meehan, ‘The Siege of Durham, the Battle of Carham and the Cession of Lothian’.
876 R. Nicholson, Scotland: The later middle ages (Edinburgh, 1974), 86, states that ‘the area between Forth and Tweed, the most intensively anglicised district of Scotland, was a region apart’. See also Barrow, Kingship and Unity, 7.
877 This is evident from the prominent part played in Lothian society by men such as Leifing of Livingstone, Thurstan of Crichton, Thor of Tranent, Ædmund of Forn, and Ædmund of Fawside. Holy. Lib., nos. 7, 10, & 11.
878 Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 30-60, & 199-203.
880 See above, p. 140.
881 Bulloch, Adam of Dryburgh, 1.
882 Ibid. 13.
883 De Tripartito Taburnaculos, 715.
English well, as it is noted that he undertook preaching tours during which he delivered sermons not only in Latin, but also in the vernacular.\textsuperscript{884} Even more revealingly, in the \textit{De Tripartito Taburnaculos} Adam listed a number of saints, the majority of whom were of Anglo-Saxon, rather than continental, origin, and many of these had strong Northumbrian associations, such as Cuthbert, Oswald and Wilfrid.\textsuperscript{885} From these fragments of evidence it can be proposed that Adam was not only of Anglo-Saxon provenance, but also came from an important, even thanely, local family. If this was the case, then it is possible that his tenure as abbot resulted in other members of his dynasty joining the convent, and so further boosting its Anglo-Saxon contingent. This is because, as Jocelin of Brakelond's late eleventh-century \textit{Chronicle of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds} records that once an abbot was elected 'a horde of new relatives hastened to him, wishing to be taken into service'.\textsuperscript{886}

Another Anglo-Saxon to rise to the highest monastic office in twelfth-century Lothian was Eanfrith, the second abbot of Newbattle.\textsuperscript{887} Very little is known about this abbot beyond the fact that he had reading-desks installed in the cloisters of his abbey.\textsuperscript{888} It is therefore impossible to be certain whether he was from Lothian's Anglo-Saxon community or, like Alwin and Osbert of Holyrood Abbey, had been brought into Scotland from England to provide the convent with experienced leadership. That it was more likely to be the former can be deduced from the system of abbatial election practised by the Cistercian Order.\textsuperscript{889} For example, on their foundation, new Cistercian monasteries usually gained their first abbot (along with accompanying convent) from their mother-house. (Thus, the \textit{Chronicle of Melrose} records that on its foundation in 1217, Culross Abbey received its first abbot from its mother-house of Kinloss).\textsuperscript{890} Thereafter, abbots either continued to be promoted within the immediate filial network,\textsuperscript{891} or were selected from the abbey’s own ranks.\textsuperscript{892} In Newbattle Abbey’s case, the latter was more common, with six out of seven of Eanfrith’s successors

\textsuperscript{884} Ibid., 285 & 775.
\textsuperscript{885} Ibid., 694.
\textsuperscript{887} \textit{Chron. Melrose}, s.a. 1179.
\textsuperscript{888} \textit{Registrum S. Marie de Neubolte} (Bannatyne Club, 1849), xv.
\textsuperscript{889} For a brief discussion on the election of a Cistercian abbot, see Lawrence, \textit{Medieval Monasticism}, 187-189.
\textsuperscript{890} \textit{Chron. Melrose}, s.a. 1217.
\textsuperscript{891} For example, in 1214 William, the cellarer of Melrose, was elected abbot of Glenluce; in 1215 William, the abbot of Holm Cultram, became abbot of Melrose; and in 1216 the same Abbot William became abbot of Rievaulx. \textit{Chron. Melrose}, s.a. 1214, 1215 & 1216.
\textsuperscript{892} For example, in 1189 Abbot Reiner of Kinloss was replaced by the prior of the same house. Ibid., s.a. 1189.
being chosen from within the convent's existing hierarchy.\textsuperscript{893} It can subsequently be speculated that, as with Adam of Dryburgh, Eanfrith had risen through the ranks at Newbattle Abbey to become its abbot. As such - once more in common with Abbot Adam - Eanfrith most probably represented a much larger, now invisible Anglo-Saxon contingent at his abbey.

Even if Eanfrith was not of local origin, it is possible that as an Anglo-Saxon he created a cultural atmosphere at Newbattle which was conducive to the recruitment of men from Lothian's Anglo-Saxon community. Adam of Dryburgh's apparent promotion of Northumbrian Church saints demonstrates one way in which this could be achieved. Another, more mundane, yet equally symbolic, way in which Newbattle Abbey could have been affected in this respect by the leadership of Eanfrith was through the use of English as the language of everyday business at the abbey.\textsuperscript{894} It has already been highlighted, for example, that Adam of Dryburgh was not averse to using the vernacular; whilst Walter Daniel noted that even Ælred of Rievaulx occasionally lapsed into English.\textsuperscript{895} Alwin's tenure as abbot of Holyrood may have likewise encouraged fellow Anglo-Saxons to join his monastery. Certainly, although there is admittedly no specific evidence to support the proposal, there was probably an appreciable English-speaking presence at Holyrood Abbey by the thirteenth century. In illustration, as the Augustinian Order in Scotland began to assume a greater pastoral role during the 1200s,\textsuperscript{896} the convent of Holyrood would have increasingly provided its own canons to service their appropriated churches. Many of these were in Lothian.\textsuperscript{897} Consequently, English-speaking canons would have been an operational necessity. It is perhaps instructive therefore that at the end of the twelfth century the minister of Holyrood Abbey bore the Anglo-Saxon name Leiulf.\textsuperscript{898}

\begin{itemize}
\item The second abbot of Newbattle, Hugh, had previously been the prior of Newbattle; the fourth, Adam, its master of the lay brethren; the sixth, Richard, its cellarer; the seventh, Adam, its cellarer; the eighth, Richard, its master of the lay brethren; and the ninth, Richard, its prior. Ibid., s.a. 1179, 1214, 1216, 1218, & 1220.
\item Chibnall, \textit{Anglo-Norman England}, 214, noted that 'English...was the language of popular devotion' in England and was probably spoken informally in monasteries.
\item Life of Ælred, 54.
\item For a discussion, see Cowan, 'Religious and the Cure of Souls', esp. 68-69.
\item \textit{Idem, Parishes}, 219.
\item \textit{Holy Lib.}, no. 34.
\end{itemize}
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Galloway

Galloway had a strong Gaelic tradition by the twelfth century. Its cultural focus was orientated westward to Ireland and northward to the Western Isles. This cultural distinctiveness was recognised by Anglo-French chroniclers, one of whom stated that the natives spoke ‘lingua Pictorum’ (the language of the Picts). Indeed, to outsiders the Galwegians were the personification of Celtic barbarity, with Walter Daniel describing the province as ‘a wild country where the inhabitants are like beasts’. As highlighted below, it was in this Gaelic heartland, as it were, that a reformed monastic community unmatched in any other region of Scotland was established largely through the patronage of the native dynasty. The ethnic origin of the religious who staffed these monasteries is not immediately apparent. Certainly, that many of the houses were affiliated with abbeys and priories outwith Galloway suggests that their original convents would have been at least partly comprised of non-native clergy. For example, in accordance with the statutes of the Cistercian general chapter, the abbey of Dundrennan should have received its first monks and abbot from its mother-house of Rievaulx in Yorkshire. There are nevertheless indications that Galloway’s reformed monasteries also attracted native recruits.

Perhaps the most compelling evidence of this is provided by Walter Daniel’s Life of Ælred. For example, in a passage describing one of Ælred’s sojourns in Galloway (and most probably referring to the convent at Dundrennan Abbey) Daniel grudgingly remarked that ‘some of the men of those parts are turned into monks of a sort’. That these same native religious nevertheless possibly had an immediate cultural impact on the early development of Dundrennan can also be inferred from the writings of Daniel. In illustration, in his Letter to Maurice, Daniel stated that Ælred visited the abbey before its conventual buildings were fully

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901 Life of Ailred, 38.
902 See below, pp. 182-184.
903 Canivez, Statuta, I, xxvii.
904 Although there is no record of Dundrennan gaining its initial convent and abbot from Rievaulx, later evidence underlines the filial link between the two houses. For example, in 1167 Abbot Silvanus of Dundrennan succeeded Ælred as abbot of Rievaulx, whilst in 1239 Abbot Leon succeeded Roger as abbot of Rievaulx. Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1167 & 1239.
905 As noted above, Dundrennan Abbey was a daughter-house of Rievaulx. Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 72.
906 Ailred of Rievaulx, 38.
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This state of affairs was not unique to Dundrennan, however, as conventual buildings of Cistercian monasteries often took decades to complete. As a temporary measure, the monks had constructed a number of small 'pastoral huts', under one of whose leaky thatched roofs Abbot Ælred spent the night. Significantly, Daniel remarked that these huts were of a style which the natives of the region commonly built for themselves. Although archaeological evidence suggests that the official conventual buildings were completed not long after this date, it is possible that the native monks of Dundrennan, unaccustomed to living in stone-built dwellings, continued to use these locally inspired structures. This proposal does not appear so far fetched when evidence from Ireland is considered. For example, Stephen of Lexington recorded in the 1220s that many Irish Cistercian convents had taken to living in thatched huts circling the perimeter wall of Monasteranenagh Abbey, echoing the lay-out of Columban monasteries. It may have been similar lapses into native practice which prompted Walter Daniel to qualify his above-quoted remark regarding native religious with the assertion that 'scarce any of them have the assiduity to reach perfection themselves, for they are by nature dull and brutal, and so always inclined to carnal pleasures'.

Another instructive episode from Irish history is the Cistercian crisis of the early thirteenth century. This was when the antipathy which had existed between pro-Irish and pro-Anglo-French factions in Ireland's Cistercian community since the 1170s flared up. The initial flash-point was Mellifont, where in 1216 a group of monks making a visitation to the abbey was refused entry. As relations gradually degenerated thereafter, the filial discipline for which the Cistercian Order was famed quickly disintegrated. In 1227, for example, the intruded Anglo-French abbot of the native-controlled convent of Baltinglass was deprived of his symbols of office, assaulted and turned out of the abbey. As Stephen of Lexington found at Monasteranenagh Abbey, some monasteries were even fortified and garrisoned with

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907 Walter Daniel stated that 'the abbey had only begun to build its regular offices a short time before'. Ibid., 153.
908 R. Stailey, The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland (Yale, 1987), 44.
911 Stephen of Lexington, Letters from Ireland 1228-1229, ed. B. O'Dwyer (Kalamazoo, 1982), 14 & 112.
912 Ailred of Rievaulx, 38.
913 For which, see B. W. O'Dwyer, The Conspiracy of Mellifont (Dublin, 1970).
914 Ibid., 35.
915 Ibid., 46.
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armed monks and their secular allies in order to resist the imposition of Anglo-French rule.\(^{916}\)

Whilst there is certainly no evidence to suggest that a comparable ethno-political split occurred in Galloway's reformed monastic community, these events in Ireland are nevertheless instructive for the current discussion because they demonstrate that monasteries staffed by culturally hostile religious were considered legitimate targets by enemy forces. The sources which record the anti-foreigner revolts in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Galloway can consequently be studied in this light to suggest the presence of native religious at certain houses.

'Benedict of Peterborough', for example, recorded that when William was captured by the English in 1174, Uchtred and Gilbert of Galloway immediately returned with their Galwegians to their own lands, and at once expelled from Galloway all the bailiffs and guards whom the king of Scotland had set over them; and all the English and French whom they could seize they slew: and all the defences and castles which the king of Scotland had established in their land they besieged, captured and destroyed, and slew whom they took within them.\(^{917}\)

Considering the inter-monastic strife experienced in Ireland, and to a lesser extent Wales,\(^ {918}\) during this period, it is highly notable that Benedict made no mention whatsoever of the fate of Galloway's monasteries and their inmates. Equally revealing, if not more so, the Chronicle of Melrose did not refer to the uprising at all. If monks or canons had been amongst the murdered 'English and French', or if any of the province's monastic houses had been attacked, then it would undoubtedly have prompted some response from the chroniclers, especially as they naturally considered the persecution of religious a particularly heinous crime.\(^ {919}\) That Galloway's monastic houses evidently did not suffer Irish-style harassment during this anti-foreigner insurgency implies that they were not viewed by the Galwegians as

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\(^{916}\) Stephen of Lexington, 14-16.

\(^{917}\) SAEC, 256.

\(^{918}\) In a similar development, the Cistercian affiliation of Whitland Abbey became culturally and politically identified with the native struggle against Anglo-French settlement in Wales. F. G. Cowley, The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066-1349 (Cardiff, 1977), 24-26.

\(^{919}\) This attitude is evident in the various reports made by English chroniclers regarding the Scottish invasion of 1138. For example, Henry of Huntingdon luridly recalled the beheading of priests upon altars and the desecration of crucifixes; John of Hexham recorded that the Scots 'broke into the sanctuaries of the Lord, and in the consecrated places irreverently committed acts violent, lewd and execrable'; whilst Richard of Hexham highlighted that the Scots had 'destroyed a certain monastery of the observances of the Cistercians [Newminster]; and very many others were harassed by the most grievous oppressions'. Conversely, Richard noted that David I and Earl Henry granted their firm peace to his own monastery of Hexham. Ibid., 179-183. This may have partly been due to Hexham's associations with St Andrew.
a cultural or a political threat. This not only undermines the aforementioned received opinion that reformed monasteries were the spiritual equivalents of Norman castles and reformed religious Anglo-French cultural fifth-columnists, but also suggests that, even if there was a significant Anglo-French contingent of monks and canons in Galloway, the native element remained predominant or at least assured of their loyalty.

On the death of Alan, lord of Galloway, in 1234 his illegitimate son, Thomas, and an 'Irish pirate', led another uprising in the province.\textsuperscript{920} After putting the rebels to flight, Alexander II left Walter of Menteith to pacify Galloway.\textsuperscript{921} The \textit{Chronicle of Melrose} records that during this occupation

\begin{quote}
certain of the Scots, knaves rather than knights, plundered the abbeys of that district so thoroughly that, in their accused madness, finding a monk at the very point of death lying within the infirmary of Glenluce, they stripped him of the sackcloth with which he was covered and carried it off. At Tongland, they killed the prior and the sacrist within the church.\textsuperscript{922}
\end{quote}

It is entirely possible that this was simply the act of a rogue element in search of booty; the death of the sacrist (the official in charge of a monastery's valuables) certainly emphasises the plundering intentions of the attackers. Nevertheless, in light of the Irish evidence, it is equally possible that the spoliation was merely the by-product of an organised attempt by the earl of Menteith to quell the Galwegian monasteries, some of which had perhaps become centres of rebel-sympathisers. Certainly, the fact that it was a common right of monastic founders during the medieval period to have entry into a community for a member of family or another nominee,\textsuperscript{923} could easily have resulted in the convents of Galloway being staffed by the \textit{reguli}'s relatives or adherents of their cause. Whilst it cannot be proven that the reformed convents of Galloway actively supported the separatist movement, there is nevertheless evidence to suggest that the inmates of certain monasteries resented the king of Scots' interference in Galwegian affairs. For example, in a letter to the archbishop of York, Odo, a canon of Whithorn Priory, complained of 'the war being raged against Galloway by the king of Scots', who was revealingly referred to being in control of the province 'at the present time'.\textsuperscript{924} Although such statements should not be taken as evidence of Galwegian

\begin{footnotes}
\item[921] \textit{Chron. Melrose}, s.a. 1235.
\item[922] \textit{Ibid}., s.a. 1235.
\item[923] Burton, \textit{Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain}, 220.
\item[924] \textit{The Register of Walter Grey}, 170 & 171.
\end{footnotes}
CONTINUITY OF PERSONNEL.

political nationalism at Whithorn, they certainly imply that the convent would have been supportive in principle of the lords of Galloway's struggles for autonomy. It is even possible that the clergy were prompted by the religious disputes at Whithorn to lend ideological backing to, and agitate on behalf of, the uprising. Certainly, that the abbots of Dundrennan and Glenluce were deposed by the Cistercian general chapter and replaced by monks from the pro-Canmore monastery of Melrose in the year after the revolt implies that the convents of these two officials played more than just a passive role in the conflict over the division of Galloway by Alexander II.

In the same year as the harrying of Galloway's monasteries by the Scottish army, and undoubtedly symptomatic of the tensions between king and Galwegian community, there was a dispute between two candidates for the post of bishop of Galloway: Gilbert, the master of the novices at Melrose Abbey and erstwhile abbot of Glenluce, and the aforementioned Odo, canon of Whithorn and erstwhile abbot of Dercongal. Fortunately, a letter concerning this dispute has survived which provides an insight into the ethnic composition of one of Galloway's most important reformed houses, Whithorn Priory. This letter was 'signed' by the priory's convent, the names and ranks of whose twenty-two members were recorded as following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Donnchad</td>
<td>prior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brice</td>
<td>priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul</td>
<td>formerly prior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elias</td>
<td>sub-prior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>priest &amp; treasurer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>priest &amp; steward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerard</td>
<td>priest &amp; cantor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurice</td>
<td>priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fingal</td>
<td>priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malachy</td>
<td>priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilbert</td>
<td>deacon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concius</td>
<td>deacon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>acolyte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Máel Coluin</td>
<td>priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td>priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nehemia</td>
<td>priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fergus</td>
<td>priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>deacon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garcianus</td>
<td>priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malachy</td>
<td>acolyte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the hazards of relying too heavily on uncorroborated personal-name evidence have already been emphasised, when viewed within its historical context this list of names provides rudimentary clues to the probable ethnic balance of Whithorn Priory's mid

925 As Oram, 'In Obedience and Reverence', 97, warned, these anti-Scottish statements were made in the context of King Alexander's interference in the episcopal elections at Whithorn.
926 Ashley, 'Odo, the elect of Whithorn', 66-67.
927 Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1236.
928 As suggested in Brooke, Wild Men and Holy Places, 138.
929 J. Raine, The Historians of the Church of York (London, 1879-94), III, 144-145. For a discussion, see Ashley, 'Odo, elect of Whithorn'.

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thirteenth-century convent. For example, apart from the prevalence of Biblical and traditional Church names - such as John and Nehemia, Brice and Gregory - arguably the most striking aspect of this list is the number of canons at Whithorn Priory who bore Gaelic names. This implies that the convent gained many of its recruits from the surrounding Gaelic population by the thirteenth century. Indeed, with the patrons of Whithorn, the lords of Galloway, enjoying extensive cross-Irish Sea interests during this period, it is possible that some of these Gaelic-named canons were from Ireland. That such links did indeed exist between Galwegian and Irish religious houses is demonstrated by the fact that in 1223 John, the cellarer of Glenluce Abbey, was elected abbot of Jugum Dei (Grey Abbey) in Ireland. Interestingly, an echo of the historical ties which united the Church in Galloway with that in Ireland is discernible at Whithorn. Two of the canons mentioned in the above-cited witness-list, for example, bore the latinised name of the Irish saint who helped initiate reformed monasticism both in the north of Ireland and the south-west of Scotland, Malachy.

This is not to say that Whithorn Priory was an exclusively native religious house. Indeed, a letter sent to the papacy at the time of this dispute by the canon Odo railed against the influence of ‘non-Galwegian clerics’ at the see of Whithorn. In light of this letter’s subject matter, Odo was most probably referring in this instance to religious from elsewhere in Scotland who supported the king of Scots’ ambitions to place his own candidate on the episcopal throne. Nevertheless, considering Whithorn’s filial bonds and historical connections with religious communities in northern England, it is likely that there was also an

930 As it was not yet the practice for monks and canons to adopt new names when entering a convent, this section of the witness-list is quite interesting, as it reveals the widespread popularity of religious, especially Biblical, names in Scotland during the thirteenth century. Whilst naming a child Nehemia (or for that matter Japhet or Methusala, both of which appear in the St A. Lib., 242 & 260) for example, need not necessarily have taken in-depth scriptural knowledge, it nevertheless suggests an awareness of the Bible amongst the populace which is not often recognised. Coincidentally, the appearance of the otherwise rare name Japhet may reveal the influence of an as yet embryonic Scottish origin myth, as Gathelos, the husband of the eponymous Scota, was allegedly descended from Noah’s son, Japhet. As highlighted in C. Eddington, ‘Paragons and Patriots: National Identity and the Chivalric Ideal in Late Medieval Scotland’, in Broun et al., Image and Identity, 69-81 at 71.

931 For example, Alan of Galloway, the constable of Scotland, was not only considered by his contemporaries to be the most formidable naval commander in the Irish Sea, but was also involved in Irish conflicts: whilst, Thomas of Galloway, earl of Atholl, held land in Ireland and was often depicted in English sources as an Irish, rather than a Scottish, magnate. ES, II, 464; Duncan, Scotland, 529-530; Oram, ‘Colonisation and settlement in Galloway’, 95-96; & especially, K. J. Stringer, ‘Periphery and Core in Thirteenth-Century Scotland: Alan son of Roland, Lord of Galloway and Constable of Scotland’, in Grant & Stringer, Medieval Scotland, 82-113.

932 CPL, I, 193.
appreciable contingent of canons from England in the convent. The priory, for example, was part of the northern English *circaria* of the Premonstratensian Order, which theoretically meant that its prior had regular meetings with, and visitations to and from, English convents.\(^935\) Moreover, the priory was under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of York, to whom the canons recoursed, as in 1235, when their liberties were threatened.\(^936\) Equivocal evidence of this non-native contingent is provided by the five Anglo-French-named canons recorded in the above-cited list.\(^937\) More definite evidence, however, is provided by Odo, who was apparently a native of Idonchester in Essex.\(^938\) Whilst this English connection appears to have resulted in an ethnically balanced convent at Whithorn, it is nonetheless probable that, considering the priory’s cultural environment and close association with the independent ruling dynasty of Galloway, the native element within it remained predominant. This proposal appears to be confirmed by the fact that the prior was known as Donnchad.\(^939\)

Due to the aforementioned dearth of evidence relating to the religious houses of the south west of Scotland, the extent to which monasteries elsewhere in Galloway were staffed by native recruits is more difficult to assess. However, in light of the evidence presented above, and from incidental information, such as the fact that in the abbot of Dercongal who swore fealty to Edward I in 1296 was called Dúngál,\(^940\) it can be envisaged that as reformed monasticism became identified with its cultural and political surroundings in Galloway, the ethnic balance of its convents gradually came to reflect the predominantly, yet far from exclusively,\(^941\) native nature of local society.

\(^935\) H. M. Colvin, *The White Canons in England* (Oxford, 1951), 198. For a document detailing the character of a provincial chapter held in England at which the Scottish Premonstratensian abbots were present, see *Dryb. Lib.*, no. 99.

\(^936\) For Whithorn Priory’s connections with England in general and the archbishop of York in particular, see R. Oram, ‘In Obedience and Reverence’.

\(^937\) The names in the list which were of non-native origin are: Gilbert, Henry, Maurice & Nicholas. Some of these Anglo-French-named canons could nevertheless have come from houses in southern Scotland. The name Garcianus has been omitted from this list as it could be a descriptive name for a local, or a latinisation of a native name such as Gartnait. The name ‘Concius’ has also been omitted, for although left unaltered in the extract printed above, it was probably a latinisation of ‘Conchie’ which was a diminutive of the Gaelic Donnchad. Interestingly, as highlighted in Black, *Surnames*, 166, the name Conchie (normally seen as an element in the more popular surname MacConachie) was peculiar to Galloway.

\(^938\) *SAEC*, 347n. ‘Idonchester’ was the old Romano-British centre of Ythonchester near Bramwell in Essex. Under Gaelic orthography the ‘th’ was rendered as ‘d’.

\(^939\) It has been speculated in Hill, *Whithorn and Ninian*, 23, that the senior members of the unreformed community at Whithorn formed the core of the original Premonstratensian convent.

\(^940\) Chalmers, *Caledonia*, V, 150. The earliest known abbot of Dercongal was the aforementioned Odo of Idonchester. Raine, *The Historians of the Church of York*, III, 144.

\(^941\) As Oram, ‘Colonisation and Settlement in Galloway’, 133, highlighted, there was only a limited Anglo-French presence in Galloway by the mid thirteenth century.
The preceding discussions have revealed that in southern Scotland the ethnic composition of reformed monasteries came to mirror that of local secular society. Applying this finding to the reformed monastic community benorth the Forth-Clyde line, a Gaelic presence can be envisaged at most convents. It also suggests that at those monasteries which had filial links with convents in neighbouring Gaelic societies and were themselves established in native-dominated areas, the Gaelic element is likely to have been especially strong. The original convent of the Cistercian abbey of Saddell in Kintyre, for example, evidently came from Mellifont, an Irish house whose Gaelic credentials have been alluded to already. As Saddell is without doubt one of the worst documented reformed religious house in medieval Scotland, it is admittedly difficult to reach any firm conclusions concerning its convent. Nevertheless, it is probable that both its filial bond with Mellifont and the abbey's own social environment resulted in the convent remaining chiefly, if not wholly, Gaelic. More conclusive evidence of the affect of location and association on the ethnic composition of a northern Scottish monastery's convent is provided by the early history of Fearn Abbey in Ross. In illustration, this Premonstratensian house was established by Ferchar Mactaggart, a native magnate of western Ross, possibly in the 1230s. In spite of allying with the Canmore dynasty and gaining the peculiarly Anglo-French distinction of a knighthood, Ferchar did not look to the abbey of Dryburgh for Fearn's initial convent of canons. Rather, reflecting not only his experiences in Galloway during 1235, but arguably also his own ethnic background and the cultural environment of his prospective monastery, he approached the priory of Whithorn in the turbulent, yet similarly Gaelic, province of Galloway. Accordingly, an evidently Gaelic canon of Whithorn, Máel Coluim, helped to establish Ferchar's new abbey. According to the not always reliable Ane Brieve Cronicle of

943 See above, p. 154.
944 For further commentaries on this enigmatic abbey, see A. McKerral, 'A Chronology of the Abbey and Castle of Saddell, Kintyre', *PSAS*, lxxxvi (1951-52), 115-120; McDonald, *The Kingdom of the Isle*, 219-221; & J. E. Scott, 'Saddell Abbey', *TGSI*, xlvii (1969-70), 114-141.
945 The names of the first two recorded abbots of Saddell - Padrag (d. c. 1393) and Macrath - certainly support this supposition *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII of Avignon 1378-1394*, ed. C. Burns (SHS, 1976), 195.
946 For a more detailed discussion on the founding of this house, see above pp. 110-119.
947 Duncan, *Scotland*, 197.
the Earls of Ross, Máel Coluim was attended by only one other canon from Whithorn.\footnote{Ane Brieve Cronicle, 3.} This strongly suggests that he recruited local men to staff the new convent at Fearn. The filial bond with Whithorn, which was apparently symbolically sealed by the transfer of some of St Nynia’s relics to Fearn,\footnote{Ibid., 3.} nevertheless remained strong as demonstrated by the fact that a number of Máel Coluim’s successors were appointed by the prior of Candida Casa.\footnote{The prior of Whithorn, moreover, continued to claim the right to appoint, or at least confirm, the abbots of Fearn despite occasional disputes with the northern convent. Ibid., 5 & 7-8.} Unlike many other reformed houses located in native areas whose hierarchy was franciscised through the filial influence of a southern mother-house, however, this relationship would have ensured that the convent at Fearn was led by men of Gaelic descent. This is evident in the names of the abbots of Fearn throughout the centuries, from Máel Coluim of Nigg (d. -1258) and Colin (d. c. 1298), to Domnall (d. c. 1371) and Finlaidh Flaid (d. c. 1485).\footnote{Calendar of Fearn, 29, 85 & 90.} The elevation of Máel Coluim of Nigg to the abbacy, moreover, reveals that the abbey of Fearn was recruiting, and being controlled by, men from local families (including the comital dynasty)\footnote{Abbot Domnall of Fearn was described as ‘nepos noster’ by Earl William. Calendar of Fearn, 85.} from an early stage in its history.\footnote{This tendency is evident in the later history of the convent as well. Thus, in the late fifteenth-early sixteenth-century the abbacy was in the hands of Thomas, a member of the locally powerful MacCulloch kindred. Calendar of Fearn, 76-77.}

Saddell’s above-noted connection with Mellifont Abbey provides a reminder that Alba and the north of Ireland had formed a single cultural unit for centuries before the Canmore period. Consequently, although this Gaelic nexus was beginning to weaken by the twelfth century,\footnote{For example, in his attempt to restore Iona as the centre of the familia lae in the west by inviting the comarba Colum Cille, Flaithbertach Ua Brolchain, to become its abbot, Somerled was balked by Muirchertach Ua Lochlaid, the king of Ireland. All, s.a. 1164} it is nevertheless possible to use better-documented developments in Irish reformed monasticism as signposts to the likely involvement of natives in Alba’s convents. For example, evidence from twelfth- and thirteenth-century Ireland reveals that in Gaelic lordships clergy tended to be recruited from cadet branches of the ruling dynasty or from *erenagh* families who occupied Church lands.\footnote{K. Simms, ‘Frontiers in the Irish Church - Regional and Cultural’, in T. B. Barry *et al.* (eds.), *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland* (London, 1995), 178-179} Notably, the same families also sought preferment in local religious houses.\footnote{Ibid., 181.} An example of this east of the Irish Sea is the first prioress of Iona’s Augustinian nunnery, Bethag, who was the sister of the house’s founder

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{1} Ane Brieve Cronicle, 3.
\bibitem{2} Ibid., 3.
\bibitem{3} The prior of Whithorn, moreover, continued to claim the right to appoint, or at least confirm, the abbots of Fearn despite occasional disputes with the northern convent. Ibid., 5 & 7-8.
\bibitem{4} Calendar of Fearn, 29, 85 & 90.
\bibitem{5} Abbot Domnall of Fearn was described as ‘nepos noster’ by Earl William. Calendar of Fearn, 85.
\bibitem{6} This tendency is evident in the later history of the convent as well. Thus, in the late fifteenth-early sixteenth-century the abbacy was in the hands of Thomas, a member of the locally powerful MacCulloch kindred. Calendar of Fearn, 76-77.
\bibitem{7} For example, in his attempt to restore Iona as the centre of the familia lae in the west by inviting the comarba Colum Cille, Flaithbertach Ua Brolchain, to become its abbot, Somerled was balked by Muirchertach Ua Lochlaid, the king of Ireland. All, s.a. 1164
\end{thebibliography}
continuity of personnel

and head of the local ruling dynasty, Raonall, Lord of the Isles.959 Similar evidence from Alba's reformed monasteries is unfortunately not so forthcoming. It is more than likely, however, that Raonall ensured a relative also gained high office at his abbey of Saddell.960 It is equally probable that Raonall's nephew, Donnchad mac Dubgaill, likewise chose a kinsman to become the first abbot of Ardkhatan. Monumental evidence certainly suggests that the abbotship of this Kintyre monastery was a virtual appanage of the MacDougall family by the later middle ages.961 There are also indications that members of the comital family of Strathearn entered the monastery of Inchaffray. Earl Máel Ísu's brother Hugh, for instance, is mentioned as a religious 'fratre' in a charter recording the grant of Cortachy to the abbey in 1257.962 As proposed by Bishop Dowden, Hugh appears to have gone on to become the abbot of Inchaffray sometime before 1284.963 Whilst he evidently rose through the ranks of the convent - from canon to terrarius to prior and finally to abbot964 - it is not unreasonable to suspect that Hugh's promotion was at least partially achieved through patronal pressure. Certainly, Earl Gille Brigte of Strathearn set a precedent for patronal interference at Inchaffray by entrusting the newly established reformed priory to Máel Ísu.965 Significantly, Máel Ísu may likewise also have been a member of the comital family.966 As noted above, the elevation of a local man to high monastic office was inclined to result in his relatives and their dependants seeking preferment at the same monastery. It is therefore possible that the reigns of Abbots Máel Ísu and Hugh witnessed lesser members of the ruling dynasty and other natives of Strathearn joining the convent. It would be wrong, however, to dismiss such developments as wilful nepotism. Rather, they would have been the natural consequence not only of a system which allowed patrons of monasteries to nominate their own entrants, but also of a kin-based society.

959 McDonald, The Kingdom of the Isles, 222.
960 For the argument that Raonall, and not Somerled, was the true founder of Saddell Abbey, see Brown, 'The Cistercian Abbey of Saddell', 130-131.
961 Beauly Chr., 152-153.
962 Incaff Chr., no. LXXXVI.
963 Ibid., 251
964 Ibid., 251
965 Ibid., no. IX.
966 Prior Máel Ísu was authorised by Earl Gille Brigte to recruit whomsoever he wished into the convent and instruct them 'as he sees fit' in the Augustinian Rule, a carte blanche which would surely only have been given to a highly trusted ally or a relative. That Máel Ísu was most probably the latter is implied by the fact that his name was one which was traditionally used by the comital family of Strathearn. Indeed, five earls, and numerous other family members, were called Mael Isu during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.
Whilst a close connection, either geographic, filial or patronal, with native society no doubt led to reformed convents in Alba and Caithness attracting native recruits, it is apparent that even those monasteries which were established in areas where there was Anglo-French settlement and/or those which had strong filial ties with monasteries in Teviotdale and England nonetheless also had Gaelic inmates. Evidence of this is provided by the career of Bishop Andrew of Caithness. Promoted to the bishopric of Caithness by David I sometime before 1146, he was an important native landowner, holding extensive estates in Angus, Gowrie and Stormont. He had also been a (presumably high-ranking) monk at the abbey of Dunfermline to whence he returned in his old age. This demonstrates that despite its intimate contacts with Holy Trinity, Canterbury, and its traditional Anglo-Saxon associations, Dunfermline was not exclusively staffed by monks of English stock. The picture appears similar at other monasteries in feudalised Alba with southern mother-houses. For example, the Cistercian abbey of Coupar Angus would have gained its first convent of monks from its mother-church of Melrose, and thereafter its abbots appear to have been drawn from the Anglo-French monastic society of southern Scotland and northern England. There was nevertheless possibly at least one Gaelic monk at this convent not long after its foundation. This is revealed by a psalter from Coupar Angus preserved in Rome which was written in an Irish-style hand, indicating the possible presence of a monk who had been trained in a traditional Gaelic scriptorium either in Alba or Ireland.

Significantly, similar documentary evidence can help to prove the continued presence of native religious at former Gaelic Church monasteries. In illustration, a monastic scribe experienced in Gaelic has been identified by Broun at Inchaffray Priory c. 1200-c. 1208. Although this is perhaps not surprising, as the convent had but recently converted to the Augustinian Rule, it at least strengthens the proposal that members of the Gaelic Church

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967 Dowden, Bishops, 232.
969 Watt, Fasti, 58.
970 Bishop Andrew died at Dunfermline in 1184. Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1185.
971 For details of which, see above p. 29n.
972 Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 73.
973 For example, the first abbot of Coupar Angus, Fulk, was from Melrose, as were all of the other identifiable twelfth- and early thirteenth-century abbots of this house. Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1164 & 1200; & Chron. Holyrood, s.a. 1170.
974 Specimen Pages of Two Manuscripts of the Abbey of Coupar-Angus in Scotland, with a Short Description by H. M. Bannister, M.A. (Rome, 1910), 9, where it is dated to the second half of the twelfth century.
975 Broun, 'Gaelic Literacy in Eastern Scotland', 194-196. See Inchaff. Chr., nos. XII, XXVI & XXVII, for the identified texts.
continuity of personnel. Of greater note, the Poppleton MS. (composed in York in 1360) contains Scottish material which Miller suggested was probably composed in the Augustinian house at Scone 1202-1214. Whilst the orthography of this material conforms to the Latin context of the work, it has nevertheless been noted that the scribe followed Gaelic spelling conventions. This chance survival therefore reveals that a hundred years after its conversion to a reformed rule, the ancient Gaelic Church site of Scone continued to attract recruits from native society.

Depending as it does for the most part on such exiguous material, any study of the ethnic composition of Alba and Caithness' reformed convents is destined to be incomplete. From the evidence explored above a - professedly rudimentary - picture nonetheless emerges. Just as the those monasteries established through mother-houses in southern Scotland, such as Coupar Angus, originally comprised of imported clergy, so too were most converted Gaelic Church convents initially dominated by native religious. Nevertheless, as Anglo-French settlement expanded throughout eastern Alba, and the monasteries of incoming convents became identified with their immediate surroundings, these distinctions blurred, so that by the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries most religious houses had a mixture of foreign and native inmates. Indicative of this is the succession of priors/abbots at Inchaffray. Thus, the first three priors - Mael Isu, Alpin and John - were of native stock. They most probably presided over a convent which predominantly consisted of canons who had previously been part of the Gaelic Church community. By the reign of Prior John, at least, there were nevertheless non-native canons at Inchaffray, who were perhaps recruited from locally settled Anglo-French families. The changing secular face of Strathearn is reflected in the fourth prior (and first abbot), Innocent of Scone, who Bower's testimony implies was an incomer. This, however, did not herald the end of native abbots, as by the end of the Canmore period, Inchaffray was led by the aforementioned brother of Earl Mael Isu.

976 See above, pp. 71-75.
978 Broun, 'Gaelic Literacy in Eastern Scotland', 189-191.
979 This is suggested in Mael Isu and Alpin's case by their names. The belief that John was a native relies on the proposal that he succeeded Alpin (and not vice versa) and hence was the 'Scot' referred to by Bower. Inchaff. Chron., 249-250; & Scotichron., IX, 36.
980 For example, Durand and Henry. Arb. Lib., 1, no. 213.
981 Inchaff. Chron., 250.
982 For example, Bower stated that 'in this year a canon of Scone called Innocent became prior at Inchaffray, on the removal of a certain Scot because of his inadequacy'. Scotichron., IX, 36.
Accordingly, as evident elsewhere in thirteenth-century Scotland, the ratio of native-to-foreign regular clergy at reformed monasteries in Alba and Caithness appears to have come to be primarily dictated by the ethnic constitution of surrounding secular society.

Lay brethren

So far, the discussion concerning the presence of natives in the reformed religious houses of Canmore Scotland has excluded one of the most populous sections of the medieval monastic community, the lay brethren. Lay brethren, or conversi, were monks in the sense that they took a monastic vow and wore the habit. They were nevertheless distinct from the choir monks, as they played no active part in the liturgical offices of the convent. Rather, they undertook the manual work of the monastery, serving the community as agricultural labourers and artisans. Although lay brethren were to be found at the monasteries of other orders, it was the Cistercians who made the greatest and most effective use of them. Indeed, by providing their conversi with a strict rule of life (the Usus Conversum), the Cistercians not only integrated them into the organisational and ideological framework of the order, but also made them the basis of the order's economy. This form of monastic vassalage was extremely popular, and at most monasteries during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the lay brethren formed by far the larger part of the community.

In light of this, it is not surprising to find evidence of conversi at a number of Canmore Scotland's eleven Cistercian abbeys. For example, that there were conversi at the abbey of Coupar Angus is revealed by two incidental references. The Chronicle of Melrose states that in 1215 'one of the best granges in Coupar, full of grain, was burned, and in it the granger, a lay-brother', whilst a charter of c. 1200 records the grant of sixty cart-loads of turf to the

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983 Inchaff. Chr., 251.
985 Lawrence, Medieval Monasticism, 178.
986 Apart from Holdsworth's above-cited article, the main discussion concerning the Cistercians' use of conversi has been undertaken by German scholars. The most influential of the resulting works have been K. Hallinger, 'Woher Kommen die Laienbruder', Analepta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, 12 (1956), 1-104; E. Hoffman, Das Konverseninstitut des Cisterzienserordens (Freiburg, 1905), & M. Toepfer, Die Konversen der Zisterzienser (Berlin, 1983).
987 Printed in P. Guignard (ed.), Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne (Dijon, 1878)
988 Lawrence, Medieval Monasticism, 178-179.
989 Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1215.
grange of Keithick which was held by the *conversi* of Coupar.⁹⁹⁰ The presence of *conversi* at Melrose and Newbattle is disclosed by allusions in the *Chronicle of Melrose* to the master of the lay brethren at these houses between the years 1200 and 1219.⁹⁹¹ This post - held by a choir monk who oversaw the everyday running of the *conversi* community and represented them in chapter⁹⁹² - was clearly an important one at both of these monasteries, as all three mentioned in the *Chronicle* had newly been promoted to abbot.⁹⁹³

Whilst these casual citations certainly imply the widespread use of *conversi* in the Cistercian community of Canmore Scotland, their actual numbers at individual monasteries is difficult to gauge. Evidence from Cistercian abbeys in concomitant areas such as northern England and the north of Ireland can nonetheless be used to provide a rough estimate of *conversi* numbers in comparably sized Scottish houses. A visitor to the abbey of Mellifont in 1170, for instance, recorded that the convent comprised of 100 choir monks and 300 lay brethren.⁹⁹⁴ Even more impressive *conversi* numbers were recorded at Rievaulx Abbey by Walter Daniel during the same period. Thus, in his *Life of Ælred*, he claimed that there were 500 *conversi* at the Yorkshire house, greatly out-numbering the 140 choir monks with whom they 'crowded...like bees in a hive'.⁹⁹⁵ Whilst it is tempting to dismiss Daniel's figures as hagiographic exaggeration, they are supported by contemporary evidence from similarly successful monasteries on the continent.⁹⁹⁶ Moreover, that the sober testimony of Ælred's *Mirror of Charity* reveals that there were already 300 monks and *conversi* at Rievaulx by c. 1142,⁹⁹⁷ makes it possible that nearly thirty years later and after the charismatic abbotship of Ælred himself, the convent's number had risen to over 600. Consequently, on the strength of

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⁹⁹⁰ *Coup. Chrs.*, I, no. XXX. Interestingly, both this and the previous quote demonstrates that Coupar Angus maintained a traditional Cistercian system of granges run by *conversi*.

⁹⁹¹ *Chron. Melrose*, s.a. 1200, 1201 & 1219.


⁹⁹³ For example, William, the master of the lay brethren at Melrose, became abbot of Coupar Angus. Adam, master of the lay brethren at Newbattle, became abbot of the same house; and Richard, the master of the lay brethren at Newbattle, likewise became abbot of the same house. *Chron. Melrose*, s.a. 1200, 1201 & 1219.


⁹⁹⁵ *Life of Ælred*, 38.

⁹⁹⁶ For example, at Himmerod Abbey, Germany, in 1224, the ratio of choir monks to *conversi* was sixty to 200; whilst Pontigny Abbey in France that ratio was 100 to 300. Toepfer, *Die Konversen der Zisterzienser*, 53. See also, P. Fergusson, *Architecture of Solitude, Cistercian Abbeys in Twelfth-Century England* (Princeton, 1984), 33. It has been proposed that at the average monastery, however, the ratio of *conversi* to monks at Cistercian monasteries was closer to 2:1. G. V. Price, *Valle Crucis Abbey* (Liverpool, 1952), 55.

this testimony, it can be conjectured that at the larger and wealthier of Scotland’s Cistercian houses, such as Coupar Angus, Melrose and Newbattle, the conversi population averaged between three and five hundred by the end of the twelfth century.

Interestingly, architectural evidence can help to determine the level of conversi recruitment in Scotland. For example, a feature of all Cistercian monasteries was that the west side of the cloister was given over to the use of the lay brethren. Discreetly sealed off from the rest of the conventual buildings, it was here that the conversi ate and slept. Consequently, an estimate of their numbers at a given house can be made from the size of its cloister’s west-range. Thus, although the actual building was re-designed for a separate purpose in the later middle ages, the scale of the west-range at Dundrennan bespeaks a lay brethren community which was equal to that of Mellifont Abbey, i.e. about 200. Of course, conventual buildings could have been half empty, or, indeed, overflowing with inmates. Nevertheless, the fact that, as at Dundrennan, an abbey’s permanent conventual buildings were usually erected a number of years after its foundation (and hence once the initial wave of choir monks and lay brethren had been recruited) suggests that they were probably built in order to suit initial demand or expectations. At Fountains Abbey, for instance, that the west-range of the cloister was extended during the twelfth century, demonstrates that the level of conversi recruitment exceeded initial expectations. Notably a similar conclusion can be reached from the ruins of Melrose Abbey, where the number of conversi recruits appears to have been so great that the convent’s hierarchy took the unusual decision of having a lesser cloister built especially for their use. From this evidence, it can be proposed that the lay brethren population at Melrose Abbey was equal to the 500 conversi ascribed to its mother-house of Rievaulx.

998 That these three houses were amongst the most important in Scotland is not only suggested by their architectural remains, but also their income from wool production as revealed by Francesco Pegolotti’s handbook of the early thirteenth century. Duncan, Scotland, 429-431.

999 W. Braunfels, Monasteries of Western Europe: the architecture of the orders (London, 1972), 77.

1000 The architecture of Cistercian monasteries emphasised the strict separation of choir monks and conversi as laid down by their rule. This in effect created two distinct communities. Indeed, in the Dialogues inter Chliaiacensem monachum et Cisterciensem de diversis utriusque ordini observatis, the Cistercian points out that his abbot is master of two houses, that of the choir monks and that of the conversi. Cited in ibid., 74.

1001 MacGibbon & Ross, Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland, 1, 397.

1002 Life of Aidred, 38.

1003 Braunfels, Monasteries of Western Europe, 82; & Stalley, Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland, 44.

1004 Lawrence, Medieval Monasticism, 179.

1005 The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Roxburghshire (1956), II, no. 567.
Having highlighted the presence of an occasionally substantial lay brethren population in Canmore Scotland’s Cistercian community, the pertinent question for the current study is to what extent did it consist of native recruits. In order to address this question, it is necessary to appreciate the general pattern of *conversi* recruitment in western Europe. As Toepfer’s study of the monasteries of France and Germany demonstrated, in contrast to a Cistercian abbey’s initial convent of choir monks, its *conversi* appear to have been recruited predominantly from the peasant population of both the countryside surrounding the religious house and its more distant estates. The younger sons of lesser tenants, whose chances of inheriting land and marrying were extremely slight, were especially attracted to the life of a *conversus*. Applied to Canmore Scotland, these continental findings prompt the immediate conclusion that the Scottish *conversi* population would have comprised predominantly of natives. This is because - unlike in England - when foreign settlers were introduced into Scotland they appear not to have brought a villein following with them. Accordingly, there was no displacement of native lesser tenants or peasants. Indeed, one of the most notable aspects of the feudal settlement in Scotland is the apparent constancy of the lesser landowner and peasant class. Evidence of this can be found in any episcopal or monastic register. For example, a charter from the register of Dunfermline Abbey records the names of the local tenants who perambulated the lands of Dunduff (Fife) in 1231. That they included Gille Coluim, Gille Constantin and Gille Crist, demonstrates that despite the introduction of Anglo-French settlers during the twelfth century, tenant society in this area remained predominantly Gaelic. Besouth the Forth-Clyde line documentary sources present a

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1007 Certainly, it is evident that non-native specialist monk-artisans, whose skills were required to help plan and construct a new abbey’s church and conventual buildings, were present at many convents throughout Europe. Indeed, the similarity in style between northern English and southern Scottish Cistercian abbeys may indicate the presence in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland of such itinerant specialists. These individuals, nevertheless, were in the minority and, moreover, were probably only seconded to a monastery for a short period before being sent on another assignment. See, C. Brooke, ‘St Bernard, the patrons and monastic planning’, in Norton & Park, *Cistercian Art and Architecture*, 11-23, at 17 & 23; R. Halsey, ‘The earliest architecture of the Cistercians in England’, in ibid., 65-85, at 67-68; & Stailey, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 41-42.
1008 Toepfer, *Die Konversen der Zisterzienser*, 53-55. Toepfer, nonetheless, also highlighted examples of burgesses and landowners who became *conversi*.
1010 The only evidence of natives being forcibly displaced in Canmore Scotland is the highly ambiguous statement in the *Chronicle of Holyrood* that ‘Rex Malcolmus Murevienses transituli’, which may equally mean that the see of Moray was transferred to a new site *Chron. Holyrood*, s.a. 1163; & Barrow, *RRS*, I, 19-20.
1011 *Dunn. Reg.*, no. 196.
similar picture of society. The list of witnesses to the record of the boundaries of Stobo in 1200, for instance, is likewise dominated by native names, such as Cristin Gennan servant of Traquair, Gille Coluim the smith of Peebles, and Mihhyn Brunberd of Currocks. With it evidently traditional for Cistercian abbeys to draw recruits from the surrounding countryside, this would undoubtedly have resulted in the *conversi* convents of the nearby abbeys of Culross and Melrose being staffed predominantly by natives. Indeed, that one of the jurors in the Dunduff perambulation was called Gille Serbh (servant of St Serf), reveals the existing connections between Culross and the natives of southern Fife which the Cistercian convent could have exploited to further attract native recruits. Unsurprisingly, charters also demonstrate that native society was also prevalent on land from which large numbers of *conversi* were also recruited, i.e. that which was actually held by Cistercian abbeys. For example, Melrose Abbey was granted land in Carrick by Thomas de Colville. The witness-list to his charter emphasises the Gaelic nature of this district’s society, and it can be envisaged that the relatives or dependants of men such as Éogan mac Alwain, Gille Noamh and Gille Roth mac Gille Martin, enlisted in the monastery’s *conversi* convent. The list of local jurors who perambulated the boundaries between Coupar Angus Abbey’s lands of Drimmie and Scone Priory’s lands of Clenkaytn were similarly dominated by natives, such as Gille Andrais mac Gilleshyn, Gille Ísu mac Gille Mhicheil, Gille Moire of Pettycur, and Macbeth mac Máel Martin. Again, it is from their families and dependants that Coupar Angus would most probably have gained its lay brethren.

Specific evidence to support these suppositions is unfortunately scarce. Indeed, if documentary record of individual monks and canons is rare, then so much more so notice of lay brethren. In his early thirteenth-century *Life of Waltheof*, however, Jocelin of Furness mentioned by name a number of *conversi* who had witnessed miracles either performed by Waltheof himself when abbot of Melrose (1148-1159) or via the healing properties of his tomb. Although set within a hagiographic context, the names presented by Jocelin are most probably accurate, not least because he appears to have met some of the *conversi* whose testimony he cites. The mention of Gillesperda (?Gille Pedair) ‘conversus of the

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1012 *Glas. Reg.*, no. 104.
1013 *Melr. lib.*, I, no. 192. Melrose Abbey had already been granted land in Carrick by Roger de Scalebroc, whose charter was likewise witnessed by a group of native tenants. Ibid., no. 31.
1014 *Coup. Chrs.*, I, no. XXXIV.
1015 *Vita Waltheofii*, 74, 85, 99, 100, 110, 112, 130, & 131.
1016 For example, Jocelin noted that Duramius ‘retold to me’. Ibid., 130. See also, 131.
monastery of Coupar’ by Jocelin is therefore significant as it strengthens the above proposal that majority of the lay brethren at this abbey were likely to have been of Gaelic stock. That Gillesperda was sent on business to Melrose Abbey on the one hand implies that he was a high-ranking member of Coupar Angus’ conversi community. On the other, it reveals that the hierarchy of Coupar Angus did not consider the fact that he was of the ‘Scoticus natione’ to be a hindrance to him carrying out negotiations in Teviotdale. This is significant because it suggests that the ethnic, cultural and linguistic barriers which historians sometimes subconsciously erect between Scotland benorth and besouth the Forth during the Canmore period were not perceived by contemporaries to be insurmountable, even if they perceived them at all. It may nevertheless, also indicate that, as implied by the evidence presented above, the conversi convent of Melrose was staffed by natives of Teviotdale, including Gaels with whom Gillesperda could freely discuss business. Certainly, the fact that the Usus Conversorum demanded that lay brethren remain illiterate - making it highly improbable that Gillesperda spoke Latin - suggests that he must have at least anticipated the presence of a fellow-Gaelic speaker at Melrose.

Significantly however, the testimony of Jocelin does not bear this proposal out. Indeed, most of the conversi mentioned in connection with the convent of Melrose in the Life of Waltheof possessed peculiarly Anglo-French names, such as Duramius, Henry, Richard, Taiblad and Walter. Although it has already been proven that certain Anglo-French names had become popular amongst native society in southern Scotland by the end of the twelfth century, it is interesting to note that none of those listed by Jocelin reflect the names noted above as being common amongst the neighbouring peasant communities from which Melrose should have drawn its conversi recruits. An explanation for this apparent anomaly may be that to suit the conventions of his work, Jocelin replaced native names with Anglo-French ones. His previously mentioned attempt to render the Gaelic cognomen Gillesperda, however, makes this unlikely. Perhaps a more plausible justification is that, being himself of non-Celtic extraction, Jocelin is unlikely to have understood neither Cumbric nor Gaelic. Consequently,
as he allegedly sought out personal testimony for his hagiography, he was compelled to speak to conversi of a similar ethnic background. Whether this was the case or not, that there was evidently a small faction, at least, of non-native lay brethren at Melrose during the mid to late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries raises a number of intriguing questions concerning the recruiting patterns, the mobility of conversi in medieval Scotland, and the ethnic composition of peasant society in Teviotdale by the mid 1100s. It is possible that the catchment area, as it were, for Melrose Abbey’s lay brethren recruits was not confined to Teviotdale and the house’s Scottish properties, but also extended into the northern English society from whence its original convent of choir monks had come. Accordingly, the abbey’s lay brethren community would probably have comprised of the Anglo-Saxon, Cumbric and Gaelic peasantry of southern Scotland, and the villeins of northern England.

By thus providing a monastic vocation for the illiterate agrarian class, the Cistercians opened up a new avenue for popular devotion in Canmore Scotland which had no apparent pre-1070 parallels. Superficially it may appear as if the conversi system was simply a case of the ruling classes once again exploiting the peasantry for their own economic ends; an impression reinforced by the strict physical division between choir monks and lay brethren at Cistercian monasteries. Such a viewpoint, however, not only overlooks the powerful pietistic passions which characterised lay society in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Europe, but arguably also misinterprets the spiritually inclusive, rather than exclusive, nature of Cistercian theology. Indeed, in a period when the sophistication of the doctrine of purgatory resulted in a pessimistic, even fatalistic, form of popular Christianity which stressed the fundamental depravity of Man and the precarious state of most people’s souls,

1022 Vita Walthaeofi, 130 & 131.
1023 Southern Scotland and northern England formed a single cultural unit despite political boundaries. Melrose Abbey, with its contacts with Rievaulx and men such as Ælred, formed an integral part of this cross-border society. The foundation of Holm Cultram Abbey in Cumberland by monks from Melrose emphasises this connection.
1024 Lawrence, Medieval Monasticism, 177-178.
1025 See R. N. Swanson, Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215-c. 1515 (London, 1995).
1027 The purgatorial mood was enforced not only by the theological tracts of scholars such as Peter Chanter and Simon of Tournai, who fixed the idea of purgatory as an actual physical place for the first time, but also through numerous pictorial depictions of purgatorial sufferings which would have affected the non-literate laity, such as the sculptures contained in the tympana of St Denis and Chartres in France. Swanson, Religion and Devotion in Europe, 34-38 & 225-228.
and where the belief in vicarious merit and intercession underpinned devotion, the lay brethren system presented an opportunity for the otherwise excluded peasantry to attain personal salvation. Interestingly, Jocelin of Furness depicted Abbot Waltheof sitting amongst his conversi instructing them in the faith. That enough members of native society realised this opportunity to staff the conversi convents of at least ten Scottish Cistercian monasteries - many of which became important centres of wool production on the back of their labour - demonstrate their religious awareness. It significantly also highlights an oft-overlooked way in which native society had a direct and decisive influence on the development and success of reformed monasticism in Scotland.

Conclusion

From a twentieth-century perspective, conscious of the conflicts in the Balkans and elsewhere, the classification of individuals or groups of people into ethnic categories has distasteful, not to say sinister, connotations. However, in order not only to facilitate a more balanced, less francocentric, interpretation of cultural developments in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scottish Church, but also to promote a clearer understanding of the dynamics between it and Scotland's multi-ethnic population, such a survey is crucial. The preceding study demonstrates the potential of such a comprehensive re-assessment by exposing the traditional view of Scottish reformed abbeys and priories as wholly invalid. In

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1028 In this system, each Christian was treated as a penitent required to accrue spiritual merit and add to their fund of intercession, mainly by gaining indulgences in order to achieve salvation. This doctrine can be said to have created a spiritually affluent society, as fearful believers undertook a whole range of penances - from alms-giving to crusading - to appease the wrath of God. Documentary evidence reveals that many of these penances were practised not just on the continent, but also in Scotland. For example, both Florence of Worcester and Turgot remarked on Margaret's devotion to prayer; William of Malmesbury recorded Edgar's abstemious nature; Ælred of Rievaulx spoke of Alexander I's concern for the poor; and William of Newburgh marvelled at Mael Coluim IV's chastity. SAEC, 115, 155 & 237; William of Newburgh, The History of English Affairs, eds. & trans. P. G. Walsh & M. J. Kennedy (Warminster, 1988), 137. That this teaching had an effect upon patterns of religious patronage is revealed in a story recorded by Matthew Paris, in which a dying knight, tormented by terrifying visions of Hell, is persuaded that the only way in which he and his brother shall avoid these eternal torments is if they found a monastery whose inmates would pray for their deliverance. Suitably convinced, the knight's brother founded a Cistercian monastery. Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series, 1872-84), III, 143-145.

1029 Vita Waltheofi, 73. Again, this may represent Jocelin's ideal of a saintly abbot, rather than the reality.

1030 Sweetheart Abbey, the eleventh Cistercian abbey in Scotland, was founded in 1273, at a time when conversi were being replaced by hired secular workers and tenants. Burton, Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 77.

1031 For the Cistercians' impact on Scottish trade, see W. B. Steveson, 'The Monastic Presence in Scottish Burghs in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', SHR, lx (1981), 97-118.
place of this received view it has, by adopting a less dogmatic approach to the ethnic origins of Scottish regular clergy, presented a revised picture which depicts the native peoples of Canmore Scotland as active participants in the new religious movement. Indeed, from Abbot Eanfrith of Newbattle and Prior Máel Ísu of Inchaffray to Fingal the canon of Whithorn and Gillesperda the lay brother of Coupar Angus, they can be shown to have played a significant part at all levels of reformed monastic life.

This is not to imply, on the one hand, that natives were predominant at every Scottish monastery, nor that the impact of foreign regular clergy on the development and culture of reformed religious life was not seminal. Indeed, the above discussion has suggested that the balance between native and incomer varied according to factors such as a house’s filial connections and, particularly, the secular environment in which it was established. Thus, whilst the convent of Saddell Abbey in Kintyre would have been staffed by Gaelic monks and lay brethren, and that of Whithorn Priory in Galloway by a mixture of Gaels and Anglo-French, at monasteries situated in areas of intense foreign secular settlement the native contingent could be quite negligible. Nonetheless, as demonstrated by Abbot Adam of Dryburgh and Swan the sub-cellarer of Melrose,1032 even at religious houses located in Teviotdale, there was still a - sometimes influential - native presence.

On the other hand, neither is it meant to suggest that ethnicity was the same thing as identity in Canmore Scotland, and that all incoming religious were perceived by natives to be, or even viewed themselves as, hostile aliens. Indeed, evidence implies that people in the twelfth and thirteenth century did not view ethnicity in as stark and dogmatic terms as has been all too common in the twentieth century. There was undoubtedly an awareness of ethnic origin. This is demonstrated by the appearance of A. Francigena and Walter Francigena in the registers of Glasgow and St Andrews, respectively,1033 and Jocelin of Furness’ aforementioned reference to a conversus being of the ‘Scoticus natione’.1034 There was evidently also a recognition of linguistic differences during the period. Gerald of Wales, for example, railed against a rival for the see of St Davids because he could not speak the language of ‘our people’, i.e. Welsh:1035 echoing the difficulties which allegedly prompted

1032 Vita Waltheofi, 23.
1033 Glas. Reg., no. 50; & St A. Lib., 267.
1034 Vita Waltheofi, 112.
the creation of the diocese of Argyll at the end of the twelfth century. The definition of a ‘Scot’ was nevertheless elastic. Bishop John of Dunkeld, for instance, despite being born in Budworth (Cheshire), was called ‘the Scot’ and, in Bower’s words, ‘now regarded not as a guest and a foreigner, but a citizen and a native’. Thomas de Colville, Anglo-French lord of Carsphairn in Galloway, was likewise nick-named ‘the Scot’. He was probably so-called because of his support for the local magnate, Donnchad of Carrick. It can therefore be inferred that the deciding factor in what made an individual ‘Scottish’ was political and not ethnic. There is significantly an example of this blurring of the boundaries between ethnicity and identity from reformed monastic history: the previously mentioned Odo of Ithonchester, whose support for Whithorn’s dispute with the king of Scots enabled him to condemn ‘non-Galwegian’ clerics without any trace of irony.

Despite the naturalisation of incomers, the presence of Anglo-French religious in Scotland, and especially their continued links with English mother-houses, did nevertheless cause political tensions of which the kings of Scots were only too well aware. Thus, when David I approached Holy Trinity Canterbury to provide its daughter-house of Dunfermline with its first abbot, he emphasised that once installed the candidate was to be ‘free from all subjection and obedience to Canterbury’. The problems which could arise if such an action was not taken and a convent remained stubbornly loyal to its southern mother-house are demonstrated by the relationship between the priory of the Isle of May and Reading Abbey. As with all Cluniac abbots, the abbot of Reading demanded the obedience of the monks of dependent priories and maintained the right to depose and appoint their prior and make visitations. This resulted in him interfering in the affairs of May Priory, often to the consternation of the king of Scots and the bishop of St Andrews. Successive attempts by both of these potentates to detach the priory from Reading’s jurisdiction failed because the

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1036 Scotichron., VI, 39. This explanation has, however, been justifiably challenged by I. B. Cowan. ‘The Medieval Church in Argyll and the Isles’, RSCHS, xx (1978), 21, on the grounds that Gaelic would have also been the language of the rest of Bishop John’s see.
1037 Scotichron., VI, 35.
1038 Melr. Lib., I, no. 192.
1039 Thomas was to be imprisoned in Edinburgh castle on charges of sedition. Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1210 & 1219
1040 CPL, I, 193.
1041 RRN, I, no. 8.
1042 For a discussion on this topic and a selection of relevant documents, see A. A. M. Duncan, ‘Documents Relating to the Priory of the Isle of May, c. 1140-1313’, PSAS, xc (1956-57), 52-80.
1043 Ibid., 60.
Anglo-French monks continued to identify themselves with their mother-house. The filial contacts between Coldingham and Durham proved an even more persistent political problem, and prompted the exasperated Bower to lament 'the great and habitual dangers which have frequently arisen against our royal majesty...from the sojourning, residence and admission of English monks from Durham who have occupied the priory of Coldingham to our great loss for a very long time'. Bower was of course viewing the presence of English monks from an intensely nationalist perspective. Nevertheless, that even in the relatively peaceful thirteenth century the influx of foreign religious was perceived to be a threat to national interests is revealed by the thirteenth-century statute which envisaged all non-native clerics 'who are notoriously enemies being utterly and altogether excluded'.

In spite of these cross-border tensions, it is notable that, in contrast to Ireland and Wales, cultural divergence in Scotland's reformed monastic community did not lead to communal divisions. There was undoubtedly disdain shown by some Anglo-French monks for monasteries in Gaelic provinces. This is demonstrated not only by Walter Daniel's comments regarding Galloway, but also the disparaging references to the abbey of Deer in the Chronicle of Melrose. Importantly, however, neither Walter Daniel nor probably the chronicler at Melrose had actual experience of residing in a Gaelic-dominated province such as Galloway or Buchan. Their knowledge of Gaelic society is therefore likely to have been based upon prejudiced Anglo-French perceptions of 'barbarous' peoples and their occasional, often unpleasant, contact with Gaels, such as Fergus' marauding army of 1138, rather than experience of incomer-native conflict in native areas of Scotland. In contrast, as forcibly demonstrated by the example of Odo of Idonchester, it would appear as if English who settled in Gaelic provinces soon lost their preconceived ideas about native barbarity and became acculturated with native society. Notably, that the preconceived opinions of certain monks residing in Melrose did not preclude the Cistercians in Scotland from working as a unified order is demonstrated by the cultural contacts between the abbeys of Glenluce in

1044 Ibid., 61-63. Bishop William Fraser of St Andrews purchased the priory sometime after the 21st of March 1288, and thence annexed it to the priory of St Andrews.
1045 For a discussion, see R. B. Dobson, 'The Last English Monks on Scottish Soil', SHR, xlvi (1967), 27-35.
1046 Scotichron., XI, 22.
1047 Patrick, Statutes, 53. This was followed in 1289 by a papal indulgence which stated that only natives were to be admitted to religious houses in Scotland. CPL, I, 497.
1048 Life of Ailred, 38.
1049 Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1235 & 1267.
Galloway and Melrose in Teviotdale. Even more significantly, neither did it prompt an attempt by incoming regular clergy to force native religious into an Anglo-French cultural conformity, such as demanding that they spoke French, nor result in natives being excluded from involvement in full monastic life.

This last point needs to be re-emphasised as it is vital to the argument of this thesis highlighting as it does the extent to which native Anglo-Saxons, Britons and Gaels continued to play a direct role in organised Scottish religious life after 1070 by entering reformed convents. In addition to this, as an institution’s personnel are to a large extent responsible for its culture and outlook, as well as the yardstick by which it is measured by the public, this ethnographic survey of reformed religious houses provides both a signpost to the probable survival of native religious customs and practices at certain monasteries, and an indication why the new orders received the support of native patrons.

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1050 See, for example, the letter sent by the abbot of Glenuce to the prior of Melrose concerning astronomical phenomenon over Galloway. Ibid, s.a. 1216.
1051 One of the recommendations of Stephen of Lexington was that all Irish Cistercians should be able to make a confession in French. Stephen of Lexington, 93-94.
1052 Another recommendation of Lexington was that no native monk be appointed as abbot for three years after his visit. Ibid., 94. A result of his crackdown was the desertion of certain monasteries by native monks. Ibid., 45-48.
CONTINUITY OF PATRONAGE

The Historicity of Religious Patronage in Scotland

The seminal migration of secular power which resulted in the colonisation and eventual conquest of Pictland by the Scots was adumbrated, complemented and to a certain extent facilitated by an expansion in the influence of the Gaelic Church. It can even be argued that from Colum Cille’s alleged practical and prophetic involvement in Scottish dynastic affairs to the transfer of his relics to Dunkeld in 849, the conflation of *familia lae* and *Cenél nGabráin* territorial and political interests in particular played an indisputably determinative role both in the formation of a united Scoto-Pictish state during the early ninth century and the subsequent accession of Cináed mac Alpin. Notably, as a recent study by Hudson has demonstrated, the alliance between Church and state which had thus distinguished Dál Riatan, as well as Scoto-Pictish, history not only survived the transposition of Scottish power into Pictland, but was destined also to have a major influence on the religious and political development of Alba. Indeed, as Hudson’s article has argued, it is evident that the kings of Alba intensified their relationship with the clergy, in order that, even more so than in previous centuries, Scottish Church and Scottish kingship formed two sides of the same governmental coin.

Viewed from this perspective, it can be assumed that there would have been an ingrained appreciation amongst the Scottish ruling dynasty at least of the benefits of patronising organised religious life by the twelfth century. Unusually for the early medieval period in Scottish history, there is quite extensive documentary evidence to suggest that this was indeed the case. For example, much of the literature produced by the Gaelic Church during the eighth and ninth centuries was concerned with the relationship between Church and state. Moreover, two of the most influential collections of this predominantly ecclesiological and legal corpus - the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* and the reform texts of

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1053 Hudson, ‘Kings and Church’.
1054 For an in-depth discussion concerning the relationship between Church and state in early medieval Alba, see Veitch, ‘The Alliance between Church and State’.
1055 For a discussion, see Clancy, ‘Iona, Scotland and the Céli De’, 111-130.
the céil Dé - were primarily the work of the familia lae,\textsuperscript{1056} which was of course the dominant force in northern British religious society. In addition to this, Hudson has argued for the existence of close intellectual links between the Scottish clergy and the Carolingian court, where Gaelic scholars were producing detailed treatises concerning Church-state relations.\textsuperscript{1057} It is therefore more than possible that the hierarchy of the Columban- and céil Dé-dominated Church in northern Britain had developed quite sophisticated opinions on the subject some time before the arrival of the MacAlpins.

The affect which this had upon religious patronage in Alba before the Canmore period is evident in a number of compelling extracts from contemporary literary sources. These include a passage in version D of the Scottish king-lists which records that ‘Giric mac Dúngail [878-889]... was the first to give liberty to the Scottish Church, which was in servitude up to that time, after the custom and practice of the Picts’;\textsuperscript{1058} and the statements in the Scottish Chronicle that

In the sixth year of his reign, Constantin the king [c. 900-943] and Cellach the bishop, on the Hill of Faith near the royal monastery of Scone, swore to keep the laws and disciplines of the faith and the rights of the churches and the gospels, in the same manner as the Scots. From that day that hill has deserved its name, the Hill of Faith;\textsuperscript{1059} and Cináed II (971-975) consigned ‘the great monastery [\textit{magna civitatis}]\textsuperscript{1060} of Brechin to the Lord’.\textsuperscript{1061} As has been explored in greater depth elsewhere, these acts were in accordance

\textsuperscript{1056} One of the compilers of the Collectio was Cú Chiuimne of Iona; while Diarmait of Iona played an influential role in the céil Dé reforms. Kenney, SEHI, 247-250; & Clancy, ‘Iona, Scotland and the Céli Dé’, 111-114.
\textsuperscript{1057} Hudson, ‘Kings and Church’, 156. One of the most detailed of these texts, Liber de Rectoribus Christianis, was written by a Liensterman, Sedulius Scotus, and displays many Gaelic influences. A translation of this work is to be found in Sedulius Scotus, \textit{On Christian Rulers and the Poems}, ed. E. G. Doyle (Binghampton, 1983). For a commentary and a discussion regarding its Gaelic influences, see L. M. Davies, ‘Sedulius Scotus: Liber de Rectoribus Christianis, a Carolingian or Irish Mirror for Princes’, \textit{Studia Celtica}, xxxvi/xxxvii (1991/2), 34-50. While Sedulius’ treatise does not advocate royal control over the Church, it nevertheless promotes the idea that kings had been ‘granted authority over both subjects’ (i.e. secular and ecclesiastical) and were to act as ‘stewards’ of the Church \textit{LRC}, cap. XIX. Thus, despite his obvious duty to earlier Gaelic Church reform texts, he modifies the strict views on soerad (freeing) expressed in such legal texts as the Collectio. Sedulius was part of a Europe-wide tradition which included Hincmar of Rheims and Jonas of Orleans. Davies, ‘Sedulius Scotus’, 35. Hudson, ‘Kings and Church’, 156-158, has argued that it is likely the MacAlpin’s attitude towards government was deeply affected by the theories formulated at the Carolingian court by Gael scholars, amongst others, on the divine nature of kingship.
\textsuperscript{1058} \textit{Chron. Picts-Scots}, 151.
\textsuperscript{1059} Ibid., 9.
\textsuperscript{1060} Cowan, ‘Scottish Chronicle’, 9, has highlighted that in a Gaelic context \textit{civitatis} should be translated as ‘monastery’ rather than ‘city’. 
with one of the main pre-occupations of the Collectio Canonum Hibernensis and the céle Dé texts, i.e. the ‘ennobling’ or ‘freeing’ (sóerad) of a church.\footnote{1061} Moreover, they corresponded to the idea promoted by Gaelic-composed Carolingian works such as Liber de Rectoribus Christianis that kings were to take an active role in the development and protection of the Church.\footnote{1063} Significantly, these two strands of early medieval ecclesiological thought continued to influence royal patronage of Gaelic Church communities not only throughout the eleventh century, as demonstrated by Macbeth and Gruoch’s grant to the céli Dé of Lochleven,\footnote{1064} but also into the twelfth. This is revealed by David I’s charter confirming the rights of the clerici of the abbey of Deer.\footnote{1065} This not only illustrates that twelfth-century claims for ecclesiastical freedoms were built upon historical foundations (as well as the notable fact that the oral traditions of the clerici had enabled them to compile a ‘book’ detailing their ancient rights which convinced two courts of the authenticity of their claims), but also stresses the periodic need of the clergy to gain confirmation of their privileges from the highest possible secular authority. Indeed, the only real difference between the freeing of Brechin from its secular exactions by Cinaed II and David’s treatment of Deer is that by the twelfth century Scottish political and ecclesiastical culture had become more literary and such decisions made by the king were therefore corroborated by a legal document.

Whilst the preceding examples are of an exclusively royal provenance, it is probable that they reflect an attitude towards religious patronage in pre-twelfth-century Alba which was universal to all members of the secular ruling class, from petty landowner to provincial mormaer. This is implied by the monumental sculptures erected at religious sites throughout northern Britain (most especially Meigle, St Vigeans and Tarbat) which bespeak extensive and generous secular patronage.\footnote{1066} Interestingly, the seminal role of these benefactors is indicated on the carved stones themselves, where secular figures (presumably the house’s patrons)\footnote{1067} are depicted enjoying noble pursuits such as hunting. This is apparent, for

\footnote{1061} Chron. Picts-Scots, 10. It has been argued in Veitch, ‘The Alliance between Church and State’, 203, that this records the freeing, rather than the founding, of Brechin.
\footnote{1062} Clancy, ‘Iona, Scotland and the Céli Dé’, 118-120, has highlighted that in theory a church could attain ‘free’ status and its attendant rights and responsibilities only once it had fulfilled a number of obligations, such as providing basic pastoral care.
\footnote{1063} LRC, XII-XIV, & XIX.
\footnote{1064} Lawrie, ESC, no. V.
\footnote{1065} Jackson, Gaelic Notes, 36.
\footnote{1066} Foster, Picts, Gaels and Scots, 93-95; & Harden, ‘A Potential Archaeological Context for the Early Christian Sculptured Stones from Tarbat, Easter Ross’, 221-227.
\footnote{1067} Foster, Picts, Scots and Gaels, 95.
example, on the cross-slabs of Aberlemno and Hilton of Cadboll.\textsuperscript{1068} There is also documentary evidence of Scottish nobles patronising religious communities before 1100. In illustration, one of the notitiae in the Book of Deer records a number of grants made to that monastery by various mormaers and toisechs of Buchan.\textsuperscript{1069} These included Murdac mac Morcuinn's gift of Pett-meic-Gartnait, Mâel Brigate mac Cathail's donation of Pett-in-Mulenn, and Cathal mac Morcuinn's grant of the 'field of the clerics' and a 'dinner of a hundred each Christmas and each Easter to God and Drostan'. Significantly, that the non-royal patrons of Deer (and presumably elsewhere) were motivated by the same ideological factors as were royal benefactors is also revealed in these notitiae. They indicate, for example, that successive mormaers of Buchan 'quenched' their rights to collect dues from the monastery's estates during the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{1070} This was undoubtedly motivated by the same principles of sóerad (in this instance the freeing of a church from its financial obligations)\textsuperscript{1071} which resulted in Irish churches, such as Kildalkey, being exempted from tax and tribute during the eleventh century.\textsuperscript{1072}

From this admittedly cursory and rudimentary survey of pre-1100 religious patronage, it can be inferred that by the advent of reformed monasticism in Canmore Scotland the native ruling classes had a tradition of both financially and politically supporting organised religious life. Indeed, it can be proposed that the ideological and practical precedents were highly favourable for the reformed orders to attract substantial native patronage in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland.

Reformed Monastic Patronage: an Anglo-French phenomenon?

In spite of the favourable precedents for native aristocratic patronage of the new religious orders, as is well known, the initial impetus for reformed monasticism in Scotland came from the ruling Canmore dynasty. Indeed, Barrow's famous remark that the dissemination of reformed monasticism in Scotland was a Canmore 'family enterprise' is, at least for the first half of the twelfth century, something of a truism.\textsuperscript{1073} At the very heart of this royal munificence was David I's remarkable support for a wide range of religious orders in Scotland, from the Tironensians at Selkirk/Kelso to the Augustinians at Holyrood. In

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\textsuperscript{1068} Allen & Anderson, ECMS, II, 61 & 205.
\textsuperscript{1069} Jackson, Gaelic Notes, 32-33.
\textsuperscript{1070} Ibid., 34.
\textsuperscript{1071} For which, see Veitch, 'The Alliance between Church and State', 203-207.
\textsuperscript{1072} The example of Kildalkey dates from 1033X1049. Kenney, SEHI, 753.
\textsuperscript{1073} Barrow, 'The royal house and the religious orders', 166.
comparison with this ‘connoisseur of the religious orders’, the native aristocracy in Scotland appear to have been relatively indifferent to the new movement during the early 1100s. It has even been proposed that they were actively hostile to the advent of reformed monasticism and were to blame for the hesitant spread of new convents during the reign of Alexander I. As highlighted in the introduction to this thesis, historians have tended to attribute this apparent apathy to the perception of the native nobility that reformed monasticism was an alien cultural and social phenomenon.

Underpinning this view is the inarguable fact that reformed monasticism was originally a product of the French-speaking culture which came to dominate Europe during the high middle ages. As such, wherever it spread, it maintained certain francocised cultural and organisational characteristics. Moreover, in its early years at least, its identity was to a large extent conflated with that of the French-speaking aristocracy, one of whose distinguishing features was their patronage of reformed monasteries. Indeed, to have an abbey or priory to one’s name was a mark of status for an ambitious baron, for as Orderic Vitalis shrewdly observed ‘Every one of the great men of Normandy would have thought himself beneath contempt if he had not made provision out of his estates for clerks and monks to serve in the army of God’. The relationship between French culture and reformed monasticism is personified in Scottish history by David I, who gained both his passion for, and practical experience of, the new movement whilst resident at the Anglo-Norman court of Henry I and subsequently through his marriage to Maud of Huntingdon.

Whilst the cultural barrier between native and French-speaking societies was an undoubtedly important and prohibitive factor, there were probably other reasons behind the initial lack of enthusiasm amongst native nobles in Scotland for reformed forms of religious life. This is suggested on the one hand by episodes from Dark Age and early medieval Gaelic Church history which reveal that traditionally there was a willingness amongst the Scots to embrace continental ecclesiological developments. On the other, it is implied by the fact

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1076 This was especially the case with the more austere orders, such as the Cistercians and the Tironensians. Southern, Western Society and the Church, 235.
1078 Orderic Vitalis, Ecclesiastical History, II, 10.
1080 Veitch, ‘Columban Church’. 

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that, despite being portrayed by Ritchie as an archetypal Anglo-French ruler and sponsor of a refined style of Norman kingship,\textsuperscript{1081} King Edgar established no monasteries in Scotland. Although not readily apparent, it is possible to confirm this suspicion by viewing the issue from a native, rather than the usual Anglo-French, perspective. For example, that the \textit{mormaers} of Buchan and earls of Strathearn continued to patronise the \textit{clerici} of Deer and brethren of Inchaffray, respectively,\textsuperscript{1082} and Somerled, the Lord of the Isles, tried to re-invigorate the Columban community at Iona during the twelfth century,\textsuperscript{1083} demonstrates that some of the most powerful magnates in Scotland - men to whom the wider populace would have looked to provide a cultural lead - maintained their adherence to traditional forms of religious life. Accordingly, it can be proposed that native antipathy towards reformed monasticism was partly encouraged by the conservative belief amongst the patronal classes that existing religious provisions continued to fulfil their spiritual and ecclesiological needs.

Despite the initial reluctance of native landowners to follow the example of their ruling dynasty, reformed monasticism was nonetheless far from the preserve of the Canmores and incoming settlers. Indeed, as the proceeding survey will highlight, members of the native aristocracy were to become pro-active and sophisticated patrons of the new religious orders throughout later twelfth- and especially thirteenth-century Scotland.

\textit{Practical Piety: native founders in Canmore Scotland}

Of all the native founders of reformed monasteries in Scotland, the most remarkable was surely Fergus of Galloway.\textsuperscript{1084} He demonstrated an awareness of monastic fashions which was second only to his contemporary, David I. Evidently exploiting the traditional ecclesiastical connections between Galloway and the north of England, and perhaps also the newly forged political links with the Anglo-Norman court of Henry I,\textsuperscript{1085} Fergus laid the groundwork for a reformed religious community in his province which was unrivalled in any other native-dominated area of medieval Scotland. Although doubts remain regarding the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1081} Ritchie, \textit{Normans in Scotland}, 87-98.
\item \textsuperscript{1082} Jackson, \textit{Gaelic Notes}, 34-35; \& \textit{Inchaff. Chrs.}, no. III.
\item \textsuperscript{1083} \textit{AU}, s.a. 1164.
\item \textsuperscript{1084} For the life of this \textit{regulus}, see Oram, ‘Fergus, Galloway and the Scots’, \& \textit{idem}, ‘Colonisation and settlement in Galloway’.
\item \textsuperscript{1085} The archbishop of York was the metropolitan of the bishop of \textit{Candida Casa}, and, as has been shown above, was at times closely involved in Galwegian ecclesiastical affairs; whilst Fergus married an illegitimate daughter of Henry I. The belief that Fergus spent time at the Anglo-Norman court of King Henry is now thought to be false. Oram, ‘Fergus, Galloway and the Scots’, 117 \& 119, \textit{idem}, ‘In reverence and obedience’. See also, McDonald, ‘Scoto-Norse Kings and the Reformed Religious Orders’.
\end{itemize}
actual foundation dates of these monasteries, they appear to have included the Premonstratensian houses of Soulseat and Whithorn, the Augustinian priory at St Mary’s Isle, and the Cistercian abbey at Dundrennan. The reasons behind this munificence were undoubtedly in part political. In an age when power was expressed in physical symbols, the foundation of a network of stone-built abbeys and priories would have created a potent statement of Fergus’ status in Galloway. Sponsorship of the new orders would also have emphasised his cultural independence from and patronal parity with neighbouring rulers, most especially his greatest rival, the king of Scots. This would have particularly been the case with Dundrennan Abbey which he appears to have founded in 1142 a mere six years after the advent of the Cistercians in Scotland at Melrose under the patronage of David I. Notably, Fergus did not look to this newly formed Scottish house for his convent, but, as with the king of Scots before him, approached the Yorkshire abbey of Rievaulx. Another possible reason for Fergus’ largesse is that he had been influenced by the prevailing penitential mood in European religious society which prompted fearful believers into performing sometimes ostentatious acts of devotion. The founding of a monastery was one way in which a sinner could accrue the necessary spiritual merit and add to their fund of intercession. Monastic patronage was certainly promoted as a pietistic act, for as Baldred stated in his lament for David I ‘he diligently practised the things of God, in building churches and founding monasteries’. It is therefore interesting to note that it has been proposed that Fergus of Galloway founded Dundrennan Abbey in penance for the atrocities committed by his army at Northallerton in 1138.

Notably, the monastic impulse in Galloway did not die with Fergus in 1161. Those projects which he left unfinished at St Mary’s Isle and Whithorn, for instance, were evidently brought to fruition by his son Uchtred and the bishop of Candida Casa, respectively.

1086 Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 96-97, 102 & 103.
1087 Ibid., 102 & 103. See also Scott, ‘The Origins of Dundrennan and Soulseat Abbeys’, 35-44.
1088 Ibid., 96-97. See also R. C. Reid, ‘The Priory of St Mary’s Isle’, TDGNHAS, xxxvi (1957-58), 1-26.
1089 It is not certain that Dundrennan Abbey was founded by Fergus, with some source’s crediting David I with the act. Current scholarly opinion, however, favours the lord of Galloway’s claim. See Oram, ‘Colonisation and Settlement in Galloway’, 114.
1090 Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 75. It is of course possible that the convent at Melrose was not yet of sufficient numbers to colonise a daughter-house.
1091 Chron. Fordun, V, 37.
1092 Oram, ‘Colonisation and Settlement’, 115.
1093 For St Mary’s Isle, see pp. 92-93 above. Apropos of Whithorn: that Bishop Christian completed Fergus’ preparations is implied by the conflicting evidence regarding the true founder of the priory’s Premonstratensian convent. Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 103.
Moreover, Fergus’ descendants even augmented his already impressive network of convents. Thus, his grandsons Roland and Donnchad introduced a Cistercian convent to Glenluce in 1192 and a Cluniac convent to Crossraguel 1214-1216, respectively; his great-grandson Alan established a Premonstratensian abbey at Tongland in 1218: while his great-great-granddaughter Derbforgail founded the last White Monk house in Scotland at New Abbey in 1273. These post-Fergus foundations are significant not least because it was rare in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for successive generations of the same family to continue founding new monasteries. It was more common for would-be benefactors to merely focus their patronage on a house which had already been established by an ancestor. Indeed, the only other families in Scotland to do so were the Canmores and the Lords of the Isles. This emphasises not only the essentially royal status of the Galwegian dynasty during this period, but also their formidable patronal resources. That they chose to channel these resources into establishing an extensive reformed monastic community in their province from the earliest period of the movement’s development in northern Britain provides the most compelling testimony of the continued ability of native nobles in Scotland to react to external religious developments and assimilate them into local society. It certainly reveals that the founding of reformed monasteries in Scotland was by no means the preserve of the royal family and incomers.

As noted, the only other native dynasty to have more than one continental-style monastic convent to their name by the end of the thirteenth century was the family of Somerled. This was largely through the munificence of Somerled’s son, Raonall, who undertook three major religious projects during the first decade of the thirteenth century. This included the highly symbolic conversion of the ancient abbey of Iona to the Benedictine Rule. That he elected to introduce this particular form of monasticism may appear to confirm the traditional perception that native lords such as Raonall were divorced from the mainstream of medieval religious developments, as by 1200 the Benedictines had long been superseded by reformed orders. Such an interpretation, however, would be inaccurate in light of the fact that his two other major acts of monastic patronage were to bring Cistercians to

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1094 Ibid., 75, 78 & 103.
1095 For a discussion on the monastic patronage of the lords of the Isles, see McDonald, ‘Scoto-Norse Kings and the Religious Orders’.
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Saddell in Kintyre c. 1207 and Augustinian canonesses to Iona -1208. It is arguable, moreover, that Raonall’s choice of the Black Monk *regula* actually displays his sophisticated appreciation of the different merits of the various orders. For example, by introducing the Benedictine rule, the Lord of the Isles ensured that the convent of Iona would be free from filial dependence on, and interference from, an institution in either Ireland or the kingdom of the Scots. This was because, on the one hand, it effectively broke the old abbey’s organisational, if not spiritual and cultural, connections with the powerful houses of Armagh and Derry, whilst on the other it instituted an order whose *regula* meant that the convent would not be subordinate to a greater Benedictine house outwith the Lordship, such as Dunfermline Abbey. Indeed, that the Lord of the Isles considered Iona Abbey’s independence from this eastern Scottish house as crucial is evident from the fact that only two years after Dunfermline gained the episcopal powers of mitre and ring - which could have been used to claim suzerainty over all the Benedictine convents north of Durham - the papacy was persuaded to grant equal authority to the abbot of Iona. Accordingly, Raonall managed to strengthen the historically intimate, even symbiotic, political and cultural relationship between the native *reguli* of Scotland’s western seaboard and the convent of Iona by means of a shrewd piece of monastic patronage.

This is not to suggest that religious motivations played no part in Raonall’s monastic patronage. Indeed, it would appear as if like so many other founders throughout Europe the Lord of the Isles was moved by the spiritual zeal of the age. The Book of Clanranald, for instance, hints that Raonall took a crusading oath. Given his association with the Cistercian Order it is possible that the Lord of the Isles was persuaded of the merits of crusading by Bernard of Clairvaux’s *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, which recommended nobles to ‘Receive the sign of the cross, and thou shalt likewise obtain the indulgence of all thou hast confessed with a contrite heart’. As Macquarrie argued, however, Raonall was more probably inspired by the papal legate, John of Salerno, who preached in Scotland and Ireland in 1201-1202. Although there is no evidence to demonstrate that Raonall actually

1099 The continued authority of whose abbots was destructively demonstrated when they called a hosting and sacked Raonall’s abbey. *FS*, II, 363.
1100 *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* (Kristiana, 1849-1919), VII, 16.
1101 *Book of Clanranald*, 157.
1103 Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, 33.
went on crusade, if he did take the oath then it was reflective of both his own and his family's wider religious interests. Thus, he and his wife, Fonia, were patrons of the Cluniac convent of Paisley which was located in the lordship of the Anglo-French fitzAlan family. Even more instructively, Raonall's brother, Dubgall, is recorded in the Liber Vitae of Durham as a patron of that famous English Benedictine house.

It was perhaps from Durham that Raonall gained the inspiration and practical help needed to establish a Benedictine convent at Iona. He may equally have been influenced by, and consequently sought help from, developments in Ireland where a number of Black Monk houses were established during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. That Saddell Abbey was evidently built by Irish masons and had Mellifont Abbey as its mother-house, certainly emphasises the lordship's cultural affinities with its neighbouring Gaelic society. Saddell's Irish links are also suggestive of Raonall's connections with, and perhaps support for, the Cistercian movement in Ireland. It is thus evident that Raonall was an integral part of what Frame described as the 'aristocratic nexus' in medieval Britain, who used his extensive contacts with, and cultivated appreciation of, the continental orders to continue the seminal role which native nobles in the Western Isles traditionally played in the development of local religious society.

No other member of the lordship was ever to match Raonall's monastic largesse. His nephew, Donnchad mac Dubgaill, was nonetheless responsible for introducing a convent of Valliscaulian monks to Ardchattan c. 1230. Whilst very little is known about the early history of this foundation, it provides further evidence of the descendants of Somerled's awareness of current reformed monastic developments, as the Valliscaulian Order had only been officially recognised by the pope in 1205 and was as yet rare outside France. Indeed, Ardchattan was one of only three Valliscaulian houses in Britain. Interestingly, the other two were located relatively nearby at Beauly (evidently founded by John Bissett) and Pluscarden

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1104 Ibid., 33.
1105 Pals. Reg., 125.
1106 Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis, ed. J. Stevenson (London, 1841), 135. For a brief comment, see McDonald, The Kingdom of the Isles, 72-73.
1107 Between 1170 and 1210 there were approximately fourteen Benedictine monasteries founded in Ireland. Gwynn & Hadcock, MRHI, 104.
1109 Frame, The Political Development of the British Isles, 50.
1110 Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 83.
1111 For which, see Beauly Chrs., 146-156.
1112 Burton, Monastic and Religious Orders, 81.
Moreover, all three were established around the same year, i.e. 1230. Even though there is no immediate connection apparent between the founders of these houses, this chronological coincidence nevertheless suggests a common factor in their origins. This may have been Bishop William Malvoisín of St Andrews, who was credited with introducing the order into Scotland.1114 Certainly, Bishop William was a close advisor of Alexander II who himself was in contact with Donnchad during this period.1115 Indeed, it has been proposed that Donnchad established Ardchattan Priory as a peace-offering to Alexander II after he had participated in the destructive Norwegian expedition of 1230.1116 Equally, the political rivalry between the two men perhaps led Donnchad to match the king’s display of patronal power at Pluscarden by founding a similar convent on the shores of Loch Etive. In conjunction with the castle which he had recently built at Dunstaffnage,1117 the new monastery at Ardchattan would certainly have symbolised Donnchad’s pre-eminence in Argyll.

The act of establishing reformed monasteries to provide politico-religious status symbols was not restricted to reguli such as Fergus of Galloway and Raonall of the Isles and their immediate families, who appear to have founded convents such as Dundrennan and Saddell partly in order to reaffirm their already potent authority. The evidence suggests that those who had either newly gained prominence or had reached a more elevated rank in medieval society likewise recognised the prestige which was to be gained from founding a reformed religious house. This desire to herald new-found status with an act of patronal largesse was prevalent throughout Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, no doubt partly due to the popular chivalric literature of the period, such as Le Queste del Saint Graal, which depicted religious patronage as an essential piece of noblesse oblige.1118 Indeed, while patronage had originally been the function, both in Gaelic and Germanic cultures, of the king in European society, the influence of feudalism saw the entire aristocracy not only taking possession of the powers of the monarch, but also aspiring to invest themselves in his virtues—and in particular to occupy the place at the heart of religious culture which the king had

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1113 Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 84-85.
1114 Beauly Chr., 3.
1115 Donnchad’s exact relationship with the Scottish crown remains enigmatic. See McDonald, The Kingdom of the Isles, 89-90 & 93-94.
1116 Ibid., 94.
1117 C. J. Tabraham, Scottish Castles and Fortifications (Edinburgh, 1986), 43.
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previously been the only layman to hold. In this fashion, the founding of a monastery was an act of authority which proclaimed that an individual had attained a certain status in society. Examples of this are to be found throughout native society in the kingdom of the Scots during the Canmore period. Perhaps the most compelling is the foundation of Fearn Abbey by Ferchar Mactaggart. After he had quelled the MacWilliam uprising of 1215, Ferchar - already a landowner of some local note - became the most authoritative political figure in the north of Scotland, a position which was officially recognised when he was made earl of Ross possibly during, or sometime immediately before, 1226. His next recorded deed, routing the Galwegian rebels led by Thomas, underlines his ascent to comital prominence. It was arguably on his return from this triumph that he heralded his ascendancy by founding a Premonstratensian convent at Fearn in the heart of his new earldom.

Some of the most powerful earls in Alba also demonstrated their patronal capacity and cultural consciousness by establishing reformed monasteries on their demesne. Thus, Gille Brigte of Strathern founded Inchaffray Priory in 1200, Mael Coluim of Fife founded Culross Abbey in 1217, and Gille Crist of Mar initiated the foundation of Monymusk Priory. The premier native magnate south of the Forth, Earl Patrick II of Dunbar, likewise established a reformed convent, in this instance an Augustinian priory at Blantyre.

As with the monasteries of Raonall of the Isles, it would be inaccurate to view the religious houses established by these Scottish nobles merely as status symbols of secular lordship. They were also the physical manifestation of the profound religiosity which characterised the nobility throughout Europe during this period. One aspect of this heightened sense of Christian devotion was the crusading movement. It is therefore perhaps not

1119 G. Duby, Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages (London, 1994), 156.
1120 RRS, II, 13.
1121 Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1235.
1122 They were also the physical manifestation of the profound religiosity which characterised the nobility throughout Europe during this period. One aspect of this heightened sense of Christian devotion was the crusading movement. It is therefore perhaps not.
1123 Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 74, 91, & 93
1124 Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 74, 91, & 93
1125 Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 74, 91, & 93
1126 For a survey of the impact of the crusades on Europe as a whole, see J. Riley-Smith, The Crusades, a short history (London, 1986), 1-17; and on Scotland in particular, Macquarrie, Scotland and the Crusades, esp. 1-68.
surprising that one of the aforementioned Scottish founders took the cross. Thus Patrick II of Dunbar left Scotland in 1248 to join the crusade of King Louis IX of France, although he was to die later the same year in Marseilles before actually embarking for the Holy Land.\(^{1127}\) That his foundation at Blantyre, which was co-founded with his wife, Euphemia Stewart, was dedicated to the Holy Cross suggests that it was established in preparation for his departure for the crusades.\(^{1128}\) As with his mother’s foundation of a Trinitarian friary at Dunbar c. 1247,\(^{1129}\) Blantyre Priory may even have been established by Patrick in order to provide both spiritual and practical help in the event of his being captured and ransomed by the Muslims.\(^{1130}\) Notably, before departing for France, Patrick also sold his stud farm at Lauder and his grazing rights in Lauderdale to the monks of Melrose,\(^{1131}\) a convent with which his family had long been associated.\(^{1132}\) Indeed, after suffering a seizure, his father received the Cistercian habit from his ‘friend and kinsman’ Adam Halcarres, in which he died shortly afterwards.\(^{1133}\) Earl Patrick I, however, was not buried at Melrose Abbey, but at the Cistercian nunnery of Eccles,\(^{1134}\) which was probably co-founded by Earl Cospatrick and his wife in the mid twelfth century.\(^{1135}\) It is possible that it was this intimate and historical connection between the comital family of Dunbar and the Cistercians which provided the stimulus for Patrick II’s decision to take the cross, as the White Monks were ardent preachers of the crusade.\(^{1136}\)

Interestingly, another two of the aforementioned native founders of reformed monasteries in Scotland were possibly likewise influenced by the crusading movement. In 1201, when the papal legate John of Salerno held a council at Perth at which he preached the

\(^{1127}\) Ibid., 47-49.
\(^{1128}\) CPL, XIII, 531-532.
\(^{1129}\) Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 108.
\(^{1130}\) Macquarrie, *Scotland the Crusades*, 48, noted that the Trinitarian statutes provided that one third of all of their income was to be used for the redemption of captives. Although there was no similar statute for the Augustinian Order, their extensive contacts throughout Europe and the Middle East would have made them equally useful intermediaries. J. Riley-Smith, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* (Oxford, 1995), 142, for example, notes that the Augustinians had been accorded the honour of serving the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.
\(^{1131}\) Melr. Lib., I, no. 230.
\(^{1132}\) See, for example; ibid., I, nos. 48, 56, 77, 102, 104, 174, 212, etc.
\(^{1133}\) Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1232.
\(^{1134}\) Ibid., s.a. 1232
\(^{1135}\) Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 146.
\(^{1136}\) C. T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades* (Cambridge, 1998), 4 & 92. By the thirteenth century, however, the mendicant orders, such as the Dominicans and the Franciscans, had become the main source of crusading preaching.
cross, amongst the many prelates and nobles present was Earl Gille Brigte of Strathearn who was currently in the process of converting the community of Inchaffray to the Augustinian Rule. John of Salerno’s mission had a more tangible effect on Gille Crist of Mar, as the legate imposed a cess upon the earl which he paid direct to the Roman curia using the Knights of St John as intermediaries. This was perhaps a crusading tax paid in lieu of the earl actually going to the Holy Land. The connection between Scottish monastic founders and the crusades was no coincidence, as reformed monastic patronage and the crusading ideal were closely associated by the thirteenth century. Bernard of Clairvaux, for example, had announced in the previous century that to go on crusade was equivalent, though inferior, to entering a religious house, whose inmates he also considered to be *milites* fighting for the Lord. Thus, although they neither went on crusade nor entered a monastery, Earls Gille Brigte and Gille Crist were theoretically providing spiritual warriors for the fight against the Muslims by founding reformed monasteries.

It is equally evident that the aforementioned native founders had also been influenced by current pietistic thinking. This is partly suggested by the fact that the patron’s religious motivations were always stressed in their foundation charter, which tended to depict the new monastery first and foremost as an offering to God. Derbforgail’s charter for Sweetheart Abbey expressed emotions which were typical: ‘to God and the Church of St Mary of Sweetheart, and the monks of the Cistercian Order of the convent of Dundrennan for the abbey to be built in the honour of God’. Similarly, Mael Coluim of Fife’s founding charter for Culross stated that the abbey had been ‘confirmed to God, St Mary and St Serf of Culross’. Admittedly, these professions of faith were conveyed within the formulaic medium of the foundation charter and hence appear to be the bland repetition of the ‘official line’.

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1138 *Coup. Chr.*, I, no. IX. See comment in Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, 32, where Gille Brigte is given as ‘Gilchrist of Strathearn’.
1140 It was common for those who had taken the cross to substitute financial support for actual participation. Matthew Paris noted that Earl Richard exploited this tradition by embezzling £600 in crusade payments from ‘would-be crusaders’. Matthew of Paris, *Chronia Major*, V, 134-138.
1141 *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, VII, 157-158.
More compelling evidence of the probable affect of prevailing continental piety on Scottish founders is nonetheless provided by the foundation charter from Inchaffray Priory. Issued in 1200 by Earl Gille Brigte and Countess Matilda of Strathearn, it ably demonstrates the humility and piety with which powerful nobles throughout Europe founded reformed monasteries. In illustration, Gille Brigte described himself as earl of Strathearn 'by the favour of God' and the possessions of the convent as 'divine bounty'. It was further attested that their munificence was due to 'the inspiration of God'. The charter reveals, moreover, an appreciation of current theological thought. For example, in its elaborate introduction - 'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is co-equal and co-eternal with God the Father and the Holy Spirit' - the Trinity is invoked. Notably, it was in this very period that interest in the Trinity was at its most intense, as testified to by the establishment of the Trinitarian Order in 1198. That the Son, rather than the Father, is placed first in this invocation also reflects the strong christological aspect of late twelfth-century Christianity, of which the reformed monastic orders were vigorous promoters. Even more interestingly, the Virgin is invoked twice in the charter and, unlike any of the saints mentioned or members of the Trinity, her name is written in majuscule, i.e. MARIE. This implies that the cult of the Virgin Mary, which was extremely popular on the continent during the twelfth century, had likewise had an impact on Scottish religious life by 1200. In addition to this, the charter indicates that contemporary concerns regarding purgatory had also influenced Gille Brigte and Matilda, who anticipated that their patronage would contribute both to their own and their family's fund of intercession. It states, for instance, that the gift had been made 'for the souls of all our ancestors and especially for the soul of Gille Crist, our first-born, who rests there'.

As well as documenting Gille Brigte and Matilda's theological and spiritual influences, the foundation charter of Inchaffray Priory indicates that they were similarly conscious of the twelfth-century belief that if settled in an area a reformed religious community would re-invigorate the local Church as a whole and inspire the surrounding countryside to a holier

1144 *Inchaff. Chrs.*, no. IX.
1146 Significantly, Ælred of Rievaulx was amongst the most prominent promoters of the cult of Christ. This heightened sense of devotion to Christ, and especially his humanity, manifested itself in the worship of the cross, the holy lance and the five wounds, *Corpus Christi* processions, and the cult of the eucharist. G. Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1995), 169-217.
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life-style. This idea was advocated in contemporary hagiography such as Ælred of Rievaulx’s
*Life of Nynia* (which despite its fifth-century subject arguably reveals more about twelfth-
century religious beliefs than Dark Age events). Thus, in reference to the saint’s monastery at
*Candida Casa*, the abbot of Rievaulx wrote ‘this light set upon a candlestick began to those
who were in the house of the Lord to shine forth in heavenly signs and radiant flames of
virtue, and to enlighten darkened minds with the clear and burning word of the Lord’;[^1148^] a
description which the venerable Cistercian author probably composed with the houses of his
own order very much in mind. Significantly, a passage from Walter Daniel’s *Life of Ælred*
implies that there was indeed a perception current amongst Cistercians that their monasteries
had the power to spiritually galvanise a province. With reference to Galloway, for example,
Daniel claimed that ‘Rievaulx made a foundation in this savagery, which now, by the help of
God, who gives the increase to a new plantation, bears much fruit’.[^1149^] Accordingly, the
belief that a founder would not only add to the general spiritual leaven of the locality, but
also, in a practical sense, aid the development of the Church at its grass roots, by establishing
a monastery, filtered through to the patronal class. Thus, just as Ermengarde anticipated that
Balmerino Abbey would provide a catalyst ‘for the exaltation of holy religion’ in northern
Fife,[^1150^] so too did the earl and countess of Strathearn state that they had established an
Augustinian convent at Inchaffray ‘wishing by the inspiration of divine grace to exalt the
church of God in our fief and to sow the seeds of holy religion for the cultivation of God
there.’[^1151^]

*The Exclusivity of Monastic Patronage: native founders in Canmore Scotland II*

Whilst it is anachronistic to view the native founders of reformed religious houses in
Canmore Scotland as an homogeneous group, for the purpose of the current study it is
nonetheless instructive. This is because it helps to highlight two major aspects of native
monastic patronage. The first of these is that the native contingent of founders comprised
only the highest ranking members of the nobility. Indeed, it included two *reguli* who ruled
over (semi-) autonomous provinces (Fergus and Raonall); their almost as powerful successors
(Uchtred, Roland, Derbforgail, and Donnchad mac Dubgaill); four earls (Ferchar of Ross,
Gille Brigtie of Strathearn, Gille Crist of Mar, Máel Coluim of Fife, and Patrick of Dunbar);

[^1148^]: *Lives of St Ninian and St Kentigern*, 11.
[^1149^]: *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*, 38.
[^1150^]: *Balm. Lib.*, no. 1.
[^1151^]: *Inchaff. Chrs.*, no. IX.

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and a prominent local noble who was shortly to become an earl (Donnchad of Carrick). One reason for this exclusivity was doubtless the fact that founding a convent was an expensive business. For example, to establish a modest-sized house for the Cistercians (an order whose popularity in Europe was at least partially built upon the belief that their convents did not require the same level of financial support from patrons as did the houses of other orders) a would-be founder had to be willing to alienate a quite considerable amount of his own land. Raonall of the Isles, for instance, granted the relatively small abbey of Saddell the patrimony of twelve merklands of Ballevain, and twenty merklands in Arran, Kildonan and Ugadale on its foundation. Even though much of the land which was granted to reformed convents during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had not previously been exploited by its secular owners, the founders were nonetheless still making a substantial capital outlay which offered no immediate financial return. Indeed, as Duncan noted, ‘the cost in material services alienated [by establishing a reformed monastery] could scarcely be off-set by hypothetical economic advantages’.

Interestingly, the financially altruistic nature of monastic patronage was recognised - and even praised - by medieval writers. In his lament for David I, for example, Baldred admired the fact that the Scottish king’s unparalleled religious munificence saw him ‘lavishing much and extracting nothing’. It was also, somewhat less nobly perhaps, expressed in Walter Stewart’s letter to the master of the Order of Sempringham concerning a proposed Gilbertine cell at Dalmilling. This listed the cell’s quite extensive initial endowment which Walter was keen to stress throughout his epistle was to be made ‘at my own expense’. In the case of Dalmilling, the demands of the convent could not be met and the cell failed to flourish. Donnchad of Carrick experienced a similar problem at Crossraguel, although in this instance the financial difficulties merely delayed, rather than terminated, the foundation of a new convent. That such a relatively wealthy patron of the second rank of the Scottish nobility as Donnchad of Carrick encountered difficulties in providing a sufficient endowment for his envisaged convent indicates how the financial

1154 Duncan, Scotland, 144.
1155 Chron. Fordun, V, 38.
1157 Letter printed in ibid., 58-59.
1159 Duncan, Scotland, 413.
demands of establishing a reformed monastery could have deterred many less affluent would-be native founders.

The prohibitive material cost of establishing a reformed monastery does not entirely explain why native founders in Scotland were drawn exclusively from the upper echelons of the nobility. There were, for example, a number of reformed convents established during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by Anglo-French patrons who came from the lower ranks of the landowning class. These included Turgis de Rosdale who established an Augustinian priory at Canonbie -1165X1170, and Patrick Corbet and Reginald le Cheyne who founded Tironensian houses at Fogo and Fyvie in 1253X1297 and 1285, respectively. It can consequently be speculated that there was another reason behind the exclusivity of native monastic patronage in Canmore Scotland.

One reason may have been that large tracts of alienable land were very rare in Gaelic society. As the law tracts envisaged, estates were in a sense held in trust by the Gaelic noble for his kindred. A patron would therefore have required the assent of those kin whose traditional inheritance he planned to donate to the monastery. This requirement is perhaps reflected in the grants recorded in the notitia of the book of Deer, which involve successive members of the same kin. Accordingly, only those with access to regalities had the resources to found monasteries, i.e. the earls. Another reason for the exclusivity of native patronage is that native earls and reguli arguably enjoyed a much wider and more cosmopolitan circle of contacts than the lesser native nobility, and hence were more likely to be exposed to the cultural and political influences which engendered monastic patronage. For example, in the case of the aforementioned Scottish earls, they occasionally attended the perambulatory court of the king of Scots. Here they would have come into contact with a range of courtiers who had direct experience of reformed monasticism. The most obvious of these would have been the abbots and priors who gave council to the king. Máel Coluim, the future earl of Fife and founder of a Cistercian convent at Culross in 1218, for instance, probably met Abbot Arnold of Rievaulx whilst attending King William's courts at Edinburgh.

1160 Cowan & Easson, MRHS, 67-68 & 90.
1163 Jackson, Gaelic Notes, 33-35.
1164 This may also account for the lack of patronal support shown by lesser Gaelic landowners to reformed monasteries as discussed below. I owe this proposal to Mr Alex Woolf, department of Celtic, University of Edinburgh, who highlighted in conversation the possibility that Gaelic land-law had a restrictive influence upon native monastic patronage in Scotland.
Likewise, Gille Brigte of Strathearn was evidently present along with Gille Crist of Mar, at a royal council held in Perth c. 1189 at which the abbots of Coupar Angus, Dunfermline, Holyrood, Kelso, Newbattle and Scone were also attendant.\(^{1165}\)

It is probable that these religious leaders extolled the virtues of monastic patronage to the laymen whom they met at such conventions. The earls would also have encountered existing monastic patrons at these courts. This, of course, would have included the king of Scots, whose support for various forms of organised religious life could hardly have escaped the attention of his native magnates. Native courtiers would also have met Anglo-French patrons. Earl Gille Brigte and Mael Coluim of Fife, for example, must have been familiar with Richard de Morville, the king’s constable and hereditary patron of Dryburgh Abbey, and Walter (I & II) fitzAlan, successive royal stewards and founders of the priories of Renfrew and Paisley, respectively.\(^{1167}\) Although there is no evidence to support the proposal, it is nevertheless likely that it was partly through these courtly contacts that Anglo-French fashions, including the patronage of monastic houses, infiltrated native comital society.

Further, it is interesting to note that attendance at court would sometimes even have brought native earls into direct contact with newly established monasteries. This is because Canmore kings occasionally used the conventual buildings of royal religious houses as impromptu council chambers. For example, the *Scotichronicon* records that William the Lion met his magnates at Holyrood Abbey to discuss the terms of the Quitclaim of Canterbury.\(^{1168}\)

The verse chronicle of Androw Wyntoun, moreover, reveals that David I and his council met at the priory of St Andrews - 'The kyng into the clostyr thayre,/ And lordys that by hym ware,/ Conferryd a qwhill off syndry thyngs,/ As oft oysyd in swylk gadryngys'.\(^{1169}\)

Underlying this practice was the duty of religious to provide hospitality for guests in general, and their founders in particular. The *Rule of St Benedict*, for example, stated that visitors to a monastery had to be ‘treated like Christ’.\(^{1170}\) That the obligation to provide a suitable welcome for their guests ‘of whatever rank at the expense of the Convent’\(^{1171}\) was taken very seriously in Scotland is illustrated by Bower’s tale of Bishop Malvoisin of Glasgow who allegedly deprived Dunfermline Abbey of the vicarages of Hailes and Kinglassie churches.

\(^{1165}\) RRS, II, nos. 295 & 301.

\(^{1166}\) Ibid, II, no. 284.

\(^{1167}\) Ibid., II. nos. 153, 159, 190 & 283.

\(^{1168}\) Scotichron., VII, 54.

\(^{1169}\) Chron. Wyntoun (Laing), VII, 6.


\(^{1171}\) Jocelin of Brakelond, Chronicle, 9.
because the wine ran out during his visit to the convent.\textsuperscript{1172} Admittedly, some orders were more willing than others to admit guests. Thus, Orderic Vitalis wrote that the Cistercians ‘firmly bar their entrances and fully protect their privacy’.\textsuperscript{1173} Even the initially reticent White Monks, however, gradually came to accept lay visitors, as noted by an appreciative Gerald of Wales.\textsuperscript{1174} This was reflected in Scottish political affairs by the fact that William resided at Melrose Abbey whilst mustering his forces at Caddonlea in preparation for invading England, and was cared for at the abbey of Newbattle during his final illness.\textsuperscript{1175} It was the Augustinian Order, nonetheless, which was most famed for its treatment of guests, as made evident in the \textit{Bramwell Customal}.\textsuperscript{1176} It is also apparent in the comment made by Jocelin of Furness in his \textit{Life of St Waltheof} that when the saint was prior of the Augustinian convent of Kirkham ‘Religion flourished internally in the regular discipline, the distribution of alms, the reception of guests, and great diligence in the display of much humanity’.\textsuperscript{1177}

It was probably partly due to this reputation that the early Canmore kings were so dedicated to establishing Augustinian houses throughout their demesne, as the peripatetic nature of the royal court (a system which had developed partly from the king’s need to ‘live of their own’ by utilising the scattered resources of the royal estates, and partly so that the monarch’s authority could be demonstrated widely)\textsuperscript{1178} meant that any addition to the king’s residences would have been eminently beneficial. Indeed, the settlement of Augustinian houses at various strategic political sites throughout the realm (i.e. Edinburgh, Jedburgh, St Andrews, Scone and Stirling)\textsuperscript{1179} would have augmented the secular network of hospitality - based on ancient services such as \textit{conveth} and \textit{waiting} - already available to the king of Scots.\textsuperscript{1180} It is therefore surely no coincidence that most of the examples of councils being

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item\textsuperscript{1172} \textit{Scotichron.}, VIII, 62.
\item\textsuperscript{1173} Orderic Vitalis, \textit{Ecclesiastical History}, VIII, 26.
\item\textsuperscript{1174} Gerald of Wales, \textit{The Journey Through Wales and The Description of Wales}, ed. L. Thorpe (London, 1978), 103.
\item\textsuperscript{1175} \textit{Scotichron.}, VII, 70 & 78.
\item\textsuperscript{1176} Dickinson, \textit{The Origins of the Austin Canons}, 145.
\item\textsuperscript{1177} \textit{Vita Waltheoji}, 21.
\item\textsuperscript{1178} RRS, II, 5.
\item\textsuperscript{1179} The benefits of siting a monastery close to a centre of royal government might, incidentally, have also been behind the transfer of the Tironensian house of Selkirk to Kelso, with the second site being nearer to the administrative centre of Roxburgh.
\item\textsuperscript{1180} Interestingly, archaeological evidence confirms the popularity of monastic hospitality at royal houses, especially at Dunfermline, Holyrood and Scone where the convents’ guest-houses evolved into palaces, all of which eventually subsumed the abbeys themselves. On a more modest scale, the surviving two-storey guest-house at Arbroath Abbey testifies to William the Lion’s preference for residing in Angus after 1174. MacGibbon & Ross, \textit{The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland}, I, 230-258, & II, 53-73.
\end{itemize}
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held at reformed monasteries in medieval Scotland involve Augustinian convents. Indeed, the direct relationship between Augustinian hospitality and the use of their monasteries as occasional council chambers is expressed in a late thirteenth-century deed whereby the abbot of Scone formally confirmed the tradition of that abbey ‘to brew, for the king of Scotland and his court, good and strong clear ale at Scone as often as it shall befall that the king of Scots should come hither’.1181

Notably, three of the native earls whose presence at royal councils has already been highlighted, Gille Brigte of Strathearn, Patrick of Dunbar and Gille Crist of Mar, founded, or in the latter’s case initiated at least, Augustinian priories.1182 It can consequently be speculated that their attendance at councils held in or nearby Augustinian houses gave them practical experience of the benefits and responsibilities of establishing a Black Canon convent. Moreover, with all three magnates possessing extensive estates to visit which would have taken them away from their lodgings for a number of days, if not weeks, the hospitality which they received at royal monasteries as part of the king’s retinue would no doubt have made them aware of one of the secular benefit’s of founding a reformed convent.1183 That there was a direct influence is suggested by the probability that during the very period when he was in the process of converting the Gaelic Church community at Inchaffray to the Augustinian Rule, Earl Gille Brigte was issuing charters at Scone.1184 This relationship, interestingly, went back a number of years, as Gille Brigte’s first appearance in the records is as a witness, along with his father Ferteth, to a grant made to Scone Abbey by King Máel Coluim IV.1185 Significantly, the likelihood that the earl of Strathearn’s monastic patronage was influenced by his contact with this royal abbey is arguably strengthened by the tradition that a group of canons were sent from Scone to Inchaffray on its foundation in 1200.1186

1182 See pp. 71-79 & 188 above.
1183 By the late twelfth century monasteries throughout Europe had acquired the reputation for being ‘convenient lodgings’ for nobles on their travels. S. Wood, English Monasteries and their Patrons (London, 1955), 101. Perhaps the most famous example of this was Cluny, which had a guest-house capable of sleeping seventy-five visitors by 1100, prompting one historian to liken it to a medieval ‘first-class hotel’. Lawrence, Medieval Monasticism, 123. The demands of guests could nonetheless prove ruinous for a monastery, as demonstrated by the concessions made to Dryburgh Abbey by Bishop de Bernham of St Andrews on account of excessive number of visitors to the house. Dryb. Lib., no. 38.
1184 This is implied by the fact that the same list of witnesses are cited in the earl’s grant to Máel Coluim of Fife and King William’s confirmation of this deed at Scone c. 1198. For the charters, see RRS, II, no. 403; & G. W. S. Barrow, ‘The Earls of Fife in the 12th Century’, PSAS, lxxxvii (1952-3), 51-62, at 60-61.
1185 Scon. Lib., no. 8.
1186 Scotichron., VIII, 73.
Intimate participation in both national and provincial affairs also meant that the greater magnates in Canmore Scotland would have been in close contact with senior members of the Church. An extreme example of this is the aforementioned mission of John of Salerno to Scotland in 1201-1202, during which time he must have met a number of Scottish nobles. Certainly, as highlighted above, Earl Gille Brigte of Strathearn - and possibly Earl Gille Crist of Mar as well - was present at the legatine council held at Perth in 1201. Another notable example is the visit of Dubgall, the father of the founder of Ardchattan Priory, to the shrine of St Cuthbert at Durham in 1175. This pilgrimage (which was commemorated in the cathedral's Liber Vitae) was most probably undertaken whilst Dubgall was accompanying William to or from York, where the Scottish king 'with all the greatest and most powerful men in the kingdom of Scotland' made his submission to Henry II in the same year. (Notably, among the hostages surrendered by William at this submission was Earl Gille Brigte, whose period of internment in England could have further exposed him to monastic influences). Magnates were even involved in correspondence with some of the most powerful ecclesiastical individuals and institutions on the continent. Monastic patrons Donnchad mac Dubgaill, Ferchar of Ross and Patrick of Dunbar, for instance, were signatories to a letter sent by Alexander II and his leading barons to Pope Innocent IV concerning a treaty made with the king of England in 1237. Moreover, petitioned the Cistercian general chapter at Citeaux in 1214 requesting permission to found a monastery at Culross.

On a more mundane level, as noted above, magnates also came into contact with various bishops, abbots and priors whilst attending the royal court. Another example to add to those given above is the presence of the future founders Alan of Galloway, Gille Brigte of

1187 See above, pp. 185 & 189-190.
1188 See pp. 189-190 above.
1189 Liber Vitae, 135.
1190 Chron. Metrose, s.a. 1175. For comment, see McDonald, The Kingdom of the Isles, 72.
1191 SAFE: 262. Noble hostages were usually treated well by their keepers, who were sometimes relatives. When Gille Brigte's son was given as a hostage by William in 1213, for instance, he was put under the wardship of his uncle, William d'Aubigny. Bain, CDS, I, 574. Notably, this is in contrast to the treatment which the English sometimes dealt out to their Welsh hostages. For example, Henry II ordered the mutilation of his Welsh hostages in 1165. Giraldus Cambrensis, Expugnatio Hibernica. eds. & trans. A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (Dublin, 1978), 122-124. That Scottish hostages were treated compassionately in the same fashion as English or French hostages, implies that, unlike the Welsh, they were viewed by the English kings as being part of the aristocratic nexus of Anglo-French society.
1192 Bain, CDS, I, 356-357.
1193 Canivez, Statuta, I, 1214, no. 49.
Strathearn and Máel Coluim of Fife at William's Christmas court of 1199. This court was also attended by, amongst others, Abbot Henry of Arbroath and Bishop William Malvoisin, the former the head of Scotland's most recently established monastery, the latter a supporter of reformed monasticism who was credited with introducing the Valliscaulian Order into Scotland. Perhaps even more influentially, native magnates are likely to have forged close relationships with the ecclesiastical authorities in their own demesne, some of whom could have given practical and ideological encouragement to the potential founder. For example, Patrick of Dunbar clearly enjoyed a close relationship with the hierarchy of Melrose Abbey, one of whose early thirteenth-century abbots, Adam Halcarrs, appears to have been not only a friend, but also a kinsman of the earl. It is also evident in Fergus of Galloway's relationship with Bishop Gilla-Aldan of Whithorn, a see which the regulus is thought to have revived or at least galvanised with his patronage. Similarly, it has been proposed that Raonall of the Isles was the main force behind the creation and development of the bishopric of Argyll. Without doubt the most compelling Scottish example of an influential relationship between a native monastic founder and a high-ranking local ecclesiastic, however, is that between the earl of Strathearn and the bishop of Dunblane.

The conflation in the identities of the earldom of Strathearn and the bishopric of Dunblane is perhaps best demonstrated by the fact that the bishop of Dunblane was alternatively known as the bishop of Strathearn. It is also highlighted by the fact that, apart from its notable detached possessions of Abernethy and Culross, the diocese of Dunblane was more or less coterminous with the earldom. Behind this shared identity was probably an ancient association between the original mormaer of Strathearn and the Gaelic Church abbey...
of Dunblane/Muthill, from which the bishopric appears to have emerged. Donaldson suggested that at some time prior to the late twelfth century the earl recognised the monastic bishop of Dunblane/Muthill as the territorial bishop of his whole earldom.\footnote{Donaldson, 'Bishops' Sees Before the Reign of David I', 22.} There was certainly a close personal relationship between the earl and the bishop by the thirteenth century. Earl Gille Brítge, for example, addressed the bishop of Dunblane as '\textit{venerabilem patrem nostrum}' (our venerable father),\footnote{\textit{Lind. Cart.}, no. XLIII} whilst papal documents, in reference to the bishopric of Dunblane, style the earl of Strathearn '\textit{sedis Patroni}' (patron of the seat).\footnote{\textit{Inchaff. Chrs.}, no. LX; \& \textit{Theiner, Vet. Mon.}, nos. 284, 355, 386 \& 576.} A direct involvement in the episcopal succession by the earls, moreover, is implied by the likelihood that Bishop Abraham of Dunblane had previously been Gille Brítge's chaplain.\footnote{\textit{Inchaff. Chrs.}, 258.}

That this intimate and apparently long-established relationship had an affect on Gille Brítge's decision to convert the Gaelic Church community at Inchaffray into an Augustinian convent can be inferred from two charters relating to the creation of the priory. In illustration, in their foundation charter, Gille Brítge and Matilda acknowledged the assent of '\textit{episcopis nostris}' (our bishops) John of Dunkeld and Jonathan of Dunblane.\footnote{Ibid., no. IX.} In his confirmation charter, Bishop Jonathan praised the devotion and piety of '\textit{carissimi filli nostri}' (our dearest 'sons') Gille Brítge and Matilda.\footnote{Ibid., no. X.} Whilst the evidence is admittedly slight, it is nonetheless possible that these mutual references indicate that Jonathan of Dunblane had played an advisory role in the conversion of Inchaffray. That it was an episcopal clerk of Dunblane who scribed the earl and countess' foundation charter certainly demonstrates the practical way in which Bishop Jonathan aided his secular allies. Moreover, that subsequent bishops of Dunblane were willing to recognise the importance of this relationship and further engender close connections between the new monastery and the bishopric is demonstrated by the granting of an episcopal canonry to the abbot of Inchaffray.\footnote{Ibid., XXXVI.}

Notably, perhaps due to their connections both at a local and a national level with a diverse range of bishops, members of the new religious orders and lay supporters of reformed monasticism, many of the aforementioned native founders had already indulged in lesser forms of monastic patronage before they established their own convent. The descendants of Fergus of Galloway, for instance, inherited an existing network of religious houses of which
they were the chief patrons. Elsewhere, however, future founders tended to patronise the monasteries established by other dynasties. For example, Earl Patrick of Dunbar not only continued an established comital tradition by patronising Melrose Abbey, but also made grants of lands and privileges to the houses of Newbattle and St Andrews. The priory of St Andrews was also the recipient of grants from two other future founders, Earl Gille Crist of Mar and Earl Máel Coluim of Fife. Likewise, evidently just prior to his conversion of Iona and creation of a Cistercian abbey at Saddell, Raonall of the Isles and his wife Fonia made a generous grant to the Cluniac convent at Paisley.

Interestingly, the convents which these native benefactors chose to patronise arguably reveal not only their interests and allegiances, but in some cases the source of the inspiration for their own convents as well. Many of the aforementioned magnates, for example, patronised St Andrews Priory. This no doubt reflects the central role which this convent played in the spiritual life of the kingdom and the fact that the benefactors would have met, and perhaps even been influenced by the convent’s patron, the bishop of St Andrews, at the royal court. It is also the case that the three previously named benefactors of the priory all held land within the diocese of St Andrews. Moreover, it is surely significant that two of them, Gille Crist and Patrick, went on to found Augustinian houses. Indeed, the earl of Mar’s grant to the cathedral priory may have been made to placate the bishop’s wrath at his plans to convert the Gaelic Church community of Monymusk to the Augustinian Rule. Whilst Earl Patrick’s patronage of Melrose clearly reflects the previously mentioned close relationship between his dynasty and the Cistercian convent, his apparently unprecedented support for Kelso and Newbattle may be indicative of his own undoubted piety. It could equally reveal, on the other hand, his desire not only to demonstrate his patronal power in the region where he was the most pre-eminent native noble, but also to gain the approbation of the houses’ royal patron. Significantly, despite his contacts with the royal court and the abbey of Scone, one of the few magnates later to found a monastery who is not recorded as having previously patronised a reformed convent is Gille Brigit of Strathearn. It would appear that before 1200

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1208 See pp. 182-184 above.
1209 Melr. Lib., 1, nos. 235 & 236.
1210 Newb. Lib., no. 79; & St A. Lib., 379.
1211 Ibid., 44 & 373.
1212 Pais. Reg., 125.
1213 For a brief discussion, see pp. 75-81 above.
1214 A contemporary record of Earl Patrick’s death states that he was ‘reckoned the most powerful Scottish magnate’. Matthew Paris, Chronica Major, V, 41.
his patronal resources were solely focused upon the existing Gaelic Church community at Inchaffray.

The second major aspect of native monastic patronage in Canmore Scotland to be revealed by viewing the founders as an homogeneous group is that, with the significant exception of those created by Fergus of Galloway, their reformed convents were exclusively established in the thirteenth century. This is, of course, in sharp contrast to royal foundations which were established predominantly in the twelfth century. Indeed, there were only two houses established by members of the Canmore dynasty during the 1200s, compared with six founded by Anglo-French patrons and eleven by natives.1215 That there was a decline in the number of monasteries established by the royal family is not surprising, as it would have been impossible for them to sustain the remarkably high rate of patronage set by David I. Moreover, by the early thirteenth century, royal ecclesiastical patronage was beginning to be focused upon the emerging orders of friars, such as the Dominicans and the Franciscans.1216 This does not however explain the concomitant boom in native-established abbeys and priories. The reason for this would seem to be that the majority of native nobles in Scotland only came into contact with, and consequently began to emulate the aspirations of, Anglo-French society during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. This may appear something of a generalisation considering the range of native nobles who founded reformed monasteries in Scotland. The correlation between continental cultural influence and the dissemination of reformed monasticism is nonetheless suggested by the fact that the only province in Alba to undergo foreign settlement of any note during David I’s reign, Moray,1217 was also where the first reformed convent was established north of the royal palace at Scone, i.e. at Kinloss in 1150.1218 Likewise, the only native earldom in Alba which was not home to a reformed monastery by 1286, Atholl, was the one upon which Anglo-French feudal culture had the least impact.1219 Moreover, it is also the case that most of the aforementioned native founders can be shown to have had sometimes quite intimate connections with Anglo-French society either in Scotland or England, or at least to have displayed francocentric tendencies.

This is perhaps most evident in the readiness of many of these magnates to settle incomers on their estates for feudal service and even form marriage alliances with Anglo-

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1215 Data from Cowan & Easson, *MRHS*.
1216 Ibid., 116-128.
1218 Notably, Moray was also home to the unreformed Benedictine priory of Urquhart, which David had established c. 1136. Cowan & Easson, *MRHS*, 61 & 76.
French families. For example, continuing a tradition first in evidence with Fergus’ marriage to an illegitimate daughter of Henry I, the later lords of Galloway forged political links with Anglo-French nobles. An important aspect of this policy was the creation of an Anglo-French clientage by the native dynasty through the granting of land to incoming settlers, such as Richard son of Troite at New Abbey and Walter Barclay at Urr. Amongst these Anglo-French tenants were the de Morvilles, most notably Hugo (II) who gained the substantial estate of Borgue probably with the assent of Uchtred. It was doubtless through this proprietorial relationship, as well as in recognition of the lord of Galloway’s Anglo-French political credentials, that Elena de Morville was given in marriage to Roland. Likewise, ever since David I had confirmed the earldom of Fife to Donnchad (I) on a feudal basis in 1136, the comital family of Fife had granted land to Anglo-French settlers, such as William de Wyville who styled himself the socius (companion) of Mael Coluim of Fife. That Earl Mael Coluim (who himself may have been the son of a de Warenne) married the daughter of d’Aubigny merely underlined, not to say strengthened, his connections with ‘the greater nobility of Anglo-Norman England’. In the earldom of Dunbar the picture is roughly similar. The marriage of Patrick of Dunbar to Euphemia Stewart, for instance, was also merely part of a longer-term political and proprietorial fusion between the comital family and their Anglo-French neighbours and tenants. Indeed, as the husband of a Stewart, the son of a

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1221 *Wigtownshire Charters*, ed. R. C. Reid (SHS, 1960), xix-xxi; & *Holm Cultram Reg.*, 49. For an in-depth discussion on the ‘feudal’ policy of the lords of Galloway, see Oram, ‘Colonisation and Settlement’, where it is highlighted that the majority of incoming families were settled by Uchtred in Desnes loan outwith his traditional territories. Oram also noted that many of these incomers were from Anglo-French and Anglo-Saxon families in Cumberland, a province with which Uchtred had family connections.

1222 *Dryb. Lib.*, no. 68. As Oram, ‘Colonisation and Settlement’, 117-118, argued, the de Morville who held Borgue was either the son of Hugo de Morville the constable of Scotland or the son of Simon de Morville, a Cumberland landowner.

1223 As Stringer, ‘The Early Lords of Lauderdale’, 49, remarked, the lords of Galloway ‘moved in the same social orbit as the Morvilles, sharing a similar outlook and the same disregard for the Border’ by the late twelfth century.

1224 *Dunf. Reg.*, no. 214. It is nevertheless evident from lists of witnesses to the acts of the earls of Fife that they maintained a mixed court. In illustration, a charter of Earl Donnchad of Fife to St Andrews Priory was witnessed by, amongst others, Milo ‘the earl’s man’, William de Famelthon the earl’s steward, Adam the knight of Ceres, Allan mac Gille Crist, Mael Coluim the *judex*, Madethin mac Methusalem and Gamel son of Thor. *St A. Lib.*, 244.

1225 Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, 87, suggested that Countess Ela of Fife was the daughter of Reginald de Warenne, and hence the neice of Ada de Warenne the wife of Prince Henry of Scotland.

1226 Ibid., 89.
Bruce,1227 the brother-in-law of a Corbet,1228 and a crusader with diplomatic and proprietorial connections with Anglo-Norman England,1229 it is perhaps disingenuous to label Patrick of Dunbar a 'native' earl.

Whatever the case, another of the native monastic founders to introduce feudalism into his earldom was Gille Brigte of Strathearn. This, however, was achieved with minimum disruption to native society. Indeed, the most notable grant was made to his brother Mael Ísu, who received a number of comital properties, including the ancient estate of Muthill, for the service of one knight.1230 Earl Gille Brigte’s marriage to Matilda d’Aubigny nonetheless appears to have resulted in an at least partial francocisation of the comital court. For example, whilst the earl’s acts continued to be witnessed predominantly by native officials and tenants,1231 the names of Anglo-French tenants, most of whom probably arrived in Strathearn due to their connections with Matilda, also figure in his charters. These include Nigel de Lovetoft whose family was related in marriage to Matilda’s mother, Maud de Senlis.1232 He was described as ‘my knight’ by Earl Gille Brigte’s son Fergus, suggesting that he was part of the comital household.1233 Another knight in the earl’s service was Gilbert who was considered by Gille Brigte to be his socius.1234 Perhaps even more importantly, however, his union with Matilda not only assimilated Gille Brigte within the d’Aubigny’s formidable familial network, which extended from the channel islands to the see of St Andrews,1235 but also made him a kinsman of the king.1236

A marriage alliance likewise brought Anglo-French settlement to the earldom of Mar. For example, Mael Coluim of Lundie, the king’s door-ward, evidently received a large estate in Mar on marrying Earl Gille Crist’s daughter.1237 Even in areas under the control of a native

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1227 Patrick’s mother was Christina Bruce. Scots Peerage, II, 245.
1228 Patrick’s brother, William lord of Fogo, married the Corbet heiress of Makerston. Ibid., II, 245.
1229 The earls of Dunbar held the barony of Bearely in Northumberland, for which he paid homage to Henry III in 1237. Atlas II, 421; & Bain, CDS, I, no. 1712.
1230 Inchaff. Chr., app. no. I.
1231 See, for example, Inchaff. Chr., nos. XI & XII, which include amongst their witness lists Gille Naomh the steward, Mael Ísu his son, Constantin the judex, Gille Brecc and Donnchad son of Mael Ísu.
1232 Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 125n.
1233 Lind. Cart., no. XXVI.
1234 Inchaff. Chr., nos. XI & XII.
1235 Matilda’s brother was the earl of Arundel and governor of the Channel Isles, whilst her relatives, Marchisius and Oliver, were dependants of Bishop Roger of St Andrews.
1236 Matilda’s mother was Maud de Senlis, the cousin of King William the Lion. That Gille Brigte was thenceforth considered a kinsman of the Cannores is implied by the fact that Earl David addressed him as ‘cousin’ in one of his charters. Lind. Cart., 440.
1237 This is suggested by two charters cited in A. B. III., IV, 693 & 694.
monastic founder where foreign settlement was almost non-existent, it is still possible to detect intimate political connections between the founder and Anglo-French society. For example, there was a minimal Anglo-French presence in Carrick during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The most prominent incomers were Thomas de Colville and Roger de Skelbrooke, both of whom held lands on the very borders of the lordship. Interestingly, providing a neat contrast to the usual pattern of Anglo-French lords extending their estates in Scotland by marrying native heiresses, Roger’s Carrick policies reverted to native control on his death as his daughter and heiress, Cristina, had married the local landowner Roderick MacGillescop. Roderick was possibly the son of Gillescopewyn, the earl of Carrick’s steward. If so, then it further strengthens the impression that, despite being settled on the periphery of the earldom, Roger was part of the lord of Carrick’s immediate circle. Another marriage which reveals the lord of Carrick’s social and political interaction with Anglo-French settlers is that between Donnchad, son of Gilbert of Galloway, and Aveline, daughter of Alan son of Walter fitzAlan. Donnchad would certainly not have felt out of place socialising with neighbouring Anglo-French, as he had spent his childhood in the wardship of Henry II. Indeed, King John called Donnchad his kinsman. This upbringing at the English court would undoubtedly have exposed the future earl of Carrick to Anglo-French cultural mores, including the patronage of reformed monasteries.

The direct influence which the Anglo-French wives of these nobles, such as Aveline Stewart, played in their husbands’ patronage is difficult to discern, primarily because the role of female religious patrons in general ‘is often obscured by the nature of our sources’. As noted above, it is nevertheless evident that Patrick of Dunbar’s wife, Euphemia Stewart, was to be considered the co-founder of Blantyre Priory. The foundation charter of Inchaffray Priory likewise demonstrates that Matilda d’Aubigny played a decisive part in the conversion of the Gaelic community. It is possible that her husband, Gille Brigte partly relied on Matilda’s experience of d’Aubigny monastic patronage to carry through this ambitious

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1239 Ibid., I, no. 36, where Roger refers to Roderick as ‘my heir’.
1240 Ibid., I, no. 199.
1241 This marriage was arranged in 1200 without the consent of the king, who subsequently took twenty-four pledges from Alan as surety of his good behaviour. RRS, II, 34.
1242 Duncan, Scotland, 234.
1244 Burton, Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 91.
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Whatever the case, it is indisputable that these alliances had created new kin-groups by the end of the twelfth century whose cultural influence on Scottish society was seminal. As Barrow noted, for instance, ‘It is through such groups that the social and political structure of Norman and Angevin England penetrated the boundaries of Celtic Scotland and took root there’; a point illustrated by the fact that three of the aforementioned native founders also fulfilled the role of royal justiciar.

In addition to this, and perhaps more significantly, the new kin-groups provided a further conduit through which Anglo-French aristocratic culture flowed into Scotland and influenced the fashions and aspirations of many native nobles. The affect of this cultural permeation on the magnates who founded reformed monasteries is notably marked. Gille Brigit of Strathearn, Mael Coluim of Fife, Patrick of Dunbar, and even Raonall of the Isles, who could be presumed to be on the very fringes of the Anglo-French cultural orbit, all used seals which depicted them as mounted and mailed Norman-style knights. This not only reveals that they had been influenced by the diplomatic traditions of Anglo-French society, but also suggests that they considered themselves to be part of, or at least aspired to, the chivalric culture of the francised world. Ferchar Mactaggart was also drawn into this ‘charmed circle’ when he was knighted by Alexander II in gratitude for vanquishing Domnall MacWilliam and Cinaed MacHeth in 1215. That the spirit of the romans had reached Strathearn by the late twelfth century, moreover, is implied by the appearance of Magister Merlin, Arthur and Tristram of Gorthy in documents relating to the earldom. Similarly,

1246 Barrow, ‘Earls of Fife’, 58.
1248 H. Laing, *Descriptive Catalogue of Impressions of Ancient Scottish Seals* (Maitland Club, 1850), 53, 61 & 125. For a description of Raonall’s seal, see *Pais. Reg.*, 149; and a discussion on its significance, see R. A. McDonald, ‘Images of Hebridean Lordship in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries: The Seal of Raonall Mac Sorley’, *SHR*, lxxiv (1995), 129-143. Donnchad of Carrick also used a seal, but his depicted a winged dragon rather than a knight. Laing, *Ancient Scottish Seals*, 33. Raonall’s inspiration to use the image of an armoured knight on horseback need not necessarily have come from Anglo-French culture. The knight in the Lewis chessmen, for instance, suggests that by the thirteenth century it was also a motif current in Scandinavian culture.
1249 The term chivalry is a contentious one which can mean different things to different historians. See M. Keen, *Chivalry* (Yale, 1984), 1-17, where he concludes, at 16, that chivalry is probably best defined as ‘an ethos in which martial, aristocratic and Christian elements were fused together’.
1250 *Chron. Melrose*, s.a. 1215.
1251 *St A. Lib.*, 132; & *Inchaff. Chrs.*, no. XXIV.
that Lachlann, lord and justiciar of Galloway and constable of Scotland,\textsuperscript{1252} was alternatively
known as Roland,\textsuperscript{1253} and the possibility that the roman now known as \textit{Fergus of Galloway}
was composed in honour of one of the Galwegian \textit{reguli},\textsuperscript{1254} suggests that Anglo-French
chivalric literary tradition had also had an affect on the native-dominated province of
Galloway. As highlighted above, an essential facet of this chivalric culture was the patronage
of the new religious orders. Accordingly, when a native magnate, such as Earl Gille Brigte of
Strathearn or Ferchar Mactaggart, established a reformed monastery he was arguably further
expressing his desire to be, or the belief that he was, an equal member of the fashionable,
pan-European francocised aristocracy whose culture had evidently begun to flourish in
Scotland during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

Whilst no doubt replicated in miniature at the local caputs of Scotland’s Anglo-French
nobility, this culture was focused upon the royal court of William.\textsuperscript{1255} Accordingly, as it was
the greater native nobles who were most in contact with the king on a regular basis, it is
evident that the exclusivity of native monastic founders in Canmore Scotland and the
predominantly thirteenth-century provenance of their foundations are intimately connected.
Indeed, with their involvement at the royal court, increasing contact with Anglo-French
nobles, relations with local, national and continental ecclesiastics, diplomatic links with
potentates in neighbouring kingdoms, and unmatched patronal resources, only magnates, such
as Earl Máel Coluim of Fife and Roland of Galloway, were in the position initially to be
influenced by, and had the capability thereafter to exploit, the prevailing Anglo-French
cultural climate of late twelfth-century Scotland. Viewed from this perspective, the evidence
supports Duncan’s proposal that ‘the indifference of the native aristocracy of Scotland [to
reformed monasticism] was a barrier which could be broken only by a change in secular
society’.\textsuperscript{1256}

\textsuperscript{1252} RRS, II, no. 309; & \textit{Melr. Lib.}, I, no. 18.
\textsuperscript{1253} Most sources style this magnate ‘Roland’, but what was probably his birth-name, Lachlan, is given
\textsuperscript{1254} The author of \textit{Fergus of Galloway} is unknown. One theory is that it was written by Alan of
Galloway’s clerk, William the prior of St Mary’s Isle. M. D. Legge, ‘Some Notes on the Roman de
Fergus’, \textit{TDGAS}, 27 (1948-49), 163-172. Another is that it was composed on the occasion of
Lachlan of Galloway’s marriage to Elena de Morville. Brooke, \textit{Wild Men and Holy Places}, 117-118. Owen,
however, proposed that the author was none other than Bishop William Malvoisin of St Andrews.
162-169. On this vexed problem, see also J. Greenberg, ‘Guillaume le Clerc and Alan of Galloway’,
\textit{Proceedings of the Modern Language Association}, 66 (1951), 524-533; & K. Webster, ‘Galloway and
\textsuperscript{1255} Owen, \textit{William the Lion}.
\textsuperscript{1256} Duncan, \textit{Scotland}, 132.
It would nevertheless be inaccurate consequently to conclude that the native monastic founders were merely Anglo-French clones, or indeed that their abbeys and priories were devoid of native character. It is evident, for example, that nobles such as Gille Brigté and Raonall of the Isles, pursued a secular policy which, to differing degrees, balanced the Gaelic old with the Anglo-French new. Accordingly, the act of establishing a monastery could have been a statement of the magnate’s cultural awareness and francophile tendencies, as well as a declaration of his patronal, and hence political, power. In this sense, the native founders were using reformed monasteries to convey a message which was as historically pertinent to native, as to Anglo-French, societies in Scotland. Indeed, as can be argued for many aspects of Anglo-French culture adopted by native society in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland, reformed monasticism was possibly viewed by some of the aforementioned native founders as a convenient instrument of lordship which could be assimilated into existing society in order to consolidate their own rule. Certainly, as the preceding study has highlighted, from Máel Coluim of Fife’s conscious attempt to ensure that St Serf continued to be commemorated at his new Cistercian abbey at Culross, to Earl Gille Brigté and Countess Matilda entrusting the conversion of the brethren of Inchaffray and the selection of the new priory’s convent to Máel Ísu, native founders tried to minimise the impact of reformed monasticism on their local communities by instilling in their new foundations an element of cultural and organisational continuity.

Viewed from this perspective, it becomes clear that native support for the new religious orders in Canmore Scotland should no longer be perceived in an exclusively Anglo-French light. Instead, it should perhaps more accurately be viewed from a longer-term, native perspective which appreciates the historicity of religious patronage amongst the greater nobility of northern Britain, and hence views the native founders of reformed monasteries as continuing an ancient native tradition.

Native Patronage of Existing Reformed Convents

The founding of new houses was not the only aspect of native reformed monastic patronage in Canmore Scotland. As indicated in the discussion regarding the absorption of ancient networks of local churches by reformed convents, native patronage of existing abbeys and priories was equally significant. It was certainly more common. Any attempt, however, to assess the actual level of patronal support for the new orders amongst native

1257 See pp. 121-136 above.
landowners in Scotland as a whole is unfortunately hindered by the limited geographical coverage of the surviving monastic cartularies. Thus, as highlighted throughout this study, information is most scarce for those houses where native involvement would be expected to be at its most intense. Evidence relating to the religious houses in the more francised regions of Canmore Scotland can nonetheless be used to provide a pattern for native monastic patronage which can be applied to less well-documented monasteries in native-dominated areas so as to provide an at least rough guide to how popular the new orders were amongst the indigenous peoples.

In illustration, it is evident from a cursory survey of their cartularies that the monasteries of Lothian and Teviotdale were patronised mainly by incoming families. Thus an average of 80% of the identifiable, non-royal lay patrons of Holyrood Abbey during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were of Anglo-French origin. For the abbeys of Kelso and Newbattle the figure was as high as 90%. These startling statistics could undoubtedly be used to support a claim that the native landowners of Lothian and Teviotdale were apathetic, even hostile towards reformed monasticism. Whilst the lack of support for the new orders from the ‘substantial Northumbrian aristocracy native to the soil of Tweeddale, Teviotdale and Lothian’ is marked, the predominance of incoming patrons reflects to a certain extent the fact that the upper echelons of south-east Scotland’s landowning class were dominated by Anglo-French families. This connection between landed wealth and monastic patronage is highlighted by the fact that the most prolific native monastic patrons besouth the Forth were members of the powerful comital family of Dunbar. As noted above, successive earls of Dunbar patronised the monks of Melrose, whilst the priory of Coldingham and the abbeys of Kelso and Newbattle were also enriched by comital grants. Although the names of other native patrons are scarce in the cartularies of the south east, those that are recorded suggest that the level of native support for an abbey by and large reflected both the ethnic composition of its surrounding landowning population and its links with native-dominated districts elsewhere in Scotland. For example, the native patrons of Holyrood Abbey mirrored not only Lothian’s complex ethnic history (e.g. the Anglo-Scandinavian tenant of Tranent, 1258 Data compiled from Holy. Lib.
1260 Although Barrow, ‘The Beginnings of Military Feudalism’, 282, noted that ‘David did not eliminate the substantial Northumbrian aristocracy native to the soil of Tweeddale, Teviotdale and Lothian’.
1262 Raine, North Durham, nos. CXI-CXLIII; Kel. Lib., I, nos. 71, 73, 76, 130 & 131, & II, 304, & Newb. Lib., no. 79.
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Thorson of Swan; the Anglo-Saxon lord of Livingstone, Thurstan son of Lewing; and the Gaelic tenant of Leadburn, Macbethad1263 but also the abbey’s involvement in Galloway (e.g. Uchtred and Alan of Galloway, and Edgar mac Domnaill).1264 Likewise, the native patrons of Jedburgh and Melrose Abbeys echoed both Teviotdale’s Anglo-Saxon past (e.g. Orm son of Eliaf, Gamel the clerk, and Osulf son of Uchtred)1265 and the convents’ interests in Carrick, Galloway and Nithsdale (e.g. Ralph mac Dúngail, his wife Bethoc, Affrica of Dunscore, and Gillescopewyn mac Kennedi the steward of the earl of Carrick).1266

A broadly similar picture emerges for the royal and episcopal monasteries of eastern Alba. Once again non-native patrons dominate the surviving cartularies. For example, between 70% and 80% of the recorded non-royal, lay benefactors of the convents of Coupar Angus, Lindores and St Andrews were of Anglo-French origin.1267 Similarly, but perhaps more notably considering its Gaelic Church antecedents and continued association with St Colum Cille, only two native patrons of the abbey of Inchcolm can be identified, Constantin of Lochore and Scolastica, the daughter of Merleswain of Ardrossan.1268 As in Lothian and Teviotdale, these statistics could certainly be taken as evidence of native indifference. Once more, however, they can also be seen as a reflection of the fact that in many areas of Angus and particularly in Fife, the middle rank of the landowning class had become increasingly dominated by incoming families by the end of the twelfth century.1269

The highest rank, however, continued to be occupied by Scottish earls. It is consequently unsurprising to note that those natives who did patronise the aforementioned houses tended to belong to local and neighbouring comital dynasties. The native patrons of Coupar Angus Abbey, for instance, included Thomas, Isabel and Forleth of Atholl and Fergus of Strathearn.1270 Likewise, the native patrons of Lindores Abbey were drawn exclusively from the same two comital families.1271 No doubt due to its central role in the religious life of the kingdom, the cathedral priory of St Andrews attracted patronage from comital families

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1264 Ibid., nos. 23, 24, 55 & 73.
1265 *RRS*, II, no. 62; & *Melr. Lib.*, I, no. 9. Interestingly, Osulf son of Uchtred and Orm son of Eliaf had both previously witnessed David I’s grant of three granges to Melrose Abbey. Ibid., I, no. 1. This provides an example of how previous, indirect contact with monastic patronage often anticipated native patronage.
1266 *RRS*, II, no. 62; & *Melr. Lib.*, I, nos. 190 & 199.
1267 Data compiled from *Coup. Chrs.*, *Lind. Cart.*, & *St A. Lib.*
1268 *Inchcolm Chrs.*, nos. XX & XXV.
1270 *Coup. Chrs.*, I, nos. XXII, XXXV, XXXIX, & LII.
1271 *Lind. Cart.*, nos. XXIX-XXIX, XXXI, LIII, & CXXVII.
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throughout Scotland, including those of Atholl, Buchan, Dunbar, Fife, Mar and Strathearn.1272 As would be expected, the most notable of these patrons were the earls of Fife who enriched the Augustinian convent with the churches of Coupar, Markinch & Sconie, the chapel of Kettle, the mill of Nydie and land in Admore.1273 The munificence of the comital family of Fife highlights the important fact that whilst native patrons of royal and episcopal monasteries in eastern Alba were less numerous than Anglo-French benefactors, their grants were nonetheless frequently more generous. Thus, when compared with the grants made by local Anglo-French benefactors, it is evident that the most generous non-royal patron of Arbroath Abbey was the earl of Angus,1274 and that of St Andrews, the earl of Fife.1275 Interestingly, more so than any of the royal monasteries of eastern Alba, the episcopal priory of St Andrews also attracted a high level of patronage from lesser native landowners. This may again be explained by the pre-eminent position which St Andrews held in the religious life of the kingdom, especially in the case of non-local patrons such as Gille Brígte mac Ógáin of Monogrund in Gowrie.1276 With regards to the more numerous local patrons it more probably reflects the fact that, in spite of sometimes intensive Anglo-French settlement, many native landowners of the middle rank continued to flourish in twelfth-century Fife. Indeed, the list of non-comital native patrons of St Andrews Priory is something of a ‘who’s who’ of Fife’s pre-1200, middle-ranking indigenous aristocracy. Chief amongst this roll is Laurence, the abbot of Abernethy (who may actually have been a relative of the earl of Fife)1277 who pledged an annual render of ten solidos to the convent.1278 It also included the Anglo-Gaelic lord of Ardross and Kennoway, Merleswain mac Colbán,1279 and the possibly Franco-Gaelic lord of Leuchars, Ness son of William!280 (from whom the Augustinian canons received the churches of Kennoway, Lathrisk and Leuchars with their associated

1272 St A. Lib., 44, 241-246, 249, 253, 278, 282, 287, 362, 367, 373, & 379.
1273 Ibid., 44, & 241-245. Notably, the earl of Fife’s support for the priory of St Andrews diminished once their own monastery of Culross had been established.
1274 Earl Gille Crist was especially munificent, granting Arbroath the churches of Monifeith, Stradighty Comitis, and Kirriemuir. Arb. Lib., I, no. 46. For a discussion on the Angus’ patronage of Arbroath, see ibid., I, pp. xvi-xvii.
1275 For the Fife’s patronage of St Andrews see note above.
1276 St A. Lib., 269.
1277 See pp. 81-82 above.
1278 St A. Lib., 268.
1279 Duncan, Scotland, 138, suggested that Merleswain mac Colbán was perhaps the grandson of the Anglo-Saxon Merleswain who fled to Scotland 1068-1070. Young, ‘Buchan in the Thirteenth Century’, 179-180, proposed that Merleswain was the son of Earl Colbán of Buchan.
1280 Duncan, Scotland, 138, thought that Ness ‘may have inherited his estate through a marriage between Celt and Norman’.
estates), as well as the Gaelic lord of Kerns, Donnchad mac Mhicheil mac Maltheny (?Máel Thenaw), who granted the canons a portion of his estate. By means of their involvement in both comital and royal affairs in Fife and beyond, these landowners would doubtless have been exposed to the same cultural stimuli which, it has been argued above, prompted certain native magnates in Canmore Scotland to found houses for the reformed orders. The aforementioned Donnchad mac Mhicheil, for example, had evidently been enfeoffed in his lands by Earl Máel Coluim of Fife, for the weal of whose soul he made his grant to the priory. Merleswain likewise became part of the feudal landscape of Fife when King William granted him the lordship of Ardross c. 1172 for the service of one knight. The social impact of Anglo-French culture upon the native patrons of St Andrews Priory is also discernible in the marriage of Ness’ daughter, Orabile, to Robert de Quincy. The high status of both Merleswain and Ness of Leuchars, moreover, meant that they regularly served as witnesses to the royal acts of Mael Coluim IV and William. Many of these acts were issued at royal centres outwith Fife, such as Edinburgh, Forfar, Stirling and, especially, Perth. The majority, however, emanated from centres within the province, such as Crail, Dunfermline, Kinghorn, Kinross and, significantly, St Andrews. This, on the one hand, implies that Merleswain and Ness were a familiar presence at royal courts held in Fife, at which they would have come into contact with a number of the king’s subjects, both lay and religious, who were connected in some way with reformed monasticism. On the other, when it is noted that many of the royal acts witnessed by Merleswain of Ardross and/or Ness of Leuchars were not only issued at St Andrews, but also

1281 *St A. Lib.*, 254 & 258.
1282 Ibid., 309.
1283 *St A. Lib.*, 309.
1284 *RRS*, II, no. 137.
1285 Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, 22–23, where it is noted that although Ness also had at least two sons (Constantin and Padraig) it was his daughter, and hence Robert de Quincy, who inherited his extensive estates. As Barrow suggested, this should not necessarily be taken as evidence for Ness’s sons being disinherited in order to provide the de Quincys with a Scottish power-base, but rather that Constantin and Padraig were illegitimate.
1286 *RRS*, I, nos. 112, 157, 158, 175, 176, & 243; & II, nos. 8, 13, 15, 37, 107, 114, 137, 141, 148, 149, 151, 152, 223, 233, 339, & 340. (Those underlined concerned St Andrews Priory)
1287 Ibid., I, nos. 125, 138, 173, & 178, & II, nos. 19, 22, 23, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 127, 128, & 134. (Those in italics were issued at St Andrews, and those underlined concerned the cathedral priory)
1288 For example, amongst those who witnessed the acts which were issued in the lords’ own province were ecclesiasts: Abbot Arnold of Kelso; Abbot William of Holyrood; Prior Osbert of Jedburgh; and Abbot Geoffrey of Dunfermline; and lay monastic patrons and founders: Walter FitzAlan, Richard de Morville, and Gille Brigte of Strathearn. Ibid., I, nos. 112 & 157, & II, nos. 28 & 128.

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Concerned the cathedral priory, these charters suggest a close relationship between the two (semi-)native lords and the Augustinian convent which arguably symbolises how the assimilation of Anglo-French cultural and social *mores* into native society effected patterns of native monastic patronage in Canmore Scotland.

The correlation between native monastic patronage and Anglo-French cultural influence is also evident at Inchaffray Priory/Abbey. Of all the reformed religious houses in Canmore Scotland for which a cartulary survives, Inchaffray is unique in that over 50% of its recorded patrons were of native stock. Notably, all of these native patrons can nevertheless be shown to have been at least superficially affected by Anglo-French culture. The francocentric tendencies of the convent's most munificent patrons, the comital family of Strathearn, for example, has already been highlighted. The impact of Anglo-French practices on Brice, lord of Ardrossan in Cunningham (where feudal settlement was far more intensive than in Strathearn), who granted the Augustinian convent the lands which he held of the earl in Strathearn, is demonstrated to a certain extent by his use of a seal. Even those patrons of Inchaffray who hailed from districts where Anglo-French settlement was apparently non-existent exhibited francocised cultural traits. For example, Gille Crist mac Máel Coluim MacNachtan and his brother Áed, who respectively granted the churches of St Mordácc of Kilmorich (Loch Fyne) and St Findécc of Inishail (Loch Awe) to the convent, were leading members of Argyll's staunchly Gaelic land-owning aristocracy. Gille Crist, nonetheless, was specifically styled 'milite' in a charter, indicating that he had been knighted, and was elsewhere styled 'baron of the realm', whilst both he and Áed, like the aforementioned Brice of Ardrossan, possessed seals bearing standard heraldic images.

In contrast to Inchaffray Priory, the abbey of Paisley was established by an incoming, Anglo-Breton family, the fitzAlans. Accordingly, many of its patrons were incoming Stewart vassals, such as Peter and Elias Pollock and Walter Hose. In spite of this, the Cluniacsof

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1289 See the notes immediately above.
1290 Data from *Inchaff. Chrs.*.
1291 See p. 204 above.
1293 *Inchaff. Chrs.*, nos. XCIX-CI.
1294 Ibid., no. XCIX.
1295 Ibid., nos. LXXIV & LXXXV.
1298 *Pais. Reg.*, 98, 100 & 231.
Paisley likewise attracted a large number of Gaelic patrons. Indeed, just under 50% of the identifiable lay patrons of Paisley Abbey were from native families.\textsuperscript{1300} None of these native benefactors came from the monastery’s own district of Renfrewshire, however. This is perhaps not too surprising, as it reflects the fact that the fitzAlan lordship had undergone extensive foreign settlement during the mid to late twelfth century, leaving little trace of the area’s indigenous, presumably Brito-Gaelic aristocracy.\textsuperscript{1301} What is remarkable, nevertheless, is the fact that the aforementioned native patrons of the convent came exclusively from areas north of the Clyde, such as Kintyre, Lennox and the Western Isles. The reasons for this are not immediately apparent. Once identified, however, they further suggest that patronage of reformed religious houses by native landowners was to a large extent the result of contact with Anglo-French society.

The motivation behind the generous grant of land and churches made by Raonall of the Isles to Paisley Abbey, for example, goes unrecorded. McDonald, however, proposed that he patronised the monks of Paisley because their predecessors at Renfrew Priory took care of his father Somerled’s body after he had been killed at the nearby battle of 1164.\textsuperscript{1302} This attractive theory is nonetheless undermined, as McDonald himself admits,\textsuperscript{1303} by the fact that Raonall’s charter makes no mention of Somerled. Indeed, in contrast to many charters of the period, the grant was not even made for the weal of the patron’s parents/predecessors’ souls, but rather ‘for the welfare of myself, my wife, my heirs and my people’.\textsuperscript{1304} An alternative explanation for Raonall’s grant to Paisley Abbey is arguably to be found in the political developments of the region at the turn of the twelfth century. In illustration, 1198X1204 Alan son of Walter the Steward granted the church of Kingarth and ‘the paruchia of the whole island’ to the monks of Paisley.\textsuperscript{1305} This reveals that he had (probably newly) acquired Bute.\textsuperscript{1306} Significantly, this major development in the political landscape of the western

\textsuperscript{1300} Data from ibid.
\textsuperscript{1301} Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 64-70; & Duncan, Scotland, 139-140.
\textsuperscript{1302} McDonald, Kingdom of the Isles, 223.
\textsuperscript{1303} Ibid., 223.
\textsuperscript{1304} Pais. Reg., 148-149. Compare this with the charter of Earl Mael Domhnaich of Lennox which recorded that the church of Kilpatrick had been granted to Paisley ‘for the souls of my father and my mother and all my deceased ancestors (parentum)’. Ibid., 158.
\textsuperscript{1305} Pais. Reg., 15.
\textsuperscript{1306} There is no evidence to support the view that the Stewarts were put in possession of Bute by King Mael Colum IV. It is more probable that Alan’s grant of the church and paruchia Kingarth to his own monastery at Paisley was an attempt to mark, and consolidate, his lordship of the island. By doing so, Alan would not only have secured the church’s land in the possession of an institution over which he had a large measure of control, but also ensured that the no doubt locally influential priest of Kingarth would have thereafter been a Stewart dependant.
seaboard appears to have coincided not only with Raonall’s aforementioned grant to Paisley, but also the marriage of Alan’s daughter, Aveline, to Donnchad of Carrick. It can consequently be proposed that these three notable events were connected. The union between Aveline and Donnchad, for instance, was apparently arranged by Alan without the consent of King William, who subsequently demanded twenty-four pledges of good behaviour from his steward. Such an unusually harsh censure for one of the Crown’s leading officers is suggestive of more than the haughty displeasure of a king whose rights had been overlooked. Rather, it implies that William perceived the match to be contrary to his own interests in the region or even a political threat. Donnchad of Carrick (the son of King William’s old adversary, Gilbert of Galloway) was certainly a major player in the political affairs of Scotland’s western seaboard. As such he was but one of many Scottish and Irish lords, including Raonall of the Isles, who were vying for control of the Irish Sea region in the turmoil surrounding the Norwegian civil war and the resurgence of the kingdom of Man. As implied by their expansion into Arran and Kintyre in the mid thirteenth century, the Stewarts were similarly eager to extend their sphere of influence into this disputed region. It is therefore possible that Alan attempted to further his territorial ambitions in the west by forging alliances with his two closest potential rivals, Donnchad of Carrick and Raonall of the Isles. The most historically visible result of these alliances was, on the one hand, the marriage between Donnchad and Aveline, and, on the other, the cession of Bute to Alan the Steward of Scotland by Raonall.

This latter claim may initially appear tenuous, especially in light of later attempts by descendants of Somerled to regain Bute. It is nevertheless strengthened when viewed within the context of the civil war waged between Raonall and his brother, Óengus, during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Bute, for example, was possibly part of

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1307 Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 68.
1308 RRS, II, 34.
1309 Duncan, Scotland, 529-530.
1310 Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 68-69.
1311 For example, the man who led the Norse expedition against Bute in 1231 was styled 'Uspak' in the sagas, which Duncan, Scotland, 547, suggested was an attempt at the Gaelic name Gille Easbuig. It has further been suggested that this Uspak was the grandson of Somerled and the son of Dubgall. E. J. Cowan, 'Norwegian Sunset - Scottish Dawn: Hakon IV and Alexander III', in N. H. Reid, Scotland in the Reign of Alexander III 1249-1286 (Edinburgh, 1990), 103-131, at 114. In 1263, another Norse force attacked Bute, this time led by Rauri who ‘thought he had an hereditary claim to Bute’ EK, II, 620. It has been proposed that he was the son of Uspak. A. A. M. Duncan & A. L. Brown, 'Argyll and the Isles in the Earlier Middle Ages', PSAS, xc (1956-57), 190-220, at 203n.
1312 McDonald, Kingdom of the Isles, 69-75.
Óengus’ patrimony. It was therefore both a potential recruiting ground for Óengus’ army and a base from which he could launch attacks on Raonall’s possessions in Kintyre. Having been heavily defeated once already in 1192, Raonall may have wanted an ally to hold down his brother’s forces in the south of the lordship so that he could concentrate his efforts on seizing Óengus’ possessions in the north. Alan the Steward, with his formidable military capability and proximity to the Clyde estuary, was Raonall’s perfect ally. It is hence possible that Raonall offered Alan the island of Bute if he would wrest it from Óengus’ control and perhaps even furnish it with a garrison. It was arguably in recognition of Alan’s success in this venture (or perhaps as penance for the resulting deaths of fellow islemen) that Raonall and his wife, Fonia, made their grants to the Steward’s monastery at Paisley. Whether this was the case or not, the very fact that Raonall and Fonia patronised Paisley Abbey, and that their successors not only confirmed, but also augmented their grants, emphasises that Alan’s annexation of Bute was achieved without provoking the ire of the Lord of the Isles.

The connection between the Stewarts’ ever-expanding sphere of influence in the western highlands and native patronage of Paisley Abbey was not unique to the Lords of the Isles. Indeed, it is possible to detect a direct link between the Stewarts and the majority of the other native patrons of the Cluniac convent. In the 1260s, for example, Earl Walter Stewart of Menteith obtained extensive territories in Cowal, Kintyre and Knapdale from the lord of Knapdale, Dubgall mac Suibhne, to be held in free barony for two-thirds of a knight’s service.

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1313 Bute was evidently in the possession of the Norse in the early twelfth century as it is recorded as being within the diocese of Sodor. It appears to have thereafter passed into the hands of Somerled and thence to Óengus. A. Macdonald & A. Macdonald, The Clan Donald (Inverness, 1896-1904), II, 8. Duncan & Brown, ‘Argyll and the Isles’, 203, however, stated that there is ‘no evidence that Bute was ever held by any of the sons of Somerled’.

1314 ES, II, 327. McDonald, Kingdom of the Isles, 74, conjectured that this war ‘represents a further attempt at territorial aggrandisement by Ranald’.

1315 Duncan & Brown, ‘Argyll and the Isles’, 198-199, proposed that Óengus’ main possessions were Garmoran and Skye.

1316 This is suggested by the fact that one of Alan’s first acts as lord of Bute was to construct a stone castle at Rothesay. S. Cruden, The Scottish Castle (Edinburgh, 1963), 29-36. It was this castle which fell to the Norse in 1231. ES, II, 476.

1317 This is suggested by the wording of Raonall’s grant, which unusually states that the donation was being made in honour of ‘my people’. Pais. Reg., 15.

1318 Ibid., 126-128. Significantly, a grant made by Óengus mac Domnaill of the Isles, Raonall’s grandson and a ‘brother’ of Paisley, to the Cluniac abbey was witnessed by Ferchar mac Niall of Bute and his brother Donncrad. This implies that the Stewarts did not expel the native population of Bute, but rather left men loyal to their ally, Raonall, in control. Pais. Reg., 127.

1319 McDonald, ‘The Seal of Raonall mac Sorley’, 138-139, suggested that Raonall’s seal was possibly obtained from the monks of Paisley.
This initiated the creation of a network of feudal and kin-based alliances between the Stewarts and local kindred such as the Lamonts of Cowal and MacSweens of Knapdale. The affect which these alliances had on the Stewarts’ military power has long been recognised. Barrow, for example, noted that it made them ‘among the most powerful of West Highland chiefs, disposing of a sizeable fleet of galleys and commanding the loyalty of a large number of Gaelic-speaking tenants and dependants’. Perhaps less appreciated is the equally beneficial affect which the newly forged links with local Gaelic landowners had on the wealth of the Stewarts’ abbey of Paisley. The aforementioned Dubgall mac Suibhne, for instance, granted the church of St Colmanel and the chapel of St Colum Cille alongside his castle of Skipness (Schepehinche) to Paisley on the death of Clement the rector; a grant which was witnessed and confirmed by Walter Stewart. The Cluniac convent was also endowed with churches and lands by members of the Lamont kindred. Donnchad mac Ferchair and Laumann mac Máel Coluim mac Ferchair, for example, made a grant of the churches of Kilfinan and Kilmun, and the land and chapel of Kilmore. Again, this grant - and the subsequent confirmations - were witnessed by Earl Walter and his retinue, as well as by his local allies such as Dubgall mac Suibhne. It is evident, moreover, that these Lamont landowners had been drawn into the ‘feudal’ culture espoused by their Stewart patrons. For example, in common with many of the native patrons already mentioned in this study, Laumann mac Máel Coluim and his cousin, Oengus mac Donnchada, possessed their own seals. They were also both part of an abortive plan to create west highland sherrifdoms in 1293.

Another native family whose friendship with the Stewarts was to be expressed in patronage for their convent of monks at Paisley was the comital dynasty of Lennox. In illustration, after what was probably a period of minority when David, the brother of King William, administered the earldom, Alun became the earl of Lennox sometime between 1174X1178 and 1208X1214. It is probable that Alun entered into friendly relations with

1320 Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 68.
1321 Ibid., 68.
1322 Ibid., 69-70.
1323 Pais. Reg., 120-122.
1324 Ibid., 132-139.
1325 Ibid., 132 & 134.
1326 APS, I, 447.
1327 Jordan Fantosme stated that David was granted the earldom of Lennox in 1174, but William’s charter recording the deed appears to date from 1178. See RRS, II, no 205 and comment. Earl Alun’s first appears in the records as a benefactor of Glasgow cathedral 1208X1214. Glas. Reg., no 101. It is more likely, however, that David’s tenure as earl was brief and that Alun reached his majority in the
his southern neighbour, the Steward, not long after his accession to the earldom. Evidence of just such a relationship is provided, on the one hand, by the marriage of Alun’s son and heir, Máel Domhnaich, to the daughter of Walter fitzAlan, Elizabeth; a union which evidently led to the introduction of Stewart vassals, such as Simon Croc and Roger fitzGlai. into Lennox. On the other, it is afforded by the decision of Earl Alun to bestow the most prestigious early religious site in his earldom, the church of Kilpatrick, upon the monks of Paisley. As discussed at length above, due to the alienation of Kilpatrick’s lands by various kinsmen and dependants of the earl, the Cluniac convent was not to gain the full benefits of this grant until 1238 when Máel Domhnaich’s son surrendered his rights to the church’s lands of Cochno, Dalmonach, Edinbarnet and Fynloch. Whilst Earl Máel Domhnaich’s tacit collusion in the alienation of Kilpatrick’s property suggests that the ‘feudal’ values of his in-laws had not yet replaced Gaelic bonds of kinship in Lennox, it would nevertheless appear as if it was pressure from his wife’s family which finally prompted him to pursue the abbey’s claims against the church’s tenants. Thus, it was at the Stewart’s caput of Blackhall and before Walter son of Alan (in his capacity as the justiciar of Scotia) the abbot of Paisley and various Stewart vassals that Máel Domhnaich reached a settlement with Gille Brigte mac Samuel, rector of Kilpatrick. However, just as this protracted dispute did not sever the comital family of Lennox’s amicable links with the Stewarts, neither did it terminate their support for Paisley Abbey. Thus, in spite of being compelled to relinquish his lands in Kilpatrick, Máel Coluim mac Máel Domhnaich granted a fishery on the River Leven and pasture rights to the convent in 1271. Likewise, Máel Domhnaich’s brother, Aulay, bestowed the ancient church and pilgrimage site of Rosneath upon the Cluniac monastery probably sometime during the dispute itself.
From this brief survey a number of salient points have emerged regarding native patronage of existing reformed religious houses in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland. Perhaps the most obvious of these is the generally high status of the patrons. This is typified by the fact that, just as the majority of native-founded monasteries were established by men of comital rank, so too was the principal native benefactor of many royal and episcopal convents, including the major houses of Arbroath, Melrose and St Andrews, the local earl. Even those patrons who did not come from comital families, such as Dubgall of Skipness, Merleswain of Ardross and Thurstane of Livingstone, belonged to the upper echelons of the middle rank of Scottish landowning society. The marked absence of lesser landowners from the patronal lists can only partly be explained by the fact that monastic patrons required land and income which they could afford to alienate. Certainly, property such as local churches (with which reformed convents were frequently endowed by natives) were almost always in the gift of the district's leading landowner. It is nonetheless evident that many convents attracted support from petty Anglo-French tenants, such as William Wascelin, a vassal of David of Huntingdon, and Peter de Pollock, a vassal of the Steward, who patronised the abbeys of Lindores and Paisley, respectively.1337 This further strengthens the proposal made above that there were cultural and social, and not just financial, reasons for the exclusivity of native monastic patronage in Canmore Scotland.

Significantly, the other main point to emerge from this survey is that the majority of native benefactors had already been influenced in some way by Anglo-French culture. It needs to be stressed that this does not mean that all native patrons were merely Frenchmen in miniature, or that their district had undergone intensive francocisation. That the aforementioned Alun of Lennox evidently employed the filid Muireadach Albanach Ó Dálaigh,1338 for example, demonstrates that he also continued to patronise the native learned orders and maintain a court which preserved social and intellectual contact with Gaelic society in Ireland. Likewise, the impact of Anglo-French culture upon patrons such as the Argyllshire landowners Laumann mac Máel Coluim and Dubgall mac Suibhne is likely to have been no more than superficial in comparison with east-coast earls such as Patrick of Dunbar and Máel Coluim of Fife. As with the earls who both established reformed

1338 Bannerman, 'The King's Poet', 143. Bannerman further suggests that Cathal Mac Murchy, one of the men of Lennox who witnessed a document at Dumbarton in 1259, was probably Muireadach's son and successor as ollamh filidechta in Lennox.
monasteries and settled incoming families on their land in return for feudal service.\footnote{\ref{footnote1339} it is nevertheless the case that lesser Gaelic landowners, such as Laumann and Dubgall, had recognised that Anglo-French cultural and political \textit{mores} (such as the use of seals and becoming a knight) could not only further augment their local authority, but also enhance their prestige amongst their peers. Indeed, reformed monastic patronage represented an ideal which landowners throughout Europe, be they Gaelic, Anglo-Saxon or French, appreciated as vital to their lordship: stability. Native support for reformed monasteries established by powerful neighbours, be they royal, Anglo-French or fellow natives, should therefore be viewed in a political, and not merely a cultural light.

As this thesis has highlighted, however, politics and culture were inseparable in Canmore Scotland. Accordingly, the preceding survey demonstrates that it was largely through involvement in both the wider affairs of state and occasionally intimate contact with neighbouring Anglo-French families, that resulted in native founders and lesser patrons of reformed monasteries being directly exposed to Anglo-French society. Accordingly, it can be argued that it was only landowners of a certain standing who had not only the wealth, but also the cultural awareness and social aspirations, to patronise reformed religious houses. From this perspective native monastic patronage of existing houses can perhaps best be seen as but one aspect of the Anglo-French acculturation which characterised twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland and which resulted in the emergence of a culturally hybridised land-owning class which shared a common set of ideals based upon a mixture of indigenous and continental traditions.\footnote{\ref{footnote1340} These findings present a rudimentary pattern of native monastic patronage in Scotland which can tentatively be applied to native-dominated areas the cartularies of whose monasteries have failed to survive. According to this pattern, for example, it can be presumed that the monasteries of Carrick and Galloway received the majority of their grants from the descendants of Fergus. It can moreover be hypothesised that the chief tenants of the \textit{reguli} of Galloway and lord/earls of Carrick, in order to demonstrate their loyalty to their lord and perhaps as a result of contact with incoming Anglo-French settlers and/or indirect experience of monastic patronage, probably also contributed to the wealth of these houses. It is possible, for instance, that some of the native landowners of Carrick who witnessed the grants made by such as Earl Mael Coluim of Fife and Earl Gille Brigte of Strathearn. Barrow, \textit{Anglo-Norman Era}, 87 & 124-125.

\footnote{\ref{footnote1340} For this subject, see D. Broun, 'Anglo-French acculturation and the Irish element in Scottish identity', in B. Smith (ed.), \textit{Britain and Ireland 900-1300} (Cambridge, forthcoming).}
Roger de Skelbrooke and Thomas de Colville to Melrose Abbey, such as Gille Noamh and Gille Domnaill of Covington, were themselves patrons of Earl Donnchad’s monastery of Crossraguel. Similarly, the abbeys of Ardchattan, Iona and Saddell probably benefited most from the patronage of the descendants of Somerled. The central role played by Somerled’s successors in the development of Iona is certainly attested by the subsequent claim by MacDonald of the Isles to be the convent’s ‘laicus patronus’ (lay patron) and the presence of his ancestors’ bones at the abbey. The support which Paisley Abbey gained from landowners in Argyll, moreover, is suggestive of the patronage which Ardchattan, Iona and Saddell would also have received from lesser local families. Dubgall mac Suibhne of Skipness, for example, is likely to have also patronised the Cistercian convent at Saddell which was located in his own province of Kintyre. Similarly, those dependants and allies of the Lord of the Isles who witnessed grants by Raonall, Domnall, Óengus and Bishop Laurence of Argyll to Paisley Abbey, such as Ferchar mac Niall of Bute and Gille Ísú Macdunsith, presumably belonged to the section of Hebridean society from which the west highland and island abbeys would have gained their patrons. The names of Aulay mac Gille Coluim and Gille Coluim mac Gille Mhicheil (both of whom witnessed the grants of Raonall and Domnall to Paisley) certainly suggest an historical familial allegiance to Iona which their relationship with the Lords of the Isles probably encouraged them to continue after the Gaelic Church convent had been converted to the Benedictine Rule. As with the earl of Menteith’s vassals in Cowal, association with incoming families possibly led the surviving native landowning class in Moray and Ross to patronise the Valliscaulian abbey established by John Bisset at Beauly. This is implied by the fact that David of Inverlunan’s grant to Beauly was made with the ‘consent and will’ of his ‘feudal’ superior, Gille Crist mac Gille Dúbh. The appearance of Gille Andrais mac Isaac and, presumably his son, Isaac mac Gille Andrais, as witnesses to Beauly charters dated 1231 and 1275, respectively, suggests, moreover, that this native family was closely connected to the convent. Finally, as advocatus of the convent, it can be presumed that the earl of Ross was Fearn Abbey’s most

1341 Melr. Lib., I, nos. 31 & 192.
1342 CPL, IX, 407-409.
1344 Ibid., 125-126.
1345 Beauly Chr., no. VI. David of Inverlunan, who held his land of Ouchter-Tarradale at feu-ferme from Gille Crist mac Gille Dúbh, appears to have been a vassal of the earl of Angus, who held land in Tarradale, Ross-shire. It was suggested in ibid., 62, that Gille Crist was a member of the comital family of Angus. See also, Scots Peerage, I, 165.
1346 Beauly Chr., nos. II & VI.
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prominent patron. This proposal is strengthened by the inclusion of four thirteenth- and fourteenth-century earls of Ross in the calendar of Fearn.\(^{1347}\)

In spite of the erratic geographical coverage of the extant documents, it is therefore possible to propose that historians have hitherto under-estimated the part played by lesser native patrons in the success of reformed monasticism throughout Canmore Scotland. Indeed, whilst there are undoubtedly surprising gaps in the pattern of native patronage (most notably the apparent lack of support given to the monasteries of Lothian and Teviotdale by the local Northumbrian nobility)\(^ {1348}\) it is evident that the wealth of many abbeys and priories was based, at least partially, and sometimes significantly, upon the munificence of native benefactors. Viewed from the perspective of Dark Age and early medieval support for religious life in northern Britain,\(^ {1349}\) it is likely that the section of native society from which reformed religious houses of the Canmore period gained support was also where the churches and monasteries of the earlier Gaelic and Northumbrian Churches received their patronage. Indeed, it is apposite at this point to re-emphasise that there was a well-established tradition of native religious patronage in Scotland long before the arrival of the new monastic orders. This existing constituency of native patrons, moreover, were evidently conscious of the spiritual and practical benefits of supporting organised religious life. Thus, once exposed to the cultural milieu in which the new religious orders were initially nurtured, it can be advocated that the upper ranks of native society, particularly in Gaelic districts, chose to reconstitute their traditional contract with the Church by sponsoring reformed monasticism.

Conclusion: native patrons as confraters of reformed monasteries

Having demonstrated the degree of native monastic patronage in Canmore Scotland, it is perhaps apposite to conclude this chapter by ascertaining the extent to which native benefactors and founders actually became involved in, and hence influenced, the life of the convents which they supported. Due to the predominantly legal nature of the extant sources for studying reformed monasticism in Scotland, and the concomitant dearth of anecdotal evidence of the sort offered by chroniclers such as Walter Map and Giraldus Cambrensis for

\(^{1347}\) Calendar of Fearn, 84-85.

\(^{1348}\) David I's grant of three granges to Melrose Abbey was witnessed by close to a dozen native landowners, only one of whom (Osulf son of Uchtred) went on to become a patron of the convent. Melr. Lib., I, nos. 1 & 9. What prevented the others from doing so is an intriguing, yet unfortunately ultimately unanswerable, question.

\(^{1349}\) As discussed at the beginning of this chapter.
monasteries in England, Ireland and Wales, any such study is destined to accentuate the more formal, at the expense of the everyday, relationship between convent and patron.

The surviving, legal documents can nevertheless offer the occasional revealing insight. There is, for example, an intriguing and unique document which throws some light upon the relationship between the earl of Strathearn and the convent at Inchaffray. This records that at a specially arranged ceremony in the parish church of Strogeith, Earl Robert of Strathearn pledged

in the hand of Abraham, bishop of Dunblane, and before witnesses, that never in his whole life would he unjustly harass Innocent, abbot of Inchaffray, or the convent, but rather treat them as his most special friends, and saving his own rights and honour, would, as far as he was able, enrich (accrescam) the house. He confirmed them in the possessions of Gask and Strogeith and all their churches, lands, possessions, liberties, rights, customs, easements and teinds, as his father’s and his own charters contained. As patron of their house, he will prosecute their rights as he would his own, and will make no peace with the abbey’s enemies without the counsel and consent of the abbot and convent and only after securing their rights and honour.1350

As the editor of the Liber Insule Missarum observed, this document ‘savours of some estrangement and reconciliation’.1351 Both the venue for the ceremony and the wording of the oath itself suggests that this ‘estrangement’ occurred over the church and lands of Strogeith and the lands of Gask.1352 Notably, St Patrick’s of Strogeith had been one of the churches confirmed to the Augustinian convent on its foundation by Earl Gille Bricg.1353 Strogeith (later known as Blackford) was also the seat of the earls of Strathearn. It is therefore possible that the church of Strogeith’s traditional estate, as well as the lands of nearby Gask, had been secularised and subsequently became part of the comital patrimony before being bestowed upon the reformed priory of Inchaffray. Due to the same forces which resulted in the previously discussed dispute between certain scions and dependants of the earl of Lennox and Paisley Abbey over the lands of Kilpatrick,1354 it is possible that the earl of Strathearn, or a kinsman, continued to claim certain privileges or revenues from the now monastic estates. As at Kilpatrick, the earl of Strathearn was not necessarily acting wilfully, but perhaps rather in

1350 Inchaff. Chrs., no. XLVII.
1351 Inchaff. Lib., ix.
1352 The church of Gask had been granted by Saher de Quincy to the Hospital of St James and St John at Brackley in Northamptonshire, although the convent of Inchaffray claimed that they were owed teinds from the church. Cowan, Parishes, 66.
1353 Inchaff. Chrs., no. IX.
1354 See pp. 128-136 above.
accordance with Gaelic perceptions of ecclesiastical patronage, where grants sometimes reverted to the heir of the original benefactor.  

Significantly, despite their legal character, charters can even provide a tantalisingly brief glimpse of the spiritual relationship which developed between some native patrons and reformed convents. They reveal, for example, that native benefactors occasionally requested rights of confraternity in return for their grants. Although there was no universal definition of confraternal rights by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it had usually come to imply certain fundamental privileges. The most obvious of these was the right to be buried within the monastic enclosure. When he granted the church of St Colmán to Paisley Abbey, for instance, Dubgall mac Suibhne requested that his body be interred at the convent. This in itself was a highly desirable privilege, as the monastic precinct was popularly perceived to be one of the least corrupt places in the medieval world. Some native patrons received the further honour of being laid to rest beneath the most holy site within the monastic complex, the high altar. Earl Máel Coluim of Fife, for example, was buried below the high altar of Culross Abbey. Whilst this honour was usually reserved for the founder of the house, a further funereal privilege to which all patrons could aspire was the right to be buried ad succerendum, that is, in the habit of the order. This in effect made the patron an honorary canon/monk in death and hence eligible for the full funereal rights of a religious. An ordinal of the Premonstratensian Order, which was the first to formalise the practice, states that an ad succerendum patron’s name would be entered in the convent’s calendar so that masses could be said annually for his soul; his name would be read out, with special prayers, in chapter on the anniversary of his death; every member of the convent, be they priest, canon or layman, was instructed to recite a number of masses, psalters or pater nosters, for his soul; and for thirty days after his death food was to be distributed to the poor in his name. The only ad

1355 For a discussion on land inheritance in early medieval Ireland, see Charles-Edwards, *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship*, 61-73.
1358 *Pais. Reg.*, 121.
1360 *ES*, II, 398.
1361 For a discussion on this topic, see L. Gougaud, ‘Deathbed Clothing with the Religious Habit’, in *Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages* (London, 1927), 131-145.
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succerendum Premonstratensian patron on record in Scotland is Hugo de Morville, the founder of Dryburgh Abbey.\textsuperscript{1363} It is nonetheless probable that the earls of Ross were accorded the same privilege at Fearn Abbey, as their names were entered in the calendar of that house.\textsuperscript{1364}

There is, moreover, evidence to demonstrate that many native patrons became honorary members of other orders’ convents in Scotland. In his charter confirming his grant to Paisley, for example, Raonall of the Isles declared that he had been made a brother, and his wife, Fonia, a sister, ‘in the chapter of the house of Paisley and the whole of the Cluniac order’.\textsuperscript{1365} He, moreover, described himself as ‘a true brother and good friend to the aforesaid monks, my brothers’.\textsuperscript{1366} In a charter possibly issued at the same time,\textsuperscript{1367} Raonall’s son, Domnall, likewise claimed fraternity with the monks of Paisley, and with it the right to be included in their prayers and ‘all of the benefits of the whole Cluniac Order’.\textsuperscript{1368} It is not known whether Raonall and Fonia were actually buried at Paisley Abbey. Considering their intimate connections with Iona, an abbey whose reputation as a sepulchre was arguably unrivalled in medieval Scotland,\textsuperscript{1369} it would certainly be surprising if they had chosen the fitzAlan’s monastery as their final resting place.\textsuperscript{1370} Even if Raonall and Fonia were buried elsewhere (as evidently was Domnall)\textsuperscript{1371} their names would still have been entered in Paisley Abbey’s liber vitae (just as that of Raonall’s brother, Dubgall, was in Durham’s)\textsuperscript{1372} and hence prayers and masses said for them on the anniversary of their deaths.\textsuperscript{1373}

Whilst the Cluniacs and Premonstratensians developed the most regulated forms of confraternity, they were not the only orders to offer this privilege to their patrons. The majority of the other reformed orders, even the Cistercians who had initially argued against

\textsuperscript{1363} Stringer, ‘The Early Lords of Lauderdale’, 46.
\textsuperscript{1364} Calendar of Fearn, 84-85. There was also a tradition that Earl Ferchar was buried at Fearn, which prompted an unsuccessful excavation by General Hutton in 1819. Ibid., 31.
\textsuperscript{1365} Pais. Reg., 125.
\textsuperscript{1366} Ibid., 125.
\textsuperscript{1367} This is suggested by the fact that the same men witnessed both charters. Ibid., 125 & 126.
\textsuperscript{1368} Ibid., 126.
\textsuperscript{1369} In addition to this, a papal letter of the 15th century reveals that Iona housed the corporeal remains of numerous lords of the Isles. CPL, IX, 407-409.
\textsuperscript{1370} McDonald, The Kingdom of the Isles, 79, put forward the interesting theory that Raonall retired to Paisley and lived out the rest of his days there. This, he suggested, would explain why Raonall disappears from the records after 1192.
\textsuperscript{1371} Despite his confraternity with Paisley, Domnall was apparently buried at Iona. Scots Peerage, V, 33.
\textsuperscript{1372} Liber Vitae, 135.
\textsuperscript{1373} The Cluniac Order was perhaps the most diligent in commemorating its confraters. Lawrence, Medieval Monasticism, 98-100.
the burial of secular patrons within the monastic complex,\textsuperscript{1374} also admitted confraters into their ranks.\textsuperscript{1375} This is notably reflected by the fact that the remaining examples of native confraters involve each of the other religious orders which were introduced into Canmore Scotland, with the exception of the Valliscaulians.\textsuperscript{1376} In the early 1230s, for instance, Máel Coluim mac Éogain of Dunkeld granted 'a third of a third of his moveable wealth before his death' to the Cistercian convent of Coupar Angus.\textsuperscript{1377} In return, he was to be buried in the monks' graveyard. Another native patron to enter into confraternity with the Cistercians was Earl Patrick of Dunbar, who was clothed in the order's habit on his death-bed by no less a figure than the abbot of Melrose.\textsuperscript{1378} As an \textit{ad succerendum} monk, Patrick was subsequently buried at the Cistercian nunnery founded by his father, Cospatrick, at Eccles,\textsuperscript{1379} where the sisters would no doubt have commemorated the anniversary of his death. Native patrons were also accepted as confraters of the Tironensian Order. Gille Moire mac Gille Conaill, for instance, granted the priory of Lesmahagow half a silver merk in return for confraternity with the convent of its mother-house at Kelso.\textsuperscript{1380} As with Henry of Brechin, the son of Earl David of Huntingdon, and his wife, when they entered into confraternity with the convent of Lindores, Gille Moire probably anticipated that as a confrater of the Tironensian Order his body would be carried to the monastery, there to be buried, 'because there we have chosen a place of sepulture, as being persons received in full chapter, into the brotherhood of the house and into participation in all the prayers and benefits which are to be had therein'.\textsuperscript{1381} Earl Máel Domhnaich of Lennox was another native confrater of the Tironensians. In 1231 he pledged to donate four oxen every St John the Baptist's day at Stirling (and a further twenty when he died) to the abbey of Arbroath so that he and his brother, Aulay, could be admitted in fraternity with the monks.\textsuperscript{1382} Notably, Máel Domhnaich specified that his and Aulay's

\textsuperscript{1374} In accordance with their interpretation of St Benedict's \textit{regula}, the Cistercians initially refused to provide the sacraments to any layman except a guest or hired worker who was dying in the monastery. \textit{Textes de Citeaux}, 124.

\textsuperscript{1375} There were a few orders, such as the Grandmontines, which maintained their resistance to relations of any kind with the laity. Constable, \textit{The Reformation of the Twelfth Century}, 86. None of these orders, however, were present in Canmore Scotland.

\textsuperscript{1376} The absence of Valliscaulian examples is no doubt due to the paucity of evidence relating to their three houses in Scotland. That they were all established in predominantly native areas (one by a native lord) makes it probable that they too attracted native confraters.

\textsuperscript{1377} \textit{Coup. Chr.}, 1, no. XL. A 'third of a third' was considered the proportion of an intestate's estates due to the Church. Patrick, \textit{Statutes}, 46.

\textsuperscript{1378} \textit{Chron. Melrose}, s.a. 1232.

\textsuperscript{1379} Ibid., s.a. 1232.

\textsuperscript{1380} \textit{Kcl. Lib.}, 1, no. 187.

\textsuperscript{1381} \textit{Lind. Cart.}, no. LX.

\textsuperscript{1382} \textit{Arb. Lib.}, 1, no. 133.
names were to be recorded in the abbey’s ‘martyrology’ (martyrologio) so ‘that every year at our anniversary we may be absolved in their chapter’. This reveals not only that Arbroath Abbey maintained a liber vitae, but also that Máel Domhnaich was conscious of, and eager to receive, the benefits of monastic intercession.

Augustinian monasteries in Scotland also had native confraters. For example, Earl Morgrund of Mar and his wife, Agnes, entered into confraternity with the convent of St Andrews Priory at the same time as he granted his church of Tarland and his teinds to the canons.1383 The value which Morgrund set by this privilege is emphasised by his request that if he was to die in Scotland (Scocia) then his body was to be carried to St Andrews for burial.1384 Another, and perhaps the most famous, confrater of the Augustinian Order in Scotland was Fergus of Galloway. Tradition attests that after Máel Coluim IV had pacified Galloway in 1160, the defeated Fergus offered to enter a monastery of the king of Scots’ choosing.1385 Máel Coluim allegedly chose Holyrood Abbey beside the royal castle of Edinburgh. That Fergus did indeed enter religious life at Holyrood is revealed by the Chronicle of Holyrood, which records under the year 1160 that ‘he took the canonical habit in the church of Holyrood’.1386 It further notes that the regulus of Galloway died at the abbey on the twelfth of May 1161.1387 The Chronicle also appears to support the traditional interpretation of Máel Coluim’s deciding role in Fergus’ destination. Thus, the entry which records Fergus’ reception as a canon immediately follows the bald statement that ‘King Máel Coluim led an army into Galloway three times; and he conquered his enemy there, and made a treaty of peace’.1388 There are, moreover, precedents in Gaelic Church history for a victor forcing his defeated enemy into monastic ‘retirement’. Nechtán mac Derile, for example, was evidently confined to a monastery after his defeat by Drust, a dynastic rival, in 724.1389

Whilst the events of 1160 no doubt played a decisive part in the actual timing of Fergus’ monastic retirement, it is nonetheless possible that he became a canon of Holyrood not because Máel Coluim thought it to be a suitably secure ‘prison’ for his enemy, but rather due to the lord of Galloway’s own connections with the abbey. In illustration, as has already been noted, it is probable that Fergus initiated the foundation of Holyrood’s daughter-house near

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1383 St A. Lib., 246-247.
1384 Ibid., 247.
1385 For which, see Brooke, Wild Men and Holy Places, 94-95.
1386 Chron. Holyrood, s.a. 1160.
1387 Ibid., s.a. 1161.
1388 Ibid., s.a. 1160.
1389 E.S., I, 221.
Kirkcudbright by granting the isle of Trail and the church of Galtway to the abbey. This is suggestive of a previously amicable relationship between Fergus and the convent; one which was most probably formed during the 1130s when the lord of Galloway was in alliance with David I, the founder of Holyrood Abbey. It can be conjectured that it was in respect of this relationship with both house and founder, and as part of his plan to found a dependent priory for the abbey in his lordship, that Fergus entered into confraternity with the convent of Holyrood. Perhaps like Earl Morgrund of Mar’s arrangement with the canons of St Andrews, Fergus only intended to be buried at Holyrood, or, indeed, like Earl Máel Domhnaich of Lennox’s with the monks of Arbroath, to be commemorated in the convent’s liber vitae. However, on his defeat by Máel Coluim, Fergus probably recognised that his position as leader of the Galwegians was now untenable and elected to retire to the abbey with which he had enjoyed a long and friendly association. Indeed, the fact that the compiler of the Chronicle of Holyrood noted that Máel Coluim’s campaign against the Galwegians concluded in ‘a treaty of peace’, rather than a more violent extirpation of the native family, strengthens the inference that Fergus was not unduly coerced into entering a hostile monastery as a virtual prisoner-of-war. In addition to this, that the Chronicle goes on to note that Fergus donated the lands of Dunrod to the convent on taking the habit, further suggests that he entered the abbey as a confrater-turned-canon and not a captive, for, as has been noted above, it was common for patrons to augment an original grant when their rights of confraternity were realised. From this perspective, the monastic retirement of Fergus of Galloway should not be compared with that of Nechtán mac Derile, but rather with that of Constantin II who withdrew at the end of a long, and on the whole successful, reign into

1390 See discussion above, pp. 92-93.
1391 As is suggested by the prominent role played by the Galwegian army in David I’s invasion of England in 1138. Oram, ‘Colonisation and Settlement’, 114 and n.
1392 The very fact that the author of the Chronicle of Holyrood styled Fergus ‘princeps’, when most Scottish and English sources styled him ‘dominus’, is further indicative of a friendship. Chron. Holyrood, s.a. 1160 & 1161.
1393 It was a feature of Celtic kingship that defeat in battle often led to the deposition of a leader. D. A Binchy, Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship (Oxford, 1970), 10-12.
1394 Chron. Holyrood, s.a. 1160.
1395 This perception is strengthened when it is noted that Fergus’ son, Uchtred, was a generous benefactor of Holyrood Abbey. Holy. Lib., nos. 23 & 24.
1396 Chron. Holyrood, s.a. 1160.
1397 For example, Earl Máel Domhnaich’s aforementioned pledge that Arbroath Abbey would gain a further 20 oxen upon his death. Arb. Lib., I, no. 133.
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religious life at Cennrigmonaid (a monastery of which he was a long-time supporter) in 943, possibly as a result of his heavy defeat at Brunnamburh had undermined his authority.\textsuperscript{1398}

The initial reluctance of many of the reformed orders to encourage such intimate contact with their patrons was prompted primarily by the fear that it would erode the monastic spirit of a convent. Thus, the Cistercian statutes insisted that their monasteries should be constructed ‘in places far removed from the conversation of men’.\textsuperscript{1399} Despite their primitive ideals, even the brethren of Citeaux came to admit confraters into their ranks. To critics of the White Monks, such as Walter Map, this apparent volte-face was no doubt prompted by the realisation that bonds of confraternity were an excellent source of income. As demonstrated by Patrick of Dunbar’s munificent grants to Melrose Abbey,\textsuperscript{1400} Cistercian convents certainly benefited from confrater patronage. Moreover, it is apparent that they were adept at exacting highly favourable terms from their would-be confraters. For example, the charter issued by Máel Coluim mac Eógain of Dunkeld recording his aforementioned grant to the abbey of Coupar Angus further reveals that he was intending to bestow the lands of Murthly (which he held hereditarily of the monks) upon his heirs or representatives.\textsuperscript{1401} This was on the condition, however, that they too donated a third of a third of their moveable wealth to the convent before death in return for the same burial rights. If they failed to do so, then Máel Coluim conceded that Murthly should revert to the monks.

This is not to say that confraters were the victims of unscrupulous religious. Indeed, they evidently believed that they were receiving equally valuable spiritual services in return. Neither should it be assumed that confraternity necessarily led to a decline in the claustral integrity of a community, for as Constable argued, such links ‘may in the long run have done as much to monasticize the lay order as secularize monasticism’. Thus, Fergus’ presence at Holyrood symbolised not only the proprietal roots which the Augustinian abbey had begun to put down in Galloway, but arguably also how the native ruling dynasty of this Gaelic province had become imbued with the ethos of reformed monasticism. Evidence of the ‘monasticisation’ of native confraters is also provided by Domnall of the Isles’ request that

\textsuperscript{1398} F.S. I. 446 & 447. Hudson, \textit{Kings of Celtic Scotland}, 81, remarked ‘it seems that his [Constantin’s] reign effectively ended with the defeat at Brunnamburh’. The six year time-lapse between the battle and Constantin’s retirement casts doubt on this theory. So does the fact that the Constantin’s reputation was still such that Máel Coluim consulted him on his plans to invade England a number of years after the ex-king had retired. Constantin even offered to come out of retirement so he could ‘visit’ the English himself. Anderson, \textit{Kings and Kingship}, 252.

\textsuperscript{1399} Canivez, \textit{Statuta}, I, 1134, no. 1.

\textsuperscript{1400} For which, see above p. 199.

\textsuperscript{1401} \textit{Coup. Chr.}, I, no. XL.
he receive the full privileges of the Cluniac Order.\textsuperscript{1402} An even more compelling example is Mael Domhnaich’s anticipation that his name would be entered in the \textit{liber vitae} of Arbroath Abbey.\textsuperscript{1403} This demonstrates that the earl of Lennox shared the current, Europe-wide belief that salvation for the soul could only be gained through the intercessory prayers of monks.\textsuperscript{1404} It would be wrong, however, to interpret Mael Domhnaich’s request purely in the context of thirteenth-century reformed monasticism, for, as with so many aspects of religious patronage in Canmore Scotland, it had Gaelic precedents. The \textit{Dunkeld Litany}, for example, suggests that intercessory prayers were similarly sought after by patrons of the early medieval Church in Alba. Thus, it exhorts the community of Dunkeld to pray for the late ninth-century Scottish king, Giric, and his army.\textsuperscript{1405} Notably, just as Mael Domhnaich’s patronage of Arbroath gained him the Tironensian convent’s prayers, Giric appears to have received this honour due to his support for the Gaelic Church. Version D of the Scottish king-lists, for instance, notes that ‘Giric, Dungal’s son...was the first to give liberty to the Scottish Church, which was in servitude up to that time, after the custom and practice of the Picts’.\textsuperscript{1406}

It is indeed unfortunate that none of the \textit{Iibri vitae} compiled by Scottish convents during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have survived. The ‘martyrology’ mentioned in Mael Domhnaich’s charter, for example, would undoubtedly have added to our knowledge of Arbroath’s patrons, not least by revealing the network of confraternal alliances which the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1402} \textit{Pais, Reg.}, 126.
  \item \textsuperscript{1403} \textit{Arb. Lib.}, I, no. 133.
  \item \textsuperscript{1404} Constable, \textit{The Reformation of the Twelfth Century}, 185.
  \item \textsuperscript{1405} Haddan & Stubbs, \textit{Councils}, II, 322.
  \item \textsuperscript{1406} \textit{Chron. Picts-Scots}, 151. Quite what this ‘servitude’ entailed unfortunately goes unrecorded. It is possible that the Picts did not exempt monastic lands from tax, or levied some other form of toll on religious communities. An echo of this is perhaps to be found in the \textit{notitiae} of the book of Deer, which record that certain patrons had ‘quenched’ their rights to collect dues from the house’s estates. (Jackson, \textit{Gaelic Notes}, 98-102). On the other hand, it is possible that the Pictish \textit{reguli} had recognised the threat posed by the Gaelic Church to Pictish culture and had demanded some sort of cultural concession from the clergy, e.g. they had to sermonise or write in Pictish. It is further possible that Pictish \textit{reguli} had become accustomed to establishing secular power-bases at monasteries, partly so that they could emphasise the sacred nature of kingship and partly to live off monastic hospitality. This last suggestion would arguably account for the use of the word \textit{civitatis} for monastery in Pictland/Alba (e.g. \textit{civitatis} of Brechin and of Scone. Anderson, \textit{Kings and Kingship}, 251 & 253) denoting that the monastic enclosure included both religious house and royal settlement. The findings of the recent excavation of Whit hom has provided a model for Scottish monastic towns. See, Hill, \textit{Whithorn and Saint Ninian}, 24-25 & 58-60. It must be noted, however, that M. O. Anderson, ‘Dalriada and the creation of the kingdom of the Scots’, in Whitelock, \textit{Ireland in Early Medieval Europe}, 106-132. at 128, believed the entry concerning Giric to be a twelfth-century fabrication concocted by the clergy of an ancient religious house in order to lend historical credence to their false claims to antique liberties. Certainly, the use of the term ‘Scottish Church’ is anachronistic. For a refutation of her argument, however, see Veitch, ‘Church and State’, 198-200.
\end{itemize}
monks had forged with secular families in the surrounding countryside and beyond. It would probably also have provided further evidence of the extent to which reformed monasticism had influenced the religious attitudes of native, as well as Anglo-French society, in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Alba. From the evidence which exists concerning native confraters, such as Dubgall mac Suibhne of Skipness, it is nevertheless evident that the monastic ideal, as enshrined in the practice of confraternity, transcended ethnic barriers in Canmore Scotland. As a result, confraternity further helped to blur the edges between old and new in Scottish religious life. This is no more so evident than in the case of the previously mentioned Gille Moire mac Gille Conaill. A representative of the Gaelic Church era at Lesmahagow, Gille Moire nonetheless entered into both a feudal and a confraternal relationship with the new Tironensian regime. In so doing, he was recognising the reformed priory not only as the proprietorial heir of the earlier community, but, crucially, also as its spiritual successor. Indeed, as both hereditary tenant of Fincurrock and confrater of Kelso, Gille Moire bridged the gap between the Gaelic and the reformed periods in Lesmahagow's patronal history.

\[1407\] For a further discussion, see pp. 99 above.
CONTINUOUS CONTACT WITH THE LAITY

Introduction

Social interaction between reformed convents and the laity was not merely confined to the obvious monastery-patron relationship. It also occurred on a more everyday basis. For, despite their desire to emulate the ideals of primitive monasticism and establish their monasteries 'far from the conversation of men', even the most reclusive of reformed convents could not help but become a part of the society in which they were established. Subsequent contact with the laity came in many forms and often involved the lowest classes in society. Unfortunately, the type of documentary evidence which can help historians construct a relatively rich picture of this relationship in England - such as Jocelin of Brakelond's *Chronicle* - is largely absent in Scotland. As highlighted throughout this thesis, the extant Scottish sources for studying reformed monasticism during the Canmore period are of a predominantly legal character in comparison. Often concerned with the settlement of disputes, such documents have a tendency to depict the relationship between convent and laity in a negative light. Charters relating to May Priory, for example, reveal that the Benedictine convent was involved in an on-going dispute with local fishermen who refused to pay a teind of their catch to the convent. This was only resolved by the intervention of the king, who threatened the recalcitrant fishermen with full forfeiture. Similar evidence highlights that the Tironensians of Cambuskenneth likewise faced hostility from both local fishermen and burgesses of Stirling, some of whom violently seized the abbey's fisheries near Stirling. Leading this gang was the native fisherman Mure of Comtone and his brother, Gillelmus. Even non-legal documentary evidence, such as the contemporary Scottish annals, tends to present a negative picture of religious-laity interaction. The entry in the *Chronicle of Holyrood* for 1186, for instance, recalls that on the 17th of November

1409 The fisheries off the Isle of May were evidently exceedingly rich. It is noted in the twelfth-century *Life of St Kentigern* that 'From that time until now the fish are found there in such abundance that from every shore of the sea, from England, Scotland, and even from Belgium (Belgie) and France, very many fishermen come for the sake of fishing, all of whom the Isle of May conveniently accommodates in her parts'. *Lives of St Nimian and St Kentigern*, 131. Perhaps the local fishermen resented the fact that they had to pay a teind on their catch when foreign fishermen could leave with their catch intact.
1410 *R.N.,* I, nos. 162 & 169.
1411 *Camb. Reg.*, nos. 54 & 55.
the peace of holy Church was broken at Coupar [Angus Abbey] through the violence of Máel Coluim, earl of Atholl. For Adam, also surnamed Donald's son, who was the king's outlaw, was captured; and one of his companions, his nephew, was beheaded before the altar; and the others, numbering fifty-eight, were burned and put to death in the abbot's guest-house.\footnote{1412}

This is an admittedly extreme example. It is nevertheless a pertinent reminder that life was harsh and often violent for twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scots.

As an integral part of this turbulent society, reformed monasteries could avoid neither petty disputes nor more serious confrontations. To men such as Mure of Comtone and the fishermen of May, the convent of the local monastery would merely have been another economic rival who threatened their precarious livelihood. It would be wrong to assume, however, that convents were in constant conflict with the laity. Indeed, despite their weaknesses, the extant sources can be used to suggest that the relationship with the lay population in Canmore Scotland was on the whole characterised by more peaceful social intercourse. As the proceeding survey will demonstrate, this chiefly amicable relationship was defined by the dual role of religious in society as both churchmen and landowners.

\textit{Monastic Parishioners}

The extensive ownership of parish churches was one of the defining aspects of reformed monasticism in Canmore Scotland.\footnote{1413} It may accordingly be supposed that religious most commonly met with the laity whilst performing parochial duties. However, many reformed orders prohibited their members from serving the cure of their churches. The Premonstratensians, for example, were forbidden from undertaking parochial duties,\footnote{1414} whilst the Cistercians even initially refused to accept donations of parish churches.\footnote{1415} Although such austere tenets were often revoked or compromised (thus, the aforementioned White Canon stricture was abandoned in 1174, whilst the first White Monk abbey in Scotland, Melrose, received the parish church of Melrose on its foundation from David I)\footnote{1416} Cowan argued that it was probably very rare for religious to personally serve the churches in

\footnote{1412} Chron. Holy., s.a. 1186.
\footnote{1413} For the extent of monastic possession of parish churches, see Cowan, Parish ev. 213-225.
\footnote{1414} Colvin, The White Canons in England, 8.
\footnote{1415} Canivez, Statuta, I, p.xxvii.
\footnote{1416} Colvin, The White Canons in England, 8; & Cowan, Parish ev. 146.
their possession.\footnote{Cowan, 'Religious and the Cure of Souls', 62-76.} It was much more likely, he concluded, that twelfth-century convents were rich enough to hire secular chaplains.\footnote{Ibid., 64-65.}

There is evidence, nonetheless, to suggest that this situation altered as the establishment of properly ordained vicarages took effect during the early thirteenth century.\footnote{Ibid., 68-73.} There are numerous examples, for instance, of convents being given papal or episcopal permission to minister to their churches. A vicarage settlement of 1268 recorded that Bishop Gamelin of St Andrews gave the canons of Dryburgh dispensation to serve Channelkirk, Gullane and Saltoun 'as formerly they had been wont'.\footnote{Iisbury, no. 249.} Pope Lucius II granted a similar concession to the Augustinian's of St Andrews.\footnote{St A. Lib., 62-67, at 65. For a further discussion, see Cowan, 'Religious and the Cure of Souls.'} It is thought, moreover, that canons from the Premonstratensian abbeys of Holywood, Soulseat and Tongland in Galloway served the cure at most of their churches.\footnote{Iisbury, no. 71. This argument, however, is based upon fifteenth-century evidence} It was yet more common for religious to serve the church of the parish in which their house was actually situated. Thus, the local Cistercians served the churches of Balmerino, Culross, Dundrennan, Glenluce, Kinderloch (Sweetheart) and Melrose.\footnote{Cowan, 'Religious and the Cure of Souls', 74.} Moreover, sometimes the monastic church was also the parish church, as at Holyrood Abbey.\footnote{Holy. Lib., no. 1.} There was certainly a popular perception by the beginning of the fourteenth century that religious were willing to serve distant churches. This is demonstrated by Robert I's grant of the parochial rights of St Fillán's church in Killin to the abbey of Inchaffray in the expectation that a canon should be provided to serve its cure.\footnote{Inchaff Chrs., no. CXXIII} Religious appear to have been equally ready to commit themselves to such distant cures. For example, one of the documents recorded as being kept in Edinburgh castle prior to being stolen in 1296 was entitled 'A letter of the abbot and monks of Coupar, binding themselves to build a chapel at their own expense on the isle of Kerrera, and to find three monks to perform divine service there for the soul of the deceased Alexander, king of Scots, for a certain sum of money which they had received beforehand from that king.'\footnote{APS, 1, 10.}

Whilst it would therefore appear as if the initial reluctance of religious in Scotland to undertake parochial duties did not wane until the thirteenth century, anecdotal evidence
would nonetheless imply that they took the Christian message to the laity on a more informal basis during the twelfth century. It is recorded, for instance, that Adam of Dryburgh was taken on preaching tours by his abbot during which he would sermonise to the clergy in Latin and to the laity in the vernacular. Adam was by no means unique in this respect. Many of the most famous figures in reformed monasticism, most notably Bernard of Clairvaux, were famed for their preaching tours. Indeed, the founder of Adam’s own order, Norbert of Xanten, started his religious career as a wandering preacher, attracting large crowds wherever he went. Adam claimed that the rationale behind his own missions was ‘to mediate the Word of God to simple men’. As such, Adam’s preaching tours appear to lend support to Southern’s view that ‘It was from the monasteries that the countryside learnt its religion’.

It can conversely be proposed, however, that such informal preaching tours, in addition to formal parochial sermonising, also resulted in reformed monasticism in Scotland being influenced by the faith and religious customs of the local lay population. For example, the ‘simple men’ to whom Adam sermonised were most likely members of the same local Anglo-Saxon community to which he himself had once belonged. As a result of this common cultural and religious heritage, Adam would have been not only acutely aware of his audience’s continuing devotion to native Anglo-Saxon saints, but also uniquely able to appeal to it whilst preaching. Thus, Adam’s sermons would have been delivered in Anglo-Saxon. They probably also made frequent reference to the lives of local heroes of the Northumbrian Church such as Baldred, Cuthbert and Ebba. Although record of Adam’s preaching career is unique, it is probable that his sensitivity to local religious traditions was common to monastic preachers throughout Scotland. That such attempts to tailor the Christian message to the traditions of the surrounding lay population could have a direct impact on the culture of reformed monasticism itself is demonstrated by the references made in Adam’s treatises (which were for the instruction of fellow religious, and not for popular consumption) to these, and many other, Anglo-Saxon saints. In this respect, it can be conjectured that, as

1127 For a discussion, see Bulloch, *Adam of Dryburgh*, 14.
1130 De Tripartito Taburnaculos, 285. Adam, however, appears not to have considered the cure of souls the concern of a Premonstratensian canon. In his description of the order, for example, he placed heavy emphasis upon the *stabilitas* (stability) of canonical life, and almost none on parochial duties *De Ordine, Habitum et Professione Canonicoorum Ordinis Premonstratensis* (Pl., CXCVIII). 496-507.
1131 Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 153
1132 For Adam’s origins, see above, p. 150-151.
1133 De Tripartito Taburnaculos, 285 & 775.
with the Church elsewhere in medieval Europe, the devotional practices of reformed monasteries in Canmore Scotland 'were demand-led, by the spirituality and desires of the laity'.

Monastic Contact with Pilgrims

Although the relationship forged by religious with the laity whilst performing parochial and preaching duties usually only involved an individual monk or canon and tended to occur some distance from the monastery, there were occasions when the laity directly impinged upon the daily life of the whole convent. Some monasteries, for instance, housed, or were attached to cathedrals which housed, holy relics which naturally attracted a steady flow of pilgrims. Dunfermline Abbey (Margaret) and Whithorn Priory (Nynia) are two notable examples. The most famous pilgrim site in Canmore Scotland, however, was the cathedral priory of St Andrews. Indeed, it was one of the major pilgrimage sites in Britain, if not Europe. Thus, a poem etched on a slab at St Andrews which was recorded by Bower proclaimed 'Here in pilgrimage come lords from far away castles in many lands, boastful Franks, Normans who love battle, Flemish weavers, Teutons, English, Germans, Dutchmen, strangers from Poitou and Angers, men who drink the Rhine, Rhone and Tiber. All come to pray to St Andrew'. The author of the A version of the Historia Fundationis made a similar boast, although his list included more exotic pilgrims 'earning the prize of Jerusalem' from Armenia and Greece. He also mentioned pilgrims from England and Wales. The ferries and hostels established by Queen Margaret and Earl Donnchad of Fife to service pilgrims crossing the Forth certainly attest to the volume of pilgrim-traffic coming from the south. The popularity of St Andrews amongst the English is further demonstrated by references to pilgrims in Reginald of Durham’s work on Godric of Finchale. A reference in the Life of Cadog which compares St Andrews to Rome and Jerusalem suggests that the city was also a popular destination for Welsh pilgrims. Pilgrims also travelled from districts benorth the Tay. The priory of St Andrews, for instance, maintained a ferry-boat

1434 Swanson, Religion and Devotion in Europe, 9.
1435 For discussions on St Andrews’ reputation as a pilgrimage site, see Hall, St Andrew and Scotland, 149-154, & D. McRoberts, ‘The Glorious House of St Andrews’, IR, XXV (1974), 95-158, at 129-136.
1436 Cited in ibid., 130.
1437 Chron. Picts-Scots, 140.
1439 Godrici, 376, 426 & 446.
1440 Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae, 80 & 92.
across the firth. In spite of its national and international appeal, it is nevertheless likely that the majority of pilgrims to St Andrews came from the countryside surrounding the city.

From wherever they travelled, it was the Augustinian convent who were obliged to administer to the numerous ‘men and women; the rich and poor; the healthy and the sick; the lame and the blind; and the paralysed, brought by horse and cart’ who arrived at the doors of their cathedral. Even outwith their official duty as hospitaliers, it is possible to envisage canons having to act not only as spiritual advisers to zealous pilgrims, but also as impromptu translators and even tourist guides. Confronted by this influx of pilgrims, the Augustinian canons of St Andrews would have been made aware of the religious traditions, attitudes and expectations of local Gaelic and Anglo-Saxon populations. In order to maintain the popularity of the city amongst such native pilgrims it is probable that the canons attempted to accommodate their devotional demands and perhaps preserve traditional aspects of worship in the city. A possible example of this is the survival of the native reliquary bearer under the patronage of the prior.

The extents to which reformed convents were willing to go in order to secure for their monastery the often enriching reputation of a pilgrim centre is revealed in the Life of Waltheof, abbot of Melrose and stepson of David I. Jocelin of Furness recalled, for instance, that Abbot William of Melrose (1159-1170) prevented crowds of pilgrims from visiting Waltheof’s grave. In so doing, William was merely adhering to the statutes of the Cistercian Order which were strongly opposed to the presence of lay persons within the monastic enclosure. According to Jocelin, this nevertheless made him unpopular amongst the frustrated pilgrims and certain members of his own convent. That William resigned, to be replaced by an abbot who promoted the cult of Waltheof (Jocelin, 1170-1175), was

1441 RMN, V, 2273.
1443 Chron. Picts-Scots, 140.
1444 This is demonstrated by the fact that they were put in charge of the ancient pilgrims’ hostel at St Andrews. St A. Lib., 122-123. The canons would also have served pilgrims at the cathedral itself, for as M. Dilworth, ‘The Augustinian Chapter of St Andrews’, JR, xxv (1974), 15-30, at 17, noted ‘The chapter’s chief function was centred on the cathedral, where it was their task to maintain the fabric and provide the services’.
1445 For a discussion, see p. 261 below.
1446 Vita Waltheofii, 120.
1447 Canon., Statuta, 1, 1134, no. 10.
1448 Vita Waltheofii, 120. For a commentary, see Baker, ‘The Case of Waldef of Melrose’, 70.
1449 Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1170.
probably due to both the internal and external demands for Melrose to become a pilgrim centre.\textsuperscript{1450} The decision by Abbot Jocelin to open to tomb of Waltheof in the year of his appointment certainly suggests that the pro-cult party at Melrose had triumphed.\textsuperscript{1451} That this inquisition moreover found Waltheof's corpse to be incorrupt would undoubtedly have further popularised his saintly reputation.\textsuperscript{1452} Indeed, Waltheof's tomb became the focus for a local cult which was to thrive in Teviotdale until the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{1453} This would doubtless have resulted in a steady stream of Anglo-Saxon and Gaelic peasants and tenants travelling to Melrose from the surrounding countryside to make offerings to and request spiritual favours from the relics of their local 'saint'. Indeed, that Waltheof's popular canonisation in southern Scotland was never officially recognised by the papacy emphasises the strongly localised nature of his cult. From this perspective, the adoption of Waltheof as a saint by the lay population of Teviotdale can be compared with the popular promotion of Gaelic and Northumbrian Church saints, such as Áedán, Baldred and Cuthbert, by their Bernician ancestors in the early years of Christianity in northern Britain.\textsuperscript{1454} Accordingly, just as Dark Age and early medieval monasteries, such as Coldingham and Melrose, were integrated into secular society through popular devotion for the local heroes of Gaelic/Northumbrian Christianity, so too would the Cistercian abbey of Melrose have become identified with its neighbouring lay population through a shared reverence for Waltheof. This would undoubtedly have resulted in the reformed monks coming into direct contact with native laity, whose devotion for Waltheof appears to have not only justified Abbot William's fear that such a cult would compromise the Cistercian ideal of solitude at Melrose, but arguably also influenced the cultural development of the convent.

\textit{Laity as Guests and Beggars}

The rule of St Benedict, to which many of the reformed orders adhered, emphasised the importance of hospitality and charity. It stated that 'all guests were to be received like

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1450} Baker, 'The Case of St Waldef', 70, highlighted that Waltheof's miracles were attested to by lesser members of the convent, such as \textit{conversi}, which suggests that the cult was not popular amongst the seniors of the abbey.
  \item \textsuperscript{1451} \textit{Chron. Melrose}, s.a. 1171.
  \item \textsuperscript{1452} As noted by Baker, 'The Case of St Waldef', 70, the popularity of Waltheof's cult may date from after the second opening of his tomb in 1206. This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that the \textit{Life} of Waltheof was commissioned by Abbot Patrick (1206-1207).
  \item \textsuperscript{1453} Farmer, \textit{Oxford Dictionary of Saints}, 486-487.
  \item \textsuperscript{1454} Notably, in his concluding panegyric to Waltheof, Jocelin compares him with Cuthbert and other Anglo-Saxon saints. \textit{Vita Waltheofii}, 135.
\end{itemize}
Christ’ and ‘in the reception of poor men and pilgrims special attention should be shown. because in them is Christ more truly welcomed’. Accordingly, the reception of guests and care for the sick and destitute became central tenets for many reformed orders. The statutes of the Premonstratensian Order, for example, declared that ‘In every church of our order hospitality shall be observed and alms shall be distributed according to the place, a guest-house being provided for the reception of the poor and a suitable person to look after them’. Indeed, as Constable has highlighted, in the twelfth century charity was a personal as well as an institutional duty for many of the reformers and founders of new religious houses. Geoffrey Grossus, for instance, repeatedly stressed Bernard of Tiron’s hospitality and generosity to all those who were in need. Jocelin of Furness likewise emphasised Waltheof of Melrose’s concern for the poor. Their reputation for charity and hospitality made monasteries the focus of attention for both beggars and more affluent guests. This naturally compromised the monastic ideal of solitude, and some of the stricter orders, such as the Carthusians, consequently refused to distribute charity or accept lay visitors. Even some of the less austere orders were allegedly reluctant to provide alms for the poor. Gerald of Wales, for example, noted that the Cluniacs ‘suffer the poor to collapse in heaps outside their very gates and die of hunger for want of Christian charity’. The majority of religious houses, however, not only provided alms on a regular basis, but also welcomed guests into their monastery’s precinct.

References made to monastic hospitality in Scottish sources, and its popularity amongst patrons, have been highlighted above. In comparison, there are no surviving descriptions of the everyday charitable acts performed by reformed convents in Canmore Scotland. There are, however, oblique references in charters to their alms-giving role. For example, a mid-thirteenth-century charter pertaining to the convent of Newbattle states that if

1455 Rule of St Benedict, cap. 53.
1456 Les Statuts de Prémontré sur les Ordres de Grégoire IX et d’Innocent IV au XIIe Siècle, ed. F. Lefèvre (Louvain, 1946), 61.
1458 Ibid., 149.
1459 Vita Waltheofii, 21.
1461 Gerald of Wales, The Journey Through Wales, 106. Rather than reflect the general policy of the Cluniacs, however, it is probable that this comment was simply prompted by a poor reception which Gerald himself received at the hands of a single Cluniac convent. Indeed, the abbey of Cluny was famed for its charity. One example of this was its maintenance of eighteen residential paupers. Antiquiores Constitutiones Cluniacensis Monasterii (PL, CXLIX, 766), book III, cap. 24
1462 See pp. 195-196.
the agreement which it records is broken, then the violator must pay a fine to the abbey which was 'to be spent for the benefit of the poor'. More specific evidence of Newbattle's charitable activities is provided by the charter which records James Douglas' grant of Kilmad to the convent in 1330. It notes, for example, that Lord James expected the monks to feed thirteen paupers each year on St Brigid's Day. A charter issued by Bishop William of St Andrews -1147-1150 stated that he was granting the parish church of St Laurence's Berwick to the monks of Kelso 'since the abbey shows itself hospitable to the poor and to strangers'. Interestingly, this latter charter reveals that reformed monasteries were viewed as poor-relief agents who undertook alms-giving on behalf of their patrons. Bishop William stated, for example, that the convent was 'under special obligation to care for the profit of those who pour forth their wealth for the sustenance of poor guests and strangers'. In light of these references it can be envisaged that, as the regulae of most of the new orders anticipated, Scottish religious dispensed food and wine to the poor at least every Sunday, and perhaps daily, at their monastery's gates. In addition to this, many houses either maintained a hospital for destitute and sick locals, or allowed their almoner to visit them in their own homes. Evidence of the former certainly exists in Scotland, most famously at St Andrews where the canons established a hospital in which both pilgrims and the poor were lodged. Aside from these regular, informal distributions of alms to the paupers who would have habitually congregated at the monastery gates, there were often set occasions when a convent would formally dispense charity. For example, in virtue of Robert I's grant of £100 per annum, the monks of Melrose were bound 'to clothe once a year fifteen poor folk at Martinmas, and to feed them on the same day, giving to each one of them four ells of broad cloth or six ells of narrow cloth, and to each of them one new pair of shoes'. Notably, this symbolic act was to be supervised by the Forester of Selkirk on behalf of the king.

The strain which these frequent acts of charity and hospitality placed upon a monastery's resources was great. The abbot of Dryburgh, for example, was granted the

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1463 Newb. Reg., nos. 160 & 182.  
1464 Ibid., no. 134.  
1465 Kel. Lib., II, no. 547.  
1466 Ibid., II, no. 547.  
1467 The statutes of the Premonstratensian Order, for example, decreed that the abbey's porter should collect the remains of each meal and distribute them at the gate Les Statuts de Prémontré, 62.  
1468 See, for example, ibid., 60-62. For hospitals in medieval Scotland, many of which were attached to monasteries, see Cowan & Easson, AHRHS, 162-200.  
1469 St A. Lib., 58 & 123.  
1470 Melr. Lib., II, no. 362.
pride of presenting his own canons to the vicarages in the diocese of St Andrews which
pertained to his abbey by Bishop David de Bernham in order to relieve the increasingly heavy
burden of providing for ‘wandering paupers’ and guests. Bishop William of St Andrews
had similarly granted the church of Kinglassie to Dunfermline Abbey ‘for the sustenance of
paupers and guests’. The extent to which guests and beggars came into contact with a
convent is nonetheless difficult to assess. The rule of St Benedict certainly stated that visitors
were to have a separate dining-room so as they would not disturb the inmates. It further
warned ‘let no one, without special instructions, associate or converse with guests.’
Nevertheless, the rule also required that ‘as soon as a guest is announced, let the superior or
some brethren meet him with all charitable service’. Indeed, the abbot was expected to
wash a visitor’s feet and dine with him. Whether this was observed for all guests is
doubtful. A convent’s patrons and more important visitors were nevertheless likely to
have been warmly welcomed by the community and enjoyed extensive access to the
abbot. Even those less august guests who were restricted to the guest-house would have
interacted with the convent through the guest-master and his servants, who must therefore
have been exposed to the language and customs of the native society in which their
monastery was established. Contact between convent and pauper is likely to have been
more restricted. A clear distinction was drawn by reformed convents between the reception of
guests, who were seen as social equals, and care of the poor, who were to be pitied not
befriended. The almoner of a convent would nevertheless have got to know the local paupers
who regularly came to beg at the monastery gates, or the sick and destitute whom he either
cared for at the monastery’s own hospital or visited. Moreover, at times of great need the life
of the whole community could be affected by the sheer number of paupers demanding
charity. The Life of Waltheof, for example, presents a vivid picture of the problem: ‘On one

1471 Dryb. Lib., no. 38.
1472 Dunf. Reg., no. 93.
1473 Rule of St Benedict, cap. 53.
1474 Ibid., cap. 53.
1476 Ibid., cap. 53.
that visitors to Melrose Abbey had their feet washed. Jocelin, however, may have merely been
employing a traditional hagiographic topos. Vita Waltheofii, 66.
1478 See discussion above, pp. 195-196.
1479 Jocelin of Furness recorded that the abbey of Melrose employed a Master of the Guest-house, a
gate-keeper, and a Receiver of Guests. At least one of these posts was held by a lay-brother. Vita
Waltheofii, 66.
occasion when the calamity of a deadly famine threatened, a vast crowd of destitute -
reckoned to number four thousand - gathered at Melrose, and erected huts and tents for
themselves on the fields and in the woods around the monastery to the distance of four
miles. Even allowing for hagiographic hyperbole, this passage reveals the extent to which
a convent could literally be besieged by distressed peasants. As the Life of Waltheof suggests,
in such extreme cases it was not just the almoner who helped alleviate their sufferings.
As the paupers encamped outside the monastic enclosure at Melrose would have belonged to the
lowest strata of Teviotdale society, this would have resulted in intimate contact between the
monks and peasants of native origin. Admittedly, the peasants' relationship with the convent
is likely to have been passive in this context. It nevertheless provides yet another example of
how reformed monasteries in Scotland interacted with neighbouring secular communities and
in so doing become an integral part of the native society from which historians have hitherto
suggested they remained aloof.

Native Monastic Serfs and Tenants

A steadily increasing peasant population, combined with diminishing reserves of land,
largely contributed to the rise of serfdom in medieval Europe. Serfs were legally bound to
a particular territorial lordship, being deprived of their legal rights and required to
acknowledge subservience through a range of economic obligations and limitations on their
freedom. They, their families and chattels, were accordingly treated as the possessions of
the landowner. As all religious communities occupied some land granted by secular lords
(even if they differed on how it was to be organised and by whom it was to be worked) they
too came to possess serfs. This is reflected in grants made to many reformed
convents in Canmore Scotland. Mâel Coluim IV, for example, confirmed to the canons of

1480 The statutes of the Premonstratensian Order remarked that the guest-master was to have as many
servants as his task demanded. Les Statuts Prémontré, 60.
1481 Cited in Scotichron., VI, 33.
1482 Vita Waltheofi, 28, 52 & 55.
1483 C. Brooke, Europe in the Central Middle Ages 962-1154 (2nd edn London, 1987), 113-118, & D.
Nicholas, The Evolution of the Medieval World: Society, Government and Thought in Europe 312-
1500 (London, 1992), 151-162, & Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages, 96-107. For a Scottish
perspective, see Duncan, Scotland, 326-348.
1484 Brooke, Europe in the Central Middle Ages, 116-117.
1485 Duncan, Scotland, 331, notes that ‘So far as the lord was concerned the neyf and his family
enjoyed no rights...and with his goods were at his disposal’.
1487 The Cistercians, however, eschewed gifts of serfs. Burton, Monastic and Religious Orders in
Britain, 254.
Scone their rights to the *nativi* of their lands.\(^\text{1488}\) Likewise, Earl David of Huntingdon granted all the churches in his patronage with their lands ‘and with the men dwelling on these lands and their families’ to the monks of Lindores.\(^\text{1489}\) As would be expected, the serfs who were thus granted to monasteries in Scotland were often of native origin. In illustration, mirroring Fife’s predominantly Gaelic society, as well as its Anglo-Saxon enclaves, the serfs granted to Dunfermline Abbey by successive kings of Scots included Gille Andrais mac Suthen, Raonall mac Máel Moire Goveran, Máel Moire mac Hercar, Ragewin and Ulchil.\(^\text{1490}\) The Gaelic nature of Strathearn’s peasant society is likewise reflected in the names of the serfs thirled to Inchaffray Abbey, such as Gille Moire and Gille Crist Rothe mac Gille Eoin.\(^\text{1491}\)

The extent to which such men were treated as possessions by their monastic lords is revealed, on the one hand, by the genealogies which the monks of Dunfermline Abbey compiled of various serf families on their more distant estates.\(^\text{1492}\) Four of these lists concern a family of *scolocs* in Kinglassie.\(^\text{1493}\) Compiled soon after ‘the arrival of Baliol in Scotland’ (i.e., either c. 1292 or c. 1332), it names seven generations from Patrick Scurfarauch to John son of Adam, and ascribes to each their place of death and of burial. In so doing, the compiler demonstrated that this family was thirled to the convent’s lands of Kinglassie and thus confirmed that the current representatives of the family, William of Caskiebam and John of Kinglassie (who may have prompted the genealogical enquiry by trying to challenged their servile status) were legally possessions of Dunfermline Abbey. The proprietorial attitude which monasteries held towards their native serfs is testified to on the other hand by their determination to reclaim those who had run away. A brieve of David I, for instance, ordered the repatriation of fugitive *nativi* belonging to Dunfermline Abbey.\(^\text{1494}\) William the Lion issued a similar brieve concerning the runaway serfs of Scone Abbey.\(^\text{1495}\) Interestingly, in both of these documents the royal scribe substituted the usual legal terms of *nativi* and *fugitivi* for *Cumelache* and also, in William’s brieve, *Cumherba*. As Barrow (with the corroboration of Binchy) highlighted, the words *Cumelache* and *Cumherba* are Gaelic and appear to derive from *cumal* (O.Ir. female slave) and *comarba* (O.Ir. heir/successor).

\(^{1488}\) *Scon. Lib.*, no. 5.
\(^{1489}\) *Lind. Cart.*, no. IV.
\(^{1490}\) *Dunf. Reg.*, no. 64; Lawrie, *ESC*, no. LXX; & *Scon. Lib.*, no. 37
\(^{1491}\) *Inchaff. Chrs.*, nos. LXXXVII, LXXXVIII & CIX.
\(^{1492}\) *Dunf. Reg.*, nos. 325-331.
\(^{1493}\) The genealogy of the *scolocs* of Kinglassie is presented in appendix 6.
\(^{1494}\) Lawrie, *ESC*, no. LXX.
\(^{1495}\) RRS, II, no. 25.
Barrow subsequently proposed that in Scottish usage Cumelache had come to mean specifically a runaway serf, and Cumherba a hereditary servile tenant. Whilst these are plausible definitions, the meaning of Cumelache at least arguably can be defined further.

For example, the term Cumelache was used solely in briefs which concerned fugitive serfs belonging to monasteries benorth the Forth. Thus, briefs issued by William concerning the fugitive nativi of Coldingham Priory, Kelso Abbey and Lesmahagow Priory made no use of the term Cumelache. It is also noticeable that the term was not employed by scribes in briefs de nativi relating to secular landowners in Alba. Thus, the more standard nativi and fugitivi were used in briefs issued in favour of Orm of Abernethy and Levif of Dunfermline. This strongly implies that Cumelache were a form of slave associated in particular with religious sites benorth the Forth and that royal scribes used the term discriminately. Significantly, the term Cumelache is rendered in these charters in its Gaelic form, rather than homophonically. This demonstrates on the one hand that a scribe at Dunfermline, perhaps in royal service, was trained in Gaelic. On the other, it implies that cumerlache remained a ‘live’ term in the second half of the twelfth century. As it was evidently not a linguistic relic simply used as a cognate for nativus, and considering its Irish usage and application in Scottish documents, it is possible to conjecture that Cumelache had the specific meaning of a female serf who belonged to a (in the above cases, former) Gaelic Church community.

Whilst Scone’s Gaelic Church past has already been highlighted, this theory appears to be undermined by the apparent fact that Dunfermline had no such antecedents. Dunfermline, however, had been granted property which had once pertained to the priory of St Andrews, a community which certainly did have Gaelic Church roots. This included the

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1496 Ibid., I, 63-64.
1497 Ibid., I, 64. For comment on the use of comarba in Scotland see appendix 5.
1498 Ibid., II, nos. 44, 113, 248, & 387.
1499 Ibid., II, no. 114, & Lawrie, ESC, no. CLVIII.
1500 For example, cumlawe (RRS, II, no. 25), cumerlaches (ibid., II, no. 30) & cumerlachi (ibid., II, no. 31).
1501 The scribe who was responsible for RRS, II, no. 25, also penned three other royal charters, one of which was place-dated at Dunfermline (ibid., no. 27). The other two (ibid., nos. 40 & 41) have no place-date.
1502 It is unlikely that the gender of the term Cumelache would have been altered by Scottish Gaels.
1503 See above p. 43.
1504 For grants made to Dunfermline Abbey by successive bishops of St Andrews, see Dunf. Reg., nos. 3, 4 & 91-122.
church and estate of Kinglassie. Dunfermline also claimed the land of Balchristie which traditionally had been held by the céli Dé of St Andrews.\textsuperscript{1505} It is therefore possible that the Cumelache thirled to the Benedictine abbey were bond-women whose predecessors had belonged to the Gaelic Church community at St Andrews. Interestingly, the name of one of the aforementioned nativi of Dunfermline, Gille Andrais mac Suthen, implies a traditional association between his family and St Andrews. Moreover, that the abbot of Dunfermline evidently recognised the difference between his monastery’s Cumelache and its nativi is suggested by the fact that shortly after the aforementioned brieve concerning the repatriation of the former, King William issued a similar brieve which dealt with the convent’s fugitivi, without reference to Cumelache or Cumherba.\textsuperscript{1506}

As Duncan noted, the documents imply that Cumelache found it easier than nativi to flee from one lordship to another.\textsuperscript{1507} This, as he suggested, perhaps merely reflects the differing degrees of servility which characterised serfdom in Canmore Scotland, as throughout medieval Europe.\textsuperscript{1508} It could, moreover, indicate that the Cumelache had enjoyed a less restrictive relationship under Gaelic custom than under the rule of the more ‘feudal’-minded reformed Church, and were hence still prone to move from district to district. It most probably reflected, however, the fact that Cumelache were indeed female serfs and hence had no property to restrict their movement. Whatever the case, it further underlines that there was a distinction between the Cumelache and the ordinary nativi. A final piece of evidence suggesting that this difference was indeed that Cumelache were descended from serfs specifically attached to a Gaelic Church community is that the only other mention of them in the sources is in a charter relating to the ancient church of Restenneth in Angus.\textsuperscript{1509}

Admittedly, not all brieves de nativi relating to reformed convents in possession of former Gaelic Church lands contain the terms Cumelache and Cumherba. Thus, a brieve issued in favour of St Andrews Priory by Mâel Coluim IV refers only to the convent’s ‘fugitivi’.\textsuperscript{1510} It is nonetheless possible that, as suggested by Duncan, certain incoming scribes were averse to using such ‘barbarous words’ as Cumelache and consequently replaced them with more familiar Anglo-continental terms.\textsuperscript{1511} It is fortunate that some scribes nevertheless

\textsuperscript{1505} RRS, II, no. 35.  
\textsuperscript{1506} Ibid., nos. 25 & 163. The first brieve was issued 1165X1171, the second 1173X1177.  
\textsuperscript{1507} Duncan, Scotland, 328.  
\textsuperscript{1508} For which, see Brooke, Europe in the Central Middle Ages, 113-114.  
\textsuperscript{1509} RRS, I, no. 195.  
\textsuperscript{1510} RRS, I, no. 167.  
\textsuperscript{1511} Duncan, Scotland, 328.
continued to recognise the individuality of the Cumelache and Cumherba, for in so doing they arguably have revealed to the modern inquirer not only the significant survival of a pre-twelfth-century Gaelic ecclesiastical peasant class into the Canmore period, but also the way in which it was absorbed into the organisation of the reformed Church. Their antiquarianism also serves as a sobering reminder that the prejudices and terminological fashions of Anglo-French scribes during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have most probably obscured many other such Gaelic Church survivals from modern view.

Whilst the tantalising mention of Cumelache and Cumherba indicates that the exploitation of a servile labour-force had long been a feature of Scottish religious life, it is important to note that reformed convents did not rely solely upon serfs to work their estates. They, like all medieval landowners, also leased land out to free tenants. In return, these tenants paid a render in kind or money to the convent. As with their serfs, convents often ‘inherited’ free tenants on being granted an already settled estate. Dunfermline Abbey, for example, came to possess various properties besouth the Forth which had existing groups of tenants. That these tenants were native to the region is revealed by a charter in which the abbot of Dunfermline invoked his ‘free men of Tweeddale’: Edmund, Michael son of Edmund, Gille Crist, Gille Mahagu, Gille Mhicheil, Mael Moire, and Marcorm (?Mael Coluim). That reformed convents do not seem to have disrupted existing, native tenurial arrangements on receiving new estates is perhaps best demonstrated by Kelso Abbey’s previously discussed treatment of the tenants of Lesmahagow. Convents also enfeoffed their own native tenants after receiving new land. For example, Abbot Adam of Arbroath granted one davach of land in Kingoldrum to Gille Thomais mac Alif. Similarly, a charter confirming Ness the physician’s grant of Dunfallandy to the monks of Coupar Angus stated that the land was now held by Cinaed Macgilleger for the payment of a rent (firmarius). Likewise, in a charter of 1232 confirming her husband’s grant of Tulach to Coupar Angus Abbey, Countess Isabel of Atholl noted that the land was now held for a rent by Ferchar

1512 Again, there were some exceptions to this general rule. The Cistercian Order, for example, initially prohibited their convents from leasing lands to lay tenants. This prohibition proved ineffectual, and was modified, then rescinded, in the early thirteenth century. Canivez, Statuta, I, 1152, no. 1; 1208, no. 5. 1214, no. 58, & 1220, no. 5. This was reflected in Scotland, as demonstrated in the argument below regarding Coupar Angus Abbey’s tenants.

1513 RRS, II, no. 30

1514 Dunf. Reg., no. 302.

1515 See above, p. 98.

1516 Arb. Lib., I, no. 305.

1517 Coup. Chrs., I, no. LII.
That such leases were not necessarily hereditary is demonstrated by Earl David of Atholl’s subsequent confirmation charter of 1244X1254 which noted that Eógan MacPole was now the abbey’s tacksman for Tulach.

Lay Monastic Servants

The extent to which serfs and tenants were in direct contact with their monastic masters is difficult to assess. The *Libellus* of Cluny certainly noted that there were monks who dealt ‘with secular matters’ which included gathering dues owed by tenants, the benevolent ordering of their serfs’ daily lives and, pointedly, raising the sons of their serfs as future serfs. The Benedictine convent of Christ Church Canterbury, moreover, administered their estates through monk-wardens who supervised and appointed bailiffs, and were often resident in the local manor. Whilst similar scenarios can perhaps be envisaged at Benedictine and Cluniac houses in Scotland, such as Dunfermline, Iona, and Paisley, it was more common for convents to eschew such everyday associations with their tenants and serfs. Indeed, in order to maintain their claustral integrity, most communities employed secular officers to carry out tasks which involved business contact with the laity. Inchaffray Abbey, for example, maintained a terrarius, whose job was to oversee the leasing of the convent’s lands, hold courts in which disputes with and between tenants could be resolved and, possibly through lesser officials, co-ordinate the serfs’ labour. Interestingly, the financial aspect of the terrarius’ duties is highlighted in a charter issued by Máel Ísu of Strathearn which explains that the earl had ‘obtained’ (cepimus) thirty-six pounds from the abbey’s terrarius, Hugh. It further reveals that a benefactor had given the money to Hugh with the intention that it be used to restore the abbatial buildings. The aforementioned judicial responsibilities of this office, moreover, are detailed in a fascinating document recording the abbot of Arbroath’s appointment of a terrarius. It states, for instance, that Reiner the terrarius was to defend the abbôt’s land and men and uphold their rights and liberties in court ‘according to his power’. Notably, Reiner was appointed specifically to oversee the abbey’s vill of Colly. This

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1518 Ibid., I, no. XXXIX.
1519 Ibid., I, no. L.
1522 *Inchaff. Chrs.*, no. XCVI.
1523 Ibid., no. XCIV.
1524 *Arb. Lib.*, I, no. 331. This document also notes the terrarius’ not inconsiderable rewards for performing his duties to the abbot’s satisfaction.
indicates that a *terrarius'* influence could be intensely local and, moreover, that an abbey with extensive holdings outwith the immediate vicinity of the convent, such as Arbroath, probably employed a number of these local officers. Indeed, when he reached an agreement with the monks of Arbroath anent various disputed lands in Fordoun (Mearns), Earl Alexander swore to defend the convent’s local rights and liberties and ‘especially the *terrarius*’.1525 Likewise, another charter mentions a *terrarius* of Arbroath settled in Tarves,1526 the church of which had been granted to the abbey by King William.1527

Arbroath also maintained a *senescallus*, whose title - ‘the steward of the lord abbot of Arbroath’ - and prominence in the witness-lists of charters recording grants to the abbey, suggests a more centralised, and doubtless more powerful office than the *terrarius*.1528 St Andrews Priory was also served by stewards. The first-named of these, Godwin, may have been recruited from Fife’s Anglo-Saxon community in order to deal with the new convent’s community relations, as it were.1529 The second-named, however, was a kinsman of Bishop Robert, Odo of Kinninmonth. He was later accorded the title of *dapifer*, which is suggestive of household, rather than estate duties.1530

A more comprehensive picture of the use of secular servants by monasteries in Scotland is afforded by documents relating to the Benedictine convent of Coldingham. These reveal that the monks employed not only a *terrarius* to administer their lands and collect its rents,1531 but also, as most probably did many other monasteries, a host of lesser officials. Thus, Patrick the bailiff, William the carpenter, Ralph the door-ward, Robert the granger, Ralph the messenger, and Henry ‘the abbot’s boy (garciione)’ are on record.1532 As would be expected, Coldingham Priory appears largely to have recruited these servants from families thirled to the convent.1533 It is also possible that they intentionally acquired serfs with skills

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1525 Ibid., I, no. 247.
1526 Ibid., I, no. 231.
1527 *RRS*, II, no. 318.
1528 For notices of Adam the steward of Arbroath, see *Arb. Lib.*, I, nos. 39, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 72, 74, 82, 98, 116, 127, 133, & 228.
1529 Raine, *North Durham*, no. CCCXLVI. Bishop Robert also had a chancellor called Godwin.
1530 *St A. Lib.*, 259.
1531 Raine, *North Durham*, nos. CLXIII, CCLXV & CCLXVII (for Gregory the steward of Coldingham), & *Dunf. Reg.*, nos. 316 & 339 (for Simon the steward of Dunfermline). That this was an important post is demonstrated by Gregory’s position at the top of some witness-lists.
1532 Raine, *North Durham*, nos. CCLXXVI, CCLXXIX, CCC, CCCLVII & CCCLXXIX. Ralph the door-ward and Ralph the messenger may have been the same person.
1533 Ralph the messenger, for example, was the son of Robert the granger. Ibid., no. CCLXXVI
which made them ideal servants. Reinald of Prenderguest, for example, appears to have been acquired by the monks for his experience as a grieve.\footnote{For the transactions regarding Reinald, see ibid., nos. CCCXXX-CCCXLI, and discussion in Duncan, Scotland, 331-332.}

Although it is therefore likely that a class of secular monastic officials distanced the religious from everyday contact with their native serfs and tenants, many of these servants were probably themselves of native stock. This would certainly have been the case at monasteries where native religious dominated, such as Ardchattan, Saddell and Whithorn. It is probable that even convents which were staffed predominantly by incoming religious employed Anglo-Saxon and Gaelic servants, as most, if not all, possessed land in areas where pre-twelfth-century society continued to flourish. Certainly, a knowledge of Gaelic would have been useful for monastic terrarici in native-dominated areas such as Atholl, Buchan and Strathearn. Likewise, that the bishop of St Andrews’ early twelfth-century steward was evidently of Anglo-Saxon origin reflected the cathedral priory’s extensive possessions in anglicised southern Scotland and Fife. These servants would have provided monasteries not only with administrative skills, but also with essential linguistic and cultural expertise. Indeed, through their participation in the non-spiritual affairs of the monastery, these men played an unheralded role not only in the successful economic development of many reformed convents, but probably also in their assimilation into Scotland’s predominantly native agricultural and pastoral society.

The Fate of Gaelic Church Secular Offices at St Andrews

In addition to introducing a new class of servants, those reformed convents which had either directly superseded or been converted from existing Gaelic Church communities would undoubtedly also have inherited a traditional class of native officials. For the majority of converted houses, such as Inchaffray, Lochleven and Scone, evidence of this is admittedly lacking. Fortunately, however, information regarding Gaelic Church secular officials at St Andrews is more forthcoming. By synthesising this often disparate data it is possible to ascertain the fate of these traditional servants under the reformed regime at St Andrews, which can consequently be used as a paradigm for other former Gaelic Church sites.

The survival of native crown officials in Canmore Scotland, such as Alwin mac Archill the rannaire, Eogan the marascáil, and Mael Aithgen the thane (and sheriff) of Scone, has been noted by Barrow.\footnote{RRS, I, 32-33, & II, 36-37.} One of the most enigmatic members of this class is Gille Crist mac
ingine Samuel who flourished during the reign of William the Lion. His name is recorded in up to eight extant charters, yet the exact nature of his office, as well as his antecedents, is unknown. Bannerman, however, noted that Gille Crist’s apparent desire to be known as the grandson of Samuel connotes that Samuel must have been a man of some renown. He consequently proposed that Gille Crist could have been the nephew of Cairbre mac Samuel the ‘ard-ollamh Eireann hi scribhean’ (chief master of Ireland in penmanship) who died in Armagh in 1162, and grandson of Samuel ua hAngli, bishop of Dublin (d. 1121). Whilst Scone’s intellectual connections with Armagh support the suggestion of a relationship between Cairbre and Gille Crist, in light of two new pieces of evidence it is nonetheless possible to put forward an alternative theory which arguably connects Gille Crist with St Andrews.

The first piece of new, or rather re-discovered, evidence is the previously mentioned extension to the shorter A version of the Historia Fundationis of St Andrews. In a revealing passage it states that ‘They [Regulus and his companions] planted vegetable gardens where there is [now] the house of Master Samuel and his ancestors and successors’. This demonstrates that when the piece was written (probably 1093X1107) there was a house belonging to a Master Samuel at St Andrews which was prominent and well enough known to be used as a landmark by the author. It also presupposes a knowledge of Samuel himself, suggesting that he was a relatively familiar figure in and around St Andrews. It can moreover be inferred from its recorded location in the old community’s vegetable garden, which was presumably situated alongside the original monastic buildings ‘at the summit of the king’s mount’ (i.e., where the cél Dé church of St Mary of the Rock later stood), that the house, and therefore Master Samuel, was intimately connected with the life of the Gaelic Church site. Finally, that the author of the legend remarked that the house pertained not only to Samuel, but also to his ‘ancestors and successors’, indicates that Samuel held an hereditary, and probably secular post, at St Andrews. The second piece of evidence is

\[1536\] Ibid., II, nos. 15, 30, 137, 148, 206, 344, 345 & 524. Not all of these identifications are apparent, but see comment in Bannerman, ‘The King’s Poet’, 146.

\[1537\] Ibid., 146.

\[1538\] Ibid., 147.

\[1539\] Ibid., 147.

\[1540\] As noted above, Dr Broun of Glasgow University kindly sent me his transcript of this as yet unpublished extract.

\[1541\] As suggested to me by Dr Broun in correspondence.

\[1542\] Anderson, ‘The Celtic Church of Kinrinned’, 68. For the extent of Cennrigmonaid, see St A. Ith., 143. That this was the earlier focus for pilgrim traffic is implied by the lay-out of the medieval streets in St Andrews. Ash, ‘The Diocese of St Andrews’, 106 & n.
presented by the copy of Nennius' *Historia Brittonum* made by Euuen the pupil of Beulan, the priest preserved in a Sawley manuscript. The recipient of this recension was a fellow-pupil of Euuen called Samuel. Clancy tentatively proposes that the document was written in central Scotland, probably Abernethy, during the late eleventh century, and that the Samuel to which it was dedicated was possibly the Master Samuel mentioned in the *Historia Fundationis*. This argument, when combined with evidence from the *Historia Fundationis*, initially suggests that Master Samuel was perhaps the *fer léginn* of St Andrews. It can equally be proposed that both Clancy's findings and the text of the *Historia Fundationis* point to Master Samuel being the hereditary guest-keeper at St Andrews and that his house was the main lodging for pilgrims to the city. This suggestion is considerably strengthened when the above-quoted evidence and that offered by the later, B version of the *Historia Fundationis*, is compared with notices of pilgrim-houses elsewhere in the Gaelic world.

The letter of examination concerning the previously discussed dispute between the abbot of Paisley and Gille Brigte mac Samuel over Monachkennaran in Lennox, for example, notes that the main pilgrim-host for Kilpatrick had been one Bede Ferdan. Much as Master Samuel appears to have resided in a prominent house alongside the church at St Andrews, a former pilgrim stated that Bede used to live in a great wattle/thatched dwelling by the graveyard on the eastern side of the church at Kilpatrick. This was an hereditary office, and Bede was succeeded by his son Cristin. It also brought with it a reasonable patrimony for which Bede owed no other service than 'to take in and feed guests who came there'. Significantly, this letter further notes that whilst Bede was the chief pilgrim-host of Kilpatrick, there were three other local tenants who were charged with lodging pilgrims. This arrangement, and the obligations of Bede's office, notably correspond with a statement made in the B version of the *Historia Fundationis* regarding those who received the altarage of St Andrews. It records, for instance, that whilst one seventh of the offerings was presented to the bishop of St Andrews and another to the hospital, the remaining five went to certain men 'who performed no duty whatsoever, either at altar or church, and whose only obligation was

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154: I am grateful to Dr T. O. Clancy, department of Celtic, University of Glasgow, for allowing me to see his preliminary researches into the 'Nennian' recension of *Historia Brittonum*. This is, of course, a very brief and primitive summary of Dr Clancy's complex and closely argued discussion.

154: For a translation of this document, see appendix 4.

1546: See ibid.

1547: In addition to Monachkennaran, Bede also possessed the lands of Duntiglennan and Kilbowie. Ibid.
to provide, after their custom (more suo), lodging and entertainment for pilgrims and strangers when more than six happened to arrive, determining by lot whom and how many each of them were to receive. The hospital, it is to be noted, had continual accommodation for a number not exceeding six. It can consequently be presumed that in common with Bede's dwelling at Kilpatrick, Samuel's house was the official hospital; but should a surfeit of pilgrims arrive, then they were to be accommodated by 'part-time', unofficial guest-keepers at other locations in St Andrews.

Judging by the rather condescending tone of the above-quoted comment regarding the duties of the native pilgrim-hosts of St Andrews, it can be presumed that the Augustinian author failed to appreciate the central place which hospitality had in Gaelic culture. Indeed, the rights and obligations of hospitality (briugas) were enshrined in early Irish law and are evident in the practice of conveth which was widespread across medieval Scotland. That the obligation to provide hospitality was indeed taken seriously in Gaelic society is demonstrated by Adomnán's cautionary tale in the Life of Columba of 'a rich man called Vigen...who looked down on St Colum Cille and would not receive him as a guest'. In response, Colum Cille prophesied that

The riches of this miser, who has rejected Christ in the pilgrim visitor, will from henceforth be diminished little by little until there is nothing. He himself will be a beggar, and his son will run from house to house with a half-empty bag. A rival will strike him with an axe and he will die in the trench of a threshing-floor.

As Adomnán laconically noted, 'All these things were fulfilled according to the saint's prophecies as they concerned the two men'. As this extract implies, the emphasis placed upon hospitality in secular society was reflected in Church life in Ireland, where every monastery had a briuden (hostel) for pilgrims and guests. This development was probably echoed at

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1548 Chron. Picts-Scots, 189.
1549 Judging by the volume of pilgrim-traffic to St Andrews in the eleventh and twelfth centuries it is likely that their duties were more full-time. For a comment on pilgrims to the city, see Hall, St Andrews and Scotland, 149-155, & McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrews', 129-136.
1550 Kelly, A Guide to Early Irish Law, 36-38 & 139-140.
1552 Adomnán, Columba (Sharpe), II, 20.
1553 The most famous of these was the Lis Aeidhedh (Fort of Guests) at Armagh, and Tech Aeidhedh (House of Guests) at Clonmacnoise. Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, ed. J O' Donovan (Dublin, 1848-51). s.a 1003, 1015, 1031, 1093, & 1106. For a discussion on the historicity of Irish monastic hospitality, see L. Bitel, Isle of the Saints: Monastic Settlement and Christian Community in Early Ireland (Cork, 1993), 194-221.
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Gaelic Church sites in northern Britain,\textsuperscript{1554} especially those such as Kilpatrick and St Andrews which were also major pilgrimage centres. Interestingly, a special class of guest-keeper emerged in Ireland known as the \textit{briugu}.\textsuperscript{1555} Although specific reference to such a post in Alba is lacking, it is possible that Master Samuel was the \textit{briugu} of St Andrews. This office would have made Master Samuel not only an important figure at St Andrews, but no doubt also well-known outwith the city. It is therefore possible that the Samuel with which Gille Crist mac ingine Samuel was eager to be identified was actually Master Samuel of St Andrews.

The apparent floruits of the two men notably correspond with the proposal that Master Samuel of St Andrews was Gille Crist's grandfather. Thus, the \textit{Historia Fundationis} implies that Samuel was alive c. 1100, whilst Gille Crist first appears in the records c. 1166.\textsuperscript{1556} The royal acts in which Gille Crist was involved are also indicative of kinship with Samuel. For example, two charters (one of which was issued at St Andrews) which Gille Crist witnessed concerned Fife landowners - Merleswain mac Colbain, lord of Kennoway, and the abbot of Dunfermline.\textsuperscript{1557} Moreover, even in charters recording grants outwith Fife, Gille Crist is often named alongside other Fife notables, such as Earl Donnchad, Orm of Abernethy and, most frequently, Ness son of William.\textsuperscript{1558} Indeed, in one instance he is recorded as having led a perambulation of lands in Meiklour with Ness of Leuchars.\textsuperscript{1559} Perhaps even more instructively, in the company of Geoffreyc de Melville, the justiciar of Lothian, he perambulated a grant of land in Laurencekirk, a parish which belonged to the diocese of St Andrews.\textsuperscript{1560} These deeds certainly indicate that Gille Crist maintained not only his grandfather's high status in society, but also his connections with Fife. They further suggest that he was knowledgeable in the law, a skill which he had probably acquired whilst attending a school run by one of the hereditary professional orders.\textsuperscript{1561} This is an important point, as

\textsuperscript{1554} For a brief comment on hospitals in medieval Scotland, see A. Boyle, 'The Early Scottish Church: notes and suggestions', \textit{IR}, xxxv (1984), 37-39, at 37. See also, Cowan & Easson, \textit{MRHS}, 162-200.
\textsuperscript{1555} Kelly, \textit{Early Irish Law}, 36-38.
\textsuperscript{1556} \textit{RRS}, II, no. 30.
\textsuperscript{1557} Ibid., II, nos. 30 & 137.
\textsuperscript{1558} Ibid., II, nos. 15, 30, 137, 148, 206 & 524.
\textsuperscript{1559} Ibid., II, no. 524.
\textsuperscript{1560} Ibid., II, nos. 344 & 345.
\textsuperscript{1561} This is suggested by the fact that, as with Alwin mac Archill, Gille Crist mac ingine Samuel insisted on his full Gaelic name being used in witness lists. See Bannerman, 'The King's Poet', 139. Such schools produced the \textit{judices} of Alba, and hence would no doubt have taught basic legal theory to most of their pupils. For law-schools in Ireland, see Kelly, \textit{Early Irish Law}, 242-263. Interestingly, as noted above, the Samuel who is mentioned as the recipient of Euen's \textit{copys} of the \textit{Historia Brittonum} is
later Irish evidence highlights that *brugaidi* were often also skilled in another learned profession, such as medicine.\textsuperscript{1562} It is thus possible that the *brigu* of St Andrews had traditionally performed a minor legal function,\textsuperscript{1563} a custom which was continued by Gille Crist even though his family’s hospitaler role had ended.\textsuperscript{1564}

That Gille Crist did not inherit Samuel’s post as *brigu* is demonstrated by the fact that the hospital of St Andrews was granted by Bishop Robert to the cathedral priory on its foundation in 1144.\textsuperscript{1565} This, as the Augustinian author of the longer *Historia Fundationis* was keen to point out, brought an end to native customs concerning the reception of pilgrims at St Andrews.\textsuperscript{1566} As the above-cited acts nonetheless demonstrate, Gille Crist remained an influential figure in Alba and as such continued his family’s involvement in the affairs of the new regime at St Andrews. Interestingly, it is possible that the Alún mac Gille Crist who witnessed three grants to St Andrews Priory during the second half of the twelfth century was the son of Gille Crist mac ingine Samuel.\textsuperscript{1567} If this was indeed the case, then it further underlines not only the family’s continuing relationship with St Andrews, but also how the loss of its traditional hospitaler role did not result in a decline in its status, as Alún’s name was placed near the top of the witness-list of all three charters in which he appears.\textsuperscript{1568}

Indeed, it is further possible that Alún mac Gille Crist was one of the leading men of Fife depicted as a pupil of Beulan, who Clancy tentatively suggests ran a school at Abernethy. It is entirely possible that Samuel learnt various aspects of the law at this school.

\textsuperscript{1562} Ibid., 38.

\textsuperscript{1563} A heptad of Irish law listed seven main areas of legal knowledge. These included two disciplines in which it can be conjectured from his known activities and descent that Gille Crist was trained: the *cain criche* (boundary law), and *cain manach* (law relating to monks and monastic clients). Ibid., 54.

\textsuperscript{1564} For further evidence that the descendants of Samuel were trained in the law, see discussion on Alún mac Gille Crist immediately below. Gille Crist, of course, descended from Samuel on the female line, so it is perhaps unlikely that he would have been the first in line to inherit his grandfather’s office. The fact that he identified himself with Samuel, however, suggests that he wanted to present himself as his heir, perhaps to gain his titles.

\textsuperscript{1565} *St A. Lib.*, 122-123.

\textsuperscript{1566} *Chron. Picts-Scots*, 189. The Augustinian’s built a new hospital not long after the foundation of their priory. See *St A. Lib.*, 127. This building was situated just inside the western boundary of twelfth-century ‘Kinrimund’, but outside the cathedral and priory precinct. It may have occupied the same site as the Gaelic Church hospital. Anderson, ‘The Celtic Church at Kinrimund’, 74.

\textsuperscript{1567} *St A. Lib.*, 242, 244 & 247.

\textsuperscript{1568} In one instance he was named after Donnchad of Fife’s son, and in another after the earl’s *dapifer*. Perhaps more significantly in light of the previous comments regarding Gille Crist’s legal role, Alún is listed alongside Mael Columm the *jude* of Fife in all three charters. Ibid., 242, 244 & 247. Perhaps he was the *jude*’s deputy, or a lesser legal official whose title has not survived. Legal tracts, such as the *Cruit Gablach*, reveal that there were indeed various level of *brithem* (lawmen) in Irish society. Kelly, *Early Irish Law*, 52-56. That a similar situation prevailed in Alba can be inferred from the Kirkness dispute, where Constantin, *magnum jude* in Scotia, and Mael Domhnaich mac Macbethad, ‘a good and discrete *jude*’, deferred to Dubgall mac Mocche because of his seniority and skill in the law. Lawrie, *ESC*, no. LXXX.
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whom King Máel Coluim IV ordered to 'maintain and guard the monks of Dunfermline and their lands and abbey'. That the descendants of Samuel were powerful figures in twelfth-century Fife certainly accords with the suggestion that Samuel was the briugu of St Andrews, as the Irish law tract *Uaicecht Becc* states that 'He is not a briugu who is not a possessor of hundredfold wealth (*cétach*). Thus, according to Irish law Samuel would have been a wealthy landowner even without his ecclesiastical patrimony, a status which would have been inherited by his suggested descendants, Gille Crist and Alún.

Significantly, a useful paradigm to the fate of the hospitalers of St Andrews is presented by the decline of another ancient ecclesiastical office at the see. In illustration, amongst the witnesses to the famous charter recording the dispute between the *célh Dé* of Lochleven and Robert the Burgundian anent the boundaries of Kirkness were the 'leaders of the bishop's army'. The holders of this office were aptly named Budadh (victory-giver) and Sluagadadh (hoster). It is possible that these were official names which they adopted upon assuming their posts. These offices were clearly of a pre-twelfth-century origin. Indeed, the earliest record of an ecclesiastical 'hoster' appears to be the visit of Sluagadadh to Rome c. 966X971. This visit presupposes that the 'hoster' of St Andrews had a diplomatic, and not just a military, role to perform. This is reflected by the fact that the Sluagadadh who was involved in the Kirkness dispute of 1128 also appears to have attended Bishop Robert of St Andrews at his consecration in York during the same year. Thus, Archbishop Thurstan's charter announcing that he had consecrated Robert was witnessed by 'Slugeidi' which was evidently an Anglo-French attempt at Sluagadadh. Likewise, 'Slugepah' witnessed David I's letter regarding the same event.

These notices demonstrate that Sluagadadh was considered one of the leading officers of the bishopric during the 1120s. As such, he was probably endowed with an estate from the episcopal patrimony. The later documents of the Augustinian priory of St Andrews arguably reveal where this estate was located. For example, a charter of 1173X1178 records that

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1569 RRS, I, no. 181.
1571 *St A. Lib.*, 117.
1572 *Chron. Picts-Scots*, 10. That this Sluagadadh was connected with St Andrews is implied by the fact that the entry regarding his and Leot's journey to Rome comes between notices of Marcan mac Breađalaig's murder in the church of St Michael and the death of Bishop Mael Brigte. There was a church dedicated to St Michael at Cenrigrmonaid. Ibid., 187.
1573 Lawrie, *ECC*, no. LXXVI.
1574 Haddan & Stubbs, *Councils*, II, i. 215. The 'p' in the middle of Slugepah was probably originally an Anglo-Saxon þ (occasionally used by northern English scribes in the twelfth century) which was mis-read by a later copyist.
Bishop Richard exchanged a portion of his episcopal lands of Ellon in Buchan for the priory's estate of Portmoak. It further notes that the land in Ellon to be exchanged was known as 'Sluthagh'. Subsequent episcopal and papal confirmation charters refine this statement by noting that the land pertaining to the canons in Ellon had 'once been held by Sluthadi'. In light of later documentary evidence, it may be assumed that this was simply a garbled reference to the *scoloc* of Ellon. There are two reasons, however, for supposing this not to be the case. Firstly, the *scoloc*-lands of Ellon remained in the bishop of St Andrews' possession well into the thirteenth century. Secondly, judging by references to *scoloc* in other medieval documents, it is unlikely that even an Anglo-French scribe who had no previous experience of Gaelic names would have rendered *scoloc* as 'sluthadi'. It is, however, very similar to the above-quoted attempts made by earlier Anglo-French scribes at the name Sluagadadh. It is therefore possible that the 'Sluthadi' who had previously held land in Ellon was the aforementioned Sluagadadh of St Andrews. Indeed, that the land was actually known as 'Sluthagh' strongly supports the suggestion that it was the estate which traditionally came with the actual office of the *sluagadadh* of the bishop of St Andrews, and was not merely the property of a single incumbent.

Whilst this ancient, Gaelic Church office therefore survived the largely ineffectual episcopacies of the 'reforming' bishops Thurgot and Eadmer, it nonetheless appears to have disappeared under the more vigorous regime of Bishop Robert. Thus, after his involvement in both the Kirkness dispute and Robert's consecration, Sluagadadh (and, for that matter, Budadh), vanish from the records. The demise of the office is moreover indicated by the fact that the proposed hereditary patrimony of the *sluagadadh* in Buchan was evidently available to be granted to the priory of St Andrews by the 1170s. As with the office of *briugu*, it would therefore appear as if that of *sluagadadh* of St Andrews also fell victim to

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1575 *St A. Lib.*, 140.
1576 Ibid., 59 & 146.
1577 A. B. Coll., 311-312.
1578 Ibid., 312.
1580 The 'Buathac of Inchmurdo' who witnessed a convention made between the prior of St Andrews and the *celli De* in 1199 may nevertheless have been a descendant of Budadh. If this was the case then it is possible that the family of Budadh remained in the service of the bishops of St Andrews, as Inchmurdo was an episcopal manor. It is further interesting to note that Buthac's name was recorded alongside that of Mael Coluim, the son of the *magister scholarum* of St Andrews. *St A. Lib.*, 318. A 'Baldwin son of Bothac' witnessed the agreement between the convent of St Andrews and Cellan mac Gille Crist anent the *Mórbrecc* discussed below. Ibid., 329.
the reforms of a bishop who evidently wanted to institute an Anglo-French-style chapter and administration at the see.\textsuperscript{1581} Whilst the heirs of Sluagadadh lost their episcopal office, it is evident that, as envisaged for Samuel’s descendants, they nevertheless maintained their prominent status in Fife society. Thus, Sluagadadh’s son, as with Alun mac Gille Crist, appears to have been one of the aforementioned leading magnates of Fife whom Mael Coluim IV ordered to protect the monks of Dunfermline.\textsuperscript{1582} Consequently, although the Irish law tracts are silent concerning the role of the leader of a religious community’s army,\textsuperscript{1583} it can be envisaged that, as with the \textit{briugu}, the \textit{sluagadadh} was also expected to be a wealthy landowner in his own right.

Whilst the ancient offices of \textit{briugu} and \textit{sluagadadh} of St Andrews therefore appear to have been terminated during the episcopate of Bishop Robert, it should not be assumed that the incoming clergy pursued a ruthless purge of existing Gaelic officials at the see. For example, it is likely that Robert allowed the archaic post of leader of the bishop’s army to die with Sluagadadh, rather than dispense with it immediately upon his arrival. Such a scenario is certainly suggested by the fact that only three of the aforementioned seven altarage portions pertaining to St Andrews were bestowed upon the Augustinian priory on its foundation by Bishop Robert in 1144.\textsuperscript{1584} This suggests that he left three in the hands of the \textit{personae} whose traditional duties in the city were noted with such disparagement by the Black Canon compiler of the longer \textit{Historia Fundationis}.\textsuperscript{1585} That these three portions only came into the possession of the priory by 1156\textsuperscript{1586} strongly implies that Bishop Robert waited until the deaths of their native, hereditary incumbents before re-granting them to his own canons.\textsuperscript{1587}

Further evidence of this gradualism in the reform of religious life at St Andrews is provided by the survival of the old Gaelic Church school at the see. In illustration, as with most early monasteries in Alba and Ireland, Cennrigmonaid evidently maintained a school at which a \textit{fer légimn} instructed novices and probably also the sons of their tenants in the rudimentaries of Gaelic and Latin.\textsuperscript{1588} Thus, Eadmer recorded that he was received by

\begin{footnotesize}
\bibitem{1581} Ash, ‘The Diocese of St Andrews’, 120-121.
\bibitem{1582} RRS, I, no. 181 & p. 75.
\bibitem{1583} They do, however, comment at length on various other ‘military’ offices, such as the champion and the bodyguard. Kelly, \textit{Early Irish Law}, 68-69.
\bibitem{1584} \textit{St A. Lib.}, 122-123.
\bibitem{1585} \textit{See discussion immediately above.}
\bibitem{1586} \textit{St A. Lib.}, 125.
\bibitem{1587} The priory was to gain the portion which traditionally pertained to the bishop of St Andrews from Bishop Arnold 1162X1163. Ibid., 129.
\bibitem{1588} For a brief discussion on, and references to, this office in medieval Scotland, see Robertson, \textit{On Scholastic Offices.}
\end{footnotesize}
scholastici (scholars) on his arrival at St Andrews in 1120.\textsuperscript{1589} That these scholastici were both an ancient and important part of the old community is emphasised by a charter of almost a hundred years later which records that their successors, 'the poor scholars (pauperes scholares) of the city', claimed cáin from land which was situated within the Cursus Apri, the monastery's original patrimony.\textsuperscript{1590} It has been conjectured that these thirteenth-century 'scholars' were no more than property owners who had fallen heir to the rights once enjoyed by the genuine scholars of St Andrews.\textsuperscript{1591} This would make them akin to scolocs, an hereditary class of lay sub-tenants of ancient ecclesiastical land who appear to have gained their peculiar appellation because their predecessors had once received elementary schooling from the religious house which they served.\textsuperscript{1592} By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, their traditional, educational relationship with the Church appears to have decayed.\textsuperscript{1593} It is arguable, however, that this was not the case at St Andrews. For example, as suggested in the previous discussions concerning references to céli Dé and Cumelache in Scottish medieval sources, it is evident that whilst some Anglo-French scribes disliked using Gaelic terms, they were rarely ignorant of their meaning. Thus, if the scribe who penned the aforementioned charter of c. 1212 had considered the 'scholars' of the city who claimed the cáin from the Cursus Apri to be no more than property owners, then he would probably have styled them scolocs; a term with which the canons of St Andrews were undoubtedly familiar in the context of their lands in Arbuthnott.\textsuperscript{1594} It seems more likely that he used a conventional Latin term for scholar - scholare - because the rights were indeed being claimed for the actual school of St Andrews.

Another reason to suspect that the early thirteenth-century scholastici were the representatives of a continuing Gaelic Church educational tradition at St Andrews is that, unlike any reference to scolocs in the extant sources, they are mentioned in conjunction with a fer léginn. Notably, however, by c. 1212 the post of fer léginn was held by Laurence the archdeacon of St Andrews.\textsuperscript{1595} Whilst it is possible that he was of native origin, Laurence

\textsuperscript{1589} \textit{SAEC}, 142.
\textsuperscript{1590} \textit{St A. Lib.}, 316-318.
\textsuperscript{1591} Ash, 'The Diocese of St Andrews', 107.
\textsuperscript{1592} For a discussion on scolocs, see Robertson, \textit{On Scholastic Offices}, 7-18.
\textsuperscript{1593} \textit{Ind. Cart.}, nos. XXXIII & XXXIV; & Simpson, 'The Augustinian Priory and Parish Church of Monymusk', 40-44.
\textsuperscript{1594} \textit{Spalding Club Misc.}, V, 209-213
\textsuperscript{1595} \textit{St A. Lib.}, 317.
\textsuperscript{1596} The name Laurence was not exclusive to incoming families. The son of Orm, abbot of Abernethy, for instance, was called Laurence. \textit{St A. Lib.}, 319.
appears not to have been a member of a Gaelic learned class. This is because it was customary for representatives of the native professional orders to bear Gaelic names. For example, of the fer léginn who can be identified in Canmore Scotland, all bar Laurence had distinctly native names: Berbeadh of Abernethy, Domnagart of Turriff, Dubhsidh of Iona, Macbethad of Dunblane and Mael Domhnaich of Muthill.\footnote{Lawrie,ESNC, nos. XIV & XCVII, ES, II, 253. & Lind. Cart., nos. XLVI & XLVII} Significantly, a magister scholarum (master of the scholars), Padrag, is recorded in the same charter as Laurence the fer léginn and the pauperes scholares of St Andrews.\footnote{St A. Lib., 316-317.} This led Robertson to suggest that there was a tripartite division in the educational hierarchy of the Gaelic Church, with the magister scholarum one rank below the fer léginn.\footnote{Robertson, On Scholastic Offices, 19-22.} The post of magister scholarum, however, was common throughout the Catholic Church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and hence Padrag’s office cannot necessarily be taken as evidence of an earlier native survival. Notably, however, the post of magister scholarum at St Andrews was evidently held hereditarily by a native family. Thus, Padrag’s father, Mael Padraig, was the magister scholarum of the city during Bishop Richard’s episcopacy (1165-1178).\footnote{St A. Lib., 133, 137, & 259-260.} From this evidence, it can be conjectured that in his attempt to reform the organisational structure of his see, Bishop Robert introduced the office of magister scholarum to St Andrews. As there was a still vibrant Gaelic Church system of schooling in the city, he was obliged to assimilate this new office into the existing native structure. This included bestowing the post of magister scholarum upon the native family who had traditionally provided the city’s fer léginn. Accordingly, known to the Anglo-French scribes by their more common Latin appellation of magister scholarum, this dynasty continued to hold the post of lector in the city hereditarily.

As representatives of the ancient office of fer léginn, they also continued to possess the estates and privileges which had pertained to the school.\footnote{It is evident that Mael Padraig held property both in the city itself and within the Cursus Apri.\footnote{Barrow, ‘Some East Fife Documents of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries’, in The Scottish Tradition, 23-43, at 24. & St A. Lib., 317.} W S Barrow, ‘Some East Fife Documents of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries’, in The Scottish Tradition, 23-43, at 24. & St A. Lib., 317.} As the twelfth century progressed, however, they began to grant and sell portions of this patrimony to members of the priory and their household. Thus, Mael Padraig sold property in the city to the Augustinian convent, whilst his son, Mael Colum, granted part of Denork to Adam of Kinninmonth the priory’s steward.\footnote{Barrow, ‘Some East Fife Documents’, 24.} It is therefore possible that during this period the area of the city which was traditionally associated with the fer léginn was also alienated by the
magister scholarum to the priory. Consequently, with the title magister scholarum now identified with the lector of St Andrews, the archaic term fer léginn, in its corrupt forms ferlano and ferleyn, was applied to the canon who possessed the ancient house of the fer léginn and its associated lands and privileges. Thus, Archdeacon Laurence was known as the ferlano/ferleyn simply because he was the main proprietorial heir of the ancient fer léginn of St Andrews. As such he still had an influential legal role to play in the affairs of the school. This is forcibly demonstrated by his involvement in the dispute between the scholars and the canons over certain ancient privileges. 

That the cáin owed to the scholars of St Andrews by the Augustinian convent was to be rendered to Laurence at the house of the fer léginn is also suggestive of an administrative role for the canon-ferlano. It is perhaps, on the other hand, simply the case that the bishops of St Andrews persuaded the native lector to cede the property and title of fer léginn to one of his own canons, in return for the post of magister scholarum, in order to remove the native dynasty from the actual financial and administrative running of the school. Whatever the case, Archdeacon Laurence most probably did not perform the fer léginn’s traditional teaching function. This role clearly remained in the hands of the native professional dynasty, as represented by Máel Padraig and his son, Padrag.

As demonstrated by the disappearance of the sluagadadh and the briugú of the city during the twelfth century, the bishop and prior of St Andrews were not averse to either dispensing with Gaelic Church offices which they perceived to serve no purpose in their see’s re-structured organisational framework or transferring their duties to reformed personnel. Their decision to retain the services of the hereditary teaching dynasty is therefore unlikely to have been prompted by antiquarian notions. Rather, the bishops clearly recognised that Máel Padraig and his successors performed a role which was of continuing value to the see. Accordingly, the traditional office of fer léginn was assimilated within its reformed structure. That Padrag mac Máel Padraig had come to be known as the magister scholarum of the city by the early thirteenth century, whilst the title fer léginn became a mere proprietorial and legal designation, testifies to the success of this assimilation. It also, however, provides another warning that the continental-influenced terminological fashions of the Canmore period are likely to obscure many similar native survivals in Scotland’s reformed religious centres.

The aforementioned charter regarding the dispute between the canons and the scholars makes specific reference to the house of the fer léginn ‘within the city’ St A. Lib., 317.

Ibid., 316-317.
Undoubted evidence of a Gaelic Church office surviving at St Andrews is provided by the charter which records an agreement made between the prior and convent of the city and Cellan mac Gille Crist MacCúisraidh.1605 This document, which dates from 1200X1209, notes that Cellan had been granted the right to bear the Mórbrecc. Judging by its name, the Mórbrecc (great speckled one) was a Gaelic Church house-shrine similar to the more famous Breccbnach Coluim Chille.1606 Its obvious connection with St Andrews, moreover, strongly suggests that it was the ancient reliquary of Cennrigmonaid and hence contained the bones of the Apostle. Certainly, an English pilgrim of the fifteenth century, probably referring to the Mórbrecc, recorded that the relics of St Andrew were preserved in a single reliquary at the cathedral.1607 The office of Mórbrecc-bearer would therefore have been of both an ancient provenance and great symbolic importance.1608

Cellan's qualifications for this office unfortunately go unrecorded. It may be that in common with the post of deóradh (dewar) elsewhere in Alba, such as the keeper of the Coigreach,1609 his office was inherited. That Cellan mac Gille Crist's predecessor was called Gille Móire nevertheless appears to suggest that the office of Mórbrecc-bearer was not hereditary.1610 It should be noted, however, that hereditary offices in Gaelic society did not necessarily pass from father to son. Moreover, the early use of a surname - MacCúisraid - is typical of hereditary orders in the Canmore period.1611 The charter recording Cellan's appointment nonetheless implies that the office of Mórbrecc-bearer came with a specific estate in the ancient monastic patrimony of the Cursus Apri.1612 Significantly, the guardianship of the Breccbnach was similarly associated with a particular piece of land. Thus, Máel Coluim of Monymusk became the keeper of this important relic when he was granted the land of Forglen by Abbot Bernard of Arbroath after the battle of Bannockburn in 1314.1613 Notably, the charter confirming this grant states that Máel Coluim had received the

1605 Ibid., 329.
1606 For a discussion, see J. Robertson, 'The Architecturally Shaped Shrines and other reliquaries of the early Celtic church in Scotland and Ireland', PSAS, 44 (1909-10), 259-281.
1608 The antiquity of the post is further suggested by the fact that in return for his service Cellan was to be fed and clothed by the priory convent. This echoes the provision made for the ceíl Dé of Lochleven by Bishop Fothad when he took the island priory under his protection. Lawrie, ESC, no. III
1609 Grant & Cheape, Periods in Highland History, 51.
1610 St A. Lib., 329.
1611 Bannerman. 'The King's Poet', 142, noted the early use of surnames in mac by Gaelic learned classes.
1612 St A. Lib., 329.
land ‘which pertained to the *Breccbennach*, revealing that it was the reliquary which was perceived to be endowed with land and not *vice versa*.

Whilst it is well-known that the guardian of the *Breccbennach*’s main duty was to carry the reliquary into battle for the king of Scots, the agreement which Cellan made with the priory of St Andrews merely states that he was to bear (*tulit*) the *Mórbrecc*. It is probable, however, that this meant that Cellan was given the considerable honour of carrying the reliquary of St Andrew when a special event called for it to be moved from its usual resting-place in the sacristy or special relic chapel in the cathedral. Chief among such occasions would have been the procession undertaken by the clergy and laity of the city on the 6th of February to mark the arrival of the relics of St Andrew at Cennrigmonaid. Walter Bower’s description of this procession in 1414 provides an idea of the pomp and ceremony, and also the popular merriment, with which it was surrounded. He records the ‘solemn procession’ of four hundred clergy, their melodious singing, the noise of the bells and organs, the celebratory bonfires, and the throngs of citizens and visitors made joyous with wine. Such processions were equally popular during the Canmore period. Reginald of Durham, for example, recalled the large groups of men and women whom he saw travelling to attend the procession of Margaret in Dunfermline. With its Europe-wide reputation as a cult centre, and its central place in the religious life of the kingdom, it is likely that the processions held at St Andrews to commemorate the Apostle were even more popular. During these events, the *Mórbrecc* would naturally have been the focus of devotional attention. It can therefore be presumed that its bearer was one of the most important participating officials. He certainly would have been the most conspicuous lay participant.

Given its evidently central role in the popular religious life of the city, it is hardly surprising that the reformed hierarchy of St Andrews considered the ancient office of *Mórbrecc*-bearer to be worthy of preservation. What is perhaps more surprising is that they also clearly believed it should continue to be held by one of their native tenants. This is emphasised by the very fact that the prior did not simply appropriate the office for one of his own canons on the death of Gille Moire, but rather granted it to another Gaelic local, Cellan. Unlike the priory’s continued support for the native teaching dynasty, there is no immediately

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1614 *St A. Lib.*, 329.
1615 *Scotichron*, XV, 22.
1617 The other main procession would of course have taken place on the feast-day of St Andrew, the 30th of November.
apparent explanation for this policy. It has nevertheless been highlighted that one of the main functions of medieval processions was to express the religious and civic identity of a community.\textsuperscript{1618} In light of this, it can be proposed that successive priors of St Andrews continued to appoint native Mòrbrecc-bearers not only to provide a symbolic expression of their priory’s Gaelic heritage, but arguably also in recognition of, and in reverence to, Fife’s still influential Gaelic population. Certainly, the participation of Cellan mac Gille Crist, as with Gille Moire before him, in major-feast-day processions would have provided a highly visible symbol of the continuing involvement of native families in the religious traditions of St Andrews to spectators and fellow-participants alike.

The preceding survey has provided a rudimentary model of how the bishops of St Andrews and their Augustinian chapter attempted to balance their Gaelic Church inheritance of lay ecclesiastical officials with the reforming ideal of the clericalisation of Church personnel. It suggests that there was no radical purge of native officials, but rather a gradual assimilation.\textsuperscript{1619} This highlights not only the cautious progress of the reform movement in twelfth-century St Andrews, as elsewhere in Scotland, but also the strength of native traditions at the see. It moreover gives a lie to the endurably popular Anglo-French portrayal of St Andrews as a hopelessly secularised and decayed religious centre whose traditions were peremptorily swept away by a vigorous reform movement. Indeed, it provides a telling reminder of the oft-overlooked fact that for at least three centuries prior to the arrival of Bishop Robert and his Augustinian convent, St Andrews had been the spiritual, and perhaps administrative, centre of Christianity in Alba, and as such was closely identified with native religious society on both a local and a national level. Confronted with this history, and its attendant deeply ingrained traditions and practices, it is not surprising that reformers at St Andrews were cautious. As with their secular compatriots who settled in Scotland under the patronage of the Canmore dynasty, the incoming clergy of St Andrews did not come as conquerors, but as guests. As such they could not afford to ignore existing religious customs.

In the longer term, however, the balance struck at St Andrews was to be achieved on the reformers’ terms. Thus, the office of sluagadadh was phased out, that of brìrug superseded, and those of fer lèginn and deòradh subordinated to the power of the Augustinian chapter. Indeed, the disappearance of distinctly native names from St Andrews’

\textsuperscript{1618} Swanson, Religion and Devotion in Europe, 293-294
\textsuperscript{1619} This of course corresponds with contemporary developments in secular society, where native learned orders such as the filid and the judex survived into the thirteenth century. See Bannerman, ‘The King’s Poet’, 135-138, & Barrow, ‘The Judex’.

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records after the first decade of the thirteenth century suggests that even these two remaining offices which were staffed by lay native families were either terminated or absorbed within the Augustinian convent during the episcopacies of William Malvoisin (1202-38) and David de Bernham (1239-1253). It could conversely connote that the gradual process of assimilation at St Andrews had reached a stage where native families merely no longer stood out as different. Whether a Gaelic Church twilight or not, the re-structuring of religious life at twelfth-century St Andrews doubtless typified the organisational interplay between old and new which occurred at ancient religious sites throughout Alba.

**Feudal Obligations**

Despite employing a range of secular servants, the feudal obligations of the head of a convent meant that the abbot or prior of a monastery was never totally removed from their tenants and serfs. In illustration, one aspect of the Canmore kings’ attempt to delegate royal authority, and thus extend their writ into the localities, was the granting of judicial rights to trusted vassals. This highly favourable privilege was granted to secular lords, such as Robert de Brus of Annandale. It was also granted to monastic lords. For example, either at the foundation of their house or soon after, the abbots of the royal monasteries of Arbroath, Coupar Angus, Dunfermline, Holyrood, Lindores and Scone all gained the right to hold a court and conduct in them trials of battle, ordeals of hot iron and water, and to execute malefactors by pit and gallows. These courts were to complement existing royal provisions by allowing abbots to hear pleas and prosecute their own tenants and serfs. The abbot of Holyrood, for instance, was given the right to do justice upon any of his men on the open highway, failing which the local sheriff would uphold the law. Similarly, it was decreed that all the husbandmen of the barony of Scone should make suit exclusively to the court of the abbot of Scone. These provisions naturally brought the abbot or prior of the convent into contact with his native liegemen. For example, on the Thursday after the feast of St Scolastica in 1264, Prior John of St Andrews heard his pleas at Dull in Atholl ‘alongside a

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1620 M. Ash, ‘David Bernham, Bishop of St Andrews, 1239-1253’, *IR*, xxv (1974), 1-14, at 3. for example, noted that ‘Malvoisin... was responsible for bringing the reorganisation of the diocese along western lines to a successful conclusion’.

1621 For commentaries on the judicial policy of the twelfth-century Scottish kings, see *RRS*, I, 33-52; II, 39-51.

1622 Ibid., II, no. 8.

1623 Ibid., I, nos. 39, 222, & 247; II, nos. 197, & 393; & Lawrie, *ESC*, no. LXXIV

1624 *RRS*, I, no. 39.

1625 *Scon. Lib.*, no. 144.
great stone on the eastern side of Thomas the vicar’s house'. 1626 Reflecting the undoubtedly native nature of the suitors to this court, the pleas were witnessed by Rothryothir, Donnchad Macmalthir, Nicholas mac Donnchada, Macbethad mac Gille Mhicheil, Eógan the *judex*, Gille Coluim Macgugir, Macbethad mac Cináeda, Cináed Mackenna, John mac Rothry, and Macrath the priest. Described in the memorandum as ‘residents’, some of these men were probably free tenants, or even officers, of St Andrews Priory’s estates in Dull. Notably, the only recorded act of Prior John’s court demonstrates how the head of a reformed convent could come face to face with even the lowliest of his subjects. This was to accept the homage of some of his native serfs (*hominges ligii*): Colum mac Óengus, Bridin mac Coluim, and Colum’s brother, Gille Ísu.

Religious are also likely to have come into contact with native tenants in the course of disputes over rights and territory. The previously discussed Kilpatrick case, for example, saw the abbot of Paisley calling a number of men from the parish to give testimony in his convent’s favour at the ecclesiastical courts held at Irvine and Ayr parish churches. 1627 The resulting testimonies provided by men who were ‘born and raised in the parish of Kilpatrick’, 1628 were invaluable for the convent’s claim and typify how new institutions in Canmore Scotland relied upon the local knowledge and folk memory of native tenantry. The relationship between convent and native society which this engendered is visible throughout the kingdom. Thus, the declarations of ‘good and worthy men of the countryside’ were used to settle the boundary dispute between Kelso and Melrose Abbeys. 1629 Similarly, the monks of Arbroath sought the testimonies of various ‘worthy men of Angus’ to reach an agreement with the lord of Kinblathmund over a contentious boundary. 1630 That these ‘worthy men’ included Máel Coluim son of the thane of Edervy, Gille Crist the earl’s man, and Cairell the *judex* of Angus, suggests that the convent had forged close links with Angus’ native ruling classes.

The mention of Cairell the *judex* (whose brother, Adam, and father, Máel Coluim, were both *judices*) 1631 in this context is instructive as it highlights that reformed convents were also in contact with Gaelic learned dynasties. 1632 Other examples of this include the

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1626 *St. A. Lib.*, 349.
1627 See discussion above, p. 130.
1629 *RKN*, II, no. 440.
1630 *Arb. Lib.*, I, no. 228.
1631 Barrow, ‘The *Judex*’, 75.
1632 For a discussion on this office, see ibid., 69-74. See also, Bannerman, ‘The King’s Poet’, 136-149.
presence of the above-mentioned Eógan at the court held by the prior of St Andrews at Dull;\textsuperscript{1633} Macungal, \textit{judex} of Fife, witnessing a grant made by Bishop Arnold of St Andrews to his priory \textit{c. 1161};\textsuperscript{1634} Bridin Potanach, \textit{judex regis}, perambulating the boundaries of Dunfermline Abbey’s lands in Dunduff 1227X1231;\textsuperscript{1635} and Thomas the \textit{judex} overseeing the perambulation of the abbey of Arbroath’s property in Tarves.\textsuperscript{1636} As with many other landowners in Canmore Scotland, it is thus evident that reformed convents also relied upon the legal skills and local knowledge of this ancient learned class to prosecute their territorial claims. Once more, the expansion and propagation of reformed religious life was being facilitated by a call to pre-twelfth-century native tradition.

\textit{Conclusion}

The relationship between reformed monasteries and the laity in Canmore Scotland has traditionally been viewed from the perspective of monastic \textit{regulae} and exemplary histories such as the Cistercian Order’s \textit{Exordium Parvum}.\textsuperscript{1637} As now widely recognised by scholars of reformed monasticism, these early texts present the ideals of an order’s original founding fathers and not necessarily the reality of religious life at its convents.\textsuperscript{1638} In common with many new movements, the early tenets of reformed monasticism were often modified (or, to a cynic, compromised) when put into practice.\textsuperscript{1639} This does not necessarily indicate a weakness in the discipline of the new orders. Indeed, to one Cistercian historian ‘A tolerant and flexible attitude [to the Rule]... far from being a sign of decay, was in fact a necessity, and its judicious practice should be taken for evidence of health and vitality’.\textsuperscript{1640} It does mean, however, that the traditional method of interpreting the monastic-lay relationship in medieval

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\item \textsuperscript{1633} \textit{St A. Lib.}, 349.
\item \textsuperscript{1634} Ibid., 128.
\item \textsuperscript{1635} \textit{Dunf. Reg.}, no. 196.
\item \textsuperscript{1636} \textit{Arb. Lib.}, I, no. 227. \textit{Judices} were often involved in perambulations. Barrow, ‘The \textit{Judex}’, 72.
\item Abbots could also be involved in perambulating property: e.g. Archibald of Dunfermline led the perambulations of territory in Fife and Roxburghshire. \textit{RRS}, II, nos. 286 & 290.
\item \textsuperscript{1637} This is evident in the numerous ‘histories’ of individual religious houses in Scotland written by, often local, antiquarians during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The opening chapter of these accounts invariably re-iterates the rule by which the convent should ideally have lived and thereafter applies it uncritically to the actual life of the community. See, for example, J C Carrick, \textit{The Abbey of S. Mary of Newbottle: A memorial of the royal visit} (Selkirk, 1908).
\item \textsuperscript{1638} As highlighted in the various studies in Sommerfeldt (ed.), \textit{Cistercian Ideals and Reality}, esp. 4-79.
\item \textsuperscript{1639} L Alfonso, ‘Cistercians and Feudalism’, \textit{Past and Present}, 133 (1991), 3-30, at 8, for instance, has highlighted that Cistercian monasteries were rarely settled on \textit{novalia} as their rule expected.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Scotland is largely invalid; an assertion which the preceding examples of social intercourse between religious and laity strongly supports.

As these examples have demonstrated, interaction between reformed convent and laity took various forms. Admittedly, the matter-of-fact nature of the sources unfortunately makes it difficult to ascertain the presumably complex social dynamic of the resulting relationship. It can nonetheless be proposed that it was dictated to a large extent, on the one hand, by the temperament of the abbot or prior of a house. The case of William of Melrose, for instance, demonstrates how a disciplined abbot could alienate a convent from its surrounding populace. In contrast, Adam of Dryburgh appears to have actively engendered a close relationship with the laity of Teviotdale through his preaching tours. It was also dependent on the laity’s perceptions of the convent’s role in society. The angry fishermen of May, with whom this chapter opened, for example, evidently resented the priory’s interference in their traditional rights in the of Forth. Conversely, native beggars were doubtless appreciative of the charity which they received from the religious of their local monastery. It can consequently be conjectured that the religious-lay social dynamic was characterised by the same duality which affected relations between Church and secular society throughout medieval Europe, that of competition and co-operation.¹⁶⁴¹

When the relationship was based on co-operation, it is likely that the laity came to identify with their local monastery. This was no more so the case than when a monastery was, or came to be, a pilgrimage site. The processions at Dunfermline and St Andrews and the crowds who flocked to Melrose provide vivid testimony of the extent to which relics, and, by association, the religious houses which housed them, could become the focus for lay devotion. Indeed, relic-focused devotions, such as the aforementioned procession at St Andrews on the 6th of February, would have not only re-affirmed local faith, but also inculcated the belief that the convent was the guardian of the cult. On a more mundane level, the beggars who regularly congregated at monastic gates looking for alms, such as those who impoverished the abbey of Dunfermline, doubtless likewise felt a special affinity for their local house, much as urban indigent came to be associated with a certain town. Similarly, monastic servants, such as Patrick the bailiff of Coldingham and Hugh the terrarius of Inchaffray, must have closely identified themselves, at least professionally, with the convent which they served. The crowds to whom Adam of Dryburgh preached and the numerous monastic parishioners of the thirteenth century, such as those served by the Premonstratensian

¹⁶⁴¹ Tellenbach, The Church in Western Europe, 338-341
canons of Holywood, Soulseat and Tongland in Galloway, moreover not only learnt their faith from the monasteries, but apparently also influenced those religious who came to enlighten them.

Indeed, all the above-cited forms of social interaction between convent and laity, as well as the other probable forms of contact on which the sources are silent, would have created, to varying degrees, a two-way cultural conduit, as it were, through which monastic ideals could influence the laity, and native customs affect a monastery. This would especially have been the case when a monastery contained religious native to the society in which it was established. Indeed, it is likely that religious convents in native-dominated areas of Canmore Scotland, such as Ardchattan in Argyll and Tongland in Galloway, quickly became an integral part of local kin-based society. Even in areas where Anglo-French settlement was at its most intense, the peasantry remained predominantly native, as did a substantial section of the middle-ranking landowning class. Thus, as demonstrated by the career of Adam of Dryburgh and the growth of a popular cult of Waltheof of Melrose, reformed convents in Teviotdale also became part of the local social landscape through varied, and sometimes intimate, contact with native laity. As the preceding survey has highlighted, this localisation of monasteries resulted not only in convents being influenced by native religious customs, such as the cult of Anglo-Saxon saints, but also in the survival of certain aspects of Gaelic Church organisation, such as the *cumelache*, *fer léginn* and relic-bearer.
6

CONCLUSION

CONTINUITY OF CULTURE

Introduction

This thesis began by highlighting the extent to which medieval Scottish history has undergone a fundamental revision in the past two decades as historians have explored the various governmental, organisational and social threads of continuity which connected life in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to that of the early medieval period. In the course of this wide-ranging recension the survival of certain aspects of pre-twelfth-century ecclesiastical culture have been highlighted. Bannerman, for example, emphasised that the participation of the bishop of Dunkeld and abbot of Scone in the inauguration of Alexander III reflected the Columban heritage of the ceremony. He further noted that the role of the bishops of St Andrews and of Strathearn in the same event, and Ælred of Rievaulx’s claim that it was ‘the bishops’ who persuaded David I to go through with traditional Scottish inauguration rituals despite his distaste for them, is a further reminder of Gaelic Church involvement in this state occasion. In spite of these advances, even historians who have been responsible for pioneering research into the balance of old and new in Canmore Scotland have expressed doubts as to whether there was any significant survival of early medieval religious customs and culture after 1100. For example, in relation to the cult of native saints, Barrow remarked that

Even in the middle of the twelfth century it was too late for pious clerics, devoted though they might be to the saints and traditions of their churches and anxious though they might be to advertise their merits to the Christian world, to gather up the threads of historical evidence.

This statement is certainly supported by the lack of Scottish medieval lives of British, Gaelic and Northumbrian saints; a dearth which presents a stark contrast to the numerous

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1642 Bannerman, ‘The King’s Poet’, 130.
1643 It is stated that David ‘abhored the acts of homage which are offered by the Scottish nation in the manner of their fathers upon the recent promotion of their king’. MEC, 232. Ælred does not disclose details of this ‘abhorrent’ ritual, although it is likely to have been a Gaelic custom frowned upon by francocised society, such as the eating of horse-flesh.
1644 Bannerman, ‘The King’s Poet’, 130.
extant hagiographies of native saints produced (predominantly in Anglo-French-dominated monasteries) in Wales during the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{1646} It nevertheless overlooks the particularly destructive nature and thoroughness of the Scottish Reformation during which time the libraries of cathedrals, monasteries, as well as local churches, throughout Scotland were sacked and their contents by and large destroyed.\textsuperscript{1647} Arguably it also, like so many comments made regarding the state of religious life in twelfth-century Scotland,\textsuperscript{1648} approaches the subject from the francocentric viewpoint that prior to the arrival of Anglo-French clerics the Scottish Church had experienced a period of terminal decline which had left a cultural and organisational \textit{tabula rasa} upon which reformers could impress their own cultural values with impunity. Evidence cited throughout this thesis (such as the re-discovered extension to the A version of the \textit{Historia Fundationis} which suggests that the Gaelic Church episcopal succession continued at St Andrews into the twelfth century, and the charters which indicate the survival of vibrant Gaelic religious communities at various sites throughout Alba)\textsuperscript{1649} nonetheless demonstrate that this was not the case. Moreover, even if certain areas of the Church had decayed, it did not necessarily preclude the survival of pre-twelfth-century religious cults and customs either in texts produced by earlier Gaelic or Northumbrian churchmen or, importantly, the oral culture of the laity.

Evidence that native traditions did survive in both documentary and oral form despite the evident decay of local Church organisation is provided by the two surviving twelfth-century lives of St Kentigern compiled by an anonymous incoming clerk of Glasgow cathedral and Jocelin of Furness during the episcopacies of Herbert (1147-1164) and

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{1646} That so many twelfth-century \textit{lives} were composed by Anglo-French clerics was probably because the incomers were trying to claim early churchmen as exemplars for the reform movement. As Davies, \textit{Conquest}, 183, remarked ‘The new Norman bishops harnessed the legends and cults of the Welsh in the service of their ambitions and created a past which would sustain those ambitions’. Accordingly, the saints in these \textit{lives} were usually depicted pursuing typically reformed life-styles. Even if the saints’ lives were thus sanitised, it nonetheless demonstrates that the information was available for the Anglo-French clerics to exploit. A similar scenario can be envisaged in Scotland.


\footnotesize\textsuperscript{1648} For example, Bishop Dowden’s introduction to \textit{Lind. Cart.}, which (at xiii) remarks that ‘The transformation of Scotland in its political, civil, social and ecclesiastical aspects [was] accomplished by Anglo-Norman influence during the course of the twelfth century’ and that ‘we find the [twelfth] century opening with the ancient Celtic Church of the country in a stage of advanced decrepitude, feeble in its energies, relaxed in its discipline’.

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{1649} See discussions above, p. 26
Jocelin (1175-1199) of Glasgow, respectively. In his prologue to the Herbertian life, for instance, the anonymous clerk remarked that

when at length I came to the kingdom of the Scots, I found it very rich in the relics of saints, illustrious in its clergy, glorious in its princes. Nevertheless, in comparison with other kingdoms it was still backward, slumbering in negligent sloth in regards to reverence for its saints.

Jocelin of Furness similarly lamented that 'I have nowhere been able to find a description of the translation of this saint, nor the miracles which were performed after his death'. In spite of these apparent problems, both authors were able to find earlier accounts of Kentigern's life. Thus, the anonymous clerk 'devoutly composed a sort of work from the material found in the little book of his virtues, and from the oral testimonies of the faithful to myself'; whilst Jocelin asserted that he had 'wandered through the streets and lanes of the city...seeking the recorded life of St Kentigern...I have found another little volume, dictated in the Gaelic style, full of solecisms, but containing at greater length the life and acts of the holy bishop'. Admittedly, all of these assertions could be dismissed as mere hagiographic topoi designed on the one hand to justify the authors' endeavours and on the other to lend historical authenticity to their work. The extensive researches of Macquarrie have nevertheless demonstrated the probable existence of not only a 'little book of virtues' (which significantly the Herbertian life, he argued, failed to supplant), but also a popular Gaelic Church life. Whatever their weaknesses and doctrinal inconsistencies, the survival of these two texts reveal that the hagiographical literature produced by the pre-reform community at Glasgow cathedral had to a certain degree remained intact by the second half of the twelfth century. Whilst such explicit evidence is lacking, it is probable

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1650 For the lives, see Lives of St Ninian and St Kentigern, 29-133. These lives have attracted the attention of a number of scholars: see, for example, Jackson, 'The Sources for the Life of Kentigern', 273-357; Macquarrie, 'The Career of Saint Kentigern of Glasgow', 3-24; idem, 'St Kentigern of Glasgow', in his Saints of Scotland, 117-144; & MacQueen, 'Yvain, Ewen and Owein ap Urien', 107-131.
1651 Ibid., 123.
1652 Ibid., 31-32.
1653 It should be noted, however, that the dearth of post-mortem hagiography in Strathclyde may simply have reflected a different attitude to the cult of saints in Cumbric society, rather than a neglect of the saints' traditions.
1654 Ibid., 124.
1655 Ibid., 30.
1656 See argument in Macquarrie, 'St Kentigern of Glasgow'.
1657 Jocelin of Furness lamented that the short Gaelic life was 'tainted by what was perverse or opposed to the faith in its narrative'. Macquarrie, 'St Kentigern of Glasgow', 119, argued that the doctrinal taint was that a virgin birth was claimed for Kentigern.
that Glasgow was not unique in this respect and that similar pre-reform literature survived at other early sites of Scottish Christianity into the twelfth century.\(^\text{1658}\)

Moreover, the claim made by the author of the Herbertian life that he was further enlightened by the testimony of the faithful suggests that St Kentigern’s cult was also preserved by a vibrant local oral tradition. Again, it is unlikely that this was peculiar to Glasgow. Indeed, similar oral traditions commemorating the deeds of local saints doubtless flourished throughout Scotland in the early twelfth century. Certainly, as highlighted in the discussion on the state of the Scottish Church before 1124, society was suffused with the cult of native saints.\(^\text{1659}\) As noted, this was characterised by native personal names, many of which reflected popular adherence to a local saint. Thus, the brothers Gille Mo-Ernóc and Gille Oswald were resident in Carrick where there were significant local cults to Sts Ernóc and Oswald;\(^\text{1660}\) Gille Mhicheil mac Áeda lived in the parish of Kilmichael in Moray,\(^\text{1661}\) whilst the ‘Gilleserfis’ of Clackmannan were probably the descendants of tenants of St Serf’s of Culross.\(^\text{1662}\) Some gille-names were even adopted by specific dynasties, denoting an especially close relationship between family and saint. Gille Adomnain (most usually in the form Gilleonain), for instance, became a dynastic name of the Macdonalds.\(^\text{1663}\) These laymen, and countless others like them, are unlikely to have been wholly ignorant of the saint to whom they were nominally ‘the servant’. Indeed, through the miracle tales which would doubtless have been transmitted orally from generation to generation in their neighbourhood,\(^\text{1664}\) it is probable that they were reasonably well versed in the salient points

\(^{1658}\) As will be demonstrated in the discussion immediately below.

\(^{1659}\) See pp. 61-62 above.

\(^{1660}\) There were two churches in Carrick dedicated to Oswald, both now known as Kirkoswald. See A. Binns, ‘Pre-Reformation Dedications to St Oswald in England and Scotland: A Gazetteer’, in C. Stancliffe & E. Cambridge, Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint (Stamford, 1995), 241-271, at 245. The most significant of many sites dedicated to St Ernóc was Kilmarnock. Watson, CPNS, 187.

\(^{1661}\) Mor. Reg., no. 79.

\(^{1662}\) May Recs., no. 5.

\(^{1663}\) Black, Surnames, 305.

\(^{1664}\) The numerous biographies of native saints listed in the Aberdeen Breviary testify to the survival of local hagiographical traditions in medieval Scotland. Folk stories must have played a decisive part in this survival. See the various entries in Breviarum Aberdonense (Spalding & Maitland Clubs, 1854). Notably, in his prologue to the Life of St Kentigern, the anonymous clerk of Glasgow remarked that ‘I have found every land venerating its own provincial saints with appropriate and repeated heraldings of praise’ Lives of St Nimnand and St Kentigern, 123. A probable parallel for Alba in this respect is presented by Ireland, where Gerald of Wales noted that popular stories of saints characterised local religious society. These included tales of St Colman’s teals, St Nannan and the fleas, St Ivor and the rats, and St Finnen’s bells. Gerald of Wales, History and Topography of Ireland, 79-81. This was not unique to Ireland, however, with the cult of local saints popular throughout Europe, and often sustained by oral traditions. See discussions in C. & R. Brooke, Popular Religion in the Middle Ages: Europe 1000-1300 (London, 1984), 14-30; A. Gurevich, Medieval Popular Culture, Problems of Belief and Perception, trans. J. M
of the saint’s life. Even more so than the surviving documentary evidence, this oral testimony would have provided reforming churchmen with a rich seam of pre-reform cultural material from which they could quarry details of their own church’s local saint.

The traditional view of reformed religious convents in Scotland, however, is that they intentionally distanced themselves from native society. Indeed, as highlighted in the introduction to this thesis, some historians have presented reformed monasticism as an Anglo-French cultural fifth-column which not only ignored, but even helped to eradicate native traditions.\(^{1665}\) Thus, Stuart asserted that the founding of Kinloss Abbey by David I formed part of his ‘civilising’ policy in Moray.\(^{1666}\) From this perspective it would be assumed that, even when native traditions survived in documents and folk memory, the new orders did little to preserve or promote pre-1100 religious customs. This thesis has nonetheless demonstrated that reformed convents were far from hostile to native society. Indeed, from its study of the conversion of existing Gaelic Church communities, the absorption of ancient religious sites and the re-constitution of traditional ecclesiastical patrimonies, to the recruitment of native monks, canons and conversi, the patronage of native landowners and everyday interaction with the local laity, it has revealed not only that the development of reformed monasticism in Canmore Scotland was defined largely by a pre-twelfth-century organisational framework, but also that individual convents were fully integrated within local society by 1296. In the course of these researches evidence has unsurprisingly emerged which strongly suggests that the received opinion that Scottish reformed monasticism was inherently antipathetic to native religious customs is no longer valid. It has been noted above, for example, that there was apparently a chapel dedicated to Bishop Ædán of Lindisfarne at the Premonstratensian abbey of Dryburgh and that one of its abbots, Adam, promoted the cult of Anglo-Saxon saints such as Cuthbert and Oswald.\(^{1667}\) This demonstrates that certain Northumbrian Church traditions were preserved at the house. Evidence such as this provides crucial testimony that the influence of native religious traditions upon reformed monasticism was not merely superficial, but actually affected the culture of certain convents.


\(^{1665}\) See above, pp. 15-16.

\(^{1666}\) Kinloss Recs., ix.

\(^{1667}\) See p. 87 above.
Accordingly, it is perhaps apposite to conclude this investigation into the extent to which the reformed monastic community in Canmore Scotland was shaped by existing ecclesiastical society with a more in-depth survey of how certain aspects of traditional Scottish religious culture were preserved by reformed convents.

**The Cult of Saints**

The extent to which reformed convents preserved pre-twelfth-century religious traditions is most evident in the field of saints' cults. It is apparent, for example, that the reformed communities of Lothian and Teviotdale continued to promote the local cult of St Cuthbert.\(^{1668}\) Earl Patrick (II) of Dunbar, for instance, granted Swinewood to Coldingham Priory out of 'love and reverence for St Cuthbert';\(^{1669}\) a dedication which would arguably only have been made if the Benedictine convent had chosen to identify itself with this local icon of the Northumbrian Church.\(^{1670}\) Even more notably, and with even greater historical justification,\(^{1671}\) the Cistercians of Melrose appear to have adopted Cuthbert's cult. Thus, Jocelin of Furness noted that Abbot Jocelin justified his interreference with Waltheof's remains by stating that he only wanted to confirm that they were incorrupt so Waltheof could become the abbey's second saint alongside Cuthbert.\(^{1672}\) Moreover, it was at the request of John, a monk of Melrose and dean of Caverstoun, that Pope Martin V (1417-1431) granted a remission of penance for seven years and seven lents on all festivals of St Cuthbert to all who should devoutly visit or contribute to the chapel of St Cuthbert.\(^{1673}\) Further evidence that the reformed convents of south-east Scotland helped to perpetuate traditional patterns of local Cuthbertine devotion is their adoption of the saint's two feast-days (i.e., 20th of March and 4th of September) as their main term-days. For example, tenants who held property belonging to Kelso Abbey in Berwick, such as William

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1669 Raine, *North Durham*, no. CXXV.


1671 Cuthbert had been a monk at the Northumbrian monastery of Melrose. Ibid., 6.

1672 *Vita Waltheofi*, 121.

1673 Melr. Lib., II, no. 561.
Maceone, were expected to render their feudal dues to the convent on the two feasts of St Cuthbert. Likewise, Peter Hay agreed to pay half a stone of wax at the chapel of St Cuthbert on St Cuthbert’s Day in reparation for the injury he had caused to the monks of Melrose. It may be considered that the use of St Cuthbert’s feast-days in this way provides only superficial evidence of the part played by reformed convents in the preservation of his cult. Nevertheless, in a society whose year was popularly calculated by such festivals and in which the veneration of saints was a feature of daily life, feast-days had a special significance. This would particularly have been the case when the feast-day commemorated a local saint. In Lothian and Teviotdale, for example, it is probable that the festivals of St Cuthbert were widely celebrated, especially in the vicinity of ancient Northumbrian Church sites, such as Melrose and Coldingham. Its adoption as a term-day by various reformed convents would therefore have symbolically demonstrated to the wider populace their adherence to the local cult, and even helped to re-emphasise its importance in both local religious and secular life.

Reformed religious communities in Strathclyde also continued to promote cults of local saints with whom the sites of their monasteries were traditionally associated. Admittedly ambivalent evidence of this is presented by the Tironensian convent of Lesmahagow’s cultivation of the site’s believed association with St ‘Machutus’. This is evident in the custom of the priory’s patrons to make their donations to ‘the house of St Machutus’ and ‘St Machutus of Lesmahagow’. Lesmahagow’s continued identification with ‘Machutus’ would undoubtedly have been strengthened by the fact that the priory church contained the ‘tomb’ and relics of the saint. As the keepers of Machutus’ relics, the monks of Lesmahagow would doubtless have held a special service in their church on the saint’s feast-day (15th of November). Notably, St Machutus’ Day was also the priory’s main term-day. Thus, it was on this day that William Douglas was obliged to render two pounds of wax to the convent of Lesmahagow for the lands of Poniel. The abbot of

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1674 Similarly, the rent owed by the monks of Kelso for property in Berwick was paid on St Cuthbert’s Day. *Kel. Lib.*, I, nos. 34 & 43.
1676 *Kel. Lib.*, I, nos. 181 & 186.
1677 This date presupposes that the St ‘Machutus’ commemorated at Lesmahagow was the same as the St Machutus venerated in Wales and Brittany. If they were the same saint, then the ‘tomb’ at Lesmahagow is unlikely to have housed the body of Machutus, but rather some of his bones brought north from Wales.
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Kelso, moreover, held his annual court at Lesmahagow on St Machutus’ Day.\(^ {1679}\) It can consequently be envisaged that on the 15th of November Lesmahagow Priory was the focus for a day-long festival at which the abbot of Kelso would have received the homage of the convent’s tenants, heard their pleas and settled their disputes. In addition to this, local business was transacted, feasts were held, and traditional music and games played. The focal point of the day, however, would undoubtedly have been the service to commemorate the life of St Machutus, during which his relics would probably have been carried at the head of a procession convent through the crowds of faithful gathered around the priory church led by the Tironensians.

Similar festivals can be envisaged at two other Strathclyde monasteries which became cult centres through their community’s promotion of a local saint: Kilwinning and Paisley Abbeys. The convent of Kilwinning,\(^ {1680}\) for instance, preserved the relics of St Finnén.\(^ {1681}\) whose cult significantly appears to have experienced something of a revival not long after the Tironensian abbey was founded in c.1162. Thus, Roger of Howden recorded that in 1184 the spring of St Finnén ran blood for eight days and eight nights.\(^ {1682}\) Whether members of the newly established reformed convent were behind this miraculous occurrence is open to debate; it is nevertheless likely that they were responsible for news of it being widely propagated.\(^ {1683}\) The Cluniac abbey of Paisley likewise appears to have housed the relics of the Gaelic Church saint with which it was associated: St Meadhrán.\(^ {1684}\)

The convent nevertheless appears to have promoted his cult with equal zeal, to the extent that, despite being co-dedicated to two other saints (James and Milburga), the abbey soon came to be closely identified with Meadhrán alone.\(^ {1685}\) In recognition of the popular devotion for their native patron saints, the convents of both Kilwinning and Paisley instituted annual fairs to be held on the feast-days of Finnén (21st of January) and Meadhrán (15th of September), respectively.\(^ {1686}\) It can again be envisaged that surrounding...

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\(^ {1679}\) Ibid., I, no. 197.
\(^ {1680}\) For the founding of Kilwinning and its Gaelic Church antecedents, see above, pp. 94-95.
\(^ {1681}\) Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, eds. T. Dickson & J. B. Paul, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1877-1913), III, 392.
\(^ {1682}\) Roger Howden, Chronica, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1868), 622.
\(^ {1683}\) Roger Howden was in Galloway in November 1174 acting as Henry II’s ambassador and again in 1195. It is possible that he heard of the Kilwinning miracle whilst on this latter visit. For Roger’s life and career, see Stubbs’ preface to his Chronica, and F. Barlow, ‘Roger of Howden’, EHR, lxv (1950), 352-360.
\(^ {1684}\) J. C. Lees, The Abbey of Paisley (Paisley, 1878), 41.
\(^ {1685}\) Ibid., 36-44.
\(^ {1686}\) Forbes, Kalendars, 466; & Pais. Reg., 213.
the central focus of the religious procession led by the religious, a range of traditional folk revels, legal wrangling and commerce took place at these fairs.

The mixture of secular and spiritual pursuits which took place at medieval feast-days, such as those of Finnen and Meadhhrán, doubtless shocked more austere members of the reformed religious orders. Indeed, Reginald of Durham noted Ælred of Rievaulx's disgust at the use of Kirkcudbright kirkyard for bull-baiting on St Cuthbert's Day.\(^\text{1687}\)

As this example implies, the conflation of the sacred with the profane on holy-days in twelfth-century Scotland nevertheless reflected a practice which dated back to the introduction of Christianity into northern Britain. The majority of abbots and priors of Scottish reformed houses therefore probably realised that any attempt to sanitise popular religious festivals would have risked the alienation of local lay society. It is likely that they subsequently turned a blind eye to the less orthodox aspects of the fairs over which they nominally presided. That the hierarchy of the diocese of Aberdeen was compelled to issue a statute in the thirteenth century which proclaimed that 'at no festivals shall wrestling and games be hereafter permitted to take place within churches or churchyards'\(^\text{1688}\) certainly suggests that churchmen at a local level, including probably the heads of religious houses, continued to tolerate traditional festival revels even after a hundred years of 'reform'. This should not necessarily be taken as a sign of the reformers' failure, however, but rather of their recognition that in a culturally conservative kingdom such as Scotland, native customs were better assimilated into the reformed system than peremptorily swept away. By absorbing certain native customs within the cultural framework of the reformed Church, the modernisers re-affirmed popular religious society and hence helped to create a medieval Scottish Church which was both part of the universal Church yet distinctly Scottish. The saint's day fairs instituted by reformed convents in Canmore Scotland provide testimony of the part played in this process by the new religious orders in Scotland.

Notably, the success with which the Strathclyde houses of Kilwinning, Lesmahagow and Paisley preserved and promoted the cult of their native patron saints is demonstrated by their continuing popularity after the Canmore period. Robert I, for instance, granted the priory of Lesmahagow ten merks per annum to light the tomb of St Machutus;\(^\text{1689}\) whilst James V obtained one of the saint's bones from the convent in 1540 and spent £20 having it

\(^{1687}\) Reginald of Durham, *De admirandi Beati Cuthberti virtutibus*, 178-9.

\(^{1688}\) *Statutes*, no. 76.

\(^{1689}\) *Kel. Lib.*, I, no. 204.
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encased in silver by an Edinburgh silversmith. The cult of St Finnén likewise continued to attract royal devotion up until the Reformation. Thus, that most ostentatious of royal pilgrims, James IV, visited Kilwinning Abbey on the 10th of July 1507 to make an offering of fourteen shillings to the relics of St Finnén. The most compelling evidence of the preservation of native religious traditions by a reformed convent, however, is arguably provided by the decision of James Crawford of Kilwinning, a burgess of Paisley, and his wife, Elizabeth Galbraith, to erect a chapel dedicated to St Meadhhrán at Paisley Abbey in 1499. This act alone highlights the extent to which the Cluniac convent had preserved their house’s ancient association with Meadhhrán throughout the medieval period. Inside the chapel, moreover, the Crawfords commissioned a frieze which was to depict various episodes in the life of Meadhhrán. That sufficient stories were still known about his life to enable such a project to be accomplished on the eve of the sixteenth century was probably largely due to the convent’s continuing adherence to his cult. Indeed, it suggests that from their arrival in Paisley in the late 1160s, the originally Anglo-French reformed community collected and thereafter preserved the popular traditions of this local saint.

Reformed convents did not merely promote the cults of saints which they had inherited through their absorption of an ancient religious site. They significantly also adopted native saints with whom they had no traditional association. This was often the result of patronal influence. For example, whilst the cult of St Brigid was widespread throughout Scotland by 1100, it does not appear to have made as notable an impression upon popular religious life in Lothian and Teviotdale as it did in Alba and the south west. There were, however, altars dedicated to Brigid at the Cistercian abbeys of

1690 TA, VII, 396.
1691 Ibid., III, 292. James IV is also recorded making offerings to the native saints Brigid, Duthac, Fergus and Fillan. Ibid., I, 88; III, 69, 81, 280, 285, & 287; IV, 38, 39, 40, 181, & 184.
1692 Lees, Paisley Abbey, 176-178.
1693 Ibid., 178.
1695 This is not to say that it was non-existent in the south east. Indeed, Traquair was formerly known as ‘the parish of St Bride’. Ibid., 152. The church of Traquair pertained to the bishop of Glasgow, and its dedication to St Brigid reflects the substantial Gaelic landowning enclave in the area. Glas Reg., nos 1, 26 & (for a list of local landowners) 104. This provides a pertinent reminder that popular religious culture in the post-1100 period was largely dictated by pre-twelfth-century ethnic settlement patterns. This could cause some stark devotional contrasts especially in ‘multi-cultural’ areas such as south-east Scotland.
Melrose and Newbattle by the thirteenth century. These were probably erected at the behest of the Douglas family, which had adopted Brigid as their patron saint. This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that the altars were first mentioned in documents issued by members of the Douglas kindred. Thus, a charter records that on St Brigid’s Day (1st of February) 1330, James Douglas granted his land of Kilmad to the monks of Newbattle who were thereafter bound to sing a mass at St Brigid’s altar within their church every 1st of February and feed thirteen paupers so that the saint would act as intercessor with God for James and his heirs. Admittedly, it would appear as if the celebration of St Brigid’s Day by these two convents was a personalised service for the Douglases. It is therefore unlikely that the monks of Melrose, for example, promoted her cult amongst the laity as they evidently did that of St Cuthbert. The presence of altars to St Brigid at Melrose and Newbattle nevertheless provides evidence of how an incoming family could come to identify their spiritual fortunes with a native saint and how his/her cult could subsequently influence the devotional life of a reformed convent.

That the adoption of a native saint’s cult by a new convent could indeed result in its dissemination amongst the monastery’s neighbouring lay population is demonstrated by the popularity of St Nynia’s cult in northern Scotland. In illustration, as noted above, sometime in the 1230s Ferchar of Ross established a Premonstratensian abbey at Fearn, to which two canons from Whithorn brought certain unspecified relics pertaining to St Nynia. Accordingly, the most important date in Fearn Abbey’s calendar would have been St Nynia’s feast-day (16th of September), to celebrate which the canons probably held a festival much like the ones described above. Through their promotion of his cult, which doubtless included processing his relics through the surrounding countryside at regular intervals, Nynia evidently was adopted by native society. Thus, there are a number of dedications to him in both Ross and neighbouring Caithness, including Dunrossness, Fearn,
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Head of Wick, Kildonan and Navidale. His feast-day was also celebrated with a fair at the town of Forres. It is interesting to note, however, that the cult of St Nynia in Caithness was often conflated with that of St Finbar. The cult of St Finbar had long been celebrated in Caithness. Its focal point appears to have been the célè Dé community at Dornoch, the later cathedral of which was dedicated to Finbar. Quite which Finbar was venerated by the locals is difficult to discern, however. The Aberdeen Breviary, for instance, identifies him with Finbar/Finnén of Moville whose feast-day was celebrated on the 10th of September, whilst the church of Dornoch held its festival on the feast-day of Finbar of Cork, i.e. 25th of September. Considering the Columban heritage of the célè Dé movement in Scotland, it is more likely that Dornoch was a Columban foundation. Notably, Finnén of Moville was closely associated with the life of St Colum Cille. It can consequently be proposed that it was ‘Finbar’ of Moville and not Finbar of Cork who was venerated throughout Caithness. Whatever the case, the strength of Finbar’s cult in the province was such that a fair continued to be held on his supposed feast-day into the seventeenth century. Faced with this ingrained popular devotion, it would appear as if St Nynia’s promoters were obliged to further his cult by associating it with that of Finbar. In order to reach a wider audience, Nynia was thus made supporting act to the headlining Finbar. In so doing, the canons of Fearn possibly highlighted the tradition that Finnén of Moville was a disciple of St Nynia’s at Candida Casa.

The introduction of Nynia’s cult into Ross and Caithness during the thirteenth century is a powerful reminder that the advent of Church reform in the twelfth century did not herald the decline of native religious traditions in Scotland. Indeed, it demonstrates that in certain circumstances the cult of native saints at least continued to flourish and expand.

1703 Calendar of Fearn, 62.
1704 OPS, II, ii, 415.
1705 Macquarrie, Saints of Scotland, 8.
1706 MacKinlay, Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland, II, Non-scriptural, 133.
1707 Aberdeen Breviarum, pars hymn fo. lxvi.
1708 OPS, II, ii, 597.
1709 For a discussion on which, see Clancy, ‘Iona, Scotland and the Celé Dé’.
1710 Adomnan, Columba (Sharpe), 317-318.
1711 OPS, II, ii, 415.
1712 Butler's Lives of the Saints, III, 531-532; Forbes, Kalendaks, 345; & Macquarrie, 'St Ninian of Whithorn', 65.
1713 Evidence of the continuing vibrancy of the cult of saints in the Gaelic world during the post-1100 period, and instructive of the continuing links between Scotland and Ireland, is the altar dedicated to the reforming Irish bishop St Malachy at Coupar Angus Abbey. Thus, Robert I made a grant to the monks in return for which they were obliged to light a candle at all vespers, matins and conventual masses before
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It also highlights the conservative nature of popular religious society and how local populations tenaciously adhered to their traditional patron saints. This local loyalty explains to a certain extent why dedications to saints whose cults were introduced into Scotland after 1100 predominated in the new social environment of the towns, whilst those to native saints continued to dominate in the countryside.\textsuperscript{1714} It likewise provides one answer to the question why reformed convents, such as Coldingham, Kilwinning, Melrose and Paisley, adopted and thereafter promoted the cults of local native saints. In this, as in so many other areas of religious life in Canmore Scotland, existing religious society was once more shaping the culture of the new monasteries.

Whilst Melrose and Cuthbert, Kilwinning and Finnén, Paisley and Meadhhrán, and Fearn and Nynia all present compelling examples of cultural continuity within Canmore Scotland’s reformed monastic community, undoubtedly the most compelling evidence of how a new religious house could become the guardian of a native religious tradition is provided by the convent of Inchcolm’s promotion of the cult of Colum Cille. In illustration, despite the subsequent rise of St Andrew to the status of national saint of Scotland,\textsuperscript{1715} it was Colum Cille who had been viewed as the patron saint of the Scottish state during the early medieval period.\textsuperscript{1716} Popularly venerated at religious sites throughout Alba,\textsuperscript{1717} his official cult was focused upon the church of Dunkeld to which Cínáed mac Alpin had

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\textsuperscript{1714} Thus, the majority of dedications to continental saints in medieval Scotland were to be found in burghs, such as Edinburgh and Elgin (St Giles) and Aberdeen and Renfrew (St Nicholas). When incoming patrons wanted to commemorate a foreign saint in a non-urban parish, they were often obliged to retain the existing native dedication. This is evident in the record of David de Bernham’s tour of his diocese in 1242-1243 during which he officially dedicated its parish churches. It notes, for example, that the church of Portmoak was dedicated to Sts Stephen and Moak, Rossie to Laurence and Colmán, and Lathrisk to John the Evangelist and Etheman. St A. Lib., 348. This is in contrast to developments in England and Wales, where incomers often simply replaced native dedications. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 119; & Davies, The Age of Conquest, 182.

\textsuperscript{1715} For which, see Ash & Broun, ‘The Adoption of St Andrews as the Patron Saint of Scotland’; & Hall, St Andrew and Scotland.

\textsuperscript{1716} An annal entry notes that the men of Alba ‘prayed fervently to him [Colum Cille] since he was their apostle, and through him they received their faith’. J. N. Radner, Fragmentary Annals of Ireland (Dublin, 1978), 171.

\textsuperscript{1717} For dedications and place-name associations, see Anderson, ‘Columba and Other Irish Saints in Scotland’, 26-36; Watson, CPNS, 279-281; & especially, Redford, ‘Commemorations of Saints of the Celtic Church in Scotland’, 36-45. For a discussion, see Clancy, ‘The Cult of Saints in Scotland’.
transferred his chief relics in 849. Whilst Dunkeld appears to have lost ecclesiological primacy to Cennrigmonraid by the late tenth century, its abbot nonetheless remained in essence the 'Comarba Coluim Chille i nAlba' and hence an important national figure. When the abbacy and bishopric of Dunkeld separated to form two distinct posts probably sometime in the eleventh century, the cult of Colum Cille in Scotland would have developed a dual leadership; with a member of the Cenél nGabráín/Canmore dynasty acting as an increasingly secular 'Comarba Coluim Chille', whilst the bishop of Dunkeld became the cult's spiritual representative. It was due to the combined efforts of both comarba and bishop that the old Columban shrine on Inchcolm was transformed into a new centre for St Columba's cult in the twelfth century. This was achieved through the foundation of an Augustinian priory whose convent helped preserve the cult on Inchcolm, and significantly also became the chief agent of its revival in late medieval Scotland.

Whilst it can be assumed that the Augustinian canons had celebrated the association of their house with Colum Cille since their arrival on the island, the earliest conclusive evidence of Inchcolm Priory's role as a Columban cult centre is provided by a charter of 1256. This records a grant made to the convent by Bishop Richard (II) of Dunkeld of twenty shillings per annum from his church of Cramond for the maintenance of twenty lighted candles at the high altar of Inchcolm on St Colum Cille's feast-day (9th of June). The symbolic significance of St Colum Cille's Day to the reformed convent is further highlighted by Bower's recollection that it was on the 9th of June 1258 that William, the newly elected abbot of Inchcolm, 'received the blessing from Richard bishop of Dunkeld at Cramond'. As these two examples suggest, the bishops of Dunkeld continued to enjoy a particularly close relationship with the Augustinian convent. Indeed, four twelfth- and thirteenth-century bishops of Dunkeld - Richard I (1170-1178) & II (1203-1210), John II

1719 Hudson, 'Kings and Church', 164-165.
1720 Although there is no record of such a title, Bannerman, 'Comarba Coluim Chille', 31, notes that this would have been the correct title for the abbot of Dunkeld after 849 in respect of his possession of Colum Cille's chief relic. As Bannerman noted, that the title was never used by the Irish annalists was because to do so 'would have been impossibly confusing'. As suggested above, an existing use for the term comarba possibly prevented its Irish usage being adopted in Alba. It is nevertheless probable that the abbot of Dunkeld was perceived as such by the people of Alba.
1721 For a discussion on this, see p. 51 above.
1722 See above, pp. 48-53.
1723 Inchcolm Chrs., no. XXIII.
1724 SCOTICHRON., X, 11.
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(1211-1214) and Gilbert (c.1229-1236) - were buried on Inchcolm. Notably, the first three of these bishops had died at the episcopal manor of Cramond which was on the southern shores of the Forth opposite Inchcolm and part of which was granted to the priory on its foundation. The bishops of Dunkeld continued to promote their own church’s association with St Colum Cille throughout the Canmore period. Thus, the epitaph on Bishop Geoffrey’s tomb read: ‘Here Geoffrey the glory, the shield and sword of the Dunkeld clergy rests in his tomb under the protection of our father Colum Cille’. That the convent of Coupar Angus was obliged to pay a pound of incense per annum to the church of Dunkeld on St Colum Cille’s Day is moreover suggestive of the celebrations which the diocesan clergy undoubtedly held on the 9th of June to commemorate their patron saint. Consequently, just as the Dunkeld clergy’s continued veneration of St Colum Cille influenced lay devotions in the diocese, and as the above-cited acts of Bishop Richard further imply, the intimacy of this relationship doubtless led to the strengthening of Inchcolm’s role as a Columban cult centre.

Yet further evidence that this was indeed the case is presented by the literature produced by Inchcolm’s Augustinian convent during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For example, a twelfth- or early thirteenth-century edition of Adomnán’s Life of Colum Cille commissioned by ‘King Alexander’ appears to have been the work of the scriptorium of Inchcolm Abbey. Admittedly, on the strength of the statement that its scribe came from ‘insula pontificarum’, the Andersons tentatively proposed that it was produced by a canon from Lochleven Priory. This theory is certainly strengthened if the term

1725 Dowden, Bishops, 50-52. The seal of Inchcolm depicts a ship with what appears to be a coffin on its stern, perhaps reflecting the popularity of the island as a place of sepulture. Laing, Ancient Scottish Seals, 188.

1726 Bishop Gregory’s charter confirms ‘Lanin’ to the new priory, which was the district in southern Cramond later known as Lennie. Inchcolm Chr., no. I. By the AD1170s Inchcolm had gained further rights in Cramond, including two tofts and a yearly payment of four marks from its mill. Ibid., no. II. There was an altar in Cramond church dedicated to St Colum Cille, as was a nearby well. MacKinlay, Ancient Dedications in Scotland, II, Non-Scriptural, 41-42.

1727 Scolichroll., IX, 63.

1728 ('h XV O.

1729 This is demonstrated, for example, by David Humet’s grant of the church of Megginch to Dunkeld which was made in honour of God, St Colum Cille and Bishop John (II) of Dunkeld Holy Lib., no. 66.

1730 This copy is known only by a poem attached to BM Cottonian, MS Tiberius. D III, fos. 192-217. O. & M. O. Anderson, Adomnán’s Life of Columba (Oxford, 1961), 6-10, notes that the hand-writing of this poem dates from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, and hence the life must have been commissioned by Alexander I. It could however have been written in the early years of Alexander II’s reign.

1731 Ibid., 10.
'pontificum' is translated 'of the bishops', rather than 'of the popes'.\textsuperscript{1732} as the religious site on the island of Lochleven had long been associated with the bishops of St Andrews.\textsuperscript{1733} The name 'island of the bishops', however, could equally apply to Inchcolm, which had similarly intimate historical associations with the bishops of Dunkeld.\textsuperscript{1734} Less equivocal literary evidence of Inchcolm Abbey's dedication to the cult of St Colum Cille is presented by the fourteenth-century \textit{Inchcolm Antiphoner}.\textsuperscript{1735} This preserves liturgical settings for poetry and prayer in praise of Colum Cille which would have been sung by the canons of Inchcolm on the saint's feast-day. Inspiration for these prayers appears partly to have come from Adomnán's \textit{Life of Colum Cille}. Thus, they recall his ability to 'command the winds...put plague to flight...draw water from a rock...[and] sweeten bitter apples'.\textsuperscript{1736} As Clancy has highlighted, they were evidently also influenced by 'unknown traditions handed down to the monks at Inchcolm about their patron'.\textsuperscript{1737} The allusion to such episodes is significant as it implies that the canons drew upon official hagiographic material, as well as the oral traditions of Colum Cille which doubtless flourished in the countryside around ancient Columban cult centres such as Dunkeld, Inchcolm and Iona.\textsuperscript{1738}

Notably, both the poem which was appended to the proposed Inchcolm edition of Adomnán's \textit{Life} and the \textit{Inchcolm Antiphoner} further reveal that even in fourteenth-century


\textsuperscript{1733} The bishop of St Andrews' involvement in the affairs of Lochleven appear to date from the mid tenth century when Bishop Fothad I (d. 963) received the church of Lochleven from Abbot Ronan in return for providing the community with food and clothing. Lawrie, \textit{ESC}, no. III.

\textsuperscript{1734} As noted in the discussion above.

\textsuperscript{1735} EUL MS. 211 iv. For a discussion and translation, see the programme notes to the recording \textit{Columba, Most Holy of Saints} (Gaudeamus, 1992). See also Clancy, 'The Cult of Saints in Scotland', 1 & 19; & D. McRoberts, 'A Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments', \textit{JR}, iii (1952), 49-63, at 52.

\textsuperscript{1736} Compare with Adomnán, \textit{Columba} (Sharpe), I, 4, II, 2, 10, 12, 15, 45 & 46.

\textsuperscript{1737} Clancy, 'The Cult of Saints in Scotland', 19.

\textsuperscript{1738} The mid-tenth-century \textit{Life of St Catroë} demonstrates the central role which personal devotion to Colum Cille played in the lives of everyday people in Alba, with Catroë's parents spending a night in 'fasting and prayers at his [Colum Cille's] tomb' so that the saint may intercede with God to grant them a child. This 'tomb' was most probably the relic shrine at Dunkeld. There were probably countless other miracle stories surrounding the intercedionary powers of Colum Cille which were not thus recorded, but were otherwise preserved in the popular oral culture of the laity. For the \textit{Life of St Catroë}, see \textit{S.N.} I, 432-443. Interestingly, Walter Bower relates a similar story in which Colum Cille granted fertility to Mael Coluim III and Margaret. \textit{Scotchchron.}, V, 37. Both of these stories probably reflect a popular tradition which grew out of Adomnán's account of how both the cattle and kindred of Colman became fruitful after a blessing from Colum Cille. Adomnán, \textit{Columba} (Sharpe), II, 21.
eastern Scotland Colum Cille continued to be perceived as the nation’s guardian. The poem, for example, styles Colum Cille ‘sword of the Scots, and their defence’.\(^{1739}\) The *Antiphon* likewise addresses him as ‘protector of this land’, ‘glory of our national tradition’ and, most interestingly, ‘hope of the Scots’.\(^{1740}\) These supplications were of particular pertinence to the convent of Inchcolm Abbey which was frequently under threat of attack from English pirates.\(^{1741}\) Indeed, part of the *Antiphon* beseeches Colum Cille to ‘save this choir that is praising you from attack by the English and assault by rivals’. Similar sentiments are articulated in what is probably the most famous literary expression of Inchcolm’s adherence to the cult of Colum Cille, Abbot Walter Bower’s *Scotichronicon*. For example, recalling an episode in Adomnán’s *Life of Colum Cille*,\(^{1742}\) Bower attested that in 1336 an English raiding party was prevented from making off with a statue of Colum Cille by a storm conjured up by the dishonoured saint.\(^{1743}\) These instances demonstrate that the cult of Colum Cille was no antiquarian fancy celebrated mechanically by the canons of Inchcolm, but a vital and vibrant part of their everyday faith through which they were not only brought closer to God, but also gained the much-needed protection of a powerful intercessor.

The canons of Inchcolm were far from unique in their recognition of Colum Cille’s powers of intercession during the post-1100 period. Raonall of the Isles, for example, called down the saint’s curse upon any who dared obstruct his grant to Paisley Abbey.\(^{1744}\) This recalls the vengeful side of Colum Cille’s character which was often responsible for a malefactor’s demise. One of the saint’s alleged victims was none other than Alexander II whose death on Kerrera, according to *Hákon Saga Hákonarson*, followed a dream in which Colum Cille had told him to cease his attack on the Hebrides.\(^{1745}\) Colum Cille had similarly appeared to Oswald of Northumbria on the eve of his battle against Cadwallon.\(^{1746}\) In this instance, however, it was to inform the king that he was to be victorious the next day. The association between Colum Cille’s cult and war is also evident in the tradition whereby the

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1739 Haddan & Stubbs, *Concils*, II, i, 276-277.
1741 See, for example, *Scotichronicon*, XIII, 36, & XIV, 45.
1742 Adomnán, *Columba* (Sharpe), II, 22.
1743 *Scotichronicon*, XIII, 36.
1744 *Pais. Reg.*, 125. Interestingly, the previously mentioned chapel established at Paisley by James Crawford and Elizabeth Galbraith in the late fifteenth century was co-dedicated to St Colum Cille. Lees, *Paisley Abbey*, 176.
1745 *ES*, II, 556-557.
1746 Adomnán, *Columba* (Sharpe), 1, 1.
medieval Scottish army was accompanied by the saint's chief relic, the Breccbennach, when it went into battle. The Breccbennach was expected to convey the saint's protection on the soldiers and bring them victory over their enemies. In his history of the bishops of Dunkeld, moreover, Dean Alexander Myln (latterly abbot of Cambuskenneth) claimed that the people of Dunkeld had been saved from a plague in the early sixteenth century due to the protection of their patron saint, Colum Cille. A similar tradition was current in medieval Kingussie. This recalled that a sudden pestilence swept the settlement one day, but that many people were saved because they were attending the Féill Coluim Chille (fair of Colum Cille) held in the precincts of St Colum Cille's chapel and therefore received the saint's protection. These traditions again had their precedent in pre-twelfth-century Columban Church history. Thus, Adomnan recalled that the Picts and the Irish who lived in northern Britain were spared from two plagues which ravaged the British Isles in the seventh century because they continued to honour St Colum Cille. All of these examples reveal the contractual nature of the cult of saints in northern Britain, as elsewhere in Europe, where devotion was repaid by heavenly intervention. They moreover emphasise the historicity of devotion to Colum Cille in medieval Scotland. Indeed, it is evident not only that medieval Scots continued to perceive Colum Cille as 'the most gentle of ears of almighty God', but also that the cult of Colum Cille had come to shape fundamentally the kingdom's popular religious perception and identity by the middle ages. Thus, the main intercessionary powers and miracles attributed to the saint in Adomnán's Life were clearly not only widely known, but also continued to be perceived in miraculous events right up until the Reformation and beyond.

This preservation of Colum Cille's cult on a popular level in medieval Scotland would arguably have benefited the convent of Inchcolm on two counts. Firstly, as a living tradition which had been orally transmitted down through the generations in folk-lore and customs, the cult created a direct link to the earliest days of the Columban mission in northern Britain which the canons doubtless exploited in order to enrich their own

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1747 For the first extant reference to the Breccbennach, see RRS, II, no. 503.
1748 For a brief discussion on the role of the Cathhuaid, see below.
1749 Myln, Vitae Dunkeldensis, 40 & 43.
1750 MacKinlay, Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland, II, Non-Scriptural, 46.
1751 Adomnán, Columba (Sharpe), II, 46.
1752 Brown, The Cult of the Saints, 120-123.
1753 Life of Catroe, in ES, II, 557.
knowledge concerning their patron saint’s cult. Secondly, it meant that there was a continuing Columban tradition amongst the laity in Scotland of which the canons could take advantage to lead a revival in the official cult of Colum Cille. Significantly, a range of evidence demonstrates that just such a revival did occur in the fifteenth century and that it was indeed focused upon the abbey of Inchcolm. Thus, it is noted in the Scotichronicon that Archibald, the fourth earl of Douglas, made an offering to Colum Cille at the abbey in 1412 before he set off for France to fight the English. The Register of the Great Seal records that the earl of Morton granted ‘Brego’ (?Begg Farm) to the convent in 1480 as a mark of the singular favour he bore to Inchcolm Abbey and its patron, Colum Cille. The same source reveals that Wester Aberdour, which pertained to the abbey, was erected into a burgh of barony by James IV ‘due to his devotion to Colum Cille’. James IV further displayed his devotion to the saint by making a pilgrimage to Inchcolm in July of 1508. This last notice is important, not least because it reveals how Inchcolm, much as Iona before it, had become the physical focus of the cult of Colum Cille.

It would appear as if the main impetus behind Inchcolm Abbey’s new-found/revived role as a Columban cult centre during the fifteenth century was in no small part due to the efforts of Abbot Walter Bower (1417-1449). Bower was evidently an ardent promoter of the cult of Colum Cille and its intimate association with Inchcolm. It is possible, for instance, that the fifteenth-century legendary which contained various popular stories and traditions of the saint was commissioned by him. The most obvious testimony to

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1754 This proposal is to a certain extent supported by the Columban material in the Aberdeen Breviary. Macfarlane has noted, for example, that it contains lessons on Colum Cille which clearly come from a fifteenth-century legendary now in the SRO. L. J. Macfarlane, William of Elphinstone and The Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514 (Aberdeen, 1985), 239. M. Herbert, Iona, Kells and Derry: The history and hagiography of the monastic familia of Columba (Oxford, 1996), 171-173, noted that certain Columban material in the breviary derived, ‘at some remove, and with some accretion and abbreviation’, from an Iona source which had been preserved in Scotland. See also, D. McRoberts, ‘A Legendary Fragment in the Scottish Record Office’, IR, xix (1968), 82-85. It can be inferred from this legendary, which was probably compiled at Dunkeld (it is unlikely to have originated from Inchcolm as it corresponds to the Sarum right which was not in use at the abbey, see ibid., 84-85), that popular stories regarding Colum Cille continued to circulate amongst the laity in the fifteenth century. In order to compile the legendary, the clergy of Dunkeld must have at some point gathered popular Columban stories and traditions from the laity. It is probable that similar popular oral traditions flourished in the vicinity of Inchcolm.

1755 As Bower noted, ‘With Colum Cille as his guide he returned home safely’. Scotichron., XV, 23.

1756 RMS, II, 1455.

1757 Ibid., II, 2574.

1758 TA, IV, 130-131.

1759 For a discussion on the career of Walter Bower, see ‘Biography of Bower’, in Scotichron., vol. IX, 204-208.

1760 See discussion in McRoberts, ‘A legendary fragment in the Scottish Record Office’.

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Bower’s pro-Columban tendencies, however, is his aforementioned monumental *Scotichronicon*. Written in the 1440s, it firmly identifies the cult of Colum Cille with Inchcolm, to the extent that the head of the convent is frequently styled ‘prior/abbot of St Colum Cille’, rather than ‘of Inchcolm’. Although Bower was most probably unaware of the fact, this title interestingly reflects the Gaelic Church tendency to refer to an abbot of a saint’s main cult centre as the heir of the saint. Whatever the case, demonstrating his desire to revive the saint’s cult, Bower moreover provided examples of Colum Cille’s continuing powers of intercession. Notably, the *Scotichronicon* was copied a number of times during the late fifteenth century, doubtless for the use of those monasteries and individual churchmen who could afford such an expensive work. As implied by the work’s original commissioner, Sir David Stewart of Rosyth, it is likely that the *Scotichronicon* also had an impact upon the landowning class. Patrons of Inchcolm, such as the aforementioned earls of Douglas and of Morton, would certainly have appreciated the history’s nationalistic theme, as it reflected the prevailing anti-English mood of fifteenth-century Scottish society. Doubtless aware of his audience’s prejudices, Bower cast Colum Cille in the role of a Scottish patriot who sunk the ships of marauding English pirates and tortured an English arsonist. Indeed, one of the *Scotichronicon*’s chapter headings reads like a populist tabloid headline: ‘The Vengeance Inflicted by Colum Cille on the English’. As with Cumméne the White and Adomnan eight-hundred years before him, Bower thus garnered support for the Columban cult by associating the well-being of the Scottish nation with devotion to the first abbot of Iona.

1761 For the text, see *Scotichron.* volumes I-VIII, and for a collection of essays by modern historians, see volume IX.
1762 Ibid., VIII, 75. This conflation of saint and island was not unique to Bower or the fifteenth century, however. The twelfth- and thirteenth-century English chronicler Roger de Howden, for example, styled Inchcolm ‘the island of St Colum Cille’. *Chron. Howden*, IV, 91.
1763 See, Bannerman, ‘Comarba Coluim Chille’.
1764 For example, *Scotichron.*, V, 37, XIII, 33, & XIV, 45.
1765 For the various texts of the *Scotichronicon* and its history, see the essays in *Scotichron.*, vol. IX.
1766 For David Stewart, see A. Borthwick, ‘Bower’s patron, Sir David Stewart of Rosyth’, in ibid., vol. IX, 354-362. It would be interesting to know whether the founding of a chapel dedicated to St Colum Cille at Arngask in Kinross on the 1st of October 1527 by Margaret Barclay, David Murray and Andrew Murray was influenced by Bower’s work. MacKinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, II, *Non-Scriptural*, 46.
1768 *Scotichron.*, XIII, 33 & 36, & XIV, 45.
1769 Ibid., XIV, 45.
1770 This is evident in the *Life’s* account of Domnall Brecc and the disasters which befell him after he had dishonoured Colum Cille’s memory. Adomnan, *Columba* (Sharpe), III, 5.
Interestingly, Abbot Bower was not unique amongst fifteenth-century churchmen in his nationalist sentiment. Neither was he alone in partly expressing his nationalism through the promotion of native saints. Indeed, the fifteenth century witnessed a renaissance in the official veneration of pre-1100 British, Gaelic and Scoto-Northumbrian (e.g. Cuthbert) saints, the undoubted apogee of which was Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen’s breviary. Significantly for the current discussion, reformed religious communities played a leading part in this revival. The convent of Culross is a case in point. For example, in 1420 they gained permission from the papacy to grant an indulgence to all who came to their abbey on the feast-day of St Serf (1st July), a privilege which was probably sought as part of an attempt to revive the popularity of the saint’s cult. Early the next century, Archbishop Robert Blackadder of Glasgow appears to have taken advantage of the monks’ revival of the cult of St Serf by constructing a chapel near their abbey to mark the place of St Kentigern’s education. In so doing, the bishop celebrated his see’s heritage by calling upon a tradition which had been preserved at both Culross and Glasgow since at least the early medieval period. Abbot Bower’s successful promotion of Inchcolm’s status as Columban cult centre should likewise be viewed as the culmination of centuries of tradition on the island. Indeed, his literary and practical achievements could not have been realised if the original Augustinian convent on Inchcolm had not preserved the Columban traditions of their Gaelic Church predecessors.

The renaissance of the cult of Colum Cille on the island of Inchcolm during the fifteenth century thus provides compelling testimony against the popular view that the incoming monks and canons of the Canmore period were cultural imperialists who swept away what remained of the native religious traditions of a Church in terminal decline.

Relics

The cult of the saints in the medieval period was underpinned by the preservation of holy relics. Such objects, whether of a primary (e.g. bones or hair) or secondary (e.g. 

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1772 Macfarlane, William Elphinstone, 231-246.
1773 Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, I-III (SHS. 1934-1970) & IV (Glasgow, 1983), I, 208. This may have been the initiative of Prior Wyntoun of Lochleven, who gave a relatively prominent part in his chronicle (written 1420X1424) to St Serf. Chron. Wyntoun (Laing) v. 12
1774 Chalmers, Caledonia, I, 316-317.
1775 See discussions in Macquarrie, ‘St Kentigern of Glasgow’ & ‘St Serf of Fife’, in his Saints of Scotland, 145-159.
1776 Brown, The Cult of the Saints, 139.
books, bells or crosiers) nature, provided a direct physical link with the saint and acted as a conduit for his or her powers. As such they were venerated throughout Europe. The veneration of secondary relics nonetheless appears to have been particularly prevalent in Celtic lands. For example, writing in the 1180s, Gerald of Wales noted:

The common people, and the clergy, too, not only in Ireland and Scotland, but also in Wales, have such a reverence for portable bells, staffs crooked at the top and encased in gold, silver and bronze, and other similar relics of the saints, that they are more afraid of swearing oaths upon them and then breaking their word, than they are upon the Gospels.

Striking artistic evidence of the continuing reverence for secondary relics in Canmore Scotland is provided by the Guthrie bell-shrine and the Kilmichael bell-shrine, both of which are of twelfth- or thirteenth-century craftsmanship. Significantly, there is also evidence to demonstrate that the practice of swearing oaths upon relics highlighted by Gerald survived in Scotland right up until the sixteenth century. Thus, the men who were involved in a perambulation of the lands of Aberchirder church in 1493 were first sworn 'upon St Mernoc's fereris [Scots: portable shrine, from Lat. feretrum, bier] and in the presence of St Mernoc's head'.

By the Canmore period, many such relics in Scotland had become the hereditary property of a kindred which was often descended from a Gaelic Church dynasty. The staff of St Fillan (encased in a silver-gilt case of ninth- or tenth-century workmanship and known as the Coigreach > stranger/one who comes from a neighbouring province), for instance, was held by the Macnab (Gaelic: mac an ab > son of the abbot) family of Glendochart. That the office of deòradh (Scots: deawar > relic-keeper) continued to be recognised as both an influential and ancient office long after the Canmore reforms is demonstrated by an

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1777 Gerald of Wales, The Journey Through Wales, 87. The fear in which Scots allegedly held relics was not always apparent, however. For example, despite bearing 'their cross and many relics' the canons of Inchcolm were 'shamefully beaten, dragged away and put to flight' by the men of William de Mortimer when they tried to intrude Earl David of Huntingdon's nominee into the church of Aberdour. Inchcolm Chrs., no. V.


1779 A. B. III., II, 212-213. Interestingly, the relationship between Aberchirder and St Mernoc was so close that the town came to be known as Marnoch. Watson, CPNs. 292. The tradition of using relics for oath-taking was an ancient one in the Gaelic Church. A. T. Lucas, 'The social role of relics and reliquaries in ancient Ireland', Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, cxvi (1981), 5-37.

1780 See discussion in Grant & Cheape, Periods in Highland History, 49-50.
inquest of 1428 which detailed the rights and duties of the deòradh of the Coigreach and noted that he owed his authority to being the descendant of the comarba Fillain.\textsuperscript{1781} A charter issued by James III in 1487 which confirmed Máel Ísu as deòradh of the Coigreach likewise emphasised the hereditary nature of his office.\textsuperscript{1782} It also reveals that the comarba Fillain continued to play an active role in local society by stating that no-one was to impede Máel Ísu in his duties.\textsuperscript{1783} Evidently perceived to be inalienable, not to say highly valuable, property by their keepers, it was rare for such relics to be granted to a reformed convent. Indeed, from the whole of the Canmore period, when reformed clerics were assuming or eradicating the quasi-spiritual offices and rights which were held by laymen, there are only two surviving examples of an ancient relic being bestowed upon a religious convent. The most obvious of these is King William’s grant of the Brecbennoch Colum Cille to the monks of Arbroath Abbey c. 1211.\textsuperscript{1784} The other is less apparent. It would appear, for instance, that the canons of Cambuskenneth Abbey gained possession of the staff and bell of St Lolan - the patron saint of Kincardine (Menteith)\textsuperscript{1785} - when William granted them the church of Kincardine 1189X1195.\textsuperscript{1786} Many reformed monasteries nevertheless inherited pre-twelfth-century relics when they were established at, or grew out of, earlier religious sites. Thus, as noted above, the Tironensian monks of Kilwinning Abbey and Lesmahagow Priory inherited the relics of Finnén and ‘Machutus’, respectively; whilst the Augustinian convents of Inchcolm (probably through their patron, the bishop of Dunkeld) and of St Andrews fell heir to certain halidoms of Colum Cille and Andrew, respectively.\textsuperscript{1787} Other

\textsuperscript{1781} The Black Book of Taymouth (Bannatyne Club, 1855), xxv-xxvi.
\textsuperscript{1782} Grant & Cheape, Periods in Highland History, 51.
\textsuperscript{1783} Other notable examples of dewars in medieval Scotland include the keeper of the staff of St Moluag whose hereditary estate was situated on Lismore and was known as Peighinn na Bach/a by 1544; and the keeper of the staff of St Mund who held land in Argyll which by 1497 had come to be called ‘deowray’. OPS, II, 163; & RMS, xiii, no. 314.
\textsuperscript{1784} RRS, II, no. 499.
\textsuperscript{1785} St Lolan is reputed to have been the nephew of St Serf. This connection is emphasised by the tradition that Lolan helped ‘King Duncan’ repel Scandinavian raiders on the shores of Culross. He is also alleged to have brought soil from the cemetery of St Peter’s in Rome to consecrate a cemetery in Alba (most probably Kincardine) in which anyone buried would attain salvation. For the disparate traditions associated with his name, see Forbes, Kalenders, 378-379. Interestingly, Lolan appears to be a corruption of the Brittonic name lolan. A Brittonic origin for Lolan would certainly correspond with his association with Serf of Culross, who was probably also of British stock. Perhaps Lolan was a disciple or companion of Serf.'\textsuperscript{1786} RRS, II, no. 372.
\textsuperscript{1787} See discussion immediately above.
examples include Whithorn Priory (and thereafter Fearn Abbey) inheriting the relics of Nynia, and the Augustinians of Scone inheriting the head of Fergus.\textsuperscript{1788}

That so many reformed monasteries came to possess early Church relics is in itself testimony to the continuity between old and new in Scottish religious culture during the Canmore period. It would be even more instructive to ascertain whether the monks and canons of these reformed houses, as with their secular counterparts, the deòradh, preserved some of their halidoms' traditional functions. Unfortunately, relics tended to serve the same basic functions throughout Europe during the medieval period.\textsuperscript{1789} It would therefore be disingenuous to claim categorically evidence of cultural continuity in Scottish religious practice merely on the strength of similarities between the pre- and post- 1100 use of relics. For example, it could be assumed that their was a peculiar cultural connection between the Gaelic Church practice of a community collecting tribute from the laity by taking their halidoms on commotiones (relic-circuits) and the donations received by reformed convents when they processed their relics through the countryside.\textsuperscript{1790} This need not necessarily be the case, however, as it was common in many parts of Europe to use relics to gather extra funds from the laity. Thus, in his fascinating treatise on the role of relics in society, the twelfth-century French commentator, Guibert of Nogent, remarked that relic-circuits were popular amongst the clergy because they attracted generous donations; or as Guibert pithily put it ‘their hearts suddenly became larger than their means’.\textsuperscript{1791}

Unfortunately, any assessment of the affinities between the use of relics by Gaelic and reformed communities is also hindered by the lack of detailed evidence relating to the spiritual and devotional activities of the medieval Scottish Church. Accordingly, even when it is highly likely that Gaelic Church attitudes and practices in some way influenced the role of relics in medieval Scotland, this dearth prevents any definite conclusions from being reached. In illustration, relics were used by Gaelic communities to symbolise and confirm

\textsuperscript{1788} I4, III, 283.
\textsuperscript{1789} Brown, \textit{The Cult of the Saints}, 195.
\textsuperscript{1790} For discussions on the early use of relics in Alba and Ireland, see Bannerman, ‘\textit{Comarba Colum Chille}’; Clancy, ‘The Cult of Saints in Scotland’; C. Docherty, ‘The Use of Relics in Early Ireland’, in P. Ni Cathain & S Tranter (eds.), \textit{Ireland und Europa: die Kirche im Frühmittelalter} (Stuttgart, 1984), 89-101; Hughes, \textit{The Church in Early Irish Society}, 165-169; & Lucas, ‘The Social Role of Relics’. The popularity of these tours is demonstrated by the frequency with which they are mentioned in the Irish annals. See, for example, \textit{AU}, s.a. 753, 757, 767, 772, 778, 780, 783, 788, 793, 812, 813, 814, 821 & 826
the authority of their superior. The author noted that the relics of Colum Cille confirmed the status of the comarba Colum Chille throughout the early medieval period, whilst the Soiscila Martain continued to represent the authority of the abbots of Derry right up until it was stolen in 1182. Accordingly, such relics were not only venerated within the religious house, but also enshrined in portable reliquaries, such as the Breccbennach Colum Chille and the Mórbrecce, and processed throughout the countryside. It is recorded, for example, that Abbot Diarmait of Iona travelled in Pictland in 818 with the scrin Colum Chille (shrine of Colum Cille) and in 829-831 with the saints mind (insignia). These commutationes would probably been undertaken not only to emphasise the abbot of Iona’s spiritual and temporal jurisdiction over the Pictish familia lae, but also to strengthen his community’s relationship with the laity. If viewed from this perspective, it is probable that the Augustinian convent of St Andrews likewise used the Mórbrecce not only to substantiate their claim to be the heir of the Gaelic Church community of Cennrigmonaid, but also to enhance the authority of their bishop as the Apostle’s temporal representative. Whilst the fact that the Augustinian prior maintained a native relic-bearer to carry the Mórbrecce at important feast-day processions certainly implies that he was conscious of the benefits to be gained for his convent and bishop from

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1794 Hughes, The Church in Early Irish Society, 151-152 & 168.
1795 Chronicon Scotorum, ed. W. M. Hennessy (London, 1866), s.a. 818; & AU, s.a. 829 & 831. Clancy, ‘Iona, Scotland and the Céil Dé’, 112-115, noted that these two tours appear to coincide with the (re-)building of the churches of Dunkeld by Constantin mac Fergus (7790-820) and Cennrigmonaid by Óengus mac Fergus (820-834), and consequently proposed that the relics of Colum Cille were used to consecrate them. Anderson, Kings and Kingship, 266. Bannerman, ‘The Scottish takeover of Pictland’, 30, however, suggested that Dunkeld was built sometime between 804 and 814 which would rule out Clancy’s proposal.
1796 These bonds were further strengthened when the touring party promulgated the cain (law) of the saint whose relics they bore. Hughes, The Church in Early Irish Society, 167-168; Kenney, SI-HI, 237, & Lucas, ‘The Social Role of Relics’, 13-14.
1797 A claim which is evident in the Augustinian-compiled B version of the Historia Fundationis.
1798 Another Gaelic Church relic to be preserved at St Andrews was the Naomh-Christian na-easbuig Fothad (the holy shrine of the Gospel of Bishop Fothad). Scotichron., VI, 24. Notably, King Constantin and Bishop Cellach swore to uphold the rights of the Gospels in their famous proclamation made on the Hill of Faith in the early ninth century. Chron. Picts-Scots, 9. This suggests that the clergy in Alba had imported the Irish practice of gathering tribute by processing through the countryside with Gospel books. For which, see Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae, II, cxxxviii-cxxix. It is tempting to speculate that the enshrined Gospel book of Bishop Fothad was thus used by both the Gaelic and then the reformed community at St Andrews.
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stressing the continuity of tradition at St Andrews, the suggestion that the reformed regime actually viewed their keepership of the reliquary in this Gaelic Church light must remain conjectural due to the dearth of evidence.

Despite the universality of religious customs and the exiguous Scottish medieval records, there are nevertheless two compelling examples of reformed convents in Canmore Scotland being directly influenced by pre-twelfth-century attitudes towards the symbolism and role of relics. The first of these reveals that the Augustinian convent at Scone benefited from the traditional perception that the custodian of a saint’s relics was his or her temporal representative and hence the rightful recipient of dues owing to the saint in lieu of spiritual favours granted. Thus, between 1165 and 1206 Harald Maddadson, earl of Orkney and Caithness (1139-1206), pledged to pay one silver merk per annum to the abbey of Scone. This singular grant appears to have been made by Harald in recognition of the Augustinian convent’s guardianship of the head-relic of St Fergus, an early eighth-century bishop of Pictland who was active in Caithness and was the patron of Wick where the earl triumphed over a dynastic rival in the late twelfth century.

The second example indicates that Gaelic Church relics which were inherited by or granted to a reformed convent could indeed retain their traditional function in society. For example, as noted above, c. 1211 King William granted the Breccbennach Coluim Chille to the convent of Arbroath Abbey. This was a singular honour as the reliquary was the chief Scottish Columban halidom and as such would undoubtedly have brought prestige to its keeper. In return for this privilege, the convent was responsible for attending the Scottish army with the Breccbennach. The first record of this obligation being fulfilled is Abbot Bernard of Arbroath’s attendance upon the forces of Robert Bruce at Bannockburn with the reliquary in 1314. Bernard’s own poem commemorating Bruce’s victory recalls that on the morning of the battle ‘masses were said in due fashion’ before the king addressed his troops. It can be envisaged that during this ceremony the Breccbennach was paraded before the assembled army by a solemn procession of monks from Arbroath in the

1799 See St A. Lib., 329.
1800 For an in-depth discussion, see appendix 7.
1801 RRS. II, no. 503.
1802 Ibid., II, no. 503.
1803 For Bernard’s presence at Bannockburn, see G. W. S. Barrow, Robert the Bruce and the Community of the Realm (3rd edn Edinburgh, 1988), 225. It was on his return from Bannockburn that Abbot Bernard granted the Breccbennach to Mael Coluim of Monymusk. Arb. Lib., I, no. 340.
1804 Cited by Bower, Scotichron., XII, 22.
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anticipation that the relic would convey Colum Cille’s protection upon the soldiers and ensure a Scottish victory. This belief was far from unique to the early fourteenth-century followers of King Robert. Indeed, as Clancy has highlighted, the association between the relics of Colum Cille and victory in battle was an ancient one. Thus, from Adomnán’s life which depicts Colum Cille ensuring victory to the forces of Aedán mac Gabrán of Dal Riata and Oswald of Northumbria (not to mention the tradition that the saint himself had participated in the battle of Cúl Drebene), he was perceived to be ‘an effective saint in war’. Accordingly, the Cathach (battler), a fragmentary psalter thought to be the work of Colum Cille, was used to secure victory in battle for the Cenél Conaill of the Tir Conaill. Even more notably, the saint’s chief relic in Alba came to be identified with the fortunes of the nation. It was thus recorded that the tenth-century Scottish host carried Colum Cille’s crosier in the van of every battle as their standard ‘and it is on that account that it is called the Cathbuaidh [battle-triumph]’. As argued above, sometime in the eleventh century, when the abbacy of Dunkeld was finally separated from the bishopric, the relics of Colum Cille were likewise divided. Thus, the Cathbuaidh became the symbol of the bishops of Dunkeld’s spiritual authority, whilst the Brecbennach continued to represent the secular authority of the comarba, i.e. the king of Scots, and thus the battle-standard of the Scottish host.

If the charters of King William and Abbot Bernard did not exist, it could have been presumed that this traditional role for the relic of Colum Cille was suppressed during the reforms of the twelfth century, especially as it was granted to an abbey which was dedicated to an English saint, Thomas of Canterbury, by a king with a staunchly francocentric reputation. The chance survival of these charters nevertheless demonstrates that the convent of Arbroath Abbey assumed the ancient duties of the custodian of the Brecbennach and in so doing continued to promote its traditional role within the structure of the reformed Scottish Church.

1806 For a discussion on the use of Irish relics as battle-talismans, see Lucas, ‘The Social Role of Relics’, 17-20.
1807 Adomnán, Columba (Sharpe), 1, 1 & 8.
1808 For a brief comment on this tradition, see ibid., 12-14.
1810 Ibid., 20.
1811 Radner, Fragmentary Annals, 71.
1812 See appendix 5.
1813 For which see, for example, Barrow, ‘The Reign of William the Lion’, 67-89; Duncan, Scotland, 174-215. Owen, William the Lion; & Ritchie, Normans in Scotland, 378-379.
Although Gaelic learning and history had traditionally been preserved by a vibrant oral culture, the early Christian Church in Ireland and Dál Riata was notable for its literary work. Adomnán’s *Life of Colum Cille* and *Holy Places* and the *Book of Kells* are perhaps the most famous products of early Columban *scriptoria*. Similar examples from the early medieval period in Pictland/Alba are admittedly lacking, although the *Dunkeld Litany* provides a brief glimpse of the continuing output of monastic *scriptoria*. The aforementioned presence of *fer légin* and *scolocs* at numerous religious sites throughout Alba certainly implies that teaching and literacy continued to be an important part of Scottish religious life. The extent to which this Latin-Gaelic literary culture continued to flourish in Scotland’s reformed monasteries is an interesting question which is difficult to answer due to the dearth of pre- and post-1100 evidence. Textual scholars have nevertheless tentatively identified a number of Scottish monasteries as the likely sources of Gaelic-influenced twelfth- and thirteenth-century material contained within non-Gaelic compilations. M. O. Anderson, for example, highlighted that regnal lists F and I employed Gaelic place-names even for sites besouth the Forth. Thus Edinburgh was rendered as Dunedin, and Alnwick as Inveralden. She subsequently concluded that the ‘material of the chronicle notes seems most likely to have been put together in Latin in some church or monastery with a more or less living Gaelic tradition’, e.g. Abernethy, Brechin, Lochleven, Monifieth, Muthill or St Andrews. Miller likewise noted that the royal genealogy headed by William the Lion contained within the *Poppleton MS*. (compiled c. 1360 in York, yet incorporating a wealth of earlier Scottish material) observed Gaelic spelling conventions. She subsequently concluded that the list probably originated at the abbey of Scone. An equally fascinating compilation of texts was preserved by the Cistercian convent of Sawley Abbey in Yorkshire. Dumville has argued that many of these texts were of a Scottish provenance and were received by the monks of Sawley

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1816 Ibid., 276, 277 & 284.
1817 Ibid., 51.
1818 Ibid., 138-142. See also Broun, ‘Gaelic Literacy in Eastern Scotland’, 189-191.
1819 Miller, ‘Matriliny by Treaty’, 140.
1820 Preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 139.
between c. 1164 and the early thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{1822} He further noted that they “provide a compelling range of testimony to a school of textual and historical research of remarkable industry.”\textsuperscript{1823} In his discussion on the probable Scottish provenance of the Nennian recension of the \textit{Historia Brittonum} preserved at Sawley Abbey, Clancy has persuasively proposed that the ancient Gaelic Church sites of Abernethy and St Andrews were responsible for at least some of this material.\textsuperscript{1824} Whether the specific identifications made by these scholars are accurate or not, their general remarks regarding the Scottish material from both Sawley Abbey and the \textit{Poppleton MS.} certainly suggests that a thriving Gaelic literary culture was preserved at a monastery, or, more probably, monasteries, located somewhere in Alba between the Forth and the Mounth well into the twelfth century. That many of these pieces moreover only survive in English sources offers a further sombre reminder of the destruction wrought on medieval Scottish literature by the vicissitudes of history, not to mention a warning to historians that the lack of Gaelic intellectual influence in the development of reformed monasticism in twelfth-century Scotland is probably more apparent than real.

Undoubtedly central to the survival of Gaelic learning into the late twelfth century in eastern Alba were the aforementioned \textit{fer léginn}.ootnote{1825} This is because, with their skill in both Latin and Gaelic, they would have provided an invaluable linguistic bridge between the native clergy and incoming reformers. It was possibly the \textit{fer léginn} of St Andrews, for example, who translated the Lochleven \textit{notitia}eae which were “in the ancient language of the Scots’ into Latin for the Augustinian hierarchy of the cathedral priory.\textsuperscript{1826} As the guardians of centuries of oral learning and lore, the bilingual \textit{fer léginn} probably also acted as intellectual conduits through which Gaelic religious traditions and history could enter the reformed monastic community. It is surely notable, for instance, that \textit{fer léginn} are on

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\textsuperscript{1822} D. Dumville, ‘Celtic-Latin Texts in Northern England, c. 1150–c. 1250’, \textit{Celtica}, xii (1977), 19-49. at 34-38 for the Scottish provenance of the Stow of Wedale material; \&, more especially, \textit{idem}, ‘The Eastern Terminus of the Antonine Wall: 12th- or 13th-century evidence’, \textit{PSAS}, 124 (1994), 293-298. The Scottish material included a document defending the independence of the Scottish bishops from York, the song composed by William, a cleric of Glasgow, celebrating the death of Somerled, and a copy of book I of Gildas’ \textit{De Excidio Britanniae} made by a scribe called Cormac. For these identifications and further discussion, see Clancy, ‘Scotland, the “Nennian” recension of \textit{Historia Brittonum}, and \textit{Lebor Bretnach}’ (forthcoming).

\textsuperscript{1823} Dumville, ‘Th Eastern Terminus of the Antonine Wall’, 294.

\textsuperscript{1824} Clancy, ‘Scotland, the “Nennian” recension of \textit{Historia Brittonum}, and \textit{Lebor Bretnach}’ (forthcoming).

\textsuperscript{1825} For a brief discussion on which, see pp. 259-260 above.

\textsuperscript{1826} \textit{St A. Lib.}, 113.
record for two of the aforementioned sites credited with producing some of the surviving Scottish material in the Sawley collection, Abernethy and St Andrews.\textsuperscript{1827} It can be inferred from their presence at a number of other native religious sites throughout Alba, such as Iona, Muthill and Turriff,\textsuperscript{1828} that the Gaelic Church communities of Lochleven and Scone probably also contained a fer léginn who transmitted the traditions of their house to incoming recruits. Of course, many of the newly established reformed convents, particularly those Gaelic Church communities which had converted to the Augustinian Rule, such as Abernethy, Inchaffray and Scone, would have contained a number of native inmates.\textsuperscript{1829} They too would have ensured the preservation for at least a generation of Gaelic literacy and customs at many twelfth-century reformed monasteries. Indeed, it can be envisaged that even outwith predominantly native areas, such as Argyll, Gaelic-Latin bi-lingualism was a characteristic of reformed religious houses in Alba throughout the 1100s.

As this proposal would imply, whilst continuity of settlement undoubtedly engendered the strongest bonds of intellectual continuity, it is probable that the influence of Gaelic learning was not restricted to converted Gaelic Church communities. For example, the evidently Gaelic author of the geographical tract contained within the Poppleton MS. known as \textit{de Situ Albanie} stated that he had received the help of ‘a trustworthy man...namely Andrew, a venerable man, bishop of Caithness, by nation a Gael, and a monk of Dunfermline’.\textsuperscript{1830} This acknowledgement demonstrates that even the popularly perceived Anglo-Saxon dominated convent of Dunfermline Abbey could contain a Gaelic monk educated in the legends\textsuperscript{1831} of Alba. It is also suggestive of a surviving network of Gaelic scholarship in twelfth-century southern Alba which not only exchanged ideas, but was also conscious of preserving the traditions and history of their ancestors.

\textsuperscript{1827} Lawrie, \textit{ESC}, no. XIV, & \textit{St A. Lib.}, 316-318.
\textsuperscript{1828} \textit{ES}, II, 253; \textit{Lind. Cart.}, no. XLVI, & Lawrie, \textit{ESC}, no. XCVII.
\textsuperscript{1829} For a discussion on native reformed religious personnel, see cap. 3 above.
\textsuperscript{1830} For the Latin edition of this tract, see Anderson, \textit{Kings and Kingship}, 240-243. For a translation, see \textit{ES}, I, cxv-cxvii. A review of the historical treatment of the tract and a revision of its significance is offered in D. Broun, ‘The Seven Kingdoms of Pictland in \textit{De situ Albanie}: a record of Pictish political geography or imaginary map of ancient \textit{Alba}? (forthcoming). I am grateful to Dr Broun for allowing me a preview of this article. Bishop Andrew of Caithness died in 1184. \textit{Chron. Melrose}, s.a. 1184.
\textsuperscript{1831} Broun, ‘The seven kingdoms of Pictland in \textit{De situ Albanie}', has argued that 'it would be safest to disregard...[the tract] as evidence for Pictish political geography'.
Conclusion

The preceding discussion demonstrates that certain aspects of monastic culture in Canmore Scotland, as with so many other facets of reformed religious life discussed in this thesis, was distinguished by an appreciable degree of continuity. It would nevertheless be unwise to take this, or indeed any of the previously highlighted examples of continuity, as evidence of the limited success of the reform movement in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland. Rather, it would perhaps be more accurate to propose that the reformers merely adhered to the age-old Christian Church practice of furthering reform by assimilating symbolically important, yet often theologically peripheral, aspects of existing native religious culture within the new orthodox framework. As noted at St Andrews, for example, reformers such as Bishop Robert and Prior Robert were willing to present their new administration as the natural successor of the pre-1100 Gaelic Church regime, and in order to do so adopted and adapted certain native traditions. They were nonetheless successful not only in re-structuring the diocese and its chapter along reformed lines, but also in eventually implementing one of the core values of the reform movement, the clericalisation of religious duties.

It is also worth noting that, in spite of maintaining various native cultural motifs, the advent of reformed religious orders appears to have contributed to the gradual erosion of Gaelic literacy in eastern Alba. Thus, Broun has highlighted that Gaelic literacy in this region was in decline from the mid-to-late thirteenth century and that 'By the second half of the thirteenth century...Gaelic clergy had all but disappeared'. Evidence of cultural assimilation by the reformers should therefore not be taken as proof of the preservation of the language which had characterised popular religious life for at least the previous three centuries in Alba. However, as emphasised throughout this study, the history of reformed monasticism in Canmore Scotland should not be viewed exclusively from an east-coast perspective. Thus, whilst the advent of the new religious orders may have been one of the social factors which caused the gradual decline of Gaelic as a written language between

1832 Broun, 'Gaelic Literacy in Eastern Scotland', 197.
1833 A similar point was appreciated by Barrow, 'The Lost Gàidhealtachd', 124. when he remarked that 'cults of saints...can be transmitted with surprising ease from one language to another even at a purely popular level. Devotion to a Gaelic saint in any particular locality long after its inhabitants had ceased to use Gaelic as their ordinary speech is a very imperfect measure of the persistence of Gaelic culture as a whole'.

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the Forth and the Mounth, it is unlikely to have been supplanted so easily at houses such as Ardchattan, Fearn and Saddell.

In spite of the apparent impact on Gaelic literacy in eastern Alba, and even the relatively intensive settlement of certain lowland areas by foreigners, the extent to which continuity characterised religious reform would nonetheless arguably have been greater in Scotland than in England or Anglo-French-dominated areas of Ireland and Wales. This was because incoming clergy, as much as Anglo-French secular settlers in Scotland were (admittedly often assertive and demanding) guests rather than conquering colonists. Unlike their counterparts elsewhere in the British Isles, they therefore had neither the opportunity, nor indeed the same security need, to suppress native religious society. This is not to imply that the introduction of reforming ideas and institutions into Scotland was achieved instantaneously on a harmonious wave of consent. The survival of a number of Gaelic Church communities into the thirteenth century, for example, demonstrates that the reformation of organised Scottish religious life was not immediate. Indeed, the attempts to revivify the Gaelic Church communities of Deer and Iona during the twelfth century demonstrate that support for reformed monasticism was far from the only way in which a native landowner could sponsor organised religious life in their demesne. It also provides an important reminder that viewed from the perspective of a twelfth-century Scot, instead of from 1286 backwards, the triumph of the new orders was not inevitable. There are also indications that (perhaps because of the threat posed to the success of the new orders by these native alternatives) strong-arm tactics were employed by some reformers. It is evident, for instance, that just as the Canmore kings supplemented their balanced policy of feudal settlement with occasional support for violent incursions into troublesome areas by secular vassals (e.g. Freskin in Moray), so too were they willing to apply less than amicable methods to reform obdurate native religious institutions. This is best demonstrated by the previously discussed hard-line taken by David I and Bishop Robert of St Andrews against the céli Dé of Lochleven. The velvet glove in which Canmore policies have often been clothed by recent histories is thus revealed to have concealed an iron fist which could be ruthlessly employed when required.

Nevertheless, as with most medieval ruling dynasties, the Canmores relied upon a consensual, settled network of loyal nobles to implement royal policy and maintain order in the localities rather than oppression. In order to rule effectively they therefore needed to preserve that most precious of medieval political virtues, stabilitas (stability). This would
have been especially important for the Canmores as their regime was under threat from dynastic rivals until the early thirteenth century. Accordingly, they could not afford to alienate the native earls whose military capability alone made them invaluable allies and dangerous foes. With the recent memory of the anti-foreigner backlash which helped Domnall Bán to the throne, Alexander I and David I would certainly have been conscious of the dangers which could result from ignoring native nobles and their traditions. The confrontation between a coalition of earls led by Ferteth of Strathearn and Mæl Coluim IV at Perth in 1160 would have provided a similar warning to the late twelfth-century kings. It would therefore have been politically inadvisable for the Canmores, or indeed their Anglo-French allies, to sponsor a radical policy of reform of something as central to native society as religious life.

It is important to remember, however, that reforming ambition was far from particular to royals and incomers. The conversion of sites such as Inchaffray and, perhaps most interestingly, Monymusk, and the monastic policy of east-coast earls such as Mæl Coluim of Fife and native reguli such as Fergus and Raonall, reveal that the impulse to regularise organised religious life in Scotland was equally strong among certain native patrons and clergy. They too evidently recognised not only the benefits which could accrue from religious reform, but also, doubtless even more so than incomers, the need to temper it with continuity. Indeed, as with the Canmores, even "francosised" native earls such as Gille Brigte of Strathearn and Patrick of Dunbar could not risk antagonising their supporters and tenants by ignoring existing religious traditions.

Whether dictated by political pragmatism or cultural conservatism, the widespread assimilation of indigenous religious traditions by the new orders, combined with the adoption of existing patterns of settlement and the continued involvement of natives at all levels of conventual life, helped to create a reformed monastic community in Canmore Scotland the identity of which was firmly rooted in the pre-1100 period. Their adherence to a variety of sometimes highly centralised continental-based orders and their filial ties with mother-houses in England, France and Ireland certainly meant that Scotland’s reformed

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1834 Version E of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle notes that ‘the Scots chose Mæl Coluim’s brother, Domnall, as king and drove out all the English who were with king Mæl Coluim earlier’ and that Donnchad mac Mæl Coluim was later accepted as king ‘on condition that he never again lodged English men or French men in that land’. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 228. This was probably a reaction against foreign influence at court which must have been a consequence of the presence of Margaret and other Anglo-Saxon exiles in Mæl Coluim’s household.

1835 Chron. Melrose. s.a. 1160.
CONCLUSION: CONTINUITY OF CULTURE

Convents had an international dimension to their identity. The previously mentioned relationships between Dunfermline and Canterbury, Kelso and Tiron, and Saddell and Mellifont underline this point. Although of occasionally great initial importance, the organisational and cultural influence of these filial bonds often soon faded. This was partly due to geography. In 1157, for instance, the Cistercian hierarchy decreed that abbots from their Scottish monasteries need only attend the general chapter at Citeaux once every four years due to Scotland’s remoteness. As a result, in contrast to White Monk houses in many other parts of Europe, there is hardly any mention of Scotland’s eleven Cistercian convents in the statutes of Citeaux during the Canmore period. Indeed, of the seven specific references to Scottish affairs in the statutes, one notes the complete absence of representatives from Scotland at the general chapter of 1212, whilst another records the hierarchy’s censure of the abbot of Dundrennan for advising his fellow-abbots not to bother travelling to Citeaux.

The weakening of cultural and organisational links with foreign houses was undoubtedly also due to the very fact that all reformed convents in Scotland to some extent became assimilated into native religious society. As a result, they often became culturally and organisationally localised. Indeed, as with Gaelic Church communities before them, the ambitions, fortunes and, importantly, cultural identity of reformed monasteries evidently became increasingly associated with those of the people they served. Testimony of this process of localisation is perhaps most compellingly provided by the above-discussed development of the extensive reformed monastic community established by Fergus and his descendants in Galloway. Unfortunately, the dearth of evidence for many of Scotland’s other convents, especially in Gaelic-dominated areas such as Argyll, Carrick and Ross, means that any assessment of the reformed monastic community is destined to oversimplify what was doubtless a complex pattern of localised relationships between monastery and society. It can nevertheless be envisaged on the strength of the evidence

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1836 Canivez, Statuta, 1157, no. 62.
1837 H. Talbot, The Cistercian Abbeys of Scotland (London, 1939), 11, perhaps somewhat disingenuously, took this to mean that Scottish convents preserved the ideals of the order longer than the communities of other kingdoms.
1838 Canivez, Statuta, 1212, no. 51.
1839 Ibid., 1259, no. 37. There is nevertheless evidence to demonstrate that Scottish abbots continued to attend the general chapter throughout the thirteenth century. This evidence, however, reveals why the abbot of Dundrennan and his comrades were reticent about undertaking the journey. For example, the Chronicle of Melrose records the deaths of three Scottish abbots travelling either to or from Citeaux between 1218 and 1274. Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1218, 1256 & 1274.
presented in this thesis that the arrival of a reformed convent in a locality reconfirmed, rather than replaced, communal religious identity. Indeed, those reformed monasteries which were established on an ancient religious site and whose convent promoted the cult of a local saint, such as Kilwinning in Strathclyde, Whithorn in Galloway, Dryburgh in Teviotdale, and Scone in Alba, must have presented to their surrounding lay population a visible, direct link with the Church first established in their area by British or Irish missionaries.

Significantly, a seminal aspect of the localisation of reformed monasteries established by the Canmore and their allies in eastern Alba was their support for the ruling dynasty. Thus, just as the Gaelic Church monasteries of Dunkeld, St Andrews and Scone identified with, and gave spiritual sanction and administrative support to, the Cenél nGabráin during the early medieval period, so too did their reformed successors align themselves with their royal patrons. As noted above, for instance, it was probably the convent of Scone which produced the king-list preserved in the Poppleton MS, which would have strengthened William the Lion’s hold on the throne in the face of continued dynastic challenges from MacHeth and MacWilliam claimants by stressing his descent from the kings of Alba. In their battle against the suzerainty claims of the archbishop of York, their fellow-Augustinians at St Andrews were also active in preserving the integrity of the Scottish kingdom. The tract entitled de eo quod Eboracensis Ecclesia nul/urn dominium super Scottos habere debet, for example, appears to have been composed by a canon of St Andrews Priory. Notably, in order to support the claims for the independence of the twelfth-century Scottish Church, the author of this piece, as with the author of the B version of the Historia Fundationis before him, rooted his argument in the traditions of the pre-1100 Church in Alba.

In light of these instances, and others highlighted throughout this thesis, it can be proposed that the assimilation of native religious traditions by the reformed orders resulted in conventual life throughout Canmore Scotland being distinguished as much by cultural and organisational continuity as by change, and was moreover partly responsible for the emergence of a transformed ecclesia Scotica which by the late thirteenth century ‘was once again turning unmistakably to nationalistic ways of thought’. Indeed, it is evident in the writings of Andrew Wyntoun, Walter Bower and Alexander Myln that monastic authors

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1840 See Veitch, ‘The Alliance between Church and State’.
1841 CAMB., Corpus Christi College, MS. 139.
1842 Barrow, Kingship and Unity, 82.
were at the forefront of forging, or at least giving literary expression to, a new religious and secular identity for the ethnically diverse kingdom of the Scots of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As with their early medieval counterparts, they were thus adumbrating, complementing and even shaping the image and identity of the Scottish state. This could only have been achieved if their twelfth- and thirteenth-century predecessors had embraced certain aspects of pre-1100 religious culture.

It can consequently be proposed that the development of the reformed monastic community in Canmore Scotland should no longer be subordinated to an Anglo-French pattern of conquest and colonisation, but instead viewed as part of a much longer-term, evolutionary process which had its roots in the Christian society established in northern Britain by the missionaries of the British and Gaelic Churches.
Macbethad’s Pilgrimage to Rome: harbinger of the Gregorian Reforms?

With its traditional cultural and spiritual links with fellow-churches on the continent, the Church in northern Britain formed a conduit through which Gaelic influence could enter Europe and vice versa.\(^1\) Thus, despite being, in Columbanus’ words, ‘inhabitants of the world’s edge’,\(^2\) the Gaelic clergy had the ability to react independently to external ecclesiastical developments and take an active role in them. It is therefore no surprise to note that when the perceived role of Rome (a city whose significance the Gaelic clergy had long respected)\(^3\) evolved during the tenth and eleventh centuries from that of a symbolic and somewhat remotely revered centre of the Church to that of an actual physical focus of Christian devotion,\(^4\) the Gaels altered their attitudes accordingly. For example, whilst before 1000 there is only the occasional reference in the Irish annals to pilgrimages made by Gaelic clergy and laity to Rome, including the significantly early yet fatefully curtailed journey of Abbot Indrechtach of Iona in 854,\(^5\) after that date they are recorded with relative regularity.\(^6\)

Admittedly, comparative records for Scottish, rather than purely Irish, pilgrimages are much less extensive. This, however, more reflects the fact that a contemporary set of annals from pre-twelfth-century Scotland to match those of, say Ulster was not written has not survived rather than an apathy amongst the Scots to follow their fellow-Gaels’ example. In spite of this documentary dearth, there are nevertheless a couple of

\(^1\) Hudson, ‘Kings and Church’, 156-158; & Hughes, *Church in Early Irish Society*, 253-262.
\(^3\) Veitch, ‘Columban Church’.
\(^4\) Tellenbach, *The church in western Europe*, 74, remarks that prior to this ‘Rome was generally held to be the centre of the Church, but it was not a centre in the sense that it exercised influence through custom and practice, through established routines of control or through corrective reactions to what Rome itself perceived as deviation from norms which it considered to be authoritative’, but that pilgrimages to St Peter’s city heralded a change in attitudes towards the role of Rome and the pope. For further discussion on the rise of Rome and the papacy, see Southern, *Western Society and the Church*, 100-33.
\(^5\) Indrechtach was murdered en route to Rome by the Saxons. *AU*, s.a. 854. The next recorded pilgrimage to Rome in the *AU*, was in 929.
references to expeditions undertaken by Scots which intriguingly suggest that by the latter half of the tenth century contacts had been forged between the emerging chief ecclesiastical site in Scotland, St Andrews, and Rome. In illustration, under the year 971, the *Scottish Chronicle* states that ‘Leot and Sluagadach went forth to Rome’. The reason for this expedition is not divulged. However, when it is noted that under the same year the *Chronicle* records that Cellach mac Ferdaalach began his reign as bishop of St Andrews, it can be postulated that Leot and Sluagadach, as representatives of the new bishop, travelled to Rome in order to gain papal confirmation for Cellach’s election. Support for this suggestion is arguably provided by the tradition recorded in the *Scotichronicon* which, probably in order to emphasise the symbolic significance of the event by dispensing with the episcopal internuncios Leot and Sluagadach, claims that Cellach himself ‘was the first to go to Rome for confirmation’. That Cellach felt obliged to take this novel course may, as Skene proposed, be linked to a disputed succession at St Andrews, a consequence of which could have been the murder of Marcan mac Breodolaich at the church of St Michael in the same year. On the other hand, he may have been prompted by election of Oswald to the archbishopric of York. After a succession of archbishops who had either been loyal to the Scots’ Danish allies or largely ineffectual, Oswald was both a vigorous prelate and an adherent of the Wessex dynasty.

It is possible that he complemented the king of Wessex’s opposition to Scots expansionism in northern England by claiming metropolitan status over the Scottish

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7 Skene, *PS*, 10. That Leot and Sluagadach were connected with St Andrews is implied by the fact that the entry regarding their journey to Rome is placed between two other entries concerning this episcopal site. Interestingly, in a document detailing a dispute between the religious of Lochleven and Robert of Burgundy, two of the Bishop of St Andrews’ military officers are mentioned, one of whom is called Sluagadach. Lawrie, *ESC*, no. XV. That this name - meaning *hoster* - aptly fits his occupation, implies that, just as religious or laymen associates were often called ‘the servant’ of the saint to whom their house or patrimony was dedicated (e.g., during the eleventh century a Mael-petair and a Gille-petair were connected with the monastery of Deer, one of whose patrons was St Peter, Jackson, *Gaelic Notes*, 34-5), it could possibly have been an ancient hereditary sobriquet used specifically to describe the bishop’s military leader.

8 Ibid., 10. This event interestingly coincides with Cinaed mac Mael Coluim’s ascent to the kingship of Alba. Perhaps the two events were related.

9 *Scotichron.* IV, 24. It is not impossible that Cellach went to Rome in person, and that Leot and Sluagadach were merely reconnoitring the journey for him, as in the following year of 972, Bishop Oswald of York visited the pope in Rome.

10 Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, II, 331.

11 This event is recorded immediately before the entry concerning Leot and Sluagadach. According to the *Historia Fundationis* of St Andrews, version B, one of the churches at St Andrews was dedicated to St Michael. Skene, *PS*, 183-88.

Church. If this was the case, then it is further possible that Leot and Sluagadadh were travelling to Rome not only to gain confirmation of Cellach’s election, but also to request a *pallium* to thwart Oswald’s claims. Whether these interpretations are accurate or not, the presence of Leot and Sluagadach in Rome nevertheless provides evidence of the Scots’ early recognition of the papacy’s expanding role in the affairs of Christendom’s constituent Churches, and probably represents a much wider yet unrecorded movement amongst Scotland’s religious and secular nobility.13

This tradition certainly appears to have been firmly established amongst the political elite of Scotland by 1050, as in this year the reigning king, Macbethad, himself went on pilgrimage to Rome, where, according to a contemporary chronicler, Marianus Scotus, ‘he scattered his money like seed to the poor’.14 While the personal prestige which this royal pilgrimage must have brought to Macbethad should not be under-estimated,15 neither should its oft-overlooked yet undoubtedly more seminal effect upon the long-term development of the Scottish Church. At the time of Macbethad’s pilgrimage, for example, the papacy was held by Leo IX, who is credited with having laid the foundations for later Gregorian reforms, including the eradication of simony and nicolaitism, the freeing of churches from secular control and the recognition of papal supremacy over the universal church.16 To achieve this programme, Leo gathered around him a group of ardent and highly able reformers, such as Frederick of Liège (the future Pope Stephen IX), Humbert of Moyenmoutier, Peter Damian and Hugh of Cluny. Included in this caucus was Hildebrand (later to be Pope Gregory VII) perhaps the most famous of all the papal reformers of the middle ages. Interestingly, in 1050 Hildebrand held the office of Keeper of the Altar of St Peters,17 one of whose duties was to collect the alms and donations made

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13 The Irish annalists tended only to record the pilgrimages undertaken by kings and the most important of churchmen (e.g., of the annal entries noted above regarding journeys to Rome, five concerned [ex-] kings, one the ‘abbot of all Ireland, and one ‘the chief anchorite of Ireland’). It is consequently impossible to ascertain the popularity of pilgrimages amongst the lesser nobility and clergy.
14 *ES*, I, 588. This act of munificence by Macbethad lived on in Scottish tradition, with Wyntoun in Rome ‘in hys almus he sew sylver’. *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), VI, 18.
15 It is important to note that it was neither a ‘death-bed’ pilgrimage (as was the contemporary Irish king Laidcnen mac Malain’s) nor one conducted after deposition (as was Donnchadh mac Briain of Munster’s), but made in the prime of his life and during the middle of his reign. Indeed, it can be compared to a certain extent with the visit to Rome in 1027 by the English king Cnut, whose letter describing his expedition reveals the effects -political, economic, as well as religious - which such a journey could have on a kingdom. Lawson, *Cnut*, 102.
to the pope by visiting pilgrims. Accordingly, with Macbethad obviously making his financial presence known in Rome, perhaps even to the extent that he helped patronise the newly established Gaelic monastery Sanctae Trinitatis Scotorum,\textsuperscript{18} it is possible that the future Gregory VII (who possibly entertained another Gaelic pilgrim-king, Donnchad mac Briain, in 1061)\textsuperscript{19} met with the profligate king. If not Hildebrand, then one the pope’s other senior officials would surely have granted a high-status pilgrim such as Macbethad an audience, at which he might have briefed the visiting king and his entourage on the reform movement. Included in this entourage would not only have been notable secular lords, whose patronage was of central importance for the well-being and development of the Scottish Church, but also some of the kingdom’s most influential clerics. Even if Macbethad did not meet with any of Leo IX’s reforming compatriots, it is more than likely that he and his retinue would have learned of the current developments in the church reform movement simply from being in Rome in 1050, as during that year the city hosted a reforming synod to which Church modernisers from many parts of Europe would have travelled.\textsuperscript{20}

In light of this, the belief that there was no awareness in Scotland of the implications for the Church and State of the claims for papal authority being promoted throughout Europe until the advent of Margaret,\textsuperscript{21} appears decidedly disingenuous. Indeed, it can be argued that after the return home of Macbethad and his entourage (whose very presence in Rome reveals a recognition of its elevated status) a significant section of the decision-making classes in Scotland would have been well aware of both recent ecclesiastical reforms in Church organisation and discipline and of current debates regarding papal monarchism.

\textsuperscript{18} This has been suggested by Hudson, \textit{Kings of Celtic Scotland}, 142.
\textsuperscript{19} Gwynn, ‘Lanfranc and the Irish Church’, 72-3.
\textsuperscript{20} During 1050, Leo IX also convened councils at Siponto, Salerno and Vercelli. Kelly, \textit{Popes}, 147.
\textsuperscript{21} Wilson, \textit{St Margaret}, 75.
APPENDICES

APPENDIX 2

The Authenticity of Scotland's Twelfth-Century Céli Dé Sites

Evidence from disparate sources suggests a cèle Dé presence at Abernethy, Brechin, Cennrigmonaid/St Andrews, Dornoch, Dunkeld, Iona, Lismore, Lochleven, Monifieth, Muthill/Dunblane and Rosemarkie.¹ Significantly though, serious reservations have been expressed as to whether or not the majority of these were true cèle Dé centres.² It has been argued, for example, that the frankly remarkable proliferation of cèle Dé communities in Pictland and Dál Riata as alleged by the evidence is unrealistic for an elite movement, especially when compared to the restricted nature of their distribution in Ireland.³ It has been highlighted moreover that much of the evidence upon which these claims are made is not only incidental and frequently unsupported,⁴ but also supplied by twelfth- and thirteenth-century sources which present a diverse range of duties, from that of hermit to priest to canon, being performed by those they style cèle Dé.⁵ Indeed, in some instances it is presumed that many of the sites credited with communities of céli Dé, merely gained this distinction because the ill-informed foreign scribes of the Canmore period used the term indiscriminately to define clergy belonging to the old Gaelic Church. Compelling though these arguments may be, in light of Dr Clancy's recent research⁶ their overtly pessimistic conclusions can and, given that the relationship between so-called céli Dé and their medieval successors is of central importance to understanding the influence of the Gaelic Church upon that of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, should be challenged. Accordingly, by approaching each of the aforementioned reservations in turn with an open mind, an arguably more accurate picture of the effect the cèle Dé reforms had on both the immediate Gaelic Church and the future, medieval Scottish Church can be drawn.

In illustration, when the theory regarding the céli Dé's early colonisation of Dunkeld and Cennrigmonaid is combined with an appreciation of northern Britain's religious and

¹ Reeves, Culdees, 33-58.
² These reservations were persuasively put forward by Cowan in his article 'Post-Columban Church', and to a lesser extent his introductory essay to MRHS.
³ Cowan, 'Post-Columban Church', 253.
⁴ Thus the presence of céli Dé at churches such as Rosemarkie and, inferentially, Lismore, is known solely through the monasticon De domibus religiosis. Likewise, the belief that there was a cèle Dé presence at Monifieth is known purely by a single reference in a thirteenth-century charter. Reeves, Culdees, 2 & 32-58.
⁵ For example, the clergy at Lochleven are described as hermits, at Abernethy priests, while at Monymusk they called themselves canons. Ibid., 51-55.
⁶ Clancy, 'Iona, Scotland and the Céli Dé'.
political societies of the ninth century, there is no reason to doubt that just because identifiable cēle Dé houses in Dál Riata and Pictland far outnumber those in Ireland they were not truly part of the original reform movement. For example, the monolithic nature of the Church in northern Britain meant that once the cēle Dé reforms were adopted by principal houses such as Iona, Dunkeld and Cennrigmonaid, it is likely that they were disseminated throughout the wider Columban network. Conversely, the fractious character of Ireland’s Church is likely to have greatly hindered the cēli Dé’s progress, as is the fact that it was closely associated, in the north at least, with one of the most ambitious of the rival monastic parochiae, the familia lae. However, it was probably due to Iona’s central and formative role in the cēle Dé movement that the innovation was so readily embraced by the churches of northern Britain. Indeed, Abbot Diarmait of Iona’s influence in this matter should not be underestimated, with it being possible that his tours of northern Britain in 818 and 829-831 7 either directly or indirectly resulted in the creation of other cēle Dé communities. 8 Certainly, that the cēle Dé houses recorded in the medieval period did originate in the ninth century, is implied by the fact that churches in the familia lae which rose to prominence after this period, such as Derry, appear untouched by the reform movement. It can therefore be posited that those religious sites which were credited with cēli Dé were the ones which formed the main centres of Columban Christianity in ninth-century northern Britain.

This disparity in the number of cēle Dé communities in northern Britain in comparison with Ireland could also have been due to the fact that the early ninth-century Scoto-Pictish kings were active supporters of the reform. Certainly, as with most Dark Age kings, both Constantin mac Fergusa (790?-820) and Óengus mac Fergusa (820-834) were undoubtedly aware of the benefits to secular governance which religious patronage often brought, 9 and facing the unprecedented 10 and presumably onerous task of ruling over two distinctive and sometime antagonistic kingdoms simultaneously, the backing of the Church

7 Ibid., 112-114.
8 For example, if Diarmait was also using his travels in Pictland to collect the tribute owed to Iona (and for this task the relics he carried would have been vital) then it is highly likely that he would visit other major sites which had strong connections with the original Columban mission, such as Abernethy, Dunblane and Rosemarkie, whose clergy he would possibly have exhorted to adopt the reforms.
9 As demonstrated by their role in the foundations of Dunkeld and Cennrigmonaid, respectively Clancy, ‘Iona, Scotland and the Cēli Dé’, 114.
10 This is presuming that the hegemony enjoyed by the earlier Óengus mac Fergusa over Dál Riata was based upon conquest rather than a mutually accepted succession.
would have been essential. It is therefore significant to note that, with the reformers not only promoting traditional Columban themes such as the importance of co-operation between Church and state, and the spiritual rights and responsibilities of kings, but moreover advocating a strong, almost imperial style of kingship, the céli Dé's ideology was particularly consonant with the perhaps Carolingian-inspired political aspirations of the ninth-century kings of Dál Ríata and Pictland. The reform movement, nevertheless, presented a further and perhaps even more compelling attraction to these kings, in that they were noted champions of the Gaelic culture of which Constantín, Óengus and Éoganán, as Cenél nGabrían dynasts, were allegedly a prominent part. Hence, with the Columban Church already one of the most dominant and formative forces in Pictish culture, it is possible that those kings who were primarily Scotti rulers of Pictland rather than vice versa, attempted to accelerate the gaelicisation of the clerical class by patronising the céli Dé.

Whether these kings were of Scottish or Pictish origin, the Prose Rule of the Céli Dé certainly anticipated that the céli Dé would become active teachers, 'training boys and girls to reading and piety', and while this was ostensibly to maintain Christian observance and

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11 Cèle Dé literature was greatly influenced by the partly Iona-compiled Collectio Canonum Hibernensis and a Columban rule. Clancy, 'Iona, Scotland and the Céli Dé', 115-117, & O'Dwyer, Céli Dé, 4.

12 This aspect of the céli Dé's ideology has been highlighted by F. Byrne, Irish Kings and High-Kings (Dublin, 1973), 157-158.

13 Two Irish scholars at the Carolingian court, Smaragdus and Sedulius Scottus, produced influential tracts (Via Regis and Liber de Rectoribus Christianis, respectively) concerning the ideal relationship between Church and monarch. Consequently, as Hudson, 'Kings and Church', 156-157, proposed in a revealing discussion on Scottish intellectual connections with the Carolingian renaissance, 'The Scottish kings and clergy may have been influenced directly by the ideas of Smaragdus and Sedulius as well as by the general intellectual atmosphere that had influenced those two writers'. The career of the Columban monk Dicuil, who wrote his famous geographical tract at the Carolingian court in 825, further strengthens the theory that there was vibrant intellectual contact between the Gaelic world and the Carolingian empire. Smyth, Warlords and Holy Men, 167-169. See also, P. Wormald, 'The Emergence of the Regnum Scotorum: a Carolingian hegemony?', in Crawford, Scotland in Dark Age Britain, 140-142.

14 Kenney, SEHI, 468-482.

15 Hudson, Kings of Celtic Scotland, 30. The consensus that these three kings were members of the Cenél nGabrían has recently been challenged by Dr Broun who proposes that they were instead representatives of a Pictish dynasty descended from Óengus son of Urguist (d. 761). D. Broun, 'Pictish Kings 761-839: Integration with Dál Ríata or Separate Development?', in S. M. Foster (ed.), The St Andrews Sarcophagi: A Pictish Masterpiece and its International Connections (Dublin, 1998), 71-83.

16 This is not to suggest that these kings were completely hostile to Pictish culture, as is demonstrated in D. Broun, 'The Origin of Scottish Identity in its European Context', in Crawford, Scotland in Dark Age Europe, 21-31, at 22.

17 The Prose Rule of the Céli Dé is printed and translated in Reeves, Cúldeisc, 84-97.
prevent the slide into ‘black heathenism’, a subsidiary affect was doubtless the further entrenchment of Gaelic as the language of the learned classes in Pictland. Thus, with the Gaelic clergy constituting the intellectual and, in many ways, controlling the artistic class in Pictland, the theory that the early ninth-century kings of Pictland were the main patrons of the gaelo-centric céli Dé could provide an answer to the vexed question why the language and distinctive culture of the Picts disappeared from view around this time. Certainly, the MacFergusa dynasty’s reign from 789-839 has long been recognised as the crucial period in the scotification, as it were, of Pictland, as well as the precursor to the more famous unification under the MacAlpin dynasty in the late ninth century. Hence, it is possible that the widespread distribution of céli Dé houses in northern Britain was a direct consequence of attempts by ambitious, pro-Columban Cenél nGábrain kings, with the full backing of the familia lae in Pictland, to establish a network of communities staffed by ideologically and culturally like-minded clergy who could reinforce royal authority over the Pictish provinces. This is not to imply that the reformers were royal lackeys, as their literature demonstrates that they were not only willing to put vainglorious kings in their place, but also vehement

18 Thus demonstrating that the Gaelic Church fully recognised that the survival of Christianity depended upon the perpetuation of knowledge and not ignorance. This commitment to learning is not only visible in monastic rules, but also demonstrated by the continued presence of teaching officials at twelfth-century Gaelic Church sites. For example, Abernethy had a rector scholarum; Dunblane/rex scholarum; Dunkeld/macleins; Iona/fer léginn; Muthill/rex scholarum; & Turiff/fer léginn.

19 As with the Gaelic Church’s pastoral provisions, it is difficult to discern who were the intended recipients of this service. With the term ‘scholar’ being used by the twelfth century to describe both members of Gaelic Church communities (as at Dunblane/scolloci and Monymusk/scollatis) and those who had fallen heir to or continued to administer monastic lands (as at Kirkcudbright/scollofthes, Arbuthnot/scoloci, and Ellon/scoloci) it is possible that Gaelic Church education was restricted to the inmates and tenants (probably the chimeraic manaig) of the monasteries.

20 This can be inferred from the fact that the majority of extant Dark Age works of art found in northern Britain, from high-crosses and chalices to shrines and crosiers, have religious functions or overtones, which suggests that the Church played a large part in their production, whether as patrons or craftsmen.


22 Anderson, Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland, 192-195; Foster, Picts, Gaels and Scots, 110; Hudson, Kings of Celtic Scotland, 29-36; Lynch, Scotland, 24 & 41; & Smyth, Warlords and Holy Men, 177-178. Although, again, see Broun, ‘Pictish kings 761-839’, for an alternative view.

23 The familia lae’s contribution was recognised by Clancy & Markus, Iona, 17: ‘it is likely to have been Columban monks who were responsible for the seemingly wholesale success of the Céili Dé reform in Scotland’.

24 P. O'Dwyer, Towards a History of Irish Spirituality (Dublin, 1995), 55.
opponents of lay interference in ecclesiastical property. However, that the cél Dé communities did perhaps perform some sort of political, or at least an influential local administrative role, as they appear to have done in Ireland, is suggested by both their distribution in Pictland, with there being at least one religious site connected with the reformers in each of the alleged seven major Pictish provinces, and by the interesting fact that the majority of these sites went on to become the diocesan, and thereby effectively royal governmental, centres of medieval Scotland.

The argument that the perceived number of true cél Dé houses in Pictland is artificially high because by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Anglo-French scribes were using the term indiscriminately to describe a whole range of native religious, can similarly be challenged. In illustration, if ‘cél Dé keledei’ really was medieval argot for an unrefomed Gaelic churchman, then it would be expected that the members of other ancient communities would likewise be identified. This, however, is clearly not the case. As demonstrated by the fact that foreign scribes chose to designate the inmates of Deer and Inchaffray ‘clerici’ and ‘fratres’, respectively, rather than by the allegedly generic keledei. Certainly, the clergy to whom the medieval writers applied the term keledei displayed little of the ascetic vigour associated with the ninth-century cél Dé. However, it should be recognised that even in the twelfth-century Irish cél Dé houses whose connections with the reform movement are unquestionable, the original ideal had seriously deteriorated and the ascetic community had been replaced by a range of secular clergy, who despite this, significantly, continued to be styled cél Dé colideorum. Accordingly,

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25 For example, from the Prose Rule: ‘Any person, therefore, who separates from the church of God any of her property, i.e. who buys or sells for covetousness or envy, sells the resting place of his soul in heaven if he reaches it... that is the proud bad herenachs, and the covetous bad kings.’ Reeves, Culdees, 96-97.  
26 That the cél Dé did get involved in Irish politics is demonstrated by their role as mediators between the warring Ui Neills and the Laigin. Byrne, Irish Kings and High-Kings, 158.  
27 For example: Ca/Caithness - Dornoch; Ce/Buchan and Mar - Monymusk, Cirich/Angus and the Mearns - Brechin, Monifieth; Fih/Fife - Abernethy, Cennrigmonaid, Lochleven; Fidach/Moray - Rosemarkie; Fotl/Atloll - Dunkeld; & Fortruin/Strathearn - Dunblane, Muthil. Another revisionary article by Dr Broun, however, questions the traditional view that the legendary division of Alba into seven provinces applied to the political geography of Pictland. Broun, ‘The Seven kingdoms in De Situ Albane’ (forthcoming). Even if, as seems likely in light of Dr Broun’s research, the ‘seven provinces of Pictland’ did not exist, the distribution of Scottish cél Dé houses is still remarkable in that it covers each of the main geographical areas of Pictland/Alba.  
28 Thus, Brechin, Dornoch, Dunblane/Muthil, Dunkeld, Rosemarkie and St Andrews, as well as Lismore, were all medieval episcopal centres at one time or another. Cowan & Easson, MIRHA, 201-212; & Veitch, ‘De domibus religiosis’, 17-19.  
29 Lawrie, EXN, no. CCXXIII, & Inchaff. Chrs., no. IX.  
30 Reeves, Culdees, 6-25 & 98-105.
just as the *colideorum* are recognised as the descendants of the original reformers in Ireland, so too should the *keledei* be accepted as the successors of the *céli Dé* in northern Britain and, consequently, their communities be accepted as indications of where these ascetics were first established in the ninth century.

The belief that the survival of the name *céli Dé*, albeit in various corrupted forms, down to the medieval period, does herald a cultural, if not exactly spiritual continuity, rather than merely a scribal anachronism, is arguably strengthened when the nature of the original reformers' settlements is appreciated. For example, though they sometimes established separate communities, the elite ascetics who characterised the *cèle Dé* movement often formed enclaves situated within and supported by larger monasteries, whose inmates 'respected their ideals, but did not share their devotions and austerities'.

Interestingly, just such a scenario survived down to the end of the twelfth century at Iona, where the head of the *céli Dé*, along with the abbot, *sacart mór, fer léginn* and *disertach*, was recognised as a distinct official in the monastery's hierarchy. Consequently, as it is probable that medieval Iona, due to its innate conservatism and ability to resist the forces of secularisation, retained its early medieval character, it can be conjectured that its twelfth-century organisation mirrored that of Diarmait's era, and can therefore be used as a model for the ninth-century Columban Church's other great monasteries which were later recorded as *keledei* sites, such as Cennrignonaid, Dunkeld, Rosemarkie *et al.*

Accordingly, that these ecclesiastical sites had obviously not maintained distinctive *cèle Dé* communities by the twelfth century, leads to the conclusion that, as in Ireland, gradual secularisation resulted in these once characteristically ascetic enclaves becoming indistinguishable from and ultimately absorbed within the clergy of the greater monastery. The corollary of this process was that the very term *céli Dé* become conflated to include a wide range of ecclesiastics, and - crucial for the *keledei*’s revealing inclusion in medieval charters - those monasteries which at one time incorporated a *cèle Dé* community also inherited the possessions and privileges originally granted to the ascetic minority. Thus, it can be proposed that the scribes of the royal chapel and monastic *scriptoria* (who despite not necessarily approving of their existence, were nonetheless far from ignorant about surviving Gaelic communities) were arguably using the term *keledei* in recognition.

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31 Gwynn & Hadcock, *MRHI*, 22. This is evident in an entry in the *Annals of Ulster* which highlights the separate identity of the *cèle Dé* community at Armagh from the rest of the monastery *AU*, 921

32 Ibid., 1164.
whether on a legal or purely historical level, of certain religious sites' *cēle Dé* heritage. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the distribution of *keledei* sites in medieval Scotland by and large reflects that of *cēl Dé* communities in early medieval northern Britain, and that previous studies have under-estimated the probable impact of the reform movement on the Gaelic Church in Pictland, and thus its subsequent affect on the twelfth-century Scottish Church.

33 Indeed, it is possible that rather than exaggerating the *cēle Dé* presence in Pictland, the medieval records actually understate it, as it may have been that originally there were reformed communities at monasteries such as Clova and Mortlach, but whose identity was lost long before the advent of twelfth-century legal documents. *Abdn. Reg.*, i, 6 & 85. See also, Cowan & Easson, *MRHS*, 47 & 51; & Macquarrie, 'Early Christian religious houses in Scotland', 129. Moreover, it is to be wondered why undoubtedly important religious sites such as St Vigeans (the Gaelic nature of whose clergy is suggested in Clancy, 'The Drosten Stone, 347-350) do not have *cēle Dé* traditions. It could be that as ibid., 350, has proposed for St Vigeans and Meigle, they were under the patronage of purely Pictish aristocracy.
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APPENDIX 3

The Early Church of Kingarth

In recent years, a new generation of scholars have challenged the long-held belief that the Church in Ireland was transformed during the sixth and early seventh centuries into an organisation dominated by monasticism.¹ One of the many corollaries of this revisionism has been the re-assessment of the pastoral function of the early Gaelic Church.² The resulting studies have presented a new model of a Church in the seventh century which was trying to rectify its own diverse development by implementing a system of provincial dioceses, within which bishops, based at and itinerating from senior churches, superintended the training of clergy, their provision to small churches and the visitation of these churches.³ This discussion has naturally had an affect on the study of the contemporary Church in northern Britain, with Dr Clancy envisaging a similar network of local churches administering to the laity.⁴

Searching among the records of the major foundations of the seventh-century Church in northern Britain for further signs of organised pastoral provision, attention immediately focuses upon Kingarth. This is because the Annals of Ulster record the deaths of two bishops of Kingarth - Daniel in 660 and Iolan in 689⁵ - which implies that they were the leaders of this community. It has consequently been supposed that the house was organised along secular lines,⁶ from which it can be inferred that it offered pastoral care to the laity of its paruchia.⁷ This speculative theory, however, rests entirely upon these obits and St Blaan's rather obscure legend, which styles him a bishop.⁸ Conversely, there is more evidence available to suggest that Kingarth was a typically monastic site, in the mould of Lindisfarne, rather than some proto-diocesan centre. The monastic nature of Kingarth is implied, for

¹ The traditional theory was first given a coherent form by Kenney, SEHI, esp. 293; and then sophisticated by Hughes, The Church in Early Irish Society, 44-54; although Hughes proposed a transformation which was neither as rapid nor as radical as the one conjectured by Kenney. The seminal article which challenged this view was Sharpe’s ‘Some Problems Concerning the Organization of the Church in Early Medieval Ireland’.
² See, for example, Etchingham, ‘The Early Irish Church’; Sharpe, ‘Churches and Communities in Early Medieval Ireland’, & Charles-Edwards, ‘The Pastoral Role of the Church in the Early Irish laws’
³ Sharpe, ‘Churches and Communities’, 105.
⁴ See, for example, Clancy, ‘Anat in Scotland’.
⁵ All, s.a. 660 & 689.
⁶ Duncan, Scotland, 72.
⁷ There is reference to the paruchia of Kingarth in the thirteenth-century grant of the church to Paisley Abbey, Pais. Reg., 15.
⁸ Forbes, Kalendar, 280-281. The legend has it that Blaan went to Rome and returned as a bishop
example, by its founder's background, as tradition states that St Bláán was both a native of Dál Riata and the grandson of Áedán mac Gabráin. If this tradition is accurate, then St Bláán's early experiences of ecclesiastical organisation would most probably have been dominated by the monastic practices of his native society's Church. Indeed, he may even have met with Columba, his grandfather’s mentor. Certainly, St Bláán had other contacts with advocates of the coenobitic life, as he allegedly received his religious training from that paragon of the monastic ideal, St Comgall, whose teachings were more likely to have inspired his pupil to found a monastery, rather than a secular church, at Kingarth. While this proposal relies upon the admittedly dubious evidence of a legend, it is nevertheless given some credence by archaeological evidence, which reveals that Kingarth was built within the type of oval enclosure which characterised the Dark Age monastic sites of both Ireland and northern Britain. Moreover, St Bláán’s other major foundation in northern Britain at Dunblane is stated as being a *cathair* (monastery) possibly of the Columban style, making it likely Kingarth was organised along similar lines.

Interestingly, the evidence presented by the monastery of Dunblane can also help solve the question concerning why the annals note the deaths of two bishops when their community appears to have been monastic. It is recorded that Bláán was the bishop-abbot of Dunblane, making it possible that he, and consequently Daniel and Iolan, held the same combined post at Kingarth. Hence, the annals merely followed convention and described Daniel and Iolan by their spiritually superior title, that of bishop. That the *Annals of Ulster* followed this practice is demonstrated in the obit of Áedán, who, despite being both abbot and bishop of Lindisfarne, was styled only bishop in his obit of 651. Notably, such Northumbrian comparisons could even provide the explanation as to why the early leaders of Kingarth were perhaps both bishops and abbots. For example, it may be that as with Bishop Áedán they were part of the Gaelic Church’s missionary effort to the territories below the Forth-Clyde line. Thus, just as Lindisfarne was ideally suited to providing both a sheltered retreat for monastic life and a base for converting Northumbria, so too was Bute with regard to the

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9 Ibid., 280.
10 Ibid., 280.
13 Reeves, *Culdees*, 46.
14 By 737 the posts seem to have separated, as in that year the annals record the death of abbot Ronán, and after that abbot Máel-manain in 776 and abbot Noah in 790. *All*, s.a. 737, 776 & 790.
15 Ibid., s.a. 651.
APPENDICES

similar proselytisation of the kingdom of Strathclyde. Of course, the Britons of Strathclyde
were not pagans like the Northumbrians. However, their Christianity may have decayed due
to Anglian incursions, something which missionaries from the Gaelic Church would
doubtless have been keen to rectify. Certainly, the influence which the Gaelic Church
exercised in Strathclyde from the sixth century onwards is revealed in the distribution of
dedications to Irish saints in the area, as well as in the legend of Kentigern which links him
with Columba. Noteworthily, there are two dedications to St Bláán in the kingdom of
Strathclyde, Kilblane in Kirkmahoe and Kilblain in Caeclaverock, while, even more
significantly, he is styled ‘Bláán Buadach Breton’ (‘triumphant Bláán of the Britons’) in one
martyrology. Consequently, rather than view Kingarth as the secular centre of an early
episcopal see, it should be treated as a monastery run by a mixture of British and Irish
bishop-abbots who had some role in extending the Gaelic Church into Strathclyde, an
authority probably devolved from the great Columban house of Iona.

16 Watson, CPNS, 161-162.
19 That there are obits of the bishops of Kingarth in the Annals of Ulster during the period when this
collection was being compiled at the monastery of Iona, indicates a link of some sort with the
Columban mother house. Moreover, it has been demonstrated in a study of the Senchus Fer nAlban
that Bute was in the territory of the Cenél nGabráin, who were the main patrons of the Columban
Church during this period. Bannerman, Dalriada, 111.
APPENDIX 4

Translation of the letter of examination regarding the land of Monachkennaran which was unjustly alienated. 1233.

The accusation by the abbot and convent of Paisley that all of the land of Monachkennaran above the river Clyde is unjustly alienated to Gille Brigte son of Samuel is proven, as the rights which are owed pertain to their church of Kilpatrick. Wherefore, we seek the said Gille Brigte to be removed from the said land, and the said land to be returned with rights and ownership to the said church.

The first testimonies against the said Gille Brigte were produced by the abbot and convent on the Monday immediately after the feast of St Matthew in the parish church of Irvine in the year of Grace 1233.

Alexander son of Aed, juror, declared that sixty years and more had elapsed since he witnessed one named Bede Ferdan live in a certain great thatched/wattle-built house in the yard beside the eastern part of the church of Kilpatrick, and hold the land of Monachkennaran which Gille Brigte son of Samuel now holds. Asked in whose name he possessed the said land, he said that only in the name of the church; no other service was made for the said land than to take in and feed guests who came there. He also said that when he was a boy he was sometimes received there with his father as a guest, and that the said Bede held the land of Kilbowie and of Duntiglennan for the same service.

Thomas Gaskel, juror, said that he witnessed the said Bede Ferdan dwell in the same house, with the same rights and making the same service as testified to by Alexander. He also added that he afterwards witnessed Cristin son of Bede possess the same lands and rights which his father had possessed, and that the whole of the church’s land was divided into four parts, of which the said Bede Ferdan possessed one part, and three others the other three parts, each of whom were answerable to the named church for guests within their borders. Asked regarding the period, he said that more than forty years had elapsed, as he was brought up in the same place since infancy. Asked which part of the land pertained to the church, he said that Cochno, Fynloch, Edinbarnet and Cragualtalach, and certain other lands which Dubgall son of the earl now holds.
Dubgall son of the earl, juror, said the same as Thomas Gaskell, and added that the said land of Monachkennaran and many other lands were alienated from the said church through his failure and neglect, because he was unwilling to offend his father or brother or his ancestors.

The second testimonies were produced by the abbot and convent of Paisley against the said Gille Brigte son of Samuel on the Sunday next after the feast of St Martin, in the parish church of Ayr, in the same year as above.

Máel Coluim Beg said that he witnessed Bede Ferdan have his house situated alongside the cemetry of the church of Kilpatrick on its eastern side, and that he held in the name of the church that land of Monachkennaran which Gille Brigte son of Samuel now holds; and for the said land, and others which he held from the church, he received guests coming to the church; he made no other service for it. Questioned in which earl's time he had seen this, he said that it was in the time of Earl Alun, and that the same earl granted to St Patrick and to the church that land of Cochno which he himself afterward held and sold through fear; and he said that all of the lands which the said Bede held and which Dubgall and others now hold, were free and quit from all temporal services, and that men dwelling and living in these lands were always protected against all by the church and in the court of the church.

Anekol, juror, said the same as had Máel Coluim Beg, and added that Earl David, brother of King William, during the time he held and possessed the earldom of Lennox, intended to have feudal aid from the said lands of the church of Kilpatrick such as from the earldom's lands, but he was unable to do so because they were protected by the church.

Gille Eoin, juror, said the same as Máel Coluim Beg.

Gille Bethaig, juror, agreed completely with Máel Coluim and Anekol, and added that the said Bede was murdered defending the rights and liberties of the church.

Fergus son of Cuningham, juror, agreed entirely with Gille Bethaig.

Hilary, juror, said the same as Fergus and Gille Bethaig.

Nemias, juror, said the same as Anekol, and added with regards to the period, that fifty years or more had elapsed after which he had seen this, and he certainly held to what he said, as he was born in that parish.

Ressin, juror, said the same as Nemias.

Gille Moire, juror, said the same as Ressin and Nemias.
Roderic Beg of Carrick, juror, agreed with Mâel Coluim his brother. Asked how he knew this, he replied that he had witnessed it from his youth, as he was born and raised in the parish of Kilpatrick.

Rathel, juror, agreed with the aforesaid Roderic.

Gille Conaill Manthae, brother of the earl of Carrick, juror, said the same as Mâel Coluim Beg.

RUBRIC. *Littera examinationis de terra Monnachkennaran injuste alienata.*

SOURCE. NLS, MS. Adv. 34.4.14, fo cii.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 5

'Lay Abbots' and abthanes in Canmore Scotland

The title of abbot in Canmore Scotland was far from exclusive to the heads of newly established reformed abbeys. It was also accorded to men associated with certain Gaelic Church sites. During the post-1070 period, for example, on record there are abbots of Abernethy, Arbirlot, Brechin, Dull, Dunkeld, Glendochart and Monifeith. These individuals appear to have been prominent local landowners who held their title hereditarily. Historians have consequently labelled them 'lay abbots' and argued that they characterise the secularisation of the eleventh-century Scottish Church. In spite of his entrenched historical persona there has actually been little attempt by scholars to explore either the origins of the 'lay abbot' or indeed his role in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scottish society. Undoubtedly the main reason for this dearth of research is the paucity of evidence relating to the 'lay abbots' of Alba. Indeed, in the majority of cases they are known only from the occasional reference in a charter of the twelfth century or later; pre-1070 evidence being almost entirely unobtainable. Whilst this lack of evidence means that any theory regarding the 'lay abbots' of Alba will rely on a certain degree of speculation, it is nevertheless possible to sketch a rough picture of this evidently important official.

To mitigate the paucity of pre-1070 Scottish material recourse can be taken to evidence from Ireland, whose Church of course shared many features with that of Alba. It can be noted, for instance, that during the later ninth and especially the tenth century annalists increasingly referred to abbots of Irish houses by the alternative title of comarba. This significant change in terminology apparently reflects a gradual, yet nonetheless tangible shift in either the actual or the perceived role of the abbot. Most obviously, the new term emphasised the abbot's temporal powers of jurisdiction rather than his religious function; he

1 Arb. Lib., I, nos. 34, 35, 39, 41, 43, 44, 46 & app. no. IV; Barrow, 'Lost Gàidhealtachd', 111-113; Sir A. Lib., 96 & 245-246; lawrie, ESC, no. XIV; & The Black Book of Taymouth, (Bannatyne Club, 1855), xxv-xxvi.
2 See, for example, Cowan, 'Post-Columban Church', 253-254; Duncan, Scotland, 175, & Skene, C.N., I, 299.
was thus depicted as an ‘heir to property’ (*comarba*) rather than as a priest or a bishop.\(^4\) Accordingly, historians have traditionally proposed that the emergence of the *comarba* signals the increasing secularisation of Irish religious life,\(^3\) partly as the result of the disruptive Scandinavian raids.\(^6\) Whilst accepting that the adoption of the term *comarba* denotes the secularisation of the abbot’s activities,\(^7\) recent scholarship has nevertheless not only highlighted that the raiding of Irish monasteries was not peculiar to the Scandinavians,\(^8\) but also questioned the assertion that the appearance of *comarbae* necessarily indicates the decay of religious life as a whole. It has thus been highlighted by Etchingham that the office of administrator of ecclesiastical temporalities and dependants was expressly recognised in both eighth-century vernacular law and canon law.\(^9\) Etchingham further noted that although the *comarba* might not have been in orders, he nevertheless not only derived his legal status and authority from the clerical grade of abbot, but was also responsible for providing a pastoral ministry to his community.\(^10\) Accordingly, whilst he was no longer directly involved in its spiritual functions and fulfilled a largely secular role, the *comarba* remained the guardian and temporal leader of the monastery which otherwise maintained its religious character.

The historical revisionism of the past decade or so has certainly been successful in portraying the emergence of the *comarbae* of Ireland in a more evolutionary light.\(^11\) It has nevertheless left unchallenged the popular perception of the *comarba* as a basically secular official; he thus remains very much the ‘lay abbot’.\(^12\) The continued tendency to depict the *comarbae* as ‘lay abbots’ appears to be based primarily upon the fact that the annals record

\(^4\) For the legal definitions of these terms, see Kelly, *Early Irish Law*, 102-105.

\(^5\) Hughes, *Church in Early Irish Society*, 223, proposed that by the tenth century ‘Much of... [an] abbot’s energy must have been spent on trying to collect revenue and keep his church inviolate from physical harm’.


\(^7\) M. Herbert, *Iona, Kells and Derry: The history and hagiography of the monastic familia of Columba*, (Oxford, 1996), 76, for instance, remarked that ‘The accent on the *comarha* in the annals from the mid ninth century probably reflects, to some extent, the public activities of holders of the office during the previous century’.

\(^8\) Thus the depredations which Feidlimid mac Crimthainn, king of Munster (820-846), inflicted upon monastic communities of Clonmacnois and Durrow have been highlighted. Ó Croinin, *Early Medieval Ireland*, 136-137.


\(^10\) Ibid., 101.


\(^12\) See, for instance, O’Dwyer, *Céith Dé*. 6.
them as having participated in battles and having sired children who often inherited their title. It should be noted, however, that neither of these activities need necessarily have been the preserve of the life-long layman. In illustration, as highlighted by Hughes, from at least the seventh century abbots in orders frequently played an active part in battle.\textsuperscript{13} Apropos of a \textit{comarba}'s children, it is nowhere stated that they were born whilst the abbot was in office. It is equally likely that they sired their children in the early years of manhood, i.e. whilst a layman, and subsequently took holy orders when assuming the office of abbot at a more mature age. Hughes was admittedly sceptical of such a theory. She remarked, for example, that unlike its first-generation-Christian predecessor, the eighth- and ninth-century Irish Church did not need such mature recruits to fill its ranks.\textsuperscript{14} However, as Hughes herself noted, the wealth and power associated with many Irish abbacies meant that they were regularly filled by members of the local ruling dynasty.\textsuperscript{15} It is therefore possible that the \textit{comarba} of a monastery was drawn from a particular branch of the local ruling kindred and 'parachuted' into the office at a mature age on the death of his predecessor and kinsman, who might or might not have been his father.\textsuperscript{16} This hereditary arrangement, which had been practised in a form at Iona since the death of Colum Cille,\textsuperscript{17} would benefit both monastery and kindred. The former would gain a noble abbot, in orders, whose family connections would ensure the continued patronage and protection of his kindred, whilst the latter would retain control over a powerful and wealthy landowning corporation and continue to receive its spiritual sanction.

If not indicative of a general decline into secularisation, then there must have been another reason for the increasing use of the term \textit{comarba} by annalists. Interestingly, during the same period there was a similar change in secular terminology in the annals. Thus, the traditional term for a petty king - \textit{ruiri} - was gradually replaced by terms such as \textit{dux} and \textit{toisech}.\textsuperscript{18} This has been credited to a social shift whereby 'these kings were becoming dependent local noblemen'.\textsuperscript{19} It is therefore possible that the emergence of the \textit{comarba} was

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{13} Hughes, \textit{Church in Early Irish Society}, 69-70.
  \item \textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 161.
  \item \textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 158-163.
  \item \textsuperscript{16} As with Gaelic secular succession, the office of abbot often passed from brother to brother, or cousin to cousin, before being inherited by the son. See the genealogies for the abbatial succession at Lusk and Slane provided in ibid., 162-163
  \item \textsuperscript{17} Thus, the abbot of Iona was always drawn from the \textit{Cenél Conaill}. Herbert, \textit{Iona, Kells and Derry}, 36-48 & 77-80.
  \item \textsuperscript{18} For example, in the year 879 the \textit{Annals of Ulster} describe the petty king Oengus mac Cinaeda as \textit{'dux For nArda Cinnachta'}. \textit{AU}, s.a 879.
  \item \textsuperscript{19} Ó Corráin, 'Prehistoric and Early Christian Ireland', 24-25.
\end{itemize}
similarly reflective of the changes in ninth- and tenth-century Irish society which accentuated the temporal functions of the abbot. It may equally have been due to the influence of the cēle Dé reforms. For example, initiated in Tallaght by Mael Ruain (d. 792), the cēli Dé were an ascetic movement dedicated to restoring coenobitic discipline to Gaelic religious life.\textsuperscript{20} Although their texts often condemn the lucht na secheld (people of the old churches) and lax-aes (lax folk),\textsuperscript{21} cēli Dé frequently established ascetic enclaves within existing communities.\textsuperscript{22} Consequently, they appear to have attempted to extend their reforming ideals to the whole monastery, demanding that its children be properly schooled and vehemently denouncing the ‘proud, wicked erenaghs’ who despoiled monastic property.\textsuperscript{23} It is therefore possible that the more worldly abbot of the whole community became known by the title of comarba due to the cēli Dé’s strict interpretation of monastic life. This is an admittedly hypothetical proposal which demands greater research. It is nonetheless supported to a certain degree by both the timing of and the site associated with the first recorded mention of a comarba in the Irish annals: comarba Patrāic in AU 851.\textsuperscript{24} For example, the date 851 is significant because it is evident from documents such as The Monastery of Tallaght and Collectio Canonum Hibernensis that by the mid ninth century the cēle Dé reforms had influenced churchmen throughout Ireland.\textsuperscript{25} The connection with Armagh is also notable as there was a community of cēli Dé established at this important house sometime before 919.\textsuperscript{26} The dissemination of annals produced at Armagh during the ninth and tenth centuries would undoubtedly have further helped to popularise the term.\textsuperscript{27}

The theory that the widespread adoption of the term comarba in Ireland was the result of the cēle Dé reforms appears to collapse when evidence from Alba is considered. For example, as Clancy has noted, the familia lae appear to have been influenced by, and in turn played an important role in, the development of the reform movement.\textsuperscript{28} Consequently, by the Canmore period there was an appreciable cēle Dé presence in Alba.\textsuperscript{29} Notwithstanding, as

\textsuperscript{20} For an in-depth discussion on this movement, see O’Dwyer, Cēli Dé.
\textsuperscript{21} L. Bieler (ed.), The Irish Penitentials, (2e Dublin, 1975), 48.
\textsuperscript{22} Clancy, ‘Iona, Scotland and the Cēli Dé’, 118.
\textsuperscript{23} See the Prose Rule of the Cēli Dé, printed in Reeves, Culdees, 84-97, at 95 & 97.
\textsuperscript{24} \textit{AU}, s.a. 851.
\textsuperscript{25} Clancy, ‘Iona, Scotland and the Cēli Dé’, 115 & 117
\textsuperscript{26} \textit{AU}, s.a. 919.
\textsuperscript{27} Herbert, \textit{Iona, Kells and Derry}, 76, proposed that ‘There may be some indication from the annal record . . . that the change in terminology in referring to the leaders of monastic federations may arise from the usage adopted by an Armagh annalist around the mid ninth century’.
\textsuperscript{28} Clancy, ‘Iona, Scotland and the Cēli Dé’.
\textsuperscript{29} See appendix 2.
Bannerman highlighted, the term 'comarbal/heres seems never to have replaced ap/abbas in Scotland'. Although Bannerman suggested that 'A possible reason for this may be the monolithic nature of the Columban familia in that country', an alternative proposal can be made which does not undermine the above-presented theory regarding the introduction of comarba in Ireland. In illustration, two charters issued by William the Lion 1165X1171 mention a class of people called cumherbes/cumerbas. These terms are evidently derived from the aforementioned Gaelic term comarba. Rather than maintaining the high-status Irish usage of the term - heir to property - it is apparent that it was applied in Alba to a servile class of peasantry who were property. It is possible that this change in meaning was the result of Brittonic/Pictish influence during the early years of Scottish settlement in northern Britain. Certainly, the term heres, which was used as a cognate for comarba by the Irish annalists, was accorded the similarly low-status meaning of bondsman in Welsh law. It can accordingly be proposed that by the time the term comarba had become popular in Ireland it had independently established a different, low-status meaning in northern Britain. The cél Dé/Columban communities of Pictland were thus compelled to retain the traditional appellation of abbot.

In spite of this difference in nomenclature, the suggestion that the traditionally perceived 'lay abbots' of Ireland continued to fulfil a religious role during the early medieval period can arguably be applied to Scottish examples. Indeed, the career of Constantin II mac Áeda provides a compelling example of the very model depicted above. For example, after an active reign which lasted over forty years, during which time he participated in numerous battles (including the fateful encounter at Brunnanburh) and sired a number of children, Constantin retired into religious life at Cennrigmonaid. One of the king-lists, moreover, states that during this monastic retirement he served as the head of the ascetic cél Dé community. This demonstrates that after an extremely worldly life, Constantin took major

30 There was, however, perhaps a comarba Curetain. Bannerman, 'Comarba Coluim Chille', 17.
31 Ibid., 17.
32 RRS, II, nos. 25 & 142.
33 That the term was thus rendered in a Gaelic form, rather than homophonically, not only reveals that the scribe knew Gaelic, but also suggests that it was a 'living' term and not merely a linguistic relic.
34 See discussion above, pp. 144-145.
36 For discussions on the life of Constantin, see Hudson, Kings of Celtic Scotland, 64-66; & Williams, et al, A Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain, 88-89.
37 Anderson, Kings and Kingship, 283.
orders to serve out his days as a vigorous and respected abbot of one of the kingdom’s premier religious sites. Unfortunately, this particular Scottish model cannot be elaborated as the célè Dé community of Cennrignmonaid disappears from the historian’s view after the death of Constantin only to re-emerge in the twelfth century. In contrast, notices for the early medieval leaders of Dunkeld are relatively plentiful. Accordingly, with reference to the suggested Irish model, as well as to the example of Constantin at Cennrignmonaid, a more detailed picture of the development of the ‘lay abbacy’ of Dunkeld can be presented.

There are six extant notices regarding the abbacy of Dunkeld between the succession of Cinaed mac Alpin and the death of Edgar mac Máel Coluim. Under the year 865 the Annals of Ulster record the death of Tuathal, who is styled both primepscop Fortrenn and abbot of Dunkeld. The same source notes in 965 that Abbot Donnchad of Dunkeld was killed in battle. The Scottish king-lists record that Abbot Crinan married the daughter of Máel Coluim II, Bethoc, and fathered the future Donnchad I. The Annals of Tigernach and the Annals of Ulster note that the same abbot died in battle in 1045. Finally, a charter of c. 1100 identifies Æthelred, son of Máel Coluim III, as abbot of Dunkeld. In his influential study of the ‘Post-Columban Church’, Cowan concluded from this evidence not only that Tuathal was ‘not an abbot-bishop in the monastic sense’, but also that ‘through long vacancies in the see of Dunkeld, the abbacy of Dunkeld fell into lay hands’ by the tenth century. These opinions can nevertheless be challenged. For example, it is evident from the careers of Aedan of Lindisfarne, Bláán of Kingarth and Curetan of Rosemarkie that by the ninth century there was a long-established tradition of abbot-bishops at Gaelic Church monasteries in northern Britain. There is therefore no reason to suspect that in Tuathal the posts of monastic abbot and bishop were not similarly conflated. The suggestion that the successors of Cináed mac Alpin would allow the chief civitas of Alba to lie vacant for decades is even more incredible, especially as their alliance with the Church appears to have formed one of the main foundation stones of their rule. Indeed, Hudson has noted that the

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38 The king-lists note that Constantin continued to influence the affairs of state from his monastery and be consulted by his successor. Ibid., 252.
39 AU, s.a. 865.
40 Ibid., s.a. 965.
41 Anderson, Kings and Kingship, 268, 276 & 284.
42 ES, I, 583.
43 Lawrie, ES, no. XIV.
45 For Aedan and Curetan, see Veitch, ‘Columban Church’, (forthcoming). For Blaán, see the discussion in appendix 3.
46 See, for example, Hudson, ‘Kings and Church’
branch of the *Cenél nGobraín* descended from Domnall II (d. 900) had a particularly close alliance with Dunkeld.\(^{47}\) It is thus likely that building upon the alliance which Cináed I evidently forged with Tuathal, the later kings of Scots maintained a close relationship with, and ensured the continuous succession of, the abbot-bishops of Dunkeld.

In light of the kin-based succession to the abbotship of Iona,\(^{48}\) it is probable that the Columban abbacy of Dunkeld remained in the possession of Tuathal’s descendants. Indeed, it can be envisaged that Tuathal was a member or the progenitor of a powerful kindred from which the abbots of Dunkeld were traditionally sought. As proposed above, it is possible that members of this dynasty were promoted to their religious office after they had married and sired children, and hence maintained the hereditary nature of the post.\(^{49}\) The presumably partly kin-based and partly *paruchia*-based power of the abbot-bishops of Dunkeld, and their continuing alliance with the descendants of Domnall II, is certainly emphasised by the fact that Abbot Donnchad died fighting for Dub mac Mael Coluim against his dynastic rival Cuielen,\(^{50}\) whilst Abbot Crinán was killed apparently fighting for the same family against another dynastic rival, in this case Macbethad.\(^{51}\) This direct involvement in the dynastic warfare of Alba does not prove, however, that Donnchad and Crinán were ‘lay abbots’. as it has been highlighted above that Gaelic Church abbots, in orders, actively participated in armed conflicts in Ireland from at least the eighth century.

That Crinán married a daughter of the king of Scots certainly appears more difficult to reconcile with the claim that he was not a ‘lay abbot’. Again, however, there is no evidence to suggest that he married Bethoc and sired Donnchad whilst abbot. It is equally possible that he became abbot of Dunkeld on the death of his wife. It was perhaps the protection offered by his clerical rank which enabled Crinán initially to weather the deposition of his son, King Donnchad, by Macbethad in 1040 and thereafter raise a rebellion against his family’s enemy.\(^{52}\) Whatever the case, as a result of the marriage between Bethoc and Crinán, (a union which coincidentally emphasises the national importance of the Dunkeld kindred and its

\(^{47}\) Ibid., 164; & idem., *Kings of Celtic Scotland*, 120.

\(^{48}\) As noted immediately above.

\(^{49}\) It is unlikely that Crinán was the son of Donnchad, (as suggested in Williams, *et al.* *A Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain*, 91), as this would mean that he died fighting Macbethad whilst over eighty years old. That Crinán named his son Donnchad (the first Scottish king to be so-called) is nevertheless perhaps indicative of a family connection.

\(^{50}\) Skene, *Chron. Picts-Scots*, 10.

\(^{51}\) E.S. 1, 583.

\(^{52}\) He may, of course, have fled to England along with his grandson, the future Mael Coluim, and led his rebellion from south of the border. Whether he received English help, however, is doubtful as the *Annals of Tigernach* record it as ‘a battle between Scots...among themselves’ Ibid., I. 583.
relationship with the descendants of Domnall II), the abbacy of Dunkeld was now open to a branch of the Scottish royal house. Accordingly, the next recorded abbot of Dunkeld was Crinán’s great-grandson, Æthelred, who also happened to be the son of Máel Coluim III and Margaret.\textsuperscript{53} Although it is nowhere stated that Æthelred was in orders, that he was passed over for the kingship in favour of his evidently younger brother, Edgar,\textsuperscript{54} strongly suggests that he was indeed a cleric. After Æthelred’s death, it would appear that a member of another branch of the kindred was elevated to the abbacy/see of Dunkeld. Thus, a charter recording the grant made to the monastery of Deer by Gartnait of Buchan and his wife Ethe 1131X1132 was witnessed by Cormac who was styled ‘bishop of Dunkeld’.\textsuperscript{55} He is most probably to be identified with the ‘Bishop Cormac’ who witnessed two grants made by Alexander I to the Augustinian priory of Scone.\textsuperscript{56} Notably, in both instances Cormac was not associated with a particular see. This prompted Dowden to propose that during Alexander’s reign he was ‘a bishop without a see, in one of the monasteries of Celtic foundation’.\textsuperscript{57} Although the latter part of this proposal is undoubtedly true, Dowden appears to have based his belief that Cormac was ‘without a see’ on an Anglo-French interpretation of the Gaelic bishop’s office. For example, the scribes who composed the aforementioned Scone charters would most probably have been relative new-comers to Alba. Accustomed to the regulated dioceses of England and France, they may therefore merely have failed (or tacitly refused) to recognise the monastic-inspired, paruchia-style ‘sees’ of the Scottish Church. Thus, whilst acknowledging the episcopal rank accorded to Cormac by his peers, the scribes’ own preconceived ideas of diocesan organisation may have precluded them from identifying him as ‘of Dunkeld’ until the see had been instituted along continental lines. Interestingly, Alexander Myln, sixteenth-century author of \textit{The Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld}, claimed that the bishopric of Dunkeld was re-constituted by David I c. 1127, transforming it from a Gaelic Church-style abbatial bishopric into a more regularised, continental-style diocese.\textsuperscript{58} This would certainly accord with the fact that it was only after this date that scribes started to address Cormac as ‘bishop of Dunkeld’\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{53} Lawrie, \textit{ESC}, no. XIV.
\textsuperscript{54} Although modern genealogies often make Æthelred younger than Edgar, (see, for example, Duncan, \textit{Scotland}, 628-629), that Edgar was in fact younger than Æthelred is attested to by the \textit{Chronicle of the Canons of Huntingdon}. Skene, \textit{Chron. Picts-Scots.} 210.
\textsuperscript{55} Jackson, \textit{Gaelic Notes.} 34-35.
\textsuperscript{56} Lawrie, \textit{LNC}, nos. XXXVI & XLXIX.
\textsuperscript{57} Dowden, \textit{Bishops.} 48.
\textsuperscript{58} Myln, \textit{Vitaæ Dunkeldensis}, 8
\textsuperscript{59} \textit{Dunf. Reg.}, no. I (1128); & Jackson, \textit{Gaelic Notes.} 34-35 (1131X1132).
As a representative of the hereditary religious dynasty of Dunkeld, David I would certainly have had greater scope to reform its constitution than, say, that of Brechin. Indeed, as a leading proponent of the reform movement in Scotland, David probably felt it necessary to practice what he preached and reconstitute the office for which he himself was a potential candidate. Notably, the effect which this reform had upon the ancient abbacy of Dunkeld is arguably partially revealed by the ownership of abthane lands in Canmore Scotland.

Deriving from the Old Irish *apthaine* meaning ‘abbacy’, the exact status of the term abthane has not always been apparent. This is evident from the definition offered in the *Scotichronicon*:

“Abthane” is derived from “*abba*”, which is “father” or “lord”, and “thane” which is “he who answers” or “he who counts”, giving “abthane” that is “chief of thanes” or their lord under the king, to whom they are bound to answer annually for their rent and revenues due to the lord king. Now the abthane has the duty of keeping the accounts of the royal revenues and taxes, as if performing the function of steward or chamberlain.

Bower, however, should not be judged too harshly for this highly confused explanation, as it is clear that even some twelfth- and thirteenth-century scribes had difficulty in adequately representing this Gaelic term. Indeed, the reference to an ‘*apthenagium*’ of Kettins in a charter of 1292X1296 adumbrates Fordun’s misinterpretation by amalgamating *apthaine* with *thanagium*. Whilst the majority of twelfth- and thirteenth-century scribes made no attempt to translate the term and merely rendered *apthaine* phonetically, (e.g. *abthen*, *abbethayne*, *abthania*), even sometimes preceding it with the qualifying statement ‘*que Scottice vocatur*’ (which is called in Gaelic), the use by other scribes of the term *abbacia* both as a cognate for abthane and to describe Gaelic Church monasteries also caused confusion to later commentators. Despite the historiographical mystification occasionally engendered by these definitional idiosyncrasies, it is now widely accepted that the term abthane generally denoted ‘an endowment of land given to an old church, perhaps in its immediate neighbourhood, perhaps at some distance’.

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60 *Scotichronicon*, IV, 43.
63 For example, the reference to the ‘*abbacia* of Rossie’. *St A. Lib.*, 200.
64 For example, Lochleven was described as an *abbacia*. Ibid., 43.
65 As highlighted by Cowan, ‘Post-Columban Church’, 256; although he himself went on to suggest that there were probably communities at Arbirlot, Falkirk and Kilspindie.
66 Barrow, ‘The Lost Gàidhealtacht’, 120.
Narrowing this definition further is made difficult by the tantalisingly 'ephemeral' nature of the evidence. The distribution and ownership of the identifiable abthanes in Canmore Scotland nevertheless offers slight clues to the possible exact meaning of the term. For example, the majority of the sites now recognised as abthanes are situated in Forfarshire and Perthshire. These modern counties are probably more or less contiguous with the provinces which formed the southern Pictish kingdom of Fortriu. As studies have demonstrated, Fortriu was the area in which Cinaed mac Alpin established his Scoto-Pictish kingship during the mid ninth century. In order to compliment and consolidate this hard-fought-for rule, Cinaed apparently established a new church at Dunkeld, which subsequently became the pre-eminent Columban site in northern Britain. This was achieved not only by the transfer of Colum Cille's chief relics to the church c. 849, but most probably also by providing it with a suitably prestigious endowment of estates. Any attempt to re-construct this original endowment is hindered by the fact that many of the recorded abthanes only come into sight at a relatively late date, that is once they had been granted to an institution or individual with which or whom there was no historical connection. However, by identifying their diocesan allegiance and earliest known grantor, it is possible to make an educated guess as to the abthanes which formed part of Dunkeld's early medieval patrimony. For example, it doubtless partly comprised those abthanes which were in the possession of

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67 Thus Barrow, ibid., 120, regrets that 'There is a wealth of early Christian history in this simple word. yet the actual record of it in Scotland is ephemeral in the extreme, hardly better than a species of historiographical graffiti'.

68 A table listing abthane sites in eastern medieval Scotland, and their status by 1286, is presented at the end of this appendix.

69 For example, Airlie, Dull, Kettins, Kilspindie, Kirkmichael, Inverlunan, Madderty, Melginch, Monifieth, Montrose, and Rossie. See the table at the end of this appendix for references.

70 Originally, Fortriu was but one of many southern Pictish provinces, and was contiguous with Strathearn. However, due no doubt to its dominant dynasty, it had evidently also come to denote the southern kingdom of the Picts. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 140-141. For a revisionary view of Fortriu, see Broun, 'The seven kingdoms in *De situ Albanie*' (forthcoming).


72 For this argument see, D. Broun, 'Dunkeld and the origin of Scottish identity', *IR*, xlviii (1997), 112-144, at 119-121. There was probably a recently built church already on the site which Cinaed mac Alpin enriched and re-built, as it is said of Constantin mac Fergusa (c. 790-820) in the Scottish kinglists that 'he built Dunkeld'. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 273.

73 'In the seventh year of his reign, he transported the relics of St Colum Cille to a church he had built' Ibid., 250. The chief relic transferred to Dunkeld would appear to have been the *scrín Colum Chille*. For a commentary, see especially Bannerman, 'Comarba Colum Chille'. See also. Herbert, *Iona. Kells and Derry*, 68-77.
the twelfth- and thirteenth-century bishops of Dunkeld; i.e. Dull, Madderty and \nelginch.\footnote{\textit{St. A. Lib.}, 296-297; \textit{Inchaff. Chr.}, IV & VII; \& \textit{Holy. Lib.}, no. 48. Admittedly, Earl Gille Brigte of Strathearn's grant of Madderty to Inchaff makes no mention of the bishop's rights. That the abthane nevertheless pertained to Dunkeld is demonstrated not only by the fact that in the confirmation charter the bishop of Dunkeld styled it 'our land', but also that thereafter the canons owed a render of one silver merk to the bishop, while the clerks of Dunkeld continued to be entitled to \textit{caim} and \textit{conveth} from the abthane. \textit{Inchaff. Chr.}, no. VIII.}  

It can be assumed that those abthanes which were in the gift of the Canmore dynasty, (i.e. Kirmichael, Montrose and Rossie),\footnote{\textit{Dunf. Reg.}, no. 227; \textit{Arb. Lib.}, I, no. 17; \& \textit{St A. Lib.}, 200.} also once formed part of this patrimony. Although less certain, it is possible that once Cennrigmonaid was recognised as the chief religious centre in Alba during the tenth century, it attracted patronage from the abbots of Dunkeld who, as with any other landowner, granted the community land from their own demesne.\footnote{Notably, for most of the twelfth century the 'appin' of Lismore was under the jurisdiction of the bishops of Dunkeld. It could be that a similar transference of significant land was made from Lismore to Dunkeld when the latter rose to prominence in the ninth century. It could, however, equally have been a consequence of the conquest of Moray in 1130.} Accordingly, those abthanes which were in the vicinity of Dunkeld, but under the jurisdiction of the bishop of St Andrews by the twelfth century, may also have originally pertained to the Columban community of Dunkeld; i.e. Airlie, Inverlunan, Kettins and Monifieth.\footnote{\textit{Coup. Chr.}, I, nos. XI & XXI, RRS, II, no. 590; \textit{Coup. Chr.}, I, no. LXIII; \& \textit{Arb. Lib.}, I, nos. 114 \& 115, \& app. no. IV} If this hypothesis is correct, then it can be proposed that the term \textit{apthaine} (which was evidently used at an earlier period in western Scotland to describe the lands pertaining to St Moluag's monastery at Lismore),\footnote{\textit{Watson, CPNS}, 124.} was introduced into Pictland/Alba during the initial MacAlpin takeover of Forthriu and had the specific meaning of 'land belonging to the abbey', i.e. Dunkeld. When Dunkeld lost its premier status - and possibly with it some of its abthane lands - to Cennrigmonaid,\footnote{Hudson, 'Kings and Church', 164-165.} the term was consequently used to describe its major endowments. Hence, abthanes can not only be found pertaining to the twelfth-century bishopric of St Andrews in its diocesan lands benorth the Tay and in Fife,\footnote{e.g. Abdie, Airlie, Ecclesgreig, Kettins, Kinghorn and Rossie. \textit{Lind. Cart.}, nos. LXII \& 1 XIII, \textit{Coup. Chr.}, I, nos. XI \& XXI; \textit{St A. Lib.}, 218, \textit{Coup. Chr.}, I, no. LXIII; \textit{Chron. Fordun}, II, 413, \textit{St A. Lib.}, 200.} but significantly also besouth the Forth.\footnote{e.g. Falkirk and Rathobyres. \textit{Holy. Lib.}, no. 91, \& \textit{Fraser, The Douglas Book}, III, no 20.}

This theory is admittedly highly speculative and would doubtless profit from a more in-depth investigation. It nevertheless presents a number of clues to the settlement which David I and the bishop of Dunkeld would have brokered on the reconstitution of the see. In illustration, whilst the fact that the diocese was re-organised along continental lines meant
that the native dynasty lost its monopoly in providing Dunkeld with its bishops. It would appear that the traditional abbatial lands were nevertheless divided between the bishop of Dunkeld and the representatives of that dynasty. Thus, as noted, the abthanes of Dull. Madderty and Melginch continued to pertain to the bishop, whilst the leading member of the abbatial dynasty, the king of Scots, received the abthanes of Kirkmichael, Montrose and Rossie. Significantly, this proposed division of the abbacy’s estates was evidently accompanied by what would have been a highly symbolic division of the Scottish relics of Colum Cille. In illustration, 1208X1211 William the Lion granted custody of the Breccbennoch Coluim Cille to the monks of Arbroath Abbey. This charter has long been viewed as significant as it marks the first appearance of the reliquary, (most famous for its later role at Bannockburn), in the extant records of medieval Scotland. Arguably the most significant aspect of this charter has nonetheless frequently been overlooked. This is the very fact that the Breccbennoch was in the gift of the king of Scots and not the most likely owner, the bishop of Dunkeld. It could be concluded from this surprising fact that the abbot-bishops of Dunkeld had merely been custodians of the Columban relics brought to Dunkeld by Cináed mac Alpin and that the king of Scots had always been recognised as their owner, with the consequence that David I could simply remove the Breccbennoch from Dunkeld. That David, who was obviously conscious of balancing change with continuity in his religious policy, would have wilfully deprived the bishop of Dunkeld of one of his main symbols of authority nevertheless appears unlikely. A more plausible scenario is that the Cathbuaid.

82 It is possible that Cormac’s successor, Gregory, was a member of the dynasty and that the first non-native bishop was Richard de Prebenda who succeeded in 1170.
83 The fate of the other branch(es) of the abbatial dynasty is far more difficult to discern. Indeed, they cannot even be identified with any certainty. The Orkneyinga Saga nevertheless states that Earl Matad of Atholl was the son of a brother of Mael Coluim III, called Mael Moire. If correct, then this would mean that, as with his nephew David I, Mael Moire of Atholl (who witnessed David I’s confirmation of the abbey of Deer’s rights 1131X1144) was the descendant of Abbot Crinan and hence a potential candidate for the abbacy of Dunkeld when the see was reconstituted c. 1128. There is nevertheless a chronological problem with this theory, as it would mean that Mael Moire was over 90 years old when he witnessed David’s act. Perhaps he was the grandson of Donnchad and brother of Matad. Whatever the case, it is interesting to note that the abthane of Dull (in which the earls of Atholl held extensive rights and property, albeit as tenants of the bishop) embraced a large part of the western district of the medieval earldom of Atholl. It is therefore possible that Mael Moire of Atholl was confirmed certain lands and rights in the abthane in return for him relinquishing his ancient claims to the abbacy c. 1128. Indeed, it could even be that the ancient royal province of Atholl was instituted as an earldom by David I for the very purpose of ‘buying off’, as it were, his uncle. Notably, although there is frequent mention of an abthane of Dull, unlike with other abthanes in Alba there is no record of an ‘abbot of Dull’.
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84 RRS, II, no. 499.
which appears to have been the chief relic of Alba since at least the tenth century.85 was
retained by the bishop of Dunkeld as the symbol of his continuing relationship with Colum
Cille, whilst the next most important relic, the Breccbennoch, was acquired by the head
representative of the abbatial dynasty, the king of Scots. That the Cathbuaid did survive into
the twelfth century is admittedly difficult to prove. However, as suggested by Henderson, the
ancient bachull of Colum Cille appears to be represented upon the seal of the thirteenth-
century bishops of Dunkeld.86 That the Breccbennoch has survived, whilst the Cathbuaid has
not, is probably due to the fact that the former was in lay hands at the time of the
Reformation, whilst the latter would have been amongst the halidoms which were destroyed
when the cathedral of Dunkeld was sacked by the sixteenth-century reformers.

To recapitulate on the preceding argument: It can be conjectured that c. 1127 David I
reconstituted the bishopric of Dunkeld along continental lines with the help of the pro-reform
Bishop Cormac.87 In the resulting settlement the abthanes of Dunkeld were divided between
the bishop and the representatives of the abbatial dynasty, including the king of Scots and the
earls of Atholl. To symbolise this pact and to preserve both the see’s and the hereditary
dynasty’s ancient association with the Colum Cille, there was a concomitant division of
relics. The rights of the secular magnates David I and Mael Moire of Atholl to the abbacy of
Dunkeld should not obscure the fact that the hereditary abbot-bishops of Dunkeld survived
into the twelfth century as fully functioning clerics and that it was moreover largely on their
own volition that the see was reformed. The ‘lay abbots’ of Dunkeld can therefore be
dismissed as a myth, perpetuated through the continued acceptance of the Anglo-French view
of pre-reform Scottish Church history.

The proposed history of Dunkeld presents a useful paradigm for the less well-
documented ‘lay abbacy’ of Abernethy. As with Dunkeld, for example, Abernethy was the
site of both a Gaelic Church monastery and an early episcopal centre.88 It is possible that the
post of abbot and of bishop of Brechin were likewise combined. If this was the case, then it is
feasible that when the bishopric was transferred to Dunblane or, more probably, Muthill,89
these offices divided, with the abbot remaining with the célÉ De community at Abernethy.90
The survival of a religious community at Abernethy into the Canmore period is uniquely

86 Cited, with a depiction of the seal, in Bourke, ‘Insignia Columbae’, 170.
87 For a comment on Bishop Cormac’s probable support for the reform movement, see p. 50 above.
89 As suggested in ibid., 128-129.
90 Evidence of Abernethy’s célÉ De community is provided in Reeves, Culdees, 132-134.
demonstrated by the charter of c. 1100 which records the grant made by Æthelred and the earl of Fife to the céli Dé of Lochleven. This deed was witnessed by a quorum of Abernethy clergy, including Máel Snechtae mac Beollain the priest, Máel Brígte the priest, Tuathal and Augustin the priests of the céli Dé, and Berbeadh the fer léginn. Interestingly, the charter nonetheless evidently fails to mention either the abbot or the prior of Abernethy. This could lead to the proposal that by 1100 Abernethy had become a community of clerks akin to an English minster. An alternative interpretation can nevertheless be made. For example, that the leading members of Abernethy witnessed a deed which apparently had nothing to do with their house strongly suggests that one of the grantors was intimately connected with the community. Although it is possible that Æthelred held the abbacy of Abernethy in conjunction with that of Dunkeld, the link with Abernethy is more likely to have been his co-grantor, the earl of Fife. This is because during the later twelfth century the abbot of Abernethy was Orm mac Áeda, grandson of Earl Gille Mhicheil of Fife. This implies that just as a member of the royal house married into the abbatial dynasty of Dunkeld during the eleventh century, so too did one of the comital family of Fife marry into the abbatial dynasty of Abernethy. Perhaps Constantin of Fife, who heads the charter’s witness-list, was abbot of Abernethy c. 1100. Notably, in a charter of c. of 1128 Constantin was styled ‘magnus judex in Scotia’. This, as Bannerman noted, suggests that he attended a traditional Gaelic law school. With its fer léginn, the monastery of Abernethy would undoubtedly have been able to provide Constantin with such a training. By c. 1100, however, it would appear his training was complete and that he was now the head of the community.

Whether Constantin was abbot of Abernethy or not, it is evident that during the twelfth or the early thirteenth century the abbacy of Abernethy was indeed secularised, as by 1214 the community was led by a prior. Although explicit evidence is lacking, it can be hypothesised that this process was initiated by Laurence of Abernethy and William the Lion on the death of Orm mac Áeda. As at Dunkeld, a settlement was probably reached between

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91 Lawrie, ESC, no. XIV. 92 Plurality of office was common in the Gaelic Church in Ireland. Hughes, Church in Early Irish Society, 164-165. 93 RRS, II. 222. 94 Lawrie, ESC, no. LXXX. 95 Bannerman, ‘The King’s Poet’, 139. 96 Thus, he is described in the c. 1100 charter as a ‘vir discretissimus’. Interestingly, this description was echoed in the charter of c. 1128, which noted that the earl of Fife was a ‘vir discretissimus’ 97 See the discussion above, pp. 81-84. 98 Barrow, RRS, II, 343, stated that Abbot Orm mac Áeda was a layman, which suggests that the secularisation of the abbacy occurred before his tenure. Orm certainly had at least two children and was
the abbatial dynasty and the religious community of Abernethy. This settlement may have resulted in the family continuing to provide the house with its prior. It certainly ensured that the descendants of Abbot Orm remained one of the most powerful native kindreds in Fife.

Undoubtedly the most compelling example of an allegedly lay abbatial kindred continuing to play a professional role in the spiritual life of the site with which they were associated even after it had been ‘reformed’ is the hereditary religious dynasty of Brechin. First mentioned as a ‘great monastery’ in the reign of Cínáed mac Máel Coluim (971-995), as with Dunkeld and Abernethy, Brechin appears to have been both an episcopal and an abbatial site. Again as at Dunkeld and Abernethy, it can perhaps be assumed that the offices of bishop and abbot were not only combined, but also occupied by a member of the house’s founding family. The first abbot of Brechin on record is Leot who witnessed Gartnait and Ethe’s grant to the clerici of Deer. Significantly, the Samson ‘bishop of Brechin’ (d. c. 1174) who witnessed a subsequent charter relating to Deer was evidently the son of Abbot Leot. This implies that whilst Samson inherited his father’s pre-eminent position at Brechin, due to the diocese being reformed as part of King David’s programme to revivify and re-organise the Scottish episcopate, the title of bishop now took precedence over that of abbot. The envisaged re-organisation at Brechin may have resulted in the secularisation of the abbacy. The posts of abbot and bishop were certainly separated, as a charter granted by Samson’s successor, Bishop Turpin, was witnessed by Domnall, abbot of Brechin. Notably, Domnall appears to have been Bishop Samson’s son. Although he accorded a non-clerical positioning in the witness-lists of William the Lion’s charters. It is nevertheless possible that he became the abbot of Abernethy in old age. Interestingly, 1173X1178 William confirmed the ‘abbaciam’ of Abernethy to Orm. At the time of this grant Orm must have been of mature years as his daughter had married some years before. Perhaps this charter records Orm’s entrance into the religious life as abbot of Abernethy. Whatever the case, 1189X1195, probably on Orm’s death, William granted the church of Abernethy, along with its extensive estates, to Arbroath Abbey, possibly heralding the end of the abbot of Abernethy’s direct involvement in the spiritual life of the house. Ibid., nos. 14, 15, 114 & 339; & Arb. Lib. I, no. 35.

As highlighted above, pp. 81-84, the lords of Abernethy continued to play an active part in the development of the house throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.


Lawrie, *ESC*, no. XCVII. See also nos. CXXXIV, CLXI, CCXXIV & CCXXVII.

Ibid., no. CCXXIII. The following discussion is based upon Barrow, ‘The Lost Gaidhealtachd’, 111-114.

If this was the case, then Samson’s preferment can be seen in the same light as the elevation to the bishopric of Connor of Mael Maedoc, who had earlier succeeded his maternal uncle as the comarba of the lands of St Comgall in Bangor. Simms, ‘Frontiers in the Irish Church’, 193.

That Abbot Leot was viewed as a layman by the scribes of the charters in which he was named is evident from his positioning in the witness-lists.

*Arb. Lib.*, I, no. 2 (ii).
may therefore have only been styled abbot of Brechin because he had inherited certain abbatial lands from his father, it is interesting to note that Domnall was nevertheless a cleric of some standing in southern Alba.\textsuperscript{108} That his ecclesiastical career was pursued in western Fife may suggest that the envisaged settlement brokered during Samson's episcopate resulted in the native dynasty's professional connections with Brechin being sundered. However, as highlighted by Simms, it was quite common for members of religious dynasties in Ireland to pursue clerical careers outwith areas traditionally associated with their kindred yet still retain strong links with its church.\textsuperscript{109} As proposed with the comarbae of Ireland, Domnall possibly adopted a clerical career after an active lay life, as he sired at least two sons, Gille Andrais and Máel Brígte.\textsuperscript{110} The latter appears to have been the prior of the Brechin céli Dé c. 1190-c. 1220,\textsuperscript{111} a post which significantly reflected the role of his monastic predecessors.

Abbot Leot of Brechin had another son, named Máel Ísu.\textsuperscript{112} Interestingly, just as the descendants of Leot through Samson adopted the lineage name MacLeod, the branch of the family descended through Máel Ísu were known by the style Macnab. This name - derived from the Gaelic mac-an-ab (son of the abbot) - emphasises that members of Máel Ísu's branch of the kindred were also eligible to inherit the title 'abbot of Brechin'. Indeed, that the abbacy of Brechin did alternate between the two branches is suggested by the fact that Máel Ísu's son and grandson were both styled 'abbot of Brechin'. This typically Gaelic form of inheritance, as well as the continued ecclesiastical role of this kindred through the generations, is perhaps best demonstrated in a hypothetical genealogy:\textsuperscript{113}

\begin{enumerate}
\item Barrow, 'The Lost Gàidhealtachd', 112.
\item As suggested in ibid., 112.
\item Simms, 'Frontiers in the Irish Church', 181.
\item Barrow, 'The Lost Gàidhealtachd', 112.
\item Ibid., 112.
\item RRS, I, no. 255.
\item Interestingly, Bishop Hugh of Brechin was styled 'son of the priest', suggesting that he too came from a local ecclesiastical dynasty. Whether he was from the same dynasty as produced Samson and hence should be added to this genealogy, the sources unfortunately do not reveal Théiner, \textit{Vet. Mon.}, no. 6.
\end{enumerate}
Notably, Gille Andrais, Abbot John (I & II) and Morgrund were all endowed with lands which had once pertained to Brechin. This emphasises the success of the reformers in re-organising the ancient abbacy-bishoprics of Alba without alienating the powerful native kindreds with which they were traditionally associated. Indeed, as Barrow succinctly remarked, it is evident that 'During those decades when the Gregorian and post-Gregorian reform of the church was making its greatest impact upon the ecclesia Scoticana the hereditary abbots of Brechin succeeded in retaining a place within the ecclesiastical establishment of Brechin as well as a grip on many of its lands'.

Interestingly, a similar combination of proprietorial interests and spiritual involvement was preserved at Monifieth. For example, Nicholas, the abbot of Monifieth, was not only the son of Gille Brígte the priest of Kirriemuir, but was also confirmed in the abthane lands of Monifieth by Earl Máel Coluim of Angus c. 1220. Proprietorial and spiritual continuity is

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114 Barrow, 'The Lost Gàidhealtachd', 113.
115 Ibid., 114.
116 Arb. Lib., I, nos. 114 & 115, & app. no. IV. Nicholas held the abthane of Monifieth for sixteen silver solidos per annum. This reflects the unusually high yearly render which most tenants of Scottish abthanes had to pay. For example, the bishop of Dunkeld was due twenty solidos a year from the abthane of Dull, while Bishop William of St Andrews granted the abthane of Airlie to the monks of Coupar Angus for the render of two bezants, ten stones of cheese and twelve sacks of barley. St A.
even more in evidence at Glendochart. For example, the abbot of Glendochart was not only the lord of the extensive estates of Glendochart, but also the hereditary keeper of the Coigreach, the crozier of St Fillán. On the one hand, the possession of this sacred relic symbolised the abbot’s position as the comarba Fillain (heir of St Fillán); an honour which put him in the first rank of Gaelic society. This is demonstrated by the fact that in one of the charters of Earl Máel Domhnaich of Lennox, John of Glendochart heads the witness-list, being placed even above one of the earl’s sons. On the other, it conferred upon him the role of the deóradh, whose legal, semi-religious functions were firmly rooted in pre-twelfth-century Gaelic culture.

In contrast to the abbots whose increasingly titular office derived from a former Gaelic Church monastery, there were landowners in Canmore Scotland who appear to have been assigned the appellation ‘abbot’ because they were the hereditary tenants of ‘abthane’ lands. For example, the aforementioned abbot of Dull was evidently the hereditary tenant of an abthane pertaining to Dunkeld. Similarly, the abbot of Falkirk appears to have been the hereditary tenant of one of Cennrigmonaid’s abthanes. Whilst the tenant-abbot was therefore of less historic significance than the lay abbot, it is interesting to note that he was nevertheless sometimes held in similarly high esteem during the Canmore period. By the late 1100s, for instance, the aforementioned abbot of Dull was accorded a status almost equal to that of the earl of Atholl, with whom he shared the jurisdiction of the adjacent part of Argyll. Unlike some of the aforementioned abbots associated with actual houses, however, there is no evidence to suggest that the abthane abbots ever combined their proprietary functions with a religious role.

Lib., 294-296; & Coup. Chrs., I, no. XXI. This, notably, is in contrast to the erenaghs of contemporary Ireland who held Church lands for a very low fixed rent. K. Nicholls, Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages, (Dublin, 1972), 113.

117 The Black Book of Taymouth, xxv-xxvi.

118 Pais. Reg., 161.

119 They are evident at Arbirlot, Dull, Falkirk, and Kilspindie.

120 Although the church of Dull and its chapel of Foss were granted to St Andrews Priory by Earl Máel Coluim of Atholl (who nevertheless reserved his rights of patronage), the abthane of Dull, significantly, remained in the possession of the bishops of Dunkeld until 1214X1249. St A. Lib., 96, 245-246. 294. 296, 307-308, & 349. Interestingly, there was a farm-stead called Teagar macdh between Dull and Tirinie, possibly denoting the extent of a sanctuary encircling Dull. Watson, CPNS, 259-260.

121 For the reference to the ‘abland’ of Falkirk, see Holy. Lib., no. 91. That this abthane probably once pertained to the community at Cennrigmonaid is suggested by the likelihood that the church of Falkirk was in the Bishop of St Andrews’ gift by the mid twelfth century. Ibid., app I, no. 1. & app II, no. 4. See also Ash., ‘The diocese of St Andrews’, 122.

122 APS, I, 50.
Although the abbatial family of Brechin continued to provide clerics for the diocese of Brechin and the **comarba Fillăin** continued his quasi-religious role as **deòradh** well into the fifteenth century, most abbots in Scotland, as with **comarbae** in Ireland, nevertheless lost their specifically religious functions and rights during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as the reformers made, in Barrow’s words, ‘a clean sweep of the ecclesiastical clutter which was not to their liking or their taste’. Accordingly, whilst the prestigious secular status of lay and tenant abbots was evidently widely accepted in Canmore Scotland, there was nevertheless a concerted effort to transfer the specifically religious rights enjoyed by these individuals into the hands of the Church. In some cases it was a reformed monastery which benefited. For example, as aforementioned, King William diverted much of the ecclesiastical income and privileges traditionally enjoyed by the abbot of Abernethy to his new Tironensian foundation at Arbroath. An integral part of this gradual attempt to distance native hereditary abbots from their religious associations was the granting of ‘abthanes’ to the new orders. For example, the abthane of Madderty was granted to the brethren of St John at Inchaffray by Earl Gille Brìgte of Strathearn c. 1199, whilst the priory of St Andrews gained the evidently significant abthanes of Ecclesgreig from the bishop of St Andrews 1189-1195, and of Dull from the bishop of Dunkeld 1214-1249. The greatest recipients of abthanes, nevertheless, were royal monasteries. Thus, on its foundation in 1178 Arbroath Abbey was granted the abthane of Montrose by King William, Lindores Abbey was likewise granted Abdie by Earl David of Huntingdon on its foundation in the early 1190s, around the same time the bishop of Dunkeld granted Holyrood Abbey the abthane of Melginech, and in 1212 the bishop of St Andrews bestowed the abthane of Airlie on Coupar Angus Abbey. All of these grants, it will have been noted, were made either in the late twelfth or thirteenth centuries. This is highly instructive, as it demonstrates that despite the fact that David I would have had a number of abthane lands at his disposal, the break-up and re-distribution of these sites did not occur until after his reign. This could merely reflect the fact that native society in provinces benorth the Tay, (where the majority of abthanes were situated), went relatively

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123 Barrow, ‘The Lost Gàidhealtachd’, 120.
124 RRS, II, no. 339.
125 Inchaff. Chrs., nos. IV & VII.
126 Ibid., 138.
127 St A. Lib., 296-297.
129 Lind. Cart., nos. LXII & LXIII.
130 Holy. Lib., no. 48.
131 Coup. Chrs., I, no. LXIII.
untouched either by feudalism or reformed religious orders during the reign of David I, who was evidently disinclined to unduly disrupt existing social patterns even on his own estates in Gowrie.\textsuperscript{132} Certainly, the re-distribution of abthanes in Scotland broadly coincided with the spread of feudalism benorth the Tay during the reigns of William and his successors.\textsuperscript{133} In Atholl, however, there was limited feudalisation during the period when abthanes were being granted to reformed convents,\textsuperscript{134} demonstrating that the two developments need not have been directly related. It is therefore possible that the attempt to re-associate abthanes with thriving religious communities by various members of both the ecclesiastical and secular ruling classes in Scotland was prompted to a greater extent by the wave of post-Gregorian reforming vigour which swept Europe at the end of the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{135}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{132} Barrow, ‘David I of Scotland’, 60-62.
\textsuperscript{133} For discussion on the feudalisation of Scotland benorth the Tay, see idem., ‘The beginnings of military feudalism’, 291-293; & RRS, II, 17-18.
\textsuperscript{134} Duncan, \textit{Scotland}, 178.
\textsuperscript{135} For this fertile period in the history of the Catholic Church, see J. Sayer, \textit{Innocent III, Leader of Europe 1198-1216}, (London, 1994).
\end{footnotesize}
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<th>NAME</th>
<th>REFERENCE</th>
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<tr>
<td>Abdie</td>
<td>‘ecclesie de Ebedyn’</td>
<td>to Lindores Abbey from Earl David of Huntingdon, c. 1190.</td>
<td><em>Lind. Cart.</em>, nos. LXII &amp; LXIII.</td>
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<td>Airlie</td>
<td>‘abbathein de Erolyn’</td>
<td>to Coupar Angus Abbey from the Bishop of St Andrews, 1212.</td>
<td><em>Coup. Chrs.</em>, I, nos. XI &amp; XXI</td>
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<td>Ecclesgreig</td>
<td>‘terra abbacie de Ecclesgreig’</td>
<td>to St Andrews Priory from William the Lion, 1189X1195.</td>
<td><em>St A. Lib.</em>, 218, 229-230.</td>
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<td>Falkirk</td>
<td>‘abland de Falkirk’</td>
<td>to John son of Harvey, ab of Falkirk, in agreement with Holyrood Abbey</td>
<td><em>Holy. Lib.</em>, no. 91.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dull</td>
<td>‘abthania de Dull’</td>
<td>to St Andrews Priory from the chapter of Dunkeld, 1214X1249.</td>
<td><em>St A. Lib.</em>, 296-297.</td>
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<td>Inverlunan</td>
<td>‘terram ecclesia de Inverlunan scilicet terram de Abthan’</td>
<td>to Henry the Physician from Nigel mac Ivar, 1189X1195.</td>
<td><em>RRS.</em>, II, no. 590.</td>
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<td>Kettins</td>
<td>‘in terra Abthenagii mei de Ketenes’</td>
<td>in the possession of Hugh de Evers, lord of Kettins, 1292X1296.</td>
<td><em>Coup. Chrs.</em>, I, no. lxiii</td>
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<td>Kinghorn</td>
<td>attested to by W. F. Skene.</td>
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<td>Madderty</td>
<td>‘que terra vocatur Abthen’</td>
<td>to the community of St John, Inchaffray, from Earl Gilbert of Strathearn, c. 1199.</td>
<td><em>Inchaff. Chrs.</em>, nos IV &amp; VII.</td>
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<td>Melginch</td>
<td>'terra que Scotice vocatur abthen'</td>
<td>to Holyrood Abbey from the Bishop of Dunkeld, 1189-1195</td>
<td>Holy. Lib., no. 48.</td>
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<td>Monifieth</td>
<td>'terram de Abthein de Munifeth'</td>
<td>to Arbroath Abbey from Countess Matilda of Angus, c. 1242</td>
<td>Arb. Lib., I. nos. 114 &amp; 115, &amp; app. no. IV.</td>
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<td>Montrose</td>
<td>'terra eiusdem ecclesie que Scotice abthen vocatur'</td>
<td>to Arbroath Abbey from King William, c. 1178.</td>
<td>Arb. Lib., I, no. 17.</td>
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<td>Rathobyres</td>
<td>'la Abthen'</td>
<td>to Roger Hog of the Barnes, from the earl of Douglas, c. 1356</td>
<td>Fraser, Douglas, III, no. 20.</td>
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<td>Rossie</td>
<td>'abbacia de Rossim'</td>
<td>to James of Perth from Prior William of St Andrews, 1178-1188</td>
<td>Spalding Misc., II, 318.</td>
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<td>(Perthshire)</td>
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The Genealogy of the Scolocs of Kinglassie.

1. The documents containing the information from which this genealogy is compiled are printed in Dunf. Reg., nos. 327-330. The MS source: NLS, MS. Adv 34.4.7.

2. The editor of the Dunfermline Register prefers to read 'Gilgrewer', but the contraction mark in the middle of the abbreviated name traditionally denotes an omitted 'cr' not 're'. The meaning of this sobriquet is nevertheless not immediately apparent, the only recognisable element being 'gil' which usually denotes the Gaelic gille (servant of). The final element appears to be the Anglo-Saxonخار (man). As it is likely to pertain to the last rather than the first element, the middle element 'ger' is most probably also of Anglo-Saxon derivation. It could thence stand for gear, the standard meaning of which is 'year', but can also mean 'yearly tribute'. A speculative translation would hence be Alan 'servant of the man who gives yearly tribute', a cognomen which perhaps reveals part of his relationship with the monastery to which he was tied.

3. The editor of the Dunfermline Register prefers to treat 'Gilgrewer' as the name of John III's third son, but in the original document no punctuation mark or space separates 'John' and 'Bel', as they do 'Adam' and 'John'. Notably, the document is damaged immediately after the name 'Bel', leaving a gap which most probably originally contained the name of the third son. Accordingly, 'Bel' has been treated here as the sobriquet of John.
APPENDICES

APPENDIX 7

St Fergus, Scone and Caithness

It is recorded in a charter datable between 1165 and 1206 that Harald Maddadson, earl of Orkney and Caithness (1139-1206), pledged to pay one silver merk per annum to the canons of Scone Abbey.¹ The reason why Harald singled out Scone for his only recorded grant to a Scottish monastery is not immediately apparent. His father was a Scottish earl (Matad of Atholl) and his wife the daughter of Earl Donnchad II of Fife (Affrica),² so he would certainly have been conscious of the ancient significance of Scone to the kingdom of the Scots. There is no record, however, of the comital families of either Atholl or Fife ever having patronised the Augustinian convent during the twelfth century.³ An answer to this puzzling question has traditionally been sought in the dispute between Earl Harald and King William. After a number of northern uprisings, in which Harald appears to have participated,⁴ William invaded Caithness in 1196,⁵ sacked Thurso and forced the recalcitrant earl into submission.⁶ Later the same year, (or in 1197), having failed to surrender his son, Thorfinn, to the king of Scots, Harald was imprisoned in Roxburgh castle and officially deprived of Caithness.⁷ Although Thorfinn's submission meant that Earl Harald was soon released, William refused to restore him to the earldom

¹ Scone Lib., no. 58.
³ Earl Donnchad II of Fife witnessed a number of royal grants to Scone Abbey in his capacity as justiciar, as did earl Mael Coluim of Atholl, but there is no record of them following the king’s example. See, for example, Scone Lib., nos. 30 & 31.
⁴ Topping, ‘Harald Maddadson’, 112-117, at 112, notes that ‘the evidence is inconclusive and while Harald is never mentioned as directly participating in revolt until the 1190s, it may have been that he was at least giving tacit support to rebellions, since they could have indirectly aided any aspirations of expansion into the more southerly Scottish earldoms which he may have had’. See also Crawford, ‘The Earldom of Caithness’, 30-31.
⁵ Chron. Howden, IV, 10, places William’s invasion of Caithness in 1196, which corresponds with Barrow’s tentative dating of various charters issued by King William in Moray. RRS, II, nos. 388-395. The author of the Chronicle of Melrose, however, places it in 1197. Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1197. Anderson, ES, II, 348n., concluded that the Chronicle of Melrose ‘is probably the best authority for the date’. It is possible, however, that there is no disparity between the sources and that William made two expeditions to Caithness, one in 1196, the other in 1197. For comment on the confused dating of these expeditions, see Topping, ‘Harald Maddadson’. 117.
⁶ Chron. Howden, IV, 10.
⁷ Chron. Melrose, s.a. 1197. Chron. Howden, IV, 11, states that Harald was imprisoned in ‘the castle of Maidens’, i.e. Edinburgh.
of Caithness, granting it instead to the King of Man. In response, Howden recorded that Harald 'offered the king plenty of gold and silver to have Caithness once more'. It has consequently been suggested that it was 'Doubtless on this occasion the earl gave an annual merk of silver to the canons of Scone...to propitiate King William'. Whilst this appears a plausible theory, it has its weaknesses. On the one hand, for example, it is evident from his refusal to take back his first wife, Affrica, as William demanded, that Earl Harald was far from suppliant to the Scottish king. On the other, if he had truly wanted to ingratiate himself with William, then Harald would surely have made his grant to the king's own abbey at Arbroath. Prompted by these doubts and with an appreciation of the religious traditions of both Caithness and Scone, it is possible to propose an alternative theory for Harald's donation to Scone Abbey.

In illustration, one of the most prominent figures in the early Christian history of northern Britain was St Fergus. He appears to have been an Irish-trained Pict who formed part of the late seventh-, early eighth-century mission, (which also included Adommin and Curetán), to convert the Gaelic Church in Pictland to the Roman usage. The Aberdeen Breviary records that he travelled first to Strathearn, where he founded three churches at Strogeith all dedicated to St Patrick. It would appear, however, that his mission was

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8 Ibid., IV, 12. 9 Ibid., IV, 12. 10 Duncan, Scotland, 294. See also, Anderson, ES, II, 348n. Barrow was more cautious, remarking that 'a grant of one silver merk annually to Scone Abbey by Earl Harold and his son Thorfinn, was presumably issued after reconciliation with King William, but the charter cannot be dated precisely and it may be as late as 1202'. RRS, II, 25. 11 Chron. Howden, IV, 12. See comment in Crawford, 'The Earldom of Caithness', 32. 12 A number of Scottish nobles made grants to Arbroath Abbey in the decade or so after its foundation, doubtless in order to signal their loyalty to, or ingratiate themselves with William. They included Earl Gille Crist of Angus, John de Montfort and Earl Fergus of Buchan. Arb. Lib., I, nos. 46, 70 & 85. 13 The various stories relating to St Fergus are collected in Forbes, Kalendars, 336-338. The Aberdeen Breviary contains the most comprehensive account of his life and works. Aberdeen Breviarum, pars hymen, fós. cxiii-cxiii. He was probably the Fergus Cruithnech (the Pict) who was commemorated in the twelfth-century martyrology of Gorman under the 8th of September. The Martyrology of Gorman, ed. W. Stokes, (London, 1895), 58. For the mission undertaken by Adomnan and Curetán to romanise the Gaelic Church in northern Britain, see Veitch, 'The Columban Church' (forthcoming). St Fergus' sphere of influence, as delineated by the Aberdeen Breviary and dedications, corresponds with that of Curetan, perhaps indicating that he was the bishop of Rosemarkie's deputy for the proselytisation of northern Pictland. It appears to have been relatively common for Picts to be trained at Gaelic monasteries; e.g. Eoganan the Pictish priest mentioned in Adomnan, Columbia (Sharpe), II, 9. 14 Aberdeen Breviarum, hymen fo. cxiii. One of these churches subsequently became the parish church of Strogeith. It was confirmed to Inchaffray by Earl Gille Brigte when the community converted to the Augustinian rule. Inchaff. Chrs., no. IX. It is probable that the other two churches
thereafter based in the northern provinces of Caithness and Buchan. This is reflected both in church dedications and popular religious traditions. In Caithness, for instance, the churches of Halkirk and Wick were dedicated to Fergus. In Buchan, he established a church (basilica) at Lungley, which subsequently came to be known as St Fergus, and ‘consecrated a tabernacle’ at Glamis, in the vicinity of which was a cave and a well with which he was associated. Fergus died at Glamis and his corpse was interred in the church, later to be enshrined in a marble tomb. At the same time as his body was transferred to this more august tomb, his head was taken by ‘a pious abbot of Scone’ to the ancient sacral and royal site of Scone. This honour suggests that in the eyes of the hierarchy of the Church in Pictland, or their reformed antecedents, St Fergus was not merely just another missionary, but rather a figure of national importance. It can consequently be conjectured that he was the ‘Bishop Fergus the Pict of Scotia’ (Fergustus Episcopus Scotiae Pictus) who was present at a papal council in Rome in 721, and was hence the nominal leader of the Church in Pictland. Whatever the case, for the current discussion it is significant to note that the cult of St Fergus was maintained into the medieval period both at Wick by the incoming Scandinavian settlers, and at Scone by the Augustinian convent. Thus, the Féill Fearghuis (St Fergus’ Fair) continued to be celebrated at Wick on the fourth Tuesday of November until the nineteenth century. Similarly, the head of St Fergus continued to attract pilgrims to Scone Abbey as late as the sixteenth century. James IV, for example, ‘made offerand to the hede of Sanct Fergus,' to which the breviary refers were the chapels of Blackford and Dolpatrick, both of which were dedicated to St Patrick.

15 Aberdeen Breviariwm, hymen, fo. cxiii.
16 MacKinlay, Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland, II, Non-Scriptural, 212.
17 He was also associated with the churches of Banff, Dyce and Inverugie. Ibid., 210-211.
18 Aberdeen Breviariwm, pars hymen, fo. cxiii; & MacKinlay, Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland, II, Non-Scriptural, 210-211.
19 Aberdeen Breviariwm, hymen, fo. cxiii.
20 The breviary does not make it clear if the ‘pious abbot of Scone’ was the head of the post-1120 reformed convent, or of the earlier Gaelic Church community.
21 Haddan & Stubbs, Councils, II, i, 7. This council promulgated against various perceived irregularities, including clerics who allowed their hair to grow too long and magicians. It is possible that Pictus is a mis-reading for Pictius, so that the extract reads ‘Bishop Fergus of the Scots to the Picts’. This suggestion would need to be verified with reference to the original manuscript in Rome.
22 If the proposal made above that Fergus was the deputy of Curetán, then it is possible that upon the bishop of Rosemarkie’s death c. 710 he became the leader of the romanised Gaelic Church in Pictland.
23 OPS, II, ii, 778.
Scone' of 18s. in September 1504 and of 14s. in October 1506. As a result of this historical religious connection between the Scandinavian capital of Caithness and the royal monastery of Scone, it is possible that the donation made by Earl Harald of Orkney and Caithness to the Augustinian convent was prompted by their common reverence for St Fergus rather than as a random act of conciliation towards the Scottish king.

Interestingly, the chronicle of Howden, and the testimony of the Orkneyinga Saga, arguably provide the devotional context in which Earl Harald made his grant to the canons of Scone. Howden recorded, for example, that on his release from captivity in southern Scotland, Earl Harald returned north to Orkney to be confronted by a rival claimant to his two earldoms, Harald Ungi. In response, Harald Maddadson collected an army from Man with which he defeated the forces of Harald Ungi sometime in 1198. As the Orkneyinga Saga proclaimed, this was a decisive victory for Earl Harald as it once more ‘laid the whole of Caithness under his rule’. Significantly, this battle was fought at Wick, one of the main cult centres for St Fergus in Caithness. Perhaps encamped at Wick before the arrival of Harald Ungi, it is possible that Earl Harald prayed in the church of St Fergus prior to the battle and consequently attributed his triumph partly to the saint’s intercession. Reflecting the contractual relationship which characterised the cult of the saints in medieval Europe, it is further possible that in return for Fergus’ protection, Harald promised thereafter to hold the saint’s name in particular honour. It can consequently be proposed that when Earl Harald attended the court of William at Perth in 1202, he made the short journey to the nearby abbey of Scone to make his devotions to

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24 The first of these donations was to provide a silver relic-case for St Fergus’ head. *TA*, III, 283. St Fergus’ arm was preserved in a reliquary at Aberdeen Cathedral. *Abdn. Reg.*, II, 160.
25 This text presents a less Scoto-centric, albeit in its own fashion strongly partisan, account of the troubles in Caithness during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For the period in question, see *Orkneyinga Saga*, 218-223.
26 *Chron. Howden*, IV, 11.
27 Ibid., IV, 11.
28 *Orkneyinga Saga*, 220. According to Howden, it was after this victory that Harald Maddadson made his aforementioned offer of gold and silver to King William.
29 It is possible to infer from Howden’s account that Harald Ungi attacked Earl Harald at Wick, rather than *vice versa*. *Chron. Howden*, IV, 11.
30 The early medieval church in Wick was probably located on the hillock at the east of the town which came to be known as Mount Halie. *OPS*, II, ii, 771. This site affords a reasonable defensive position, making it possible that it was occupied by Harald’s troops.
31 Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 142
32 For an earlier, Scottish equivalent of such a contract, see Radner, *Fragmentary Annals*, 71
33 It was at this meeting in 1202 that Earl Harald made his peace with King William and paid 2,000 pounds in silver for the return of Caithness. *Chron. Fordun, Annals*, XXIV
the head of St Fergus, and that to commemorate this visit he granted the Augustinian convent an annual silver merk. Significantly, Harald Maddadson was evidently not alone in thus recognising the canons of Scone Abbey as the temporal representatives of the early eighth-century Pictish saint. It would appear as if the bishop of Caithness was similarly conscious of the status bestowed upon them by their possession of St Fergus' head. Thus, sometime before 1223X1245 he made their abbot a canon of his cathedral chapter. Notably, until the 1230s the see of Caithness was situated at Halkirk, a church founded by St Fergus.

34 Scotl. Lib., no. 103. As a canon of Caithness, the abbot of Scone was granted the prebend of Kildonan church. It was probably in connection with this possession that Alexander II issued a charter informing his men of Moray and Caithness that he had taken the ship of the abbot and conven of Scone and their goods under his protection. Ibid., no. 73. Unfortunately, the witness-list of this charter has not been transcribed making it impossible to date it more specifically than 1214X1249.

35 Crawford, 'The Earldom of Caithness', 27.
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