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**Scottish Augustinians: a study of the regular canonical movement in
the kingdom of Scotland, c. 1120-1215**

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In memory of John W. White (1921-2010) and Nicholas S. Whitlock (1982-2012)

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work and that no part of it has previously been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

N.B. some of the material found in this thesis appears in A. Smith and G. Ratcliff, 'A Survey of Relations between Scottish Augustinians before 1215', in *The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles*, eds. J. Burton and K. Stöber (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 115-44.

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Abstract

The Augustinian canons have never enjoyed the level of scholarly attention afforded to the monastic and mendicant movements of the central middle ages. This disparity has been particularly acute in the British Isles, despite being its most prolific religious movement. Scholars working in England, Ireland, and Wales have begun to correct this historiographical lacuna. In Scotland, the regular canons have also received comparatively scant attention, and, indeed, have largely been understood on the basis of imported paradigms. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to address a deficiency in Scottish historiography and make a contribution to the growing scholarship on the regular canons in the British Isles.

The regular canonical movement is examined within the kingdom of Scotland over the course of roughly a century. Eleven non-congregational houses of regular canons are considered, namely Scone, Holyrood, Jedburgh, St. Andrews, Cambuskenneth, and Inchcolm and the dependencies of Loch Tay, Loch Leven, Restenneth, Canonbie, and St. Mary's Isle. The kingdom of Scotland provides both a common context, and a diverse milieu, in which to consider the foundation and development of these institutions and the movement as a whole. The chronological parameters have been determined by the foundation of the first house of regular canons in Scotland in *c.* 1120 and the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, which had the effect of artificially creating the Order of St Augustine. By examining individual houses separately, as well as in unison, this study seeks to present an integrated picture of the regular canonical movement in the kingdom of Scotland during the period of its organic development from *c.* 1120 to 1215.

The fundamental question concerning the regular canons is the nature of their vocation and their societal function. It has increasingly been recognised that a spectrum of different interpretations of canonical life existed ranging from the active – pastoral, practical, and outward looking – to the contemplative – ascetic, quasi-eremical, and inward looking – which were all part of the same decentralised religious movement. This thesis attempts to situate the Scottish Augustinians, as far as possible, within this spectrum. It argues that a unique manifestation of the regular canonical movement emerged in the kingdom of Scotland as the result of a range of factors – including shared patrons, leadership, and episcopal support – which had the effect of creating a group identity, and, thereby, a collective understanding of their vocation and role in society.

The subject institutions have been particularly fortunate in terms of the quality and variety of the surviving source material. The evidence is comprised principally of charter material, but also includes chronicles and foundation narratives produced by Scottish Augustinians, and these provide an essential supplement. This thesis sheds light on an important group of religious houses in Scotland and on a complex religious movement that is only beginning to be fully understood, and, thus, it is hoped that this study will lay the groundwork for future research.

List of Abbreviations

AC	J.C. Dickinson, <i>The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England</i> (London, 1950)
<i>Annals of Ulster</i>	<i>The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)</i> , ed. and trans. S. Mac Airt and G. Mac Niocaill (Dublin, 1983)
BL	British Library
<i>Cambuskenneth Registrum</i>	<i>Registrum Monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth, AD 1147-1535</i> , ed. W. Fraser (Edinburgh, 1872)
CED	<i>Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland</i> , eds. A.W. Hadden and W. Stubbs, 3 vols (Oxford, 1869-78)
<i>Chron. Fordun</i>	John of Fordun, <i>Chronica Gentis Scotorum</i> , ed. W.F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1871-2)
<i>Chron. Holyrood</i>	<i>A Scottish Chronicle known as the Chronicle of Holyrood</i> , ed. M.O. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1938)
<i>Chron. Howden</i>	Roger Howden, <i>The annals of Roger Hoveden comprising the history of England and of other countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201</i> , trans. H.T. Riley, 2 vols (London, 1853)
<i>Chron. Melrose</i>	<i>Chronica de Mailros, e codice unice in Bibliotheca Cottoniana servato, nunc iterum in lucem edita</i> , ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1835)
<i>Chron. Picts-Scots</i>	<i>Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots, and Other Early Memorials of Scottish History</i> , ed. W.F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1867)
<i>Chron. Wyntoun</i>	Andrew Wyntoun, <i>The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland</i> , ed. D. Laing, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1872-6)
DC	<i>The Charters of King David I: the Written Acts of David I King of Scots, 1124-5, and of his son Henry Earl of Northumberland, 1139-52</i> , ed. G.W.S. Barrow (Woodbridge, 1999)
DPE	M. Heale, <i>The Dependent Priors of Medieval English Monasteries</i> (Woodbridge, 2004)
<i>Dryburgh Liber</i>	<i>Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh: Registrum Cartarum Abbatie Premonstratensis de Dryburgh</i> , ed. W. Fraser (Edinburgh, 1847)
<i>Dunfermline Registrum</i>	<i>Registrum de Dunfermelyn: Liber cartarum Abbatie Benedictine S.S. Trinitatis et B. Margarete Regine de Dunfermelyn</i> , ed. C.N. Innes (Edinburgh, 1842)
<i>Ecumenical Councils</i>	<i>Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils: Nicaea I to Lateran V</i> , ed. N.P. Tanner, 2 vols (London, 1990)
ESC	<i>Early Scottish Charters prior to A.D. 1153: collected with notes and an index</i> , ed. A.C. Lawrie (Glasgow, 1905)
<i>Fasti</i>	A.L. Murray and D.E.R. Watt, <i>Fasti ecclesiae Scoticanæ mediæ ævi ad annum 1638</i> (Edinburgh, 2003)

GAS	D.M. Robinson, <i>The Geography of Augustinian Settlement in Medieval England and Wales</i> , 2 vols (Oxford, 1980)
<i>Glasgow Registrum</i>	<i>Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis: a sede restaurata, seculo ineunte XII ad reformatam religionem</i> , ed. C.N. Innes, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1843)
<i>Holyrood Liber</i>	<i>Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis: munimenta ecclesie Sancte Crucis de Edwinesburg</i> , ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1840)
<i>Holyrood Ordinale</i>	<i>The Holyrood Ordinale: A Scottish Version of a Directory of English Augustinian Canons, with manual and other liturgical forms</i> , ed. F.C. Eeles (Edinburgh, 1916)
HRHEW	C.N.L. Brooke, D. Knowles, and V.C.M. London, <i>The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales</i> , 3 vols (Cambridge, 1972-2008)
HRHS	N.F. Shead and D.E.R. Watt, <i>The Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland from Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries</i> (Edinburgh, 2001)
<i>Inchcolm Charters</i>	<i>Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm</i> , eds. D.E. Easson and A. Macdonald (Edinburgh, 1938)
IR	<i>Innes Review</i>
KS	G.W.S. Barrow, <i>The Kingdom of the Scots: Government, Church and Society from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century</i> (London, 1973)
<i>Melrose Liber</i>	<i>Liber Sancte Marie de Melros: munimenta vetustiora monasterii cisterciensis de Melros</i> , ed. C.N. Innes, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1837)
MK	A.A.M. Duncan, <i>Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom</i> (Edinburgh, 1975)
<i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i>	<i>Monasticon Anglicanum: a History of the Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with their Dependencies, in England and Wales</i> , ed. W. Dugdale and others, 6 vols (London, 1817-30)
MPRS	P.C. Ferguson, <i>Medieval Papal Representatives in Scotland: Legates, Nuncios, and Judges-Delegate, 1125-1286</i> (Edinburgh, 1997)
MRHEW	R.N. Hadcock and D. Knowles, <i>Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales</i> , 2nd edn (London, 1971)
MRHI	A. Gwynn and R.N. Hadcock, <i>Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland</i> (London, 1970)
MRHS, I	D.E. Easson, <i>Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland, with an Appendix on the houses in the Isle of Man</i> (London, 1957)
MRHS, II	I.B. Cowan and D.E. Easson, <i>Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland, with an Appendix on the houses in the Isle of Man</i> , 2nd edn (London, 1976)
NAK	National Archives at Kew
NAS	National Archives of Scotland

<i>Newbattle Registrum</i>	<i>Registrum S. Marie de Neubotle: Abacie Cisterciensis Beate Virginis de Neubotle Chartarium Vetus, 1140-1528</i> , ed. C.N. Innes (Edinburgh, 1849)
NLS	National Library of Scotland
<i>Parishes</i>	I.B. Cowan, <i>The Parishes of Medieval Scotland</i> (Edinburgh, 1967)
PL	<i>Patrologiae Latinae completus cursus</i> , ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844-64)
PNF	S. Taylor and G. Márkus, <i>The Place-Names of Fife</i> , 5 vols (Donington, 2008-13)
PSAS	<i>Proceedings of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland</i>
RRS, I	<i>Regesta Regum Scottorum: The Acts of Malcolm IV, King of Scots 1153-1165</i> , ed. G.W.S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1960)
RRS, II	<i>Regesta Regum Scottorum: The Acts of William I, King of Scots 1165-1214</i> , ed. G.W.S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1971)
RSCHS	<i>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</i>
<i>Scone Liber</i>	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon: munimenta vetustiora monasterii Sancte Trinitatis et sancti Michaelis de Scon</i> , ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1843)
<i>Scotia Pontificia</i>	<i>Scotia Pontificia: papal letters to Scotland before the pontificate of Innocent III</i> , ed. R. Somerville (Oxford, 1982)
<i>Scotichronicon</i>	Walter Bower, <i>Scotichronicon by Walter Bower</i> , eds. D.E.R. Watt and others, 9 vols (Aberdeen, 1987-1998)
<i>Sheriffs</i>	G.W.S. Barrow and N.H. Reid, <i>The Sheriffs of Scotland: An interim list to c. 1306</i> (St. Andrews, 2002)
SHR	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
<i>St Andrews Liber</i>	<i>Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia: e registro ipso in archivis baronum de Panmure hodie asservato</i> , ed. T. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1841)
TDGAS	<i>Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society</i>
<i>Thirds of Benefices</i>	<i>The Books of Assumption of the Thirds of Benefices: Scottish Ecclesiastical Rentals at the Reformation</i> , ed. J. Kirk (Oxford, 1995)
TSES	<i>Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society</i>

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Introduction

I. Canonical Reform and the Augustinian Canons

Augustinian canons emerged from a gradual process of reform which was aimed at an important segment of the clergy of the Western Church. Those communities of clerics who served cathedrals and collegiate churches under direct episcopal supervision were termed canons (*canonici*) and formed a subsection of the clergy that was distinct from both the wider secular clergy (e.g. rural priests) and the monastic orders.¹ The communal nature of their priesthood made them unique and necessitated regulations specific to their vocation.

During the middle ages, there were a number of attempts to regulate the lifestyle of canons, the most important of which occurred in the early ninth century. In 816-7, at the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle (or Aachen) a rule for canonical communities was developed on the basis of patristic literature, conciliar decrees, and the earlier Rule of Chrodegang.² The Rule of Aix-la-Chapelle, or the *Institutio Canoniorum*, established a rule regulating canonical life, and the lifestyle that it prescribed became the standard text governing the communal life of canons for centuries. However, the fact that the rule established at Aix-la-Chapelle, while not encouraging the practice, allowed for the possession of private property and separate living arrangements brought it under fire in the reforming atmosphere of the eleventh century.³

The reform-minded popes of the eleventh century from Leo IX (1048-54) to Gregory VII (1073-85) began to challenge the secularisation of the Church and ushered in a period of renewal commonly known as the Gregorian Reform. A significant aspect of the papal agenda was the reform of the clergy.⁴ At the Lateran Council held by Pope Nicholas II (1058-61) in 1059, and attended by Hildebrand (the future Pope Gregory VII),⁵ the church hierarchy called upon communities of canons to live by a higher standard than the model found in the Rule of Aix-la-Chapelle.⁶ The papacy instead endorsed a lifestyle

¹ AC, pp. 13-5; L.K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (London, 1978), pp. 99-100.

² Chrodegang, bishop of Metz (742-66), developed a rule for his cathedral clergy at Metz known as the *Regula canonicorum* (or *Decretulum*), which borrowed from the monastic model of the Rule of St Benedict and also from the teachings of St Augustine. It formed the backbone of the Rule of Aix-la-Chapelle (34 of 86 chapters). Despite the influence of monasticism on the text, the Rule of Chrodegang (like the Rule of Aix-la-Chapelle) allowed for both the possession of private property and individual domiciles (M.A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula Canonicorum in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 7-10, 58-165; J.J. Cocchiarelli, 'The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Fordham University, 1986), pp. i-iv, 1-31).

³ AC, pp. 18-23.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 26-7.

⁵ For the significant role played by Hildebrand, see Ibid., pp. 29-39.

⁶ Canon IV reads: 'And we firmly decree that those of the above-mentioned orders who, in obedience to our predecessors, have remained chaste shall sleep and eat together near the church to which they have been ordained as is fitting for pious clergy and that they shall hold in common whatever revenues come to them from the church, and

based upon the *vita apostolica*.⁷ The *vita apostolica* was specifically the example of the primitive church found in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts 4: 32-5). The imitation of the *vita apostolica* meant not only a communal life (*vita communis*) free from personal property and inherently celibate, but also one which recognised the poverty and evangelism of the early church.⁸ Canonical communities that adopted these principles came to be known as regular canons (*canonicus regularis*).⁹ The regular canonical movement, encouraged by the eleventh-century popes, spread throughout Western Europe, particularly in northern Italy, southern France, and (to a lesser degree) in the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁰

In the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the Rule of St. Augustine was gradually adopted by communities of regular canons.¹¹ It offered the movement a concrete mode of religious life and the credibility of its patristic author.¹² The Rule of St. Augustine articulated a flexible structure for communal life influenced by the *vita apostolica*.¹³ The earliest example of its adoption by a community of regular canons was perhaps in France at the church of St Denis, Rheims, in 1067.¹⁴ During this period, the regular canonical movement again found its most valuable supporters in Rome. The papacy played an important

we urge them especially that they strive to attain the apostolic way of life, which is a life in common' (B. Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300* (Englewood Cliff, NJ, 1964), doc. 22).

⁷ It should be noted that the regular canonical movement was already underway before the council of 1059. For example, prior to his election as pope, Nicholas II helped to establish regular canons at the church of St John, Lateran, in 1058 (J. Mois, 'Geist und Regel de Hl. Augustinus in der Kanoniker-Reform des 11.-12. Jahrhunderts', *In Unum Congregati*, 6 (1959), 52-9 (pp. 52-3)).

⁸ E.W. McDonnell, 'The 'Vita Apostolica': Diversity or Dissent', *American Society of Church History*, 24 (1955), 15-31; B.M. Bolton, 'Paupertas Christi: Old Wealth and New Poverty in the twelfth century', in *Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1977), pp. 95-103.

⁹ However, the actual terminology varied considerably in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries (AC, pp. 49-52).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-9, 40-9.

¹¹ There have been four rule texts attributed to St Augustine. The *regula prima* (or *regula consensoria*) was at one time considered a work of St Augustine, but is now thought to have been produced in seventh-century Spain (G. Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule* (Oxford, 1987), p. 125, fn. 9). The remaining three rule texts, known by a number of different names, have some claim to Augustinian authorship: Epistle no. 211 (which includes the *obiurgatio* and *regula sororum*), *ordo monasterii* (or *regula secunda*), and the *praeceptum* (or *regula tertia*). However, the authorship of these texts and their relationship to one another is not straightforward, and has been the subject of considerable disagreement; there is still no consensus. The conclusions reached by the author of the modern critical edition of the Rule of St Augustine, Luc Verheijen, are accepted here and are as follows. The *praeceptum* was written by St Augustine in c. 397. The *praeceptum* was a rule text for a male community. It was long thought that the *praeceptum* was based on a feminine version found in Epistle no. 211, i.e. *regula sororum*. However, Verheijen has shown the reverse to be true. Epistle no. 211 also includes an admonishment to nuns (*obiurgatio*) written by St Augustine. Thus, the rule text found in Epistle no. 211, i.e. *regula sororum*, was adapted from the *praeceptum* for a female community, perhaps by St Augustine himself. The *ordo monasterii* with the exception of the first and last lines of the text was not authored by St Augustine himself. Verheijen suggests Alypius, bishop of Thagaste, a follower of St Augustine, as the author (L. Verheijen, *La règle de saint Augustin*, 2 vols (Paris, 1967), I, pp. 148-152, 417-37; II, pp. 125-74). See also, AC, app. 1.

¹² AC, pp. 69-70; Little, p. 103.

¹³ *The Rule of Saint Augustine*, ed. T.J. Van Bavel, trans. R. Canning (London, 1989), pp. 6-8.

¹⁴ Little, p. 102.

part in the evolution from regular canons to Augustinian canons. Significantly, Pope Urban II (1088-99) acknowledged regular canons following the Rule of St Augustine as a distinctive form of religious life.¹⁵

The adoption of the Rule of St Augustine, however, did not have the effect of establishing a uniform religious life for all communities of regular canons. This was because in the middle ages there were two texts attributed to St Augustine which presented very different visions of communal life. One, the *praeceptum*, provides a general framework for institutional life and describes a 'spiritual climate', rather than offering precise regulations.¹⁶ It outlines a moderate religious life, for instance allowing for speech, the eating of meat, and the wearing of linen.¹⁷ The second, the *ordo monasterii*, is much shorter than the *praeceptum* (one-fifth the length), but offers more detailed and rigorous instructions for the day-to-day life of a religious community which included a liturgical schedule and prescribed silence, manual labour, and correction through corporal punishment.¹⁸ The *ordo monasterii* and *praeceptum* were traditionally linked together in early manuscripts forming a single text and together constituted the Rule of St Augustine.¹⁹ Yet, the incompatibility of the religious life envisioned in these two texts would contribute to the separation of the regular canonical movement into two branches: *ordo antiquus* and *ordo novus*.²⁰

The first communities of regular canons to adopt the Rule of St Augustine, those founded in the eleventh century, centred their religious life upon the *praeceptum*. The early houses of Augustinian canons, such as St Ruf in Avignon, St Quentin in Beauvais, and Rottenbuch in Bavaria, considered the *praeceptum* alone to be the Rule of St Augustine and ignored the *ordo monasterii*.²¹ The moderate prescriptions for communal life found in the *praeceptum* were conducive to the clerical and pastoral responsibilities considered intrinsic to these houses, while the life prescribed by the *ordo monasterii*, especially the liturgical schedule, was unsuitable for such a vocation.²² What is more, for these groups of regular canons the Rule of St Augustine (i.e. the *praeceptum*) was not the exclusive text informing their religious life. The emphasis was not placed on a single authoritative text, but rather on a series of texts evoking the ideals of the *vita apostolica*, of which the Rule of St Augustine was considered to be the

¹⁵ C. Dereine, 'Vie commune, règle de Saint Augustin et chanoines réguliers au XIe siècle', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 41 (1946), 365-406; C. Dereine, 'L'élaboration du statut canonique des chanoines réguliers spécialement sous Urbain II', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 46 (1951), 534-65.

¹⁶ A. Vauchez, *The Spirituality of the Medieval West: From the Eighth to the Twelfth Century* (Kalamazoo, 1993), pp. 96-7.

¹⁷ For the text of the *praeceptum*, see Lawless, pp. 80-103.

¹⁸ For the text of the *ordo monasterii*, see Ibid., pp. 74-9.

¹⁹ The *ordo monasterii* always preceded the *praeceptum* (Mois, 'Kanoniker-Reform', 52-9 (pp. 55-6)).

²⁰ C. Dereine, 'Chanoines', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, 31 vols (Paris, 1953), XII, cols. 353-405 (cols. 387-90).

²¹ Mois, 'Kanoniker-Reform', 52-9 (pp. 55-6).

²² AC, p. 58.

example par excellence.²³ Communities following this tradition are commonly referred to as the *ordo antiquus*.

Beginning in around 1100, however, a greater emphasis on the rule text, i.e. the Rule of St Augustine, and also a new textual interpretation, developed. Certain canonical communities, inspired by parallel developments within contemporary monasticism, began to assert that the *ordo monasterii* was integral to the Rule of St Augustine. A literal interpretation of the Rule of St Benedict, eremitical antecedents, and asceticism were the hallmarks of a new form of monasticism which appeared in the early twelfth century, the most famous proponent of which was the Order of Cîteaux.²⁴ This religious current greatly impacted the Augustinian movement. In 1107, the canons of Springiersbach, near Trier, became the first community of regular canons to use both the *praeceptum* and *ordo monasterii* as the Rule of St Augustine. In the following year, the canons of Hamersleben, near Oschersleben, followed suit.²⁵ Houses which adopted the more austere mode of canonical life embodied in the *ordo monasterii* are commonly referred to as the *ordo novus*.

In the 1120s, these conceptual and textual differences caused a divide within the Augustinian movement. In 1121, the canons of Prémontré, under the leadership of their founder Norbert of Xanten (1082-1134), not only adopted the *ordo monasterii*, but began to incorporate Cistercian organisational principles.²⁶ Moreover, Norbert began to actively recruit for this new form of canonical life.²⁷ This exacerbated the differences between the *ordo antiquus* and the *ordo novus*.²⁸ Both sides rejected the textual basis of their opponents. The old guard, led by the abbey of St Ruf, argued that the *ordo monasterii* was neither a genuine work of St Augustine, nor intended for a canonical audience. In turn, Norbert and the canons of Prémontré questioned the suitability of the *praeceptum* alone as a model for

²³ The *praeceptum* was not the only text considered to be instructive. Collections of patristic prescriptions relating to the common life, sometimes referred to as the *regula sanctorum Patrum* or *institutio sanctorum Patrum*, were also employed. In addition, sermons 355 and 356 by St Augustine were considered important edifying texts. Thus, the canons of the *ordo antiquus* did not attach singular importance to the rule text (L.J.R. Milis, 'Hermits and Regular Canons in the Twelfth Century', in *Religion, Culture, and Mentalities in the Medieval Low Countries: Selected Essays*, eds. J. Deploige and others (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 181-246 (pp. 218-9, 231); Mois, 'Kanoniker-Reform', 52-9 (p. 55)).

²⁴ L.J.R. Milis, 'The Regular Canons and Some Socio-Religious Aspects about the Year 1100', in *Religion, Culture, Mentalities in the Medieval Low Countries: Selected Essays*, eds. J. Deploige and others (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 169-80 (p. 170); Mois, 'Kanoniker-Reform', 52-9 (pp. 55-6); G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 108-12.

²⁵ C. Dereine, 'Les coutumiers de Saint-Quentin de Beauvais et de Springiersbach', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 43 (1948), 411-42; S. Weinfurter, 'Neuere Forschung zu den Regularkanonikern im deutschen Reich des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 224 (1977), 379-97 (p. 382).

²⁶ For example, the customs of Prémontré (like Cîteaux) required that a new community consist of twelve canons and an abbot (*Les Statuts de Prémontré réformés sur les ordres de Grégoire IX et d'Innocent IV au XIIIe*, ed. P.L.F. Lefèvre (Louvain, 1946), pp. 91-3).

²⁷ Mois, 'Kanoniker-Reform', 52-9 (pp. 57-8).

²⁸ See for example, C. Dereine, *Les chanoines réguliers au diocèse de Liège avant saint Norbert* (Brussels, 1952), pp. 23-7.

religious life.²⁹ As a result, by 1126 the canons of Prémontré split with the mainstream Augustinian movement forming the Order of Prémontré, commonly known as the Premonstratensians (or sometimes Norbertines). Other houses of the *ordo novus*, such as Arrouaise in Picardy and St Victor in Paris, also established individual congregations.³⁰

The lack of a precise model for religious life in the Rule of St Augustine created the need for customaries (*consuetudines*) to regulate the day-to-day life, liturgy, and internal organisation of canonical foundations. This requirement led in due course to the development of such statutes by houses of both the *ordo antiquus* and *ordo novus*. In the early years, it was common for houses of the *ordo antiquus* to use a revised version of the Rule of Aix-la-Chapelle.³¹ However, over time important houses of regular canons developed their own individual customs, which were then shared with other communities. For example, the abbey of St Ruf developed particularly influential customs which spread to houses in Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, and the Holy Roman Empire.³² Monastic characteristics were built into the customs of Augustinian houses because they were to varying degrees based upon monastic models. Therefore, the customaries produced by canons of both the *ordo antiquus* and the *ordo novus* were unavoidably influenced by monasticism. For example, the customs of the important abbey of St Quentin in Beauvais, a leading centre of the *ordo antiquus*, combined elements from the *praeceptum*, Rule of St Benedict, and the Rule of Aix-la-Chapelle.³³ As might be expected, houses of the *ordo novus*, such as the Premonstratensians, Victorines, and Arrouaisians, leaned quite heavily on monastic models such as the Rule of St Benedict and the customaries of Cluny and Cîteaux.³⁴ For instance, the customs of Prémontré borrowed whole chapters directly from the Cistercian *Summa cartae caritatis*.³⁵ One example of the monastic influence upon Augustinian customs, found at houses of the *ordo antiquus* and *ordo novus* alike, was the frequent replacement of canonical terminology (e.g. *prelatus*, *prepositus*) for the internal hierarchy of a house with monastic terminology (e.g. *abbas*, *prior*).³⁶

Ultimately, the divisions which appeared within the movement were not based upon textual differences, but upon philosophy. Indeed, most of the *ordo novus* would quickly drop the *ordo monasterii*

²⁹ Mois, 'Kanoniker-Reform', 52-9 (pp. 57-8). See also, C. Dereine, 'Saint-Ruf et ses coutumes aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *Revue Bénédictine*, 59 (1949), 161-182.

³⁰ Mois, 'Kanoniker-Reform', 52-9 (pp. 56-8); Weinfurter, 'Regularanonikern', 379-97 (pp. 380-1).

³¹ Constable, *Reformation*, p. 55. See for example, C.D. Fonseca, *Medioevo canonice* (Milan, 1970), pp. 78-91.

³² Mois, 'Kanoniker-Reform', 52-9 (pp. 55-7); Weinfurter, 'Regularanonikern', 379-97 (pp. 383-4). For a recent study concerning the influence of St Ruf in Catalonia Spain, see U. Vones-Liebenstein, *Saint-Ruf und Spanien: Studien zur Verbreitung und zum Wirken der Regularanoniker von Saint-Ruf in Avignon auf der Iberischen Halbinsel (11. und 12. Jahrhundert)*, 2 vols (Paris and Turnhout, 1996).

³³ L. Milis, 'Le coutumier de Saint-Quentin de Beauvais', *Sacris erudiri*, 21 (1972-3), 435-81 (pp. 450-72).

³⁴ Milis, 'Hermits and Regular Canons', pp. 181-246 (pp. 222, 234-8, 244-5).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 181-246 (pp. 235-6).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 181-246 (pp. 222-7).

altogether as a part of the Rule of St Augustine (even the Premonstratensians).³⁷ The adoption of the *ordo monasterii*, then, was more symbolic than a true point of departure. It was the asceticism of the more radical houses of the *ordo novus*, particularly those influenced by Cistercian monasticism and eremitical ideals, which formed the true line of demarcation. This is reflected in the customaries composed by the different branches of the canonical movement. The customs developed by the *ordo antiquus* emphasised moderation, while those produced by the *ordo novus* emphasised asceticism. In the early twelfth century this dichotomy led to the creation of independent congregations, yet the split did not have the effect of ensuring uniformity within the mainstream movement; instead the ideological divide was retained. Thus, the religious currents of the early twelfth century left an indelible mark on the interpretation of regular canonical life.³⁸

II. Augustinian Historiography

Of the major religious movements in the middle ages, the Augustinian canons have long been one of the least studied with scholars tending to focus on the monastic movements of the period and in particular the Order of Cîteaux. In the British Isles, the Augustinian canons have been particularly overshadowed. Yet, this is not in keeping with their significance, especially when one considers that in terms of foundations the Augustinian canons were the most prevalent religious movement in the British Isles with upwards of 400 houses. Indeed, Augustinian institutions were the most common in England and Wales (taken together) with around 250 houses, in Ireland with over 120, and, as will be seen, in Scotland as well.³⁹

One reason for this oversight has been the lasting influence of David Knowles, whose groundbreaking study, *The Monastic Order in England* (1940), dedicated little attention to the regular canons.⁴⁰ In his defence, Knowles justifiably considered the regular canons to be distinct from the

³⁷ AC, pp. 271-2. The full text of the Rule of St Augustine, i.e. the *ordo monasterii* and the *praeceptum*, is only found in early manuscripts. In the early twelfth century, a modified version of the Rule of St Augustine known as the *ordo recepta* became commonplace. This text combined the opening lines of the *ordo monasterii* with the full *praeceptum* and throughout most of the middle ages was the standard version of the Rule of St Augustine (Lawless, app. 1).

³⁸ The asceticism of the age influenced even the most ardent houses of the *ordo antiquus*. For example, the canons of St Ruf began to abstain from meat (L. Milis, *L'Ordre Des Chanoines Reguliers D'Arrouaise*, 2 vols (Bruges, 1969), I, p. 85).

³⁹ GAS, I, pp. 22-7; S. Preston, 'The Canons Regular of St Augustine: the twelfth century reform in action', in *Augustinians at Christ Church: The Canons Regular of the Cathedral Priory of Holy Trinity, Dublin*, ed. S. Kinsell (Dublin, 2000), pp. 23-40 (p. 23). In Wales, there were eight Augustinian foundations (and one Premonstratensian house). However, the canons were not the most prevalent religious group in Wales, ranking third behind the Cistercians and the Benedictines (K. Stöber, 'The Regular Canons in Wales', in *The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles*, eds. J. Burton and K. Stöber (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 97-113 (pp. 101-2)). See also, *MRHEW*, pp. 137-82; *MRHI*, pp. 146-200.

⁴⁰ D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A history of its development from the times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 139-42. For a discussion of the pervasive influence of David Knowles in another area of monastic studies, see *DPE*, pp. 2-4.

monastic orders which were the subject of his study. Nevertheless, the absence of the regular canons from this influential work appears to have had a residual effect on subsequent scholarship. Inadvertently, it may be responsible for orientating a generation of historians towards the monastic orders.

On the continent, however, the regular canons have received more widespread and sustained scholarly attention, which has moved forward more or less unabated since 1945. Four individuals in particular, Charles Dereine, Jakob Mois, Cosimo Fonseca, and Ludo Milis, helped to shape the historiography on the continent.⁴¹ In recent years, a considerable amount of scholarship has been produced on the regular canons, not only in France,⁴² Germany,⁴³ and Italy,⁴⁴ but also in the Low Countries, Spain, and even Greece.⁴⁵ These studies concern a wide range of topics from the spirituality of the regular canons to considerations of filiation. In addition, there have been a number of important studies concerning the major canonical congregations, namely the Arrouaisians, Premonstratensians, and

⁴¹ For example, see C. Dereine, 'Chanoines', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, 31 vols (Paris, 1953), XII, cols. 353-405; C. Dereine, 'Vie commune, règle de Saint Augustin et chanoines réguliers au XIe siècle', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 41 (1946), 365-406; J. Mois, 'Geist und Regel de Hl. Augustinus in der Kanoniker-Reform des 11.-12. Jahrhunderts', in *Unum Congregati*, 6 (1959), 52-9; J. Mois, *Das Stift Rottenbuch in der Kirchenreform de XI.-XII. Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag zur Ordensgeschichte der Augustiner Chorherren* (Munich, 1953); C.D. Fonseca, *Il cardinale Giovanni Gaderisi e la canonica di San Pietro ad Aram in Napoli: ricerche sui Vittorini e il movimento canonico in Italia* (Milan, 1962); C.D. Fonseca, 'Le canoniche regolari riformate dell'Italia nord occidentale: Ricerche e problemi', in *Monasteri in Alta Italia dopo le invasioni saracene e magiare (secc. X-XII)* (Turin, 1966), pp. 335-81; C.D. Fonseca, *Medioevo canonico* (Milan, 1970); L. Milis, 'Het geestelijk Klimaat rond 1100: Kiembodem voor de Reguliere Kanunniken', in *Gedenkboek: Orde van Prémontré, 1121-1971* (Altiora, 1971), pp. 13-23; L. Milis, 'Ermîtes et chanoines réguliers au XIIe siècle', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale: Xe-XIIIe siècles*, 22 (1975), pp. 39-80.

⁴² For example, see J. Auril, 'Recherches sur la politique paroissiale des établissements monastiques et canoniaux (XIe-XIIes)', *Revue Mabillon*, 59 (1980), 452-517; J. Châtillon, *Le mouvement canonique au moyen âge: réforme de l'église, spiritualité et culture*, ed. P. Sicard (Turnhout, 1992); S. Excoffon, 'Les chanoines réguliers dans l'espace français (XIIe-XIIIe siècles): Une approche cartographique', in *Les Chanoines réguliers: Émergence et expansion (XIe-XIIIe siècles)*, ed. M. Parisse (Saint-Étienne, 2009), pp. 499-524.

⁴³ For example, see S. Weinfurter, *Salzburger Bistumsreform und Bischofspolitik im 12. Jahrhundert: Der Erzbischof Konrad I. Von Salzburg (1106-1147) und die Regularkanoniker* (Cologne, 1975); K. Bosl, *Regularkanoniker (Augustinerchorherren) und Seelsorge in Kirche und Gesellschaft des europäischen 12. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1979); H. Fuhrmann, *Papst Urban II. und der Stand der Regularkanoniker* (Munich, 1984); H. Flachenecker, 'L'expansion des chanoines réguliers dans le saint Empire romain (XIe-XIIIe siècles)', in *Les Chanoines réguliers*, pp. 361-83.

⁴⁴ For example, see F. Poggiaspalla, *La Vita Comune del Clero: Dalle Origini alla Riforma Gregoriana* (Rome, 1968); F. Bocchi, 'Monasteri, canoniche e strutture urbane in Italia', in *Instituzioni Monastiche E Instituzioni Canonicali in Occidente (1123-1215): Atti della settima settimana internazionale di studio Mendola, 28 agosto-3 settembre 1977* (Milan, 1980), pp. 265-316; C. Violante, 'Monasteri e canoniche nell' sviluppo dell'economia monetaria (secoli XI-XIII)', in *Ibid.*, pp. 369-418; W. Gehrt, *Die Verbände der Regularkanonikerstifte S. Frediano in Lucca, S. Maria in Reno bei Bologna, S. Maria in Porto bei Ravenna und die cura animarum im 12. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt, 1984); C. Andenna, 'L'expansion des chanoines réguliers en Italie', in *Les Chanoines réguliers*, pp. 385-427.

⁴⁵ For example, U. Vones-Liebenstein, *Saint-Ruf und Spanien: Studien zur Verbreitung und zum Wirken der Regularkanoniker von Saint-Ruf in Avignon auf der Iberischen Halbinsel (11. und 12. Jahrhundert)*, 2 vols (Paris and Turnhout, 1996); U. Vones-Liebenstein, 'L'expansion des chanoines réguliers dans la péninsule ibérique au XIIe siècle', in *Les Chanoines réguliers*, pp. 429-53; B. Meijns, 'Les chanoines réguliers dans l'espace flamand', in *Les Chanoines réguliers*, pp. 455-76; N.I. Tsougarakis, 'Western Religious Orders in Medieval Greece' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 2008), pp. 316-323.

Victorines.⁴⁶ That said, of the many approaches taken by modern continental scholars, such as the study of individual houses or of entire congregations, one development within continental historiography is particularly noteworthy, namely the use of regional studies. Scholars working in Belgium (Flanders, Hainaut, and the diocese of Liège) and France (Limousin, Languedoc, and the archdiocese of Rouen) have demonstrated the potential of this approach.⁴⁷ As will be seen, there is much to recommend it, particularly for the study of non-congregational, or mainstream, Augustinian canons.

One reason for the advances on the continent has been a series of conferences organised with the regular canons in mind. Three conferences in particular appear to have generated interest in the canons, and the resulting conference proceedings must be counted among the most important scholarship to date. In 1959, a major conference was held in Mendola, Italy, entitled ‘La vita commune del clero nei secoli XI e XII’, which brought together a group of scholars whose work has greatly impacted the study of the regular canons (e.g. Charles Dereine and J.C. Dickinson).⁴⁸ In 1977, another conference was held in Mendola, which again emphasised the regular canons, this time under the title ‘Instituzioni Monastiche E Instituzioni Canonicali in Occidente (1123-1215)’. The conference attracted another generation of influential scholars working within the subject area (e.g. Ludo Milis and C.D. Fonseca).⁴⁹ The enthusiasm of continental scholars for such events has continued into the new millennium. In 2006, a conference was held at Le Puy-en-Velay, France, focusing specifically on the canons entitled ‘Les Chanoines Réguliers: émergence et expansion (XIe-XIIIe siècles)’.⁵⁰ Significantly, this conference was attended by scholars from across Europe including the British historian Janet Burton.

Advances in continental scholarship have clearly been encouraged by the meeting of minds. Insular scholars have recently begun to hold conferences in anticipation of similar results. Perhaps taking a cue from continental scholars, Janet Burton and Karen Stöber organised a conference to bring together academics from England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland with the goal of fostering more scholarship on the

⁴⁶ L. Milis, *L'Ordre Des Chanoines Reguliers D'Arrouaise*, 2 vols (Bruges, 1969); *Constitutiones Canoniorum Regularium Ordinis Arroasiensis*, ed. L. Milis (Turnhout, 1970); *Monasticon Praemonstratense: id est historia cicariarum atque canoniarum candidi et canonici ordinis Praemonstratensis*, ed. N. Backmund, 3 vols (Straubing, 1949-56); *L'abbaye parisienne de Saint-Victor au moyen âge: communications présentées au XIIIe Colloque d'Humanisme médiéval de Paris (1986-1988)*, ed. J. Longère (Turnhout, 1991); *L'école de Saint-Victor de Paris: Influence et rayonnement du Moyen Âge à L'Époque moderne*, ed. D. Poirel (Turnhout, 2010).

⁴⁷ C. Dereine, *Les chanoines réguliers au diocèse de Liège avant saint Norbert* (Brussels, 1952); J. Becquet, *Vie canoniale en France aux Xe-XIIIe siècles* (London, 1985); *Monde des chanoines (XIe-XIVe siècles)*, ed. M.-H. Vicairé (Toulouse, 1989); *Des clercs au service de la réforme: études et documents sur les chanoines réguliers de la province de Rouen*, ed. M. Arnoux (Turnhout, 2000); E. Jordan, ‘The Success of the Order of Saint Victor: A Comparative Study of the Patronage of Canonical Foundations in Thirteenth Century Flanders and Hainaut’, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 96 (2001), 5-33.

⁴⁸ *La vita commune del clero nei secoli XI e XII: atti della settimana di studio, Mendola, settembre 1959*, eds. C.D. Fonseca and C. Violante, 2 vols (Milan, 1962).

⁴⁹ *Instituzioni Monastiche E Instituzioni Canonicali in Occidente (1123-1215): Atti della settimana internazionale di studio Mendola, 28 agosto-3 settembre 1977* (Milan, 1980).

⁵⁰ *Les Chanoines réguliers: Émergence et expansion (XIe-XIIIe siècles)*, ed. M. Parisse (Saint-Étienne, 2009).

regular canons in the British Isles. In 2008, a conference was held at Gregynog, Wales, under the title ‘The Regular Canons in the British Isles in the middle ages’.⁵¹ Scholars are therefore taking steps to address the lack of scholarship on the regular canons in an insular context, and, indeed, attendance at the conference was important in determining the direction of this study.

In England, the Premonstratensians, Arrouaisians, and recently the Gilbertines (the only English congregation), have been the subject of significant studies.⁵² However, when it comes to mainstream Augustinians, the historiography has been shaped by the work of one scholar, J.C. Dickinson. Indeed, he should perhaps be considered the father of Augustinian historiography in the British Isles. His work on the regular canons, namely *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (1950),⁵³ but also numerous articles, represents the most influential scholarship produced on the subject in English.⁵⁴ For thirty years it stood as the lone attempt at comprehensively evaluating the mainstream Augustinian movement in an insular context. However, David Robinson’s *The Geography of Augustinian Settlement in Medieval England and Wales* (1980) added a second comprehensive study, which also takes into consideration Welsh foundations. Using a statistical approach, Robinson tested many of the theories put forward by an early generation of scholars, primarily those advanced by Dickinson.⁵⁵ Consequently, it has served to reinforce many of the ideas of Dickinson concerning the English Augustinians.⁵⁶ The work of J.C. Dickinson, and also to lesser extent David Robinson, has had a great influence on the scholarship, not only of England, but also of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.

Like England, the regular canonical movement in Wales and Ireland has not received as much scholarly attention as its monastic counterparts. In Ireland, Arrouaisian canons have received the most attention. This is a result of that congregation’s particular importance in Ireland, where over a third of canonical foundations were Arrouaisian.⁵⁷ The studies of P.J. Dunning and Marie Therese Flanagan are particularly notable in this respect.⁵⁸ However, the mainstream canons have also been the subject of

⁵¹ *The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles*, eds. J. Burton and K. Stöber (Turnhout, 2011).

⁵² H.M. Colvin, *The White Canons in England* (Oxford, 1951); L. Milis, *L’Ordre Des Chanoines Reguliers D’Arrouaise*, 2 vols (Bruges, 1969), I, pp. 275-322; B. Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order c. 1130-c. 1300* (Oxford, 1995).

⁵³ J.C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950).

⁵⁴ For example, see J.C. Dickinson, ‘The Origins of the Cathedral of Carlisle’, *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 45 (1945), 134-43; J.C. Dickinson, ‘English Regular Canons and the Continent in the Twelfth Century’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1 (1951), 71-89; J.C. Dickinson, ‘St. Anselm and the First Regular Canons in England’, in *Spicilegium Beccense* (Paris, 1959), pp. 541-6.

⁵⁵ D.M. Robinson, *The Geography of Augustinian Settlement in Medieval England and Wales*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1980).

⁵⁶ See for example, *Ibid.*, I, pp. 33-41.

⁵⁷ *GAS*, I, p. 59. See also, *MRHI*, pp. 146-200.

⁵⁸ P.J. Dunning, ‘The Arroasian Order in Medieval Ireland’, *Irish Historical Studies*, 4:16 (1945), 297-315; M.T. Flanagan, ‘St. Mary’s Abbey, Louth, and the Introduction of the Arrouaisian Observances into Ireland’, *Clogher Record*, 10:2 (1980), 223-34.

significant scholarship, particularly in recent years, with the work of C.A. Empey and Sarah Preston.⁵⁹ In Wales, the Cistercians, who were the most prevalent religious order in terms of foundations, have garnered the lion's share of attention. Nevertheless, there have been a number of important studies on the regular canons, including Karen Stöber's recent treatment of the Augustinian movement in Wales.⁶⁰

Recent scholarship has tended to approach the study of the regular canons on the basis of individual institutions or groups of institutions within a particular region.⁶¹ In England, recent studies have shown the effectiveness of case studies for revealing the nuances of individual houses of Augustinian canons. The work of Janet Burton, *Kirkham Priory from Foundation to Dissolution* (1995), Katrina Legg, *Bolton Priory: its patrons and benefactors 1120-1293* (2004), and Judith Frost, *The Foundation of Nostell Priory, 1109-1153* (2007), typify the individual approach and its value to the study of the regular canons.⁶² A number of doctoral theses have also adopted this approach for English houses.⁶³ Additionally, the introductions to modern editions of cartularies and charter collections for a number of Augustinian houses in England have added another valuable source of individual studies.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ R.N. Hadcock, 'The origins of the Augustinian order in Meath', *Ríocht na Midhe: records of Meath Archaeological and Historical Society*, 3:2 (1964), 124-31; J.G. Barry, 'Monasticism and Religious Organisation in Rural Ireland', in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della "Societas Christiana" dei secoli XI-XII: Diocesi, pievi, e parrocchie-Atti della sesta settimana internazionale di studio, Milano, 1-7 settembre 1974* (Milan, 1977), pp. 406-15; G. Carville, *The Occupation of Celtic Sites in Medieval Ireland by Canons Regular of St Augustine and the Cistercians* (Kalamazoo, 1982); C.A. Empey, 'The sacred and the secular: the Augustinian priory of Kells in Ossory 1193-1541', *Irish Historical Studies*, 24:94 (1984), 131-51; C.A. Empey, 'Introduction', in *Augustinians at Christ Church: The Canons Regular of the Cathedral Priory of Holy Trinity, Dublin*, ed. S. Kinsell (Dublin, 2000), pp. 3-8; S. Preston, 'The Canons Regular of St Augustine: the twelfth century reform in action', in *Ibid.* (Dublin, 2000), pp. 23-40.

⁶⁰ C.N. Johns, 'The Celtic Monasteries of North Wales', *Transactions of the Caernarvonshire Historical Society*, 21 (1960), 14-43; T.J. Pierce, 'Bardsey: A study in monastic origins', *Transactions of the Caernarvonshire Historical Society*, 24 (1963), 60-77; F.G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066-1344* (Cardiff, 1977), pp. 28-37; A. Hogan, *The Priory of Llanthony Prima and Secunda in Ireland, 1172-1541: Lands, Patronage and Politics* (Dublin, 2008); D.H. Williams, 'Llanthony Prima Priory', *Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 25/6 (2009-10), 13-50; K. Stöber, 'The Regular Canons in Wales', in *The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles*, eds. J. Burton and K. Stöber (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 97-113.

⁶¹ For two recent examples which use different approaches, see C.K. Slack, 'Regular Canons and the Crusades in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Oxford University, 1988); C.A.T. Butterill, 'The Royal Foundation of Augustinian Priors during the Reign of Henry I' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 2000).

⁶² J.E. Burton, *Kirkham Priory from Foundation to Dissolution* (York, 1995); K. Legg, *Bolton Priory: its patrons and benefactors 1120-1293* (York, 2004); J.A. Frost, *The Foundation of Nostell Priory, 1109-1153* (York, 2007).

⁶³ D. Postles, 'Oseney Abbey: studies in a house of Augustinian canons, 1129-1348' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 1975); T. Burrows, 'The Estates and Benefactors of Nostell and Bridlington Priors, with Special Reference to the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Western Australia, 1979); A.M. Geddes, 'The Priory of Lanthony by Gloucester: An Augustinian House in an English Town, 1136-1401' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1997); A.D. Fizzard, 'The Augustinian Canons of Plympton Priory and their Place in English Church and Society, 1121- c.1400' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1999).

⁶⁴ See for example, *The Cartulary of St Mary Clerkenwell*, ed. W.O. Hassall (London, 1949); *Cartulary of the Priory of St. Gregory, Canterbury*, ed. A.M. Woodcock (London, 1956); *The Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey, Gloucestershire*, eds. C.D. Ross and M. Devine, 3 vols (Oxford, 1964-77); *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity, Aldgate*,

As discussed, the regional approach has become a popular methodology among continental scholars. The approach is also beginning to have an impact on the study of the regular canons in the British Isles. Janet Burton published an important example of this approach in *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire* (1999). This work, which dedicates a chapter to the Augustinian canons, actually considers all canonical and monastic institutions within the administrative unit of Yorkshire.⁶⁵ A regional approach was also adopted by Terrie Colk in a recent article entitled ‘Twelfth-Century East Anglian Canons: A Monastic Life?’ (2005) which considers the Augustinian and Premonstratensian canons within the territorial unit of East Anglia (i.e. Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire).⁶⁶ Another noteworthy example of the regional approach, based upon diocesan boundaries, is Andrew Abram’s recent doctoral thesis, ‘The Augustinian Canons in the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield and their Benefactors, 1115-1320’ (2007).⁶⁷ Whether based upon secular or ecclesiastical boundaries, there is a growing awareness that the regional approach provides a methodology capable of dealing with the complexities of the Augustinian movement.

III. Scottish Historiography

Medieval Scotland presents a virtual cornucopia of religious movements and religious institutions, both male and female. A variety of different monastic traditions were established in Scotland, including the Benedictines, Cluniacs, Tironensians, and Cistercians. Houses of congregational Augustinians were also founded in Scotland including the Arrouaisians, Premonstratensians, and, although unsuccessful, the Gilbertines. There were also houses of the more specialised military orders, such as the Knights Templar and Knights Hospitaller. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the mendicant orders also established a presence in Scotland including the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustinian Friars.⁶⁸

Among these religious traditions, however, mainstream Augustinians were the most prevalent. Indeed, more Augustinian institutions were founded in medieval Scotland than any other religious

ed. G.A.J. Hodgett (London, 1971); *The Cartulary of Haughmond Abbey*, ed. U. Rees (Cardiff, 1985); *The Cartulary of Launceston Priory (Lambeth Palace MS. 719): a calendar*, ed. P.L. Hull (Exeter, 1987); *The Cartularies of Southwick Priory*, ed. K.A. Hanna, 2 vols (Winchester, 1988); *The Early Charters of the Augustinian Canons of Waltham Abbey, Essex, 1062-1230*, ed. R. Ransford (Woodbridge, 1989); *The Cartulary of Lilleshall Abbey*, ed. U. Rees (Shrewsbury, 1997); *The Cartulary of St Augustine’s Abbey, Bristol*, ed. D. Walker (Gloucester, 1998); J.A. Frost, ‘An edition of the Nostell Priory Cartulary: London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian E XIX’, 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 2005).

⁶⁵ J.E. Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069-1215* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 69-97

⁶⁶ T. Colk, ‘Twelfth-Century East Anglian Canons: A Monastic Life?’, in *Medieval East Anglia*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 209-24.

⁶⁷ A. Abram, ‘The Augustinian Canons in the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield and their Benefactors, 1115-1320’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Wales, Lampeter, 2007).

⁶⁸ For an overview of monastic and canonical movements in medieval Scotland, see M. Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1995), pp. 1-11.

movement. In total, there were twenty-three houses of canons (21) and canonesses (2) established in Scotland between c. 1120 and 1318.⁶⁹ If the congregational, military, and mendicant institutions following the Rule of St Augustine were added that number would more than double.⁷⁰ Thus, not only did mainstream Augustinian canons and canonesses form the largest single group of regulars in terms of institutions, but the Rule of St Augustine had an influence on religious life in Scotland that was equal to, if not greater than, the Rule of St Benedict.

The study of canonico-monastic movements in Scotland has proceeded rather slowly. In 1957, D.E. Easson wrote that ‘at many points Scottish monastic history awaits clarification’.⁷¹ Since the 1950s the resources for such studies have increased exponentially, and many aspects of monastic history have indeed been the focus of scholarly attention. However, the Augustinian canons, the most prolific religious movement in Scotland, still await clarification.

The seminal modern study on the Augustinian canons in Scotland was produced by Geoffrey Barrow in 1953 and entitled ‘Scottish rulers and the religious orders, 1070-1153’ (1953).⁷² It considered nine religious houses, the majority of which were Augustinian.⁷³ This work, which was republished with small modifications in *The Kingdom of the Scots* (1973), is largely responsible for establishing the narrative of the Augustinian canons within Scottish historiography.⁷⁴ As the title intimates, the religious houses are considered in relation to the monarchy. More specifically, it concerns the monastic policy of the Canmore dynasty. However, Mael Coluim III, Margaret, Edgar, and Alexander are merely prelude to David I, who Barrow wrote ‘fulfilled, in superabundant measure, the aims of his mother and elder brothers’.⁷⁵ A number of aspects of Scotland’s Augustinian institutions are considered (e.g. foundation dates, filiation), but royal motivations and patronage are paramount. Thus, the consideration of the Augustinian canons is restricted to a dynastic narrative, in which David is given pride of place, and discussion is confined to the period of foundation. When the Augustinian canons are discussed in a

⁶⁹ This figure includes the male houses of Abernethy, Blantyre, Cambuskenneth, Canonbie, Holyrood, Inchaffray, Inchcolm, Inchmahome, Jedburgh, Loch Leven, Loch Tay, Monymusk, Oronsay, Pittenweem, Restenneth, St Andrews, St Mary’s Isle, Scone, Segden, Soutra, and Strathfillan. It also includes the female houses of Iona and St Leonard, Perth (*MRHS*, II, pp. 88-99, 151, 191-3). The Augustinian priory of Abernethy converted to a college of secular canons in the early fourteenth century (*Ibid.*, pp. 89, 215).

⁷⁰ There were numerous groups established in medieval Scotland which followed the Rule of St Augustine, including the Premonstratensians (6), Knights Hospitaller (1), Augustinian Friars (1), Trinitarians (8), and Dominicans (17) (*Ibid.*, pp. 100-12, 114-23, 140-1, 152-3, 160-1). For the use of the Rule of St Augustine by Hospitallers, Augustinian Friars, Trinitarians, and Dominicans, see D.R. Reinke, “‘Austin’s Labour’”: Patterns of Governance in Medieval Augustinian Monasticism’, *Church History*, 56 (1987), 157-71.

⁷¹ *MRHS*, I, p. xxxvi.

⁷² G.W.S. Barrow, ‘Scottish rulers and the religious orders, 1070-1153: The Alexander Prize Essay’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3 (1953), 77-100.

⁷³ Dunfermline, Coldingham, Scone, St Andrews, Kelso, Great Paxton (England), Jedburgh, Cambuskenneth, and May.

⁷⁴ *KS*, chp. 5.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

Scottish context, historians almost unavoidably situate them within the narrative framework first laid out by G.W.S. Barrow in 1953.⁷⁶

In 2001, Kenneth Veitch revised the dynastic narrative. In his important article entitled, “‘Replanting Paradise’: Alexander I and the reform of religious life in Scotland’ (2001), he argued persuasively for the significance of Alexander I in providing a blueprint for the reform of the Scottish Church, a role minimised by Barrow.⁷⁷ An important aspect of his consideration of the ecclesiastical policy of Alexander I was the foundation or planned foundation of three Augustinian houses: Scone, St Andrews, and Inchcolm. Thus, like Barrow, his consideration is restricted to the foundation period. Veitch sheds new light on the pre-Augustinian periods at these sites and upon the nature of the endowments provided by Alexander I. However, it is royal policy, rather than the religious institutions themselves, which is the focus of the work. His reappraisal, while placing a new emphasis on Alexander I, naturally views the foundations through a dynastic lens and focuses on the motivations and patronage of Alexander I.

Two recent works by Archibald Duncan have made contributions to the study of the regular canons in Scotland. In chapter five of his monograph *The Kingship of the Scots, 842-1292: Succession and Independence* (2002) entitled ‘Scone and St Andrews’, Duncan provides an excellent discussion of the political circumstances of the foundation of the priories of Scone and St Andrews, stressing the continuity between the ecclesiastical policies of Alexander I and David I.⁷⁸ The foundation of the Augustinian houses of Scone and St Andrews are viewed as calculated steps taken by the kings in order to elevate Scottish kingship. Thus, regular canons were established at the site of royal inaugurations in view of the king-making ceremony and at the premiere episcopal seat of St Andrews to aid in achieving archiepiscopal status, which together provided the means to coronation and unction for the kings of Scotland. The Augustinian canons, then, as the title of the monograph makes clear, are discussed in relationship to Scottish kingship.

In 2005, Duncan published another examination of the cathedral priory of St Andrews, ‘The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, 1140’ (2005), in which he provides a far more detailed analysis of the foundation of the house.⁷⁹ Duncan makes a decided break with the dynastic narrative and places the foundation process at the cathedral priory under a microscope. He considers such questions as the date of foundation and the makeup of the first community of regular canons. While the focus is clearly on the regular canons, the chronology is still limited to the foundation period. Nevertheless, this article

⁷⁶ See for example, *MK*, pp. 149-51; J.E. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 52-6.

⁷⁷ K. Veitch, “‘Replanting Paradise’: Alexander I and the reform of religious life in Scotland’, *IR*, 52 (2001), 136-66; *KS*, pp. 169-72.

⁷⁸ A.A.M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842-1292: Succession and Independence* (Edinburgh, 2002), chp. 5.

⁷⁹ A.A.M. Duncan, ‘The Foundation of St. Andrews Cathedral Priory, 1140’, *SHR*, 84 (2005), 1-37.

provides one of the most important modern considerations of the regular canons in Scotland. Kenneth Veitch is responsible for the other. Veitch produced an article entitled 'The conversion of native religious communities to the Augustinian Rule in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Alba' (1999), which considers the conversion of pre-existing religious communities at Loch Leven, Inchaffray, Monymusk, Abernethy to regular canonical life, also breaking with the dynastic narrative.⁸⁰ These two treatments mark an important point in the evolution of scholarship related to the Augustinian canons in Scotland.

Geoffrey Barrow, Archibald Duncan, and Kenneth Veitch are therefore responsible for advancing the study of the regular canonical movement in Scotland. Yet, the arena of debate and narrative established by Barrow in 1953 has remained influential. This is not to suggest that the link between the Augustinian canons and the royal house is not a valid association, or that this line of research cannot still be fruitful, but rather to suggest that this focus has considerably limited the discussion and obscured other important aspects of the phenomenon in Scotland. Yet, the chief problem with the treatment of the Augustinian canons in Scottish historiography is that the paradigms have largely been imported, rather than determined on the basis of the available evidence.

IV. Historiographical Problem

The most fundamental question concerning the Augustinian canons is the nature of their vocation and their societal function. Two quite different conceptions have emerged in Scottish historiography. The work of G.W.S. Barrow and A.A.M. Duncan, two of the most influential medieval historians in Scotland in the last fifty years, exemplify this contradiction. In *Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000-1306* (1981), Barrow provided the following description:

The Augustinians were specifically priests and did not form an enclosed order. Their mission was to go out into the world and exercise a pastoral and teaching office. It would not be anachronistic to see their houses, at least in the twelfth century, as group ministries, and it was normal for founders and benefactors to bestow upon Augustinian houses parish churches which could be served directly by the canons.⁸¹

Whereas Duncan in *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom* (1975) gives a remarkably different description:

Technically the regular canons were not monks; in practice their life was monastic. That they were allowed to undertake parochial cures seems a vital difference; but in twelfth-

⁸⁰ K. Veitch, 'The conversion of native religious communities to the Augustinian Rule in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Alba', *RSCHS*, 29 (1999), 1-22. See also, K. Veitch 'A study of the extent to which existing native religious society helped to shape Scotland's reformed monastic community, 1070-1286' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1999).

⁸¹ G.W.S. Barrow, *Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000-1306* (London, 1981), p. 79.

and thirteenth-century Scotland they were very rarely found serving parish churches (so far as we know).⁸²

The inconsistency of these two explanations also finds expression in more general studies on medieval Scotland. For instance, Michael Lynch in *Scotland: A New History* (1991) explains that ‘the primary mission of the Augustinians was to go out into the world of the laity, usually serving the parish churches which were appropriated to their house’.⁸³ On the other hand, A.D.M. Barrell in *Medieval Scotland* (2000) writes that ‘regular canons must be regarded as examples of an ideal religious life rather than as active evangelists’.⁸⁴ In Scottish historiography, dichotomic generalisations such as these abound.⁸⁵ The fundamental problem with these descriptions is that they are based upon ideas developed in other areas of Western Europe, largely in England, which have not been tested against the documentary evidence in Scotland. Thus, the dichotomy merely reflects a problem within Augustinian historiography.

Augustinian canons have generally been viewed as vocationally and functionally distinct from their monastic counterparts. The regular canons are widely regarded as a religious movement distinguished by a commitment to pastoral work.⁸⁶ This association is connected to the fact that canons were by definition clerics (i.e. in holy orders). As a corollary, an active vocation of preaching and pastoral work is often viewed as an exceptional characteristic of the regular canons. However, this supposed exceptionalism is frustrated by the evidence on two levels. First, monks exhibited many of the same characteristics thought to be distinctive of regular canons. Not only did monks sometimes belong to holy orders, but in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there is evidence of monks providing pastoral care and preaching.⁸⁷ Second, not all communities of regular canons exhibit those characteristics considered

⁸² MK, p. 149.

⁸³ M. Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1991), pp. 93-4.

⁸⁴ A.D.M. Barrell, *Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 50-1.

⁸⁵ For example, see R.L.G. Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1954), p. 333; B. Webster, *Scotland from the Eleventh Century to 1603* (Ithaca, NY, 1975), p. 37; R. Oram, *David I: The King who made Scotland* (Stroud, 2004), pp. 160-2; R. Oram, *Domination and Lordship: Scotland, 1070-1230* (Edinburgh, 2011), p. 356.

⁸⁶ Take for example this recent summary: ‘Monasteries following the rule of St Augustine were established for more pastoral and charitable functions. Houses of Augustinian canons were set up on a smaller scale and by lower-ranking patrons, in areas that required pastoral care (c. 1100-1260)’ (R. Gilchrist, ‘Landscape of the Middle Ages: churches, castles, and monasteries’, in *The Archaeology of Britain: An introduction from the Upper Palaeolithic to the Industrial Revolution*, eds. J. Hunter and I. Ralston (London and New York, 1999), p. 230).

⁸⁷ U. Berlière, ‘L’exercice du ministère paroissial par les moines dans le haut moyen-âge’, *Revue Bénédictine*, 39 (1927), 227-50; U. Berlière, ‘L’exercice du ministère paroissial par les moines du XIIe au XVIIIe siècles’, *Revue Bénédictine*, 39 (1927), 340-64; R.A.R. Hartridge, *A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 184-8; D.J.A. Matthew, *Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 51-65; G. Constable, *Monastic Tithes from their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 136-97; M. Chibnall, ‘Monks and Pastoral Work: a problem in Anglo-Norman History’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 18:2 (1967), 165-72; G. Constable, ‘Monastic Possession of Churches and “Spiritualia” in the Age of Reform,’ in *Il monachesimo e la riforma ecclesiastica (1049-1122): Atti della quarta Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 23-29 agosto 1968* (Milan, 1971), pp. 304-31; DPE, pp. 34-9; J.G. Clark, *The Benedictines in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 177-81.

distinctive. Parochial activity was not an essential characteristic of all canons or canonical institutions.⁸⁸ Indeed, some canonical houses possessed no churches or *spiritualia* whatsoever.⁸⁹ Thus, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries monks and regular canons defy such broad generalisations.

Some scholars have looked to the realm of spirituality in search of distinctiveness. However, here too a definitive answer is not forthcoming. André Vauchez, for example, suggested that ‘regular canons developed an original spirituality based on an exalted notion of the priesthood’.⁹⁰ Conversely, Jean Leclercq has argued that there was not a fundamental difference between canonical and monastic spirituality.⁹¹ One of the most important and also controversial considerations of Augustinian spirituality is found in the work of Caroline Bynum. On the basis of non-polemical treatises of spiritual advice written by both monks and canons, she suggests that each group had a distinctive spiritual outlook. She argued that canons had a commitment to teaching by word and example (*docere verbo et exemplo*), which was connected to a clerical self-conception, while monks viewed themselves ultimately as learners and were concerned more with personal salvation than with the edification of their neighbours.⁹² This argument has received considerable criticism.⁹³ It is interesting to note, however, that this theme is found in at least one narrative text produced by an Augustinian canon in Scotland.⁹⁴ Whether or not Caroline Bynum has identified a distinct spiritual outlook of regular canons is certainly debateable. Yet, what is clear is that a collective self-conception, if one did indeed exist, did not result in a consistent interpretation of the canonical vocation.

The regular canonical movement is inconsistent in terms of its ideal. Before 1215, the majority of Augustinian houses were independent, or non-congregational, and therefore lacked a cohesive mission. As a decentralised religious movement, similar to the traditional Benedictines, there was neither a single

⁸⁸ AC, pp. 72-9, 214-41; Dereine, ‘Chanoines’, cols. 353-405 (cols. 391-95, 400-1).

⁸⁹ AC, p. 230; GAS, I, p. 172. *Spiritualia* can be defined as any revenue derived from an ecclesiastical source including, but not limited to, tithes, oblations, obventions, alms, and customary dues such as baptismal or burial fees.

⁹⁰ Vauchez, p. 98.

⁹¹ J. Leclercq, ‘La spiritualité des chanoines réguliers’ in *La Vita commune del clero nei secoli XI e XII: atti della settimana di studio, Mendola, settembre 1959*, eds. C.D. Fonseca and C. Violante, 2 vols (Milan, 1962), I, pp. 117-41.

⁹² C.W. Bynum, ‘The Spirituality of Regular Canons in the Twelfth Century: A New Approach’, *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 4 (1973), 3-24; C.W. Bynum, *Docere Verbo et Exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality* (Missoula, MO, 1979); C.W. Bynum, ‘The Spirituality of Regular Canons in the Twelfth Century’, in *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982), pp. 22-58.

⁹³ For criticism of the methodology and conclusions reached by Caroline Bynum, see R.M. Thomson, ‘Review: “Docere verbo et exemplo”: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality by Caroline Walker Bynum’, *Speculum*, 56 (1981), 598-601; C.N.L. Brooke, ‘Monk and Canon: Some Patterns in the Religious Life of the Twelfth Century’, in *Monks, Hermits, and the Ascetic Tradition*, ed. W.J. Sheils (Oxford, 1985), pp. 109-29 (pp. 120-1, 128-9); T. Colk, ‘Twelfth-Century East Anglian Canons: A Monastic Life?’, in *Medieval East Anglia*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 209-24 (pp. 210-1, fn. 6).

⁹⁴ Walter Bower, the fifteenth-century abbot of Inchcolm, uses similar language to describe the first canons of Scone who he writes were particularly devout, followed the Rule of St Augustine strictly, and offered their lives ‘for others to follow by word and example’ (*aliis sequendam verbo et exemplo proponerent*) (*Scotichronicon*, III, pp. 108-9).

textual model nor organisational machinery, such as the general chapter, to instil a uniform interpretation of canonical life. As discussed, in the early twelfth century a wave of asceticism had a great influence on both monks and canons. Some of the more rigorous elements of the canonical movement formed independent congregations on the basis of these influences. However, due to the organic nature of the mainstream Augustinian movement it too was influenced. Scholars have identified two major strains within the movement, namely the active and contemplative. Thus, a vocational dichotomy is suggested between those canons who were pastoral, practical, and outward looking and those who were ascetic, quasi-eremital, and inward looking.⁹⁵ Yet, this vocational dichotomy does not do full justice to the nuances of the Augustinian movement.

The *Libellus de diversis ordinibus et professionibus qui sunt aecclesia* provides important insight into the nature of the differences between monks and canons, between different types of canons, and also between individual canons living within a single community.⁹⁶ The text was produced by a regular canon, likely in the diocese of Liège, in 1121 × 1161.⁹⁷ It divides religious life into three general groups: hermits, monks, and canons. Its goal is not polemical. It does not place one mode of religious life above the rest, nor cast aspersions, but rather seeks to demonstrate that each is part of God's plan and to legitimise each through biblical precedent.

The author arranged the monastic and canonical vocations according to their proximity to society, namely those who lived far from men, those who lived close to men, and those who lived among men. For obvious reasons, hermits were not given such a tripartite arrangement.⁹⁸ According to the text, those monks and canons that lived away from population centres, i.e. in rural houses, tended to be more contemplative and strict in their interpretation.⁹⁹ Conversely, those canons and monks that lived near to population centres, i.e. in urban houses, tended to be more active and moderate in their interpretation.¹⁰⁰ As Giles Constable and Bernard Smith, the editors of the text, observed, 'the fundamental distinction was not between the orders of hermits, monks, and canons but between the strict, moderate, and lax groups within each order, and that the fundamental similarity, therefore, was between the similar tendencies in each order'.¹⁰¹ As this text makes clear, in terms of vocation and societal function, scholars must abandon

⁹⁵ See for example, R.W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (London, 1970), pp. 240-4; C.H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of religious life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London, 1984), pp. 140-1.

⁹⁶ The text survives in a single manuscript (*Libellus de diversis ordinibus et professionibus qui sunt in aecclesia*, eds. G. Constable and B. Smith (Oxford, 1972), pp. xiii-xv).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. xv-xviii.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-17.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-55, 57-73. The author cites the Cistercians and the Premonstratensians as examples of this tendency.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-45, 73-97. The author cites the Cluniacs and the canons of St Quentin at Beauvais as examples of this tendency.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.

the search for a universal distinction between monks and canons and instead seek to understand better the different impulses within each group.

The *Libellus de diversis ordinibus* also provides an important reminder of the complexity of canonical life. The description of canons living close to men, of which group the author appears to have belonged, shows that a vocational spectrum could exist even within a single community. It describes the different activities of canons within the community: ‘one is kept in the cloister so that he may serve God in internal things; another undertakes in the same place the care of his brothers, of guests, and of pilgrims; and another is sent out far away to a dependency and to a parish’.¹⁰² Thus, the experience of individual canons within a single convent could be mixed with periods of contemplation, followed by periods of active ministry. The life of a regular canon could be one of contemplation, activity, or both.¹⁰³

Two historians in particular, Christopher Brooke and David Postles, have applied the model found in the *Libellus de diversis ordinibus* to the evidence for Augustinian houses in England. The two most notable works are an article by Christopher Brooke entitled ‘Monk and Canon: Some Patterns in the Religious Life of the Twelfth Century’ (1985) and another by David Postles entitled ‘The Austin Canons in English Towns, c. 1100-1350’ (1993).¹⁰⁴ In the first, Brooke establishes a number of exemplars of English houses which display different vocational tendencies, for instance the houses of Llanthony Prima and Holy Trinity, Aldgate, are considered representative of the contemplative and active interpretations respectively.¹⁰⁵ In the second, Postles argues for two ‘waves’ of Augustinian foundations in England, one before and one after 1135. The first wave, he argues, consisted predominantly of urban foundations with an active interpretation of canonical life, while the second was largely rural and contemplative. Additionally, he argues that there was a geographical dynamic. He contends that northern England was predominantly rural and contemplative both before and after 1135.¹⁰⁶ This type of research has opened up new lines of inquiry and also served to erode the generalisations associated with the Augustinian canons which have plagued scholarship.

In the case of Scotland, the relative function of canonical institutions has been largely ignored. As discussed, the Augustinian canons in Scotland have been viewed by historians as a homogenous group. Consequently, Scottish regular canons have been explained as either active or contemplative based upon

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 80-81.

¹⁰³ The idea of a ‘mixed’ life of action and contemplation was common to monastic and canonical treatise concerning vocation (Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, pp. 50-1).

¹⁰⁴ Brooke, ‘Monk and Canon’, pp. 109-29; D. Postles, ‘The Austin Canons in English Towns, c. 1100-1350’, *Historical Research*, 66 (1993), 1-20. See also, C.N.L. Brooke, *The Age of the Cloister: The Story of Monastic Life in the Middle Ages* (Stroud, 2003), pp. 162-3; C.N.L. Brooke, *The Monastic World, 1000-1300* (London, 1974), pp. 125-34.

¹⁰⁵ Brooke, ‘Monk and Canon’, pp. 109-29 (pp. 122-8).

¹⁰⁶ The River Trent is used as the division between northern and southern England (Postles, ‘Austin Canons’, 1-20 (pp. 2-3)).

imported ideas, rather than the evidence at hand. However, in an article entitled ‘King David I of Scotland as a Connoisseur of the Religious Orders’ (1989), Christopher Brooke provides a cursory analysis of three Scottish Augustinian institutions: Scone, St Andrews, and Jedburgh. According to Brooke, the cathedral priory of St Andrews is an example of an urban community with a pastoral and practical bent, while Scone is considered to be an example of the contemplative strain. At Jedburgh, Brooke suggests that a ‘transformation of one kind of Augustinian foundation into another’ took place, namely a transition from a contemplative to an active house.¹⁰⁷ In essence, this has been the only consideration of Scottish Augustinian houses in terms of vocation and societal function. However, Brooke did not evaluate these houses on the basis of the documentary evidence. Instead, he relied on the work of others.¹⁰⁸ In this respect, it is a superficial treatment of the subject, and many of his conclusions do not stand up to closer examination. Nevertheless, Christopher Brooke should be credited with first considering the nature of Scotland’s canonical institutions and initiating a discussion of this fundamental question.

As discussed, the regular canonical movement defies broad generalisations: for example, it is erroneous to suggest that regular canons, in general, were involved in active, pastoral, and practical activities or, equally, to argue that regular canons were, in general, engaged in contemplative, ascetic, and eschatological activities. The inability to pigeonhole with respect to vocation and societal function should not dissuade scholars from seeking to understand such a fundamental aspect of the phenomenon. However, it does require a new approach. If we are to understand better the religious movements of the central middle ages, both monastic and canonical, then scholars must abandon the search for uniform definitions and simply examine the manifestations of religious life *in situ*.

V. Methodology and Approach

The Augustinian canons present an especially diverse religious movement and therefore require an approach that can account for this variety without glossing over the nuanced histories of individual communities. To accommodate these requirements a regional approach was selected for this study. As discussed, this has become increasingly popular among French and English historians.¹⁰⁹ This study

¹⁰⁷ C.N.L. Brooke, ‘King David I of Scotland as a Connoisseur of the Religious Orders’, in *Mediaevalia Christiana XIe-XIIIe siècles: Hommage à Raymonde Foreville de ses amis, ses collègues et ses anciens élèves*, ed. C.E. Viola (Paris, 1989), pp. 319-34 (pp. 327-8).

¹⁰⁸ Brooke based his analysis on two secondary works, neither of which is capable of answering the questions asked of them. Brooke relies on *The Kingdom of the Scots* (1973) by G.W.S. Barrow and the second edition of *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* (1976) by I.B. Cowan and D.E. Easson (Brooke, ‘David I’, pp. 319-34 (pp. 333-4)).

¹⁰⁹ The need for regional studies is beginning to be recognised by scholars. For instance, Giles Constable wrote that ‘among the most pressing needs in the history of medieval monasticism is a study of the regional differences between religious houses following the same rule and belonging to the same order’ (Constable, *Reformation*, p. 57).

therefore examines a group of Augustinian houses on the basis of a secular administrative unit, namely the kingdom of Scotland.

The kingdom of Scotland provides a common context in which to consider the foundation and development of individual Augustinian institutions and also the wider religious movement. While the kingdom of Scotland in the central middle ages was a far more limited geographical area than modern Scotland, the areas of Augustinian settlement were clearly within the orbit of the kings of Scotland.¹¹⁰ Indeed, the independent institutions in this study were all royal foundations and, thus, closely associated with the *regnum Scotiae*.

Another aspect which recommends the kingdom of Scotland is the internal diversity of the milieu. The wide distribution of the subject institutions within the kingdom, located in a number of different secular jurisdictions (Gowrie, Lothian, Fife, and Stirlingshire) and ecclesiastical dioceses (St Andrews, Glasgow, and Dunkeld), adds an important heterogenic element to the study. Therefore, while the kingdom of Scotland offers a single administrative unit, it also provides a complex political, cultural, and economic landscape that shaped the canonical institutions established there. Moreover, the institutions themselves were quite diverse with each house varying in terms of wealth, status, and physical setting (urban, suburban, and rural) and also in the individual circumstances of their foundation, endowment, and institutional development.

This thesis considers the foundation and development of a group of Augustinian houses during the reigns of Alexander I (1107-24), David I (1124-53), Mael Coluim IV (1153-65), and William I (1165-1214). The reigns of these Scottish kings supply the general chronological framework for this study. However, the specific chronological parameters of the study are determined by two significant events, namely the foundation of the priory of Scone in c. 1120 and the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. The former event, which occurred during the reign of Alexander I, was the first house of Augustinian canons established in Scotland. The latter event, a year after the death of William I, fundamentally altered the development of the Augustinian canons as a religious movement through the institution of obligatory general chapters and visitations.¹¹¹ This legislation had the effect of artificially creating an Order of St

¹¹⁰ For concise discussions of the development of the kingdom of Scotland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Lynch, *Scotland*, pp. 84-92; Barrell, *Medieval Scotland*, pp. 67-91. For the implications of a restricted kingdom to reform monasticism, see A. McDonald, 'Scoto-Norse Kings and the Reformed Religious Orders: Patterns of Monastic Patronage in Twelfth-Century Galloway and Argyll', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 27:2 (1995), 187-219; K.J. Stringer, 'Reform monasticism and Celtic Scotland: Galloway, c. 1140-c. 1240', in *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Middle Ages*, eds. E.J. Cowan and R.A. McDonald (East Linton, 2000), pp. 127-65.

¹¹¹ The Fourth Lateran Council (Canon 12) made triennial provincial chapter meetings and visitations compulsory for all non-congregational houses of Augustinian canons (*Ecumenical Councils*, I, pp. 230-71). See also, *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*, ed. H.E. Salter (London, 1922).

Augustine.¹¹² Chronologically, then, this study examines the organic development of the regular canonical movement within the kingdom of Scotland over the course of roughly a century from c. 1120 to 1215, which corresponds to the reigns of four successive Scottish kings.

The foundation of Augustinian houses in Scotland can be divided into three distinct phases. The first phase, which spans from roughly 1120 to 1150, is characterised by royal foundations. During this period, six independent houses of Augustinian canons were established in Scotland. All six were founded by two successive Scottish kings, Alexander I and David I, comprising Scone (c. 1120), Holyrood (1128), Jedburgh (c. 1138), St. Andrews (c. 1140), Cambuskenneth (c. 1140), and Inchcolm (c. 1163). With the exception of Inchcolm, which had a protracted foundation process lasting from c. 1123 into the 1160s, these institutions were established before 1150.¹¹³ Thus, the proliferation of Augustinian institutions in Scotland from 1120 to 1150 was rapid.¹¹⁴ Moreover, the major catalyst during this period was the patronage of the Scottish kings, a situation with parallels in contemporary England.¹¹⁵

In c. 1122, Scone became the first Augustinian house to take on a dependency. The enigmatic cell of Loch Tay, founded at the behest of Alexander I, foreshadowed the second phase of Augustinian settlement. The second phase, lasting from roughly 1150 to 1200, is distinguished by the establishment of dependent priories. In the second half of the twelfth century, no new independent houses of Augustinian canons were founded in Scotland. Instead, several of those Augustinian institutions founded earlier in the century by Alexander I and David I, namely St Andrews, Jedburgh, and Holyrood, established or acquired dependent priories. The establishment of legally dependent and directly subordinate communities of Augustinian canons was largely accomplished through royal and episcopal patronage, but also aristocratic. Two significant dependent priories were established at Loch Leven (c. 1150) and Restenneth (c. 1153) and two smaller dependencies were founded at Canonbie (c. 1157) and at St. Mary's Isle (c. 1165), during this phase of settlement. In essence, the establishment of constitutionally dependent communities extended the power of the earlier royal foundations. However, it also represents a distinctive phase in the foundation of canonical institutions in Scotland.

A third phase of Augustinian foundations is discernible from 1200 to 1316. During this period, the impetus for foundation shifted away from the crown. Between 1200 and 1316 all new Augustinian

¹¹² For example, a papal confirmation of Honorius III in 1217 for the first time refers to Holyrood Abbey as part 'of the Order of St Augustine' (*Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, eds. C.W. Foster and K. Major, 12 vols (Hereford, 1931-73), III, no. 820).

¹¹³ Although not completed in their lifetimes, Alexander I and David I were responsible for the foundation of Inchcolm Priory. Conventual life at the priory was underway by at least 1163 × 1169.

¹¹⁴ The rapid spread of Augustinian institutions was common throughout Europe. For example, in Ireland forty-one houses were founded between 1132 and 1148 (Preston, pp. 23-40 (p. 30, fn. 33)).

¹¹⁵ The first phase of Augustinian settlement in England, during the reign of Henry I (1100-35), was also characterised by rapid spread and royal support (*AC*, pp. 108-31). Of the forty-three houses of Augustinian canons founded in England during his reign, thirty-three were either royal foundations or foundations made by members of the royal court (*Ibid.*, p. 128). See also, *GAS*, I, pp. 22-7.

houses, whether independent or dependent, were founded by non-royal patrons. In fact, the next Augustinian house founded through royal patronage was the small dependent priory of Strathfillan in 1317/8.¹¹⁶ At around the same time, the priory of Pittenweem was established as a dependency of the priory of St Andrews.¹¹⁷ These were the last Augustinian houses founded in the kingdom and both must be considered anomalous, particularly in the case of Pittenweem.

The third phase is characterised by the Scottish nobility becoming the founders of Augustinian institutions, particularly those of comital rank, and typically through the conversion of active religious communities. The earliest aristocratic foundation was the priory of Inchaffray founded by Gille Brígte, earl of Strathearn, and his wife Matilda in 1200. At Inchaffray, an existing eremitical community adopted the Rule of St Augustine.¹¹⁸ The thirteenth century witnessed four more aristocratic foundations.¹¹⁹ In c. 1200, Gille Críst, earl of Mar, began the process of converting the *céli Dé* community of Monymusk into a house of Augustinian canons, although this was not officially recognised until 1245.¹²⁰ In 1238, the priory of Inchmahome was founded by Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith, at the site of an island-based parish church.¹²¹ In 1239 × 1248, the priory of Blantyre was founded by Patrick II, earl of Dunbar, and his wife Euphemia. This small priory established in a parish church was a dependency of the abbey of Jedburgh.¹²² In 1273, the ancient and one time quite important religious house at Abernethy, until that time served by a community of *céli Dé*, became an Augustinian priory, likely at the instigation of Aed, lord of Abernethy.¹²³

This distinct shift from royal to aristocratic foundations is similar to the changes in England where, although beginning at an earlier date, there was a significant decline in royal foundations after the

¹¹⁶ In 1317/8, Robert I founded the priory of Strathfillan, situated in a parish church, as a dependency of the abbey of Inchaffray (*MRHS*, II, p. 98).

¹¹⁷ The establishment of an Augustinian priory at Pittenweem was directly related to Anglo-Scottish politics in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The island-based priory of May was a daughter house of the English Cluniac abbey of Reading. By 1318, because of the political situation, the cathedral priory of St Andrews was able to fully secure the priory of May and its assets, which included the lands of Pittenweem. It was at Pittenweem on the mainland, rather than the island of May, that a dependent priory was established by the canons of St Andrews (*Ibid.*, pp. 94-5). See also, A.A.M. Duncan, 'Documents relating to the priory of the isle of May, c. 1140-1313', *PSAS*, 90 (1956-7), 52-80 (pp. 61-6); M. Dilworth, 'The Dependent Priors of St Andrews', in *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, ed. D. McRoberts (Glasgow, 1976), pp. 157-66 (pp. 158-62).

¹¹⁸ *MRHS*, II, p. 91; Veitch, 'Augustinian Rule', 1-22 (pp. 5-11). See also, C.J. Neville, 'A Celtic Enclave in Norman Scotland: Earl Gilbert and the Earldom of Strathearn, 1171-1223', in *Freedom and Authority: Scotland, c. 1050-c.1650*, eds. T. Brotherstone and D. Ditchburn (East Linton, 2000), pp. 75-92.

¹¹⁹ The foundation of the priory of Oronsay is obscure. It may have been founded in the thirteenth century by the lord of the Isles. However, the first definitive evidence of the house comes from the fourteenth century (*MRHS*, II, p. 94).

¹²⁰ *MRHS*, II, pp. 93-4; Veitch, 'Augustinian Rule', 1-22 (pp. 11-6). See also, W.D. Simpson, 'Augustinian Priory and parish church of Monymusk, Aberdeenshire', *PSAS*, 59 (1925), 34-71.

¹²¹ *MRHS*, II, pp. 91-2.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 89; E.C. Hamilton, 'The earls of Dunbar and the church in Lothian and the Merse', *IR*, 58:1 (2007), 1-34 (p. 13, fns. 72-3). See also, *Parishes*, p. 19.

¹²³ *MRHS*, II, p. 89; Veitch, 'Augustinian Rule', 1-22 (pp. 16-9).

reign of Henry I (d. 1135) and an increase in aristocratic foundations.¹²⁴ In many of these instances, it appears that the impulse to adopt the Rule of St Augustine was initiated from within the community. This was apparently the case in 1236 when the master and brethren of the hospital of Soutra, the most substantial hospital in medieval Scotland, adopted the Rule of St Augustine.¹²⁵ The conversion of hospital communities is another important feature of this phase of Augustinian foundations.¹²⁶ The conversion of active religious communities to the Rule of St Augustine, particularly of the *céli Dé*, has strong parallels with developments in Wales and Ireland during the thirteenth century.¹²⁷

The three phases of Augustinian settlement in Scotland also helped to determine the scope of this investigation. This thesis is concerned with six independent institutions (Scone, Holyrood, Jedburgh, St Andrews, Cambuskenneth, and Inchcolm) and five dependent institutions (Loch Tay, Loch Leven, Restenneth, Canonbie, and St Mary's Isle) (See Map 1). Therefore, a total of eleven canonical institutions are considered, specifically those established during the first two phases of Augustinian settlement. It is beyond the scope of this study to examine those houses founded in the third phase, which were the result of different impulses.¹²⁸ For this reason, the priory of Inchaffray, despite being within the chronological parameters of this study, has been excluded. On the other hand, the abbey of Cambuskenneth is included despite being founded as a member of the Order of Arrouaise. This study is concerned with non-congregational houses, rather than canonical congregations (e.g. Order of Prémontré); yet due to unique historical circumstances the abbey of Cambuskenneth provides the lone exception. The abbey of Cambuskenneth was founded in c. 1140 as member of the Order of Arrouaise. However, it has been included in this study in part because of the precarious nature of its membership, but primarily because the house seceded from the Order of Arrouaise between 1181 and 1195 and became non-congregational.¹²⁹

Direct evidence indicating the specific form of canonical life adopted at a given house is rare. However, examples do exist from across the vocational spectrum. For instance, the priory of St Botolph's, Colchester (Essex), received a now famous bull from Pope Paschal II in 1116 authorising its canons to

¹²⁴ AC, pp. 141-2.

¹²⁵ *Registrum domus Soltre: necnon ecclesie collegiate S. Trinitatis prope Edinburgh*, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1861), no. 43. In England, the conversion of hospitals into independent houses of Augustinian canons occurred with greater frequency in the thirteenth century than in the twelfth (GAS, I, p. 37).

¹²⁶ In addition to the well-documented case of the hospital of Soutra, the obscure hospital of Segden, Berwick, appears to have also adopted the Rule of Augustine in the thirteenth century (MRHS, II, pp. 191-2).

¹²⁷ GAS, I, pp. 37-8. See also, G. Carville, *The Occupation of Celtic Sites in Medieval Ireland by Canons Regular of St Augustine and the Cistercians* (Kalamazoo, 1982).

¹²⁸ Augustinian canonesses were established at Iona by Ranald, lord of Argyll and Kintyre, in 1164 × 1208. The first prioress of the houses was Bethoc, the sister of Ranald. This house, which was outside the orbit of the kings of Scotland, is also beyond the scope of this study (McDonald, 'Reformed Religious Orders', 187-219 (pp. 206-9); MRHS, II, p. 151).

¹²⁹ See Chapter 1.

possess tithes, preach, baptise and offer penance, providing a clear example of the active and pastoral interpretation.¹³⁰ Another example comes from the chronicler Gerald of Wales, who described in 1188 the vocational dichotomy which existed between the priory of Llanthony Prima in Monmouthshire, Wales, and its daughter houses of Llanthony Secunda, near Gloucester, England. The mother house, located in the isolated Vale of Ewyas, served as a house of contemplation, while the daughter house, located near the city of Gloucester, was an active house.¹³¹ As Gerald of Wales explained, 'let the bustling and active take up their residence then in Gloucester, leaving this other foundation for men of contemplation'.¹³² Although linked, these two houses represent different ends of the vocational spectrum. There is also direct evidence of a house founded expressly as a house of contemplation. The priory of Maxstoke (Warks.) was founded in 1336 expressly to worship God day and night.¹³³ These examples notwithstanding, direct evidence is atypical and in Scotland is nonexistent. The aim of this thesis, therefore, is to examine canonical life in Scotland on the basis of the available evidence and to ascertain, as far as possible, the nature of the vocation and societal function of the Scottish Augustinians in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

¹³⁰ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, VI, pp. 106-7. The authenticity of the bull has been defended by J.C. Dickinson (*AC*, p. 101, fn. 2).

¹³¹ Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales*, ed. and trans. L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1978), pp. 96-107.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 100. For example, Llanthony Secunda obtained the right for two of its canons to serve the church of St Augustine in Norwich in 1161 × 1168 (*English Episcopal Acta 6: Norwich, 1070-1214*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Oxford, 1990), no. 114).

¹³³ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, VI, pp. 524-6. See also, *MRHEW*, pp. 142, 166.

Sources

This section will consider the extant evidence for each house, namely the material produced by the institutions themselves. Of Scotland's religious houses, the Augustinians have been particularly fortunate in terms of the quality and variety of the sources available. The source material used in this study fit into three general categories: chronicles, foundation narratives, and charter evidence.

I. Augustinians and the Scottish Chronicling Tradition

The Augustinian canons made an important contribution to the chronicling tradition of Scotland, which is not always fully appreciated. From the twelfth to the fifteenth century, regular canons were involved in the production of historical material. This section will outline the significance of Augustinian chronicling in Scotland and discuss the value of these texts as supplemental sources for the present study.

The earliest chronicle produced by the Augustinian canons in Scotland was composed at the abbey of Holyrood. Although an intact manuscript of the annals of Holyrood does not survive, it was used quite liberally in the production of the Coupar Angus Chronicle.¹³⁴ In fact, the Cistercian monks of Coupar Angus borrowed so heavily from the annals of Holyrood that their chronicle has traditionally been known as the *Holyrood Chronicle*.¹³⁵ This text is a key source for events in Scotland from 1150 to 1170.¹³⁶ However, Holyrood Abbey was not the only Augustinian house in Scotland to produce an annalistic chronicle in the twelfth century or to share it with a monastic community. The cathedral priory of St Andrews also kept an annalistic chronicle from an early date and, like the annals of Holyrood, the full text is no longer extant. However, entries in the chronicles of Coupar Angus and Melrose from 1159 to 1165 were taken independently from this putative chronicle.¹³⁷ These entries in the Cistercian chronicles are referred to as the 'St Andrews Series', suggesting that the annals of St Andrews date to at least 1159.¹³⁸ The Cistercian communities of Coupar Angus and Melrose began to keep chronicles in the 1170s and at that time made use of the chronicles begun by the canons of Holyrood and St Andrews in the 1150s.¹³⁹ Therefore, the regular canons were at the forefront of chronicle production among reformed communities in the kingdom.

Due to the brevity of the information provided by annalistic chronicles, their value as historical sources is often limited. Chronicles of this type frequently provide historical data which is out of context

¹³⁴ *Chron. Holyrood*, pp. 1-6.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 9; J. Harrison, 'Cistercian Chronicling in the British Isles', in *The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey: A Stratigraphic Edition*, eds. D. Broun and J. Harrison (Woodbridge, 2007), I, pp. 13-28 (pp. 17, 21, 23, 47).

¹³⁶ *Chron. Holyrood*, p. 35.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 40, 132, fn. 7; *Chron. Melrose*, pp. 77-9.

¹³⁸ *Chron. Holyrood*, pp. 30-2.

¹³⁹ The abbey of Melrose (f. 1136) began its chronicle in 1173 × 1174 (Harrison, p. 21). The abbey of Coupar Angus (f. 1164), a daughter house of Melrose, began its chronicle in c. 1170 (*Chron. Holyrood*, pp. 38-40, 151-2).

and open to a variety of interpretations. However, when it comes to information concerning the institutions which produced them, annalistic chronicles are among the most valuable sources available. Such is the case for the study of the houses of Holyrood and St Andrews. The annalistic chronicles produced at Holyrood and St Andrews contain a number of institution-specific entries which are a valuable source of supplemental evidence.

Two chronicles produced by Augustinian canons in the late middle ages have a particular bearing on this project. The *Original Chronicle* by Andrew Wyntoun and the *Scotichronicon* by Walter Bower are important sources due to the authors' special interest in Scottish Augustinian institutions. Andrew Wyntoun became an Augustinian canon at the cathedral priory of St Andrews and later served as the prior of Loch Leven, a dependency of the cathedral priory, from 1390 to 1421.¹⁴⁰ The *Original Chronicle*, produced between 1408 and 1424, was written during his priorship and resulted from considerable research.¹⁴¹ For instance, it is clear that Wyntoun had intimate knowledge of the archives of the cathedral priory of St Andrews.¹⁴² Walter Bower, a contemporary of Wyntoun's, became an Augustinian canon at the cathedral priory of St Andrews in c. 1400. In 1418, he became abbot of Inchcolm, an office he retained until his death in 1449. The *Scotichronicon* was produced in 1441 × 1449 towards the end of the abbot's life.¹⁴³ It was intended as a continuation of the unfinished chronicle of John of Fordun, the *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, written in 1371 × c. 1385.¹⁴⁴ In fact, the first five books of the *Scotichronicon*, and part of the sixth, are based upon John of Fordun.¹⁴⁵ However, Bower made significant additions to the earlier chronicle. He conducted research both before and during the production of the *Scotichronicon*.¹⁴⁶ For instance, he made use of the archives of cathedral priory of St Andrews and the library of the Dominican Friars of Edinburgh.¹⁴⁷ He also consulted the record collections of a number of religious houses in Scotland, including Dunfermline, St Andrews, Scone, Holyrood, and his own abbey of Inchcolm.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁰ *HRHS*, p. 140.

¹⁴¹ D. Broun, 'A New Look at Gesta Annalia Attributed to John of Fordun', in *Church, Chronicle and Learning: Essays Presented to Donald Watt on the Occasion of the Completion of the Publication of Bower's Scotichronicon*, ed. B.E. Crawford (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 9-30 (p. 14).

¹⁴² *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 6-19.

¹⁴³ *Scotichronicon*, IX, pp. 204-8. See also, D.E.R. Watt, 'Abbot Walter Bower of Inchcolm and his Scotichronicon', *RSCHS*, 24 (1992), 286-304 (pp. 286-8); D.E.R. Watt, 'A National Treasure? The Scotichronicon of Walter Bower', *SHR*, 76 (1997), 44-53 (p. 44).

¹⁴⁴ *Scotichronicon*, IX, pp. 2-3; Watt, 'Abbot Walter Bower', pp. 288-9; Broun, 'Gesta Annalia', pp. 9-30 (p. 9).

¹⁴⁵ *Scotichronicon*, III, pp. 342-3, 461; IX, pp. 2-3.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ Watt, 'Abbot Walter Bower', pp. 289-90.

¹⁴⁸ *Scotichronicon*, IX, p. 207; Watt, 'Abbot Walter Bower', 286-304 (p. 291). The use of the archives of Scone was not recognised by D.E.R. Watt and the other editors of the *Scotichronicon*. However, it is clear that Bower used the archives of Scone in order to produce a supplemental folio (fol. 110) concerning the foundation of Scone.

The *Original Chronicle* and the *Scotichronicon* contain information which has been filtered and reworked for a late medieval audience, and they undoubtedly include information which is based upon tradition, rather than upon source material. Yet, both chroniclers were clearly in contact with now lost evidence. While these chronicles must be used carefully, they also must be taken seriously as witnesses to now lost source material and legitimate tradition. Moreover, for the purposes of this study, the chronicles produced by Andrew Wyntoun, prior of Loch Leven, and Walter Bower, abbot of Inchcolm, are particularly valuable due to their personal interest in the regular canonical movement in Scotland.

II. Foundation Narratives

Of the internal records produced by religious houses, foundation narratives are among the most informative.¹⁴⁹ Such narratives provide a context for the foundation of religious houses unmatched by even the most revealing charters. There are surviving foundation histories for the houses of St Andrews, Holyrood, and Inchcolm. Indeed, these are the only foundation narratives to survive for any of Scotland's numerous religious houses.

The foundation narrative produced by the cathedral priory of St Andrews is now commonly known as the *Augustinian's Account* and is a particularly valuable source for the study of the regular canons in Scotland.¹⁵⁰ It was once preserved in the Great Register of St Andrews; yet, due to the loss of that manuscript, the complete text only survives in an eighteenth century transcript.¹⁵¹ In recent years, the significance of the *Augustinian's Account* has begun to be fully recognised by Scottish historians, and is now available in a critical edition.¹⁵²

The *Augustinian's Account* is joined to version B of the St Andrews foundation legend. These texts form a single narrative, linking together the stories of the original foundation of St Andrews and the foundation of the Augustinian cathedral priory in the twelfth century. In effect, version B of the St Andrews foundation legend serves as the preamble to the *Augustinian's Account*.¹⁵³ As the modern name implies, the *Augustinian's Account* was written by a member of the canonical community at St Andrews. It was produced shortly after the foundation of the priory during the lifetime of David I. In fact, both the *Augustinian's Account* and version B of the St Andrews foundation legend were probably authored by

¹⁴⁹ For a consideration of foundation narratives as historical sources, see Milis, 'Hermits and Regular Canons', pp. 181-246 (pp. 184-6).

¹⁵⁰ S. Taylor, 'The coming of the Augustinians to St Andrews and version B of the St Andrews foundation legend', in *Kings, Clerics, and Chronicles in Scotland, 500-1297: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson on the Occasion of Her Ninetieth Birthday*, ed. S. Taylor (Dublin, 2000), pp. 115-23.

¹⁵¹ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 564-6); *St Andrews Liber*, p. xxvi.

¹⁵² *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 600-615). See also, *Chron. Picts-Scots*, pp. 183-93.

¹⁵³ B is an abridged version of the narrative found in version A of the St Andrews foundation legend (*PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 564-615)).

Robert, the first prior of St Andrews, between c. 1140 and 1153.¹⁵⁴ Thus, the *Augustinian's Account* relates the story of the foundation of the cathedral priory of St Andrews from the perspective of a canon who was intimately involved in the process and, as such, provides invaluable insight into the viewpoint of a contemporary Augustinian.

The *Augustinian's Account* is the only contemporary account of the foundation of a religious house in Scotland. Contemporary foundation narratives appear to be quite rare for Augustinian institutions in the British Isles.¹⁵⁵ Most were composed generations after the foundation, some centuries later.¹⁵⁶ Thus, the *Augustinian's Account* is an exceptional text. Its value lies not only in its detailed account of the context and complexities of the foundation of the cathedral priory of St Andrews, but also in shedding light on many aspects of early twelfth-century Scotland. Indeed, the historical value of the *Augustinian's Account* for this study is without parallel.

The canons of Holyrood also produced a foundation narrative. This text, however, was written in the fifteenth century (c. 1450) and is contained in a liturgical book known as the *Holyrood Ordinale*.¹⁵⁷ It is the only intact liturgical manuscript of this type which survives in Scotland.¹⁵⁸ It was intended to serve as a guide to the day-to-day services performed by the abbey and to work in tandem with the abbey's customal.¹⁵⁹ While the primary function of the text was liturgical, the manuscript also contains historical texts.

The *Holyrood Ordinale* actually contains three historical narratives.¹⁶⁰ The manuscript includes foundation narratives for the abbey of Holyrood and the dependent priory of St Mary's Isle. The third narrative is an account of a miracle which took place during the early years of the abbey. As will be seen, the value and purpose of the narratives produced by the canons of Holyrood in the fifteenth century are

¹⁵⁴ Taylor, 'Augustinians', pp. 115-23 (pp. 119-21). The author also intended to write an account of the miracles performed by St Andrew during the foundation of the cathedral priory (*PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 601, 606-7)).

¹⁵⁵ There are several continental examples which compare favourably. The foundation narratives of the houses of Chaumouzey, Saint-Laurent-au-Bois, and Arrouaise were all composed by the prelates of the communities themselves. Of these, the foundation narratives of Chaumouzey and Saint-Laurent-au-Bois were written during the foundation period (Milis, 'Hermits and Regular Canons', pp. 181-246 (pp. 183-4)). In England, there are examples of foundation narratives produced shortly after foundation. For instance, the foundation narrative of Merton Priory (f. 1114) was written during the career of the first prior of Merton, but only completed under the second in 1150 × 1157. The foundation history for the priory of St Bartholomew's, Smithfield (f. 1123), was written during the career of the second prior of the house in 1144 × 1174, and finished shortly after his death (M.L. Colker, 'Latin Texts Concerning Gilbert, Founder of Merton Priory', *Studia Monastica*, 12 (1970), 241-70; *The Book of the Foundation of St Bartholomew's Smithfield*, ed. E.A. Webb (Oxford, 1923), p. 4).

¹⁵⁶ For example, the foundation narrative of the priory of Nostell (Yorks.) was produced roughly 300 years after its foundation (J.A. Frost, *The Foundation of Nostell Priory, 1109-1153* (York, 2007), app. B (doc. B2)).

¹⁵⁷ *Holyrood Ordinale*, p. xix.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xxvii. For an English example of a liturgical text of this type, see *The Ordinale and Customary of the Abbey of Saint Mary York*, eds. Abbess of Stanbrook and J.B.L. Tolhurst (Maidstone, 1951).

¹⁵⁹ *Holyrood Ordinale*, pp. xxii, 109.

¹⁶⁰ The *Holyrood Ordinale* also contains an incomplete and erroneous list of the abbots of Holyrood (*Ibid.*, p. 69).

quite different than the *Augustinian's Account*. These texts are unquestionably products of the late middle ages.¹⁶¹

The account of the abbey's foundation is semi-historical.¹⁶² The narrative involves an historical cast of characters, namely David I and Abbot Ælfwine, and provides information which can be confirmed by other sources. However, it is primarily a miraculous account of the abbey's foundation, providing a supernatural explanation for the abbey's foundation. The overarching theme of the narrative is the miraculous works of the Holy Cross or Holy Rood. It links the foundation of the abbey by David I to the miraculous agency of the Holy Cross. It appears that the central purpose of the text was the promotion of the cult of the Holy Cross. Thus, the fifteenth-century canons of Holyrood may have been attempting to reinvigorate the cult of their dedicatory relic.

The Holy Cross also plays an important role in the miracle account. However, in this text the focus is on the sanctity of the abbey's founder, David I. Like the abbey's foundation narrative, the miracle account takes place within an historical setting, but it also has hagiographical qualities. It relates a miracle which occurred during the construction of the first abbey church. During construction, a carpenter fell while working on the roof. The man was presumed dead until David I offered prayers for him and ordered that the mass of the Holy Cross be celebrated. The carpenter promptly recovered. This story gives the founder of the house, David I, the characteristics of a saint. Indeed, the miracle itself is akin to the biblical story of Lazarus (John 11:41-4).¹⁶³ The miracle account, therefore, promotes the saintliness of the founder.

The foundation narrative of the priory of St Mary's Isle is incomplete due to damage sustained by the manuscript.¹⁶⁴ What does remain is a creative reconstruction of historical events. The elements of the story which survive do not involve the dedicatory saint of the priory (i.e. St Mary). Instead, the focus is on the political circumstances of the foundation. According to the narrative, the context of the priory's foundation was a dispute between Fergus, lord of Galloway, and David I, which was diffused by Ælfwine, abbot of Holyrood. While the narrative has anachronistic elements, as will be seen, it serves as an important corroborative text.

Each of the three historical narratives in the *Holyrood Ordinale* have their limitations as historical sources. Although the narratives occur within historical settings, history is not their primary objective and, therefore, they must be treated with caution. Yet, these texts can be used in conjunction with other, more reliable, sources. The historical narratives produced by the canons of Holyrood in the fifteenth

¹⁶¹ W.H. Makey, 'The Legend of Holyrood', in *A Sense of Place: Studies in Scottish Local History*, ed. G. Cruickshank (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 122-33 (pp. 128-30).

¹⁶² *Holyrood Ordinale*, pp. 63-6.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-8.

century reveal a milieu which emphasised the religious credibility of the founder and potency of the dedicatory saint (or relic). During the same period, Walter Bower produced a foundation narrative for Inchcolm which exhibits these same characteristics.

As discussed, Walter Bower, abbot of Inchcolm (1418-49), produced the *Scotichronicon* in the 1440s. Included in the lengthy chronicle is an account of the foundation of the author's own house.¹⁶⁵ This short account written by Abbot Walter is the only text which provides a picture of the circumstances surrounding the foundation of Inchcolm.¹⁶⁶ However, like the historical narratives of Holyrood, Walter Bower blends together hagiography and history.¹⁶⁷ Credit for founding the house is given to the joint efforts of Alexander I and St Columba. Indeed, the roles of the king and dedicatory saint are paramount. The cooperation between king and saint (or relic) appears to be a consistent theme in foundation narratives produced in Scotland in the late middle ages. The 'historical' narratives for Holyrood and Inchcolm suggest that foundation narratives intended for a late medieval audience were expected to be miraculous. While the foundation narrative produced by Walter Bower is undoubtedly hagiography grafted upon history, it too has become an important corroborative source due to the limitations of the evidence.¹⁶⁸

III. Charter Evidence

Charter evidence is especially important for the study of medieval Scotland after *c.* 1100. This is particularly true for the religious houses of Scotland for which many, if not most, of the surviving charters pertain. For this study a corpus of 575 charters were consulted, consisting of original charters, cartulary copies, and transcripts.¹⁶⁹ Indeed, the evidence provided by these charters forms the backbone of the study.

A. Cartularies

The bulk of the charter material used in this study survives in the form of cartulary copies. Given the importance placed on charter evidence obtained from cartularies, this section will consider four extant cartularies in some detail. While the common denominator of cartularies is the preservation of title-deeds,

¹⁶⁵ *Scotichronicon*, III, pp. 110-1.

¹⁶⁶ Chapter 37 of Book V of the *Scotichronicon* is an original work of Walter Bower. It may be based upon documentary material preserved at Inchcolm, but it certainly represents the tradition of the canons of Inchcolm (*Ibid.*, III, pp. 242-3).

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, III, pp. 110-1.

¹⁶⁸ *Inchcolm Charters.*, p. xviii.

¹⁶⁹ Before 1215, there are 246 charters pertaining to St Andrews (and its dependent hospital), 104 for Holyrood (and St Mary's Isle), 80 for Cambuskenneth, and 75 for Scone. Before 1250, there are 47 charters pertaining to Jedburgh (and Restenneth) and 23 for Inchcolm.

no two cartularies are the same. Each religious house selected and organised their charter material according to different criteria. As will be seen, the cartularies produced by the houses of Scone, St Andrews, and Cambuskenneth are each unique manuscripts crafted by those institutions for different purposes and under varying circumstances.

There are two surviving cartularies produced by the abbey of Scone. The earlier of the two, Cartulary A, dates to between 1325 and 1350 (NLS, Adv. 34.3.29).¹⁷⁰ It has suffered significant damage, and, as a result, a large portion of the muniments it once contained are no longer part of the codex.¹⁷¹ In its present state, the cartulary includes 83 deeds, many of which are barely legible due to the damage.¹⁷² The deeds are arranged topographically, but not according to chronology.

The date range for Cartulary A and the nature of its contents indicate that it was produced in the aftermath of substantial archival losses by the abbey. In 1298, the abbey was destroyed by the forces of the English king, Edward I (1272-1307). The army caused considerable structural damage to the abbey and its conventual buildings, but the house also suffered significant losses to its ‘charters and muniments’.¹⁷³ Following the destruction of the house and the chaos which ensued, the canons sought to put their finances back in order. The house looked for a legal remedy from the court of Robert I (1306-29). On 3 August 1323, a royal commission was formed to ascertain the full extent of the house’s muniment loss and to issue new charters to fill in the gaps.¹⁷⁴ Cartulary A seems to have been produced as part of this reconstruction process. For example, an important general confirmation charter of Mael Coluim IV was followed in the cartulary by an *inspeximus* of the same charter by Robert I, showing the importance placed on renewal in the manuscript.¹⁷⁵ It is no surprise that during this tumultuous period the abbey of Scone produced Cartulary A (1325 × 1350) for it was common for religious institutions to create cartularies during periods in which their rights and possession were deemed to be under external threat.¹⁷⁶

The second cartulary produced by the abbey of Scone, Cartulary B, dates to the middle of the fifteenth century, with later elements perhaps dating to the early sixteenth century (NLS, Adv. 34.3.28).

¹⁷⁰ D. Broun, ‘The Adoption of Brieves in Scotland’, in *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, eds. M.T. Flanagan and J.A. Green (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 164-83 (p. 171).

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² See for example, NLS, Adv. 34.3.29, fols 29-31.

¹⁷³ *Scone Liber*, no. 124. In 1305, the abbey of Scone petitioned Edward I seeking reimbursement for the loss of wood intended to rebuild its conventual church (NAK, SC8/142/7087).

¹⁷⁴ *Regesta Regum Scotorum: The Acts of Robert I, 1306-1329*, ed. A.A.M. Duncan (Edinburgh, 1988), V, pp. 25-7, 124-5.

¹⁷⁵ Due to the damage sustained by the cartulary and its subsequent reorganisation, the true extent of its original content is unclear. It appears that the section of the manuscript containing royal charters began with the general confirmation charter of Mael Coluim IV. However, currently only the last lines of that charter and the witness list remain. It is followed by an *inspeximus* charter of Robert I authenticating the important general confirmation charter (NLS, Adv. 34.3.29, fols 9^f-11^v). See also, *RRS*, I, no. 243; *RRS*, V, no. 291.

¹⁷⁶ T. Foulds, ‘Medieval Cartularies’, *Archives*, 18 (1987), 3-35 (pp. 29-30).

The majority of Cartulary B, at least the first 44 folios, dates to the abbacy of Thomas de Camera (1447-1458 × 1465).¹⁷⁷ Thus, the date range of 1450 to 1460 for the production of the manuscript suggested by Cosmo Innes (and followed by subsequent scholars) is probably a good estimate.¹⁷⁸ Cartulary B consists of 148 deeds arranged topographically and placed into chronological order.

The intention of Cartulary B, although never completed, was to create a general cartulary, i.e. a master copy of the house's muniments.¹⁷⁹ In the fifteenth century, the abbey of Scone set out to engross the whole of their surviving muniments into a single, and quite ornate, cartulary.¹⁸⁰ Therefore, Cartulary B contains a large number of deeds which date to before 1350, but are not found in Cartulary A (1325 × 1350), most notably four charters of Alexander I (including Scone's foundation diploma).¹⁸¹ The charters of Mael Coluim IV provide a good illustration of the extent of the difference between the two cartularies. There are thirteen known charters of Mael Coluim IV to Scone.¹⁸² Only two of these charters are found in Cartulary A, while all thirteen were included in Cartulary B.¹⁸³ This has raised questions concerning the authenticity of the 'new' charters.¹⁸⁴ Yet, such questions proceed from the assumption that Cartulary A and Cartulary B were produced for the same purpose, i.e. to engross the entire muniment collection of the house. Yet, this was decidedly not the case. Cartulary A was not an attempt to record the full muniment collection of the house.¹⁸⁵ Thus, the criteria used for engrossment differed considerably between Cartulary A and Cartulary B. Cartulary A is a post-war manuscript which reflects immediate concerns, while Cartulary B was intended as a general cartulary.

¹⁷⁷ The following note occurs in the Cartulary B: *Memorandum quod hec confirmacio domini nostri Regis impetrata fuit per recolende memorie dominum Thomam de Camera Abbatem huius almi monasterii cuius anima per hoc bonum opus et multa alia bona opera que tempore suo operatus est in dicto monasterio post mortem temporalem vitam possideat eternam* (NLS, Adv. 34.3.28, fol. 44^v). This memorandum follows a charter of James II (*Scone Liber*, no. 215). It indicates that the first 44 folios were entered into the cartulary before, but probably during, the abbacy of Thomas de Camera (*Scone Liber*, p. xviii, n. 1). Thomas de Camera became abbot of Scone in 1447. He occurs as abbot in 1457 and 1458, but the date of his death or resignation is unknown. His successor is first noted in 1465. Therefore, the firm date range for Abbot Thomas is from 1447 to 1458 × 1465 (*HRHS*, p. 201).

¹⁷⁸ *Scone Liber*, pp. xvii-xviii, fn. 1; G.R.C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, eds. C. Breay, J. Harrison, and D.M. Smith (London, 2010), pp. 240-1.

¹⁷⁹ For a discussion of general cartularies, see Foulds, 3-35 (pp. 7-11).

¹⁸⁰ Although never completed, it was planned on a grand scale with space for illuminated capitals for each royal charter.

¹⁸¹ A fifth charter of Alexander I in favour of the priory of Scone was engrossed in the cartulary of Nostell Priory. This charter is found in the priory's general cartulary which dates to after 1264 at fol. 110^f (J.A. Frost, 'An edition of the Nostell Priory Cartulary: London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian E XIX' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 2005), I, p. 194; II, p. 697). See also, *RRS*, I, no. 4.

¹⁸² *RRS*, I, nos. 215, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 262.

¹⁸³ NLS, Adv. 34.3.29, fols 9^f, 15^v; NLS, Adv. 34.3.28, fols 2^v-7^f.

¹⁸⁴ *ESC*, pp. 280-1.

¹⁸⁵ For example, six original charters of Mael Coluim IV and William I survive (NAS, RH6/1B, RH6/3, RH6/4, RH6/5, RH6/8, RH6/18). Of these charters only one was engrossed in Cartulary A (NLS, Adv. 34.3.29, fol. 22^f), while all six were entered into Cartulary B (NLS, Adv. 34.3.28, fols 4^v-5^f, 7^v, 8^f-8^v, 9^f-11^f).

The charter evidence for the cathedral priory of St Andrews is the best of any Augustinian house in Scotland due in large part to the survival of its cartulary (NAS, GD45/27/8). The earliest elements of the cartulary, which includes the muniments of both the cathedral priory and its dependencies, date to the second half of the thirteenth century.¹⁸⁶ Of the 195 folios of vellum, roughly 130 contain muniments engrossed in the thirteenth century, the remainder were added to the cartulary in the fourteenth (fols 152-169) and fifteenth centuries (fols 1-20, 169-195).¹⁸⁷

In typical cartulary fashion, the main body of the manuscript is arranged topographically according to donor type (papal, episcopal, royal, etc.).¹⁸⁸ However, there are a number of breaks in this protocol wherein different types of charter material were inserted into the cartulary. The most notable example is a set of *notitiae* which contain the substance of eleven early donations in favour of the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven (fols 63^v-65^r), whose assets were given to canons of St Andrews in 1150 × 1153.¹⁸⁹ Thus, the cartulary of St Andrews is a good example of a general cartulary.

The cartulary of St Andrews was conceived and largely completed before the Anglo-Scottish wars of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. It is the earliest extant cartulary produced by an Augustinian house in Scotland and one of the earliest to survive for a Scottish religious house. The Benedictine monastery of Dunfermline appears to have been the first Scottish house to produce a cartulary.¹⁹⁰ The earliest sections of its cartulary date to 1254 × 1255.¹⁹¹ The canons of St Andrews apparently followed close on the heels of their Benedictine neighbours in constructing a manuscript record of their title-deeds. The cartulary of St Andrews, like the Dunfermline cartulary, appears to have been designed in an effort to cope with the large muniment collection which the house had accumulated by that time. The production of a general cartulary would help with archival organisation and provide a secondary record of the charters held by the institution.

The cartulary of Cambuskenneth Abbey is a unique manuscript (NLS, Adv. 34.1.2). In 1535, Alexander Myln, abbot of Cambuskenneth (1519-48), found the records of his abbey in a state of 'decay'.¹⁹² During the reign of James V (1513-42), Abbot Alexander petitioned the king and the Council of Lords to request the production of a manuscript which would have the same legal force as the original

¹⁸⁶ *Medieval Cartularies*, p. 240.

¹⁸⁷ *St Andrews Liber*, p. x.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

¹⁸⁹ *DC*, no. 208; *St Andrews Liber*, p. 43.

¹⁹⁰ NLS, Adv. 34.1.3a.

¹⁹¹ *Medieval Cartularies*, pp. 232-3.

¹⁹² Abbot Alexander was also responsible for producing the *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum*, a history of the bishops of Dunkeld (Alexander Myln, *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum*, ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1831)). As a young man he held a prebend of the cathedral church of Dunkeld and later became the dean of Angus (*MRHS*, II, pp. 31-2; *Fasti*, p. 160).

documents held by the abbey.¹⁹³ On 24 July 1535, the abbot obtained a licence to transcribe the muniment collection of his house into a single authenticated codex.¹⁹⁴ The manuscript that was produced in 1535 is difficult to define for it was designed to imitate a cartulary, but it can also be likened to a very elaborate *inspeximus*. This unusual manuscript, the only one of its kind in Scotland, will therefore be referred to as an authenticated cartulary.

To give the manuscript legal authority, a number of measures were taken. The principal means of authenticating the cartulary was the participation of a clerk-register, Mr. James Foulis of Colinton, who checked each entry and confirmed that the material entered, agreed with the original documents. At the foot of each document engrossed into the cartulary appears the attestation of the clerk-register. This was not simply a rubber stamp: at the insistence of the clerk-register there are occasional corrections made to the items engrossed in the cartulary.¹⁹⁵ At its completion the cartulary received further authentication through the signatures of the members of the Council of Lords and the king's seal.¹⁹⁶

The authenticated cartulary consists of 178 folios of vellum on which 225 charters are engrossed.¹⁹⁷ The entire manuscript was produced by a single scribe, a canon of Cambuskenneth.¹⁹⁸ It is arranged by subject matter according to the place-names of the properties held by the abbey and placed in alphabetical order. For example, the charters concerning the abbey's property in Arngosk, Alva, and Alloa appear first. For this reason, the authenticated cartulary does not begin with the foundation charter of the abbey as might be expected; instead it is grouped with the Cs (for Cambuskenneth).¹⁹⁹ Prefixed to the cartulary is a table of contents which is six folios in length.²⁰⁰ Thus, the authenticated cartulary of Cambuskenneth is an unusual manuscript in a number of respects including its organisation.

B. Original Charters and Transcripts

Original charters and transcriptions of charters are an essential source for this study. As discussed, there are extant cartularies for only three houses under consideration. Thus, the charter evidence for the houses of Scone, St Andrews, and Cambuskenneth, which have surviving cartularies, is quite substantial. For these houses, original charters and transcriptions supplement the charter material

¹⁹³ *Cambuskenneth Registrum*, pp. v-vi.

¹⁹⁴ The licence appears at the beginning of the manuscript (*Ibid.*, pp. 1-3).

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. v-vii. A purple and gold cord is still attached to the authenticated cartulary. However, the seal of James V is no longer appended (fols 84^v-85^r).

¹⁹⁷ *Medieval Cartularies*, p. 230.

¹⁹⁸ *Cambuskenneth Registrum*, pp. xi-xii.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

contained within the manuscripts. However, for the remaining houses, original charters and transcriptions provide the only available forms of charter evidence.

Scone, Cambuskenneth, and St Andrews:

The houses of Scone and Cambuskenneth both have a limited number of original charters and transcriptions dating to before 1215. In the case of Scone, there are only eleven extant original charters (before 1215), now mostly held at the National Archives of Scotland.²⁰¹ The earliest is a charter of Mael Coluim IV from 1162 × 1164.²⁰² In the case of Cambuskenneth, there are no surviving original charters which date to before 1215. However, the transcriptions of six charters, which date to before 1215, are preserved in the National Archives of Scotland.²⁰³ All but one, a charter of William I, were engrossed in the authenticated cartulary of Cambuskenneth.²⁰⁴ In the late nineteenth century, William Fraser, who published an edition of the authenticated cartulary of Cambuskenneth, located three further transcriptions, which are now presumed lost. These three transcripts, the Kirkintilloch charters, were extracted from an earlier cartulary (or register) of the abbey of Cambuskenneth, which Fraser demonstrated was still extant in 1535.²⁰⁵ Translations of two of these charters, those which were not engrossed in the authenticated cartulary of 1535, were printed by William Fraser in the introduction to his edition.²⁰⁶

Of the houses with extant cartularies, only St Andrews and its dependencies have a large collection of surviving original and transcript charters. In fact, there are a total of 44 documents dating to before 1250, of which eighteen were not engrossed in the cartulary of St Andrews.²⁰⁷ Therefore, this charter material provides an important supplement and point of comparison to the charters engrossed in the cartulary. The original charters and transcripts are found in a number of different archives. However, the majority of the charter material is housed in the National Library of Scotland in the collection of Sir James Balfour of Denmilne (NLS, Adv. 15.1.18). In total, the Balfour Collection contains 68 original charters and three transcriptions concerning the cathedral priory; twenty-four of these date to before 1250.²⁰⁸ There are also twenty title-deeds preserved in originals or transcriptions which are now held at the National Library of Scotland (4), the National Archives of Scotland (9), St Andrews University

²⁰¹ NAS, RH6/1B, RH6/3, RH6/4, RH6/5, RH6/8, RH6/18, RH6/10, RH6/44, GD190/3/63, GD28/7; BL, Add. Ch. 66568.

²⁰² NAS, RH6/1B; *RRS*, I, no. 244.

²⁰³ NAS, GD124/1/961, RH1/2/13-5, RH1/2/16, RH1/2/26.

²⁰⁴ NAS, GD124/1/961.

²⁰⁵ *Cambuskenneth Registrum*, pp. xxix-xxxii.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. xxx, xxxi-xxxii.

²⁰⁷ NAS, GD90/1/1, GD90/1/7, RH1/6/2, RH1/6/3, RH6/7, RH6/22; NLS, Adv. 15.1.18, nos. 1, 3, 20, 22, 27, 66; NLS, Minto Papers, Charters, Box 30, no. 212/2 (nos. 1-4); St Andrews University Library, MS 30276; BL, Campbell Charters xxx, no. 1.

²⁰⁸ NLS, Adv. 15.1.18, nos. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 20, 21, 22, 27, 41, 42, 44, 46, 60, 62, 66, 67, 70, 85, 100.

Library (1), and the British Library (6).²⁰⁹ Thus, the charter evidence for the priory of St Andrews is fairly well balanced between original charters and cartulary copies and, when combined, forms the largest collection of charter evidence of any house under consideration.²¹⁰

Jedburgh, Inchcolm, and Holyrood:

Unlike the above houses with extant cartularies, the charter evidence for Jedburgh, Inchcolm, and Holyrood comes exclusively from original charters and transcriptions. Holyrood has been quite fortunate in terms of charter survival. However, the muniment collections of Inchcolm and Jedburgh (and its dependencies) suffered terrible losses as a result of the Anglo-Scottish wars in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Much of what does survive was reconstructed by the houses in the post-war era and now exists only in transcriptions and *inspeximus* charters.²¹¹

As result, the charter evidence for Jedburgh is the poorest of all the major houses considered in this study. Accordingly, all available evidence has been used to reconstruct the property rights and institutional history of Jedburgh to 1215. In total, 45 documents have been consulted. However, there are only ten original charters that survive in favour of Jedburgh before 1250.²¹² With the exception of a general confirmation of William I, all of these are now held at either the National Archives or National Library of Scotland.²¹³ Transcripts or partial transcripts of a further five charters have also been preserved in Scottish collections.²¹⁴ A small amount of charter evidence has been found in English archives. Two transcripts concerning Jedburgh's rights in Northamptonshire are held by Balliol College, Oxford.²¹⁵ Three of the most important charters for the house, including its foundation diploma, survive only in copies made for *inspeximus* charters of Robert I issued in 1324.²¹⁶ Additionally, there is only one surviving papal bull to the house before 1215, a bull of Innocent III in 1209.²¹⁷ Due to the paucity of surviving charter evidence for Jedburgh, the information contained in the muniment collections of other

²⁰⁹ NLS, Minto Papers, Charters, Box 30, no. 212/2 (nos. 1-4); NAS, GD90/1/1, GD90/1/2, GD90/1/4, GD90/1/5, GD90/1/7, RH1/6/2, RH1/6/3, RH6/7, RH6/22; St Andrews University Library, MS 30276; BL, Cotton Charter xviii, nos. 12, 22, 31-2, 35; BL, Campbell Charters xxx, no. 1.

²¹⁰ An additional charter pertaining to cathedral priory is engrossed in the cartulary of Dunfermline abbey (NLS, Adv. 34.1.3a). See also, *RRS*, II, no. 35.

²¹¹ E.g., *Inchcolm Charters*, no. 38.

²¹² NAS, AD1/1, AD1/2, AD1/3, AD1/4, AD1/5, RH1/2/9, RH6/34, RH6/37, CH2/86/19, no. 1; NLS, Chr. 14320.

²¹³ A general confirmation charter of William I is held at Drumlanrig Castle as part of the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry. A facsimile copy can be consulted at the National Archives of Scotland (NAS, GD55/625).

²¹⁴ *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Part III: The manuscripts of the Duke of Roxburghe; Sir H.H. Campbell, Bart., the Earl of Strathmore and the Countess Dowager of Seafield* (London, 1894), nos. 18-21; *Facsimiles of Scottish Charters and Letters*, ed. W. Fraser (Edinburgh, 1903), no. 5.

²¹⁵ Balliol College, Oxford, Abbotsley Deeds, E 7/1.

²¹⁶ *RRS*, V, p. 523; *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, A.D. 1306-1424*, ed. J.M. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1912), I, app. 1 (nos. 92-4).

²¹⁷ *PL*, CCXVI, bk. XII, no. 22.

institutions takes on a special importance. A considerable amount of charter evidence pertaining to Jedburgh is found among the records of Melrose (1), Dryburgh (2), and Glasgow Cathedral (8).²¹⁸ The register of Glasgow Cathedral is particularly important for it contains a number of charters documenting the interaction of Jedburgh and its diocesan bishop.

The surviving records for Jedburgh's two dependent priories, Canonbie and Restenneth, are similarly limited. The earliest notice of the establishment of Canonbie dates to 1165 × 1170.²¹⁹ Beyond this, evidence for this small dependent priory is quite minimal. What does remain is contained within the records of its mother house. The priory of Restenneth on the other hand was a more substantial religious house and the surviving evidence is correspondingly more fecund. Nevertheless, there are still only two surviving charters, one original and one partial transcript.²²⁰ Like its mother house, the muniments of the priory of Restenneth suffered at the hands of English armies and were only later reconstructed through a royal inquest.

The surviving charter evidence for Inchcolm is also severely limited. A register or cartulary of the abbey of Inchcolm survived into the sixteenth century.²²¹ Indeed, it may have even survived into the nineteenth century.²²² However, today it is no longer extant. The loss of this manuscript is compounded by the fact that the muniment collection of Inchcolm suffered as a result of warfare which regularly affected the island-based house.²²³ As a consequence, there is only a single original charter which survives from before 1250.²²⁴ Today the almost exclusive source of charter evidence for the house before 1250 comes in the form of two transumpt produced in the early fifteenth century as an additional safeguard of the house's records.²²⁵ These transcripts are now in the possession of the earl of Moray and held at Darnaway Castle.²²⁶ The first and more extensive of the two transcriptions was created *ad magnam cautelam et profectum futurorum* by Walter Bower, abbot of Inchcolm (1417-49).²²⁷ Bower's transumpt produced in 1420 included 22 charters. In 1423, a second transumpt was drafted, consisting of 19 charters. These two transcriptions have only five items in common.²²⁸ Together the transcripts of 1420 and 1423 provide the bulk of the charter evidence for Inchcolm. Indeed, 21 of the 23 charters consulted in

²¹⁸ *Melrose Liber*, I, no. 274; *Dryburgh Liber*, nos. 62, 63; *Glasgow Registrum*, I, nos. 70, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 114.

²¹⁹ *RRS*, II, no. 62.

²²⁰ *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourteenth Report*, no. 26. The original charter is now held in a private collection (*RRS*, II, no. 343).

²²¹ A notarised transcript was made from the register of Inchcolm on 1 October 1533 (*de registro et libro abbatis et conventus et loci Sancti Columbe*) (NAS, GD172/2).

²²² *Inchcolm Charters*, pp. v-vi.

²²³ *Ibid.*, pp. xxxii-xxxiv.

²²⁴ NAS, GD172/1. This charter was also transcribed in 1420 (*Inchcolm Charters*, no. 12, p. 117).

²²⁵ *Inchcolm Charters*, pp. xxxii-xxxiv.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. vi-vii.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. xxxiv.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. vi-vii.

this study are found in one of the two fifteenth-century transcripts.²²⁹ Four are found in both transcripts.²³⁰ Other than the two fifteenth century transcripts, the remaining charter evidence comes from a notarised transcript made in 1533 and from a bull preserved in papal records.²³¹

In the case of Holyrood, the lack of a cartulary is mitigated by the fortunate survival of 50 extant originals, many of which are still appended with seals, and four transcripts of now lost originals, dating to before 1215. The vast majority are now housed at the National Archives of Scotland.²³² There are a further 22 charters dating to before 1215, which were extant in the nineteenth century, but are now presumed lost. Fortunately, these charters have been preserved in print.²³³ In addition, there are five charters in favour of Holyrood which were engrossed in the cartulary of the Cistercian abbey of Newbattle.²³⁴ There are also a large number of charters for Holyrood in record collections outside Scotland, including 22 from c. 1162 to 1240, which concern the abbey's possession of the church of Great Paxton. These are found in the cartulary of Lincoln Cathedral and in original charters held at the Lincoln Record Office.²³⁵ The charter evidence for the abbey's dependent priory of St Mary's Isle is slight. In fact, there is only one surviving twelfth-century charter for the priory.²³⁶

The number and quality of the original charters which survive for the abbey of Holyrood is rare for a Scottish religious house. The chance survival of such a large collection of originals is particularly fortunate. In terms of charter evidence, the abbey of Holyrood is virtually on par with those houses discussed above with surviving manuscripts.

C. Printed Material

Anyone who has studied the ecclesiastical institutions of Scotland in the middle ages has undoubtedly made use of an antiquarian edition in their research. The documentary evidence for thirty-

²²⁹ Ibid., nos. 1-15, 17-8, 20-3.

²³⁰ Ibid., nos. 5, 14, 22-3.

²³¹ NAS, GD172/2; *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum historiam illustrantia, quae ex Vaticani Neapolis ac Florentiae*, ed. A. Theiner (Rome, 1864), no. 78.

²³² Edinburgh City Archives, Historical Charters, nos. 1-2; NLS, Charters, no. 34; BL, Harley Charters, 111.B.14; NAS, GD45/13/215, GD45/13/216, GD45/13/217, GD45/13/218, GD45/13/219, GD45/13/220, GD45/13/221, GD45/13/222, GD45/13/223, GD45/13/224, GD45/13/225, GD45/13/226, GD45/13/227, GD45/13/228, GD45/13/229, GD45/13/230, GD45/13/231, GD45/13/232, GD45/13/233, GD45/13/234, GD45/13/235, GD45/13/236, GD45/13/237, GD45/13/238, GD45/13/239, GD45/13/240, GD45/13/241, GD45/13/242, GD45/13/243, GD45/13/244, GD45/13/245, GD45/13/246, GD45/13/247, GD45/13/249, GD45/13/250, GD45/13/251, GD45/13/252, GD45/13/258, GD45/13/276, GD100/59A, GD40/1/3, GD1/17/1, GD90/1/11, RH1/1/1, RH1/2/12, RH1/2/43, CH7/1, CH7/2, GD141/1A.

²³³ *Holyrood Liber*, nos. 15, 22, 23, 31, 34, 36, 40, 44, 48, 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, 66, 67, 73; app. 2, nos. 2, 7, 10, 11, 13.

²³⁴ This is a result of the abbey of Newbattle acquiring properties once held by Holyrood (NLS, Adv. 34.4.13; *Newbattle Registrum*, nos. 4, 130, 131, 268; *RRS*, I, no. 199).

²³⁵ Lincoln Record Office, D and C, MS A/1/6, 90/3/19, 90/3/20, 90/3/21, 90/3/23, 90/3/24, 90/3/24a, 90/3/26, 90/3/30, 91/1/39, 91/1/40a, 91/1/80.

²³⁶ NAS, RH6/14; *RRS*, II, no. 293.

five ecclesiastical institutions was published in the nineteenth century by Scottish antiquarian clubs.²³⁷ Thus far, the documentary evidence for only three of these institutions (Inchaffray, Lindores, and Coupar Angus) has been revisited and printed in modern editions.²³⁸ Therefore, the most complete source of printed material for Scotland's religious houses remains the editions produced by Scottish antiquarians.

Recently, scholars have begun to recognise many flaws in the nineteenth-century editions and to question their indiscriminate use by Scottish historians. Alasdair Ross was the first to critically analyse the antiquarian editions and to raise serious doubt about their reliability:

They are now both commonly treated and used as primary sources in their own right. To date, nobody has delved too deeply into the methodologies employed to convert the manuscripts into printed material in the first instance. This has placed a huge burden of trust upon the accuracy and editorial skills of the men who were employed as editors by the various clubs.²³⁹

While only modern critical editions will provide a true corrective to this problem, in the meantime, awareness of the methodologies and pitfalls of each individual edition can help to make these texts serviceable.

Alasdair Ross in his analysis of the Bannatyne Club editions has taken the first step by providing a general outline of the types of editions produced by the antiquarian societies. He identified two different types of editions published by the historical clubs. Those printed editions produced from extant manuscripts (e.g. cartularies), whether a single manuscript or multiple manuscripts, were referred to as 'true cartularies'. Of the printed editions, those produced from multiple manuscripts pose the most serious problems for modern scholars.²⁴⁰ On the other hand, printed editions that have been organised to resemble a cartulary, which are not primarily based on manuscripts, but upon other documentary sources (e.g. original charters), he termed 'artificial cartularies'.²⁴¹

The extent to which editorial methodology has affected the substance of charters is not fully appreciated because to date there has been no systematic comparison of the material printed in the antiquarian editions and the source material.²⁴² While a full examination of the printed editions is beyond the scope of this project, a brief explanation of the relationship between the source material and the printed editions is a necessary consideration in order for these texts to be used for the purposes of this study. In total, there are five published editions for the Augustinian houses under consideration. The

²³⁷ A. Ross, 'The Bannatyne Club and the Publication of Scottish Ecclesiastical Cartularies', *SHR*, 85 (2006), 202-33 (app. 2).

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 202-33 (p. 210, fn. 37).

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 202-33 (p. 202).

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 202-33 (p. 209).

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 202-33 (pp. 207-8).

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 202-33 (p. 213).

Bannatyne Club was responsible for the publication of three of these editions: Holyrood in 1840, St Andrews in 1841, and Scone in 1843 (in conjunction with the Maitland Club).²⁴³ The fourth antiquarian edition was published by the Grampian Club: Cambuskenneth in 1872.²⁴⁴ The only modern edition used in this study was published by the Scottish History Society: Inchcolm in 1938.²⁴⁵ Only Jedburgh and its dependent priories lack a printed edition.²⁴⁶ As a result, the charter evidence for Jedburgh, Restenneth, and Canonbie is scattered among various publications.²⁴⁷

Of the printed editions, three are based upon extant manuscripts and, in accordance with the model established by Alasdair Ross, may be deemed as ‘true’ cartularies. The printed editions of St Andrews and Cambuskenneth are based upon single manuscripts. In the case of the St Andrews edition, the editor sought to replicate the cartulary of St Andrews in its contents, organisation, and style. It, therefore, follows the order in which the muniments appear in the cartulary. In addition, the corresponding folios from the cartulary are noted in the top left hand corner of each printed page.²⁴⁸ Moreover, the abbreviations used in the cartulary have been reproduced in the edition. Thus, the *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia*, despite certain flaws, is a faithful attempt to represent the cartulary of St Andrews in print.²⁴⁹

The Cambuskenneth edition is also intended to replicate the original manuscript. The printed edition corresponds to the authenticated cartulary of Cambuskenneth in terms of its organisation and content. The table of contents correlates the folios of the manuscript to the printed pages in the edition. In this edition, however, the editor chose to expand the contractions found in the manuscript with mixed results.²⁵⁰ Therefore the *Registrum Monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth*, despite some changes to the

²⁴³ *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis: munimenta ecclesie Sancte Crucis de Edwinesburg*, ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1840); *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia: e registro ipso in archivis baronum de Panmure hodie asservato*, ed. T. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1841); *Liber Ecclesie de Scon: munimenta vetustiora monasterii Sancte Trinitatis et sancti Michaelis de Scon*, ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1843).

²⁴⁴ *Registrum Monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth, AD 1147-1535*, ed. W. Fraser (Edinburgh, 1872).

²⁴⁵ *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, eds. D.E. Easson and A. Macdonald (Edinburgh, 1938).

²⁴⁶ It is my intention to produce an edition of the surviving muniments of Jedburgh and its dependencies.

²⁴⁷ R.C. Reid, ‘Some Early De Soulis Charters’, *TDGAS*, 26 (1947-8), 150-62 (nos. 1-5); *DC*, nos. 167, 174, 175; *RRS*, I, nos. 195, 277, 278; *RRS*, II, nos. 5, 62, 343; G.W.S. Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scotland* (Oxford, 1980), app. A (nos. 2-3); *Melrose Liber*, I, no. 274; *Dryburgh Liber*, nos. 62, 63; *Glasgow Registrum*, I, nos. 70, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 114; *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourteenth Report*, no. 23; J. Stuart, ‘On the Early History of the Priory of Restennet’, *Archaeologia Scotica*, 5 (1880), 285-315, app. 1 (nos. 1-5). Three charters pertaining to Jedburgh’s possession of the church of Dalmeny remain unpublished (NAS, RH6/34, RH6/37, CH2/86/19 (no. 1)).

²⁴⁸ *St Andrews Liber*, p. ix.

²⁴⁹ For example, while compiling the acts of William I, Professor Barrow discovered a charter in the cartulary of St Andrews not printed in the Bannatyne Club edition (*RRS*, II, no. 491). It appears to have been left out of the Bannatyne Club edition due to its damaged state (NAS, GD45/27/8, fol. 140’).

²⁵⁰ *Cambuskenneth Registrum*, pp. xii-xiii.

language of the original manuscript, is a reproduction of the authenticated cartulary of Cambuskenneth in print.²⁵¹

The Scone edition was a more ambitious publication. It sought to encompass all the surviving muniments of Scone, including its two cartularies and all known original charters. The manner in which this was achieved has produced a somewhat problematic edition. As noted, the antiquarian editions that are based upon multiple manuscripts are typically the most troublesome, and this certainly holds true for Scone.²⁵² The charter material printed from original charters is clearly denoted in the Scone edition. The printed material derived from original charters has been left in its abbreviated form in the edition and is also noted as such in the index.²⁵³ However, in material printed from the two cartularies of Scone, the relationship to the source material is unclear. The editor has refashioned the charter material in the printed edition in a way which bears little resemblance to the original cartularies. More importantly, however, there is no indication from which of the two cartularies the printed material was found. The source of the printed material extracted from the two cartularies, whether from Cartulary A or Cartulary B, is not cited. The two cartularies have therefore been treated as a single manuscript. Moreover, in the case of discrepancies between the two cartularies the ‘best’ version of a charter has been printed without notification.²⁵⁴ As a result, the *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* provides only a version of the muniment collection of Scone which must be regularly compared to the original manuscripts.

The Holyrood edition is based solely upon original charters and transcriptions, which have been organised to imitate a cartulary, and thus, following Ross, may be termed an ‘artificial’ cartulary.²⁵⁵ The charters are rendered in their original form (i.e. they are abbreviated).²⁵⁶ Only a few original charters that are preserved in Scottish collections were not printed in the Holyrood edition.²⁵⁷ However, as noted, the Bannatyne Club edition is now the lone source for twenty-two charters used in this study. These charters,

²⁵¹ While errors in the manuscript have typically been reproduced, in some cases corrections are suggested in brackets and in others the editor has simply made corrections. However, at the end of the index, a list of the errors which were corrected in the printed edition is provided (*Cambuskenneth Registrum*, pp. xii, 438).

²⁵² A new edition of the cartularies of Scone is currently in progress. It is hoped that the edition produced by Richard Millar of the University of Stirling will reveal more about the context in which these cartularies were created and correct the shortcomings of the antiquarian edition.

²⁵³ *Scone Liber*, pp. xviii-xix.

²⁵⁴ For example, in Cartulary A the entire witness list is omitted from a charter of Richard, bishop of St Andrews (NLS, Adv. 34.3.29, fol. 17^f). However, in Cartulary B the same charter is attested by seven witnesses (NLS, Adv. 34.3.28, fols 71^r-71^v). In the printed edition, the editor opted to give the fullest version of a document without notification (*Scone Liber*, no. 47).

²⁵⁵ *Holyrood Liber*, pp. xlii-xliii.

²⁵⁶ Words are frequently guessed at in the edition when the text of the charter was difficult to read (*Holyrood Liber*, p. lxxx).

²⁵⁷ In fact, there are only two charters (NAS, GD141/1A; NLS, Charters, no. 34) found in Scottish Collections (with the exception of the Newbattle charters), which were not printed by Innes. These have been edited and printed by Keith Stringer (K.J. Stringer, ‘Acts of Lordship: The Records of the Lords of Galloway to 1234’, in *Freedom and authority, Scotland c.1050-c.1650: historical and historiographical essays presented to Grant G. Simpson*, eds. D. Ditchburn and T. Brotherstone (East Linton, 2000), pp. 203-34 (nos. 12, 33)).

while available in the nineteenth century, now appear to be lost.²⁵⁸ The *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis* provides a relatively reliable printed version of the vast majority of the surviving charters for the abbey of Holyrood and has also preserved a group of now lost charters.²⁵⁹

Only Inchcolm benefits from a modern edition. As discussed, the muniments of Inchcolm are quite limited, but what does survive comes from transcriptions and original charters. As is typical of modern editions, the charters have been organised according to chronology. The editors have also provided translated abstracts and well researched notes for the bulk of the charters.²⁶⁰ Moreover, the editors provide a full description of the conventions used in their edition.²⁶¹ Although there is a lack of surviving charter material for the house, the *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm* provides a well-executed modern edition.

Alasdair Ross concluded that the antiquarian editions have ‘limited value as sources of primary evidence’.²⁶² Despite their obvious limitations, when armed with an understanding of the methodology used in each edition they can be made serviceable. Nevertheless, the present study, when possible, has favoured modern editions. Modern editions of Scottish royal *acta* and papal *bullae* (before 1198) are frequently cited in preference to antiquarian editions. In cases where no modern edition exists, antiquarian editions have been consulted and are cited for the reference purposes of the reader. While the nineteenth-century editions are serviceable, they are no substitute for the original manuscripts, charters, or transcripts. The limitations of the antiquarian editions have made it imperative that the charter evidence be checked against the source material, especially when a document has a particular bearing on the discussion at hand.

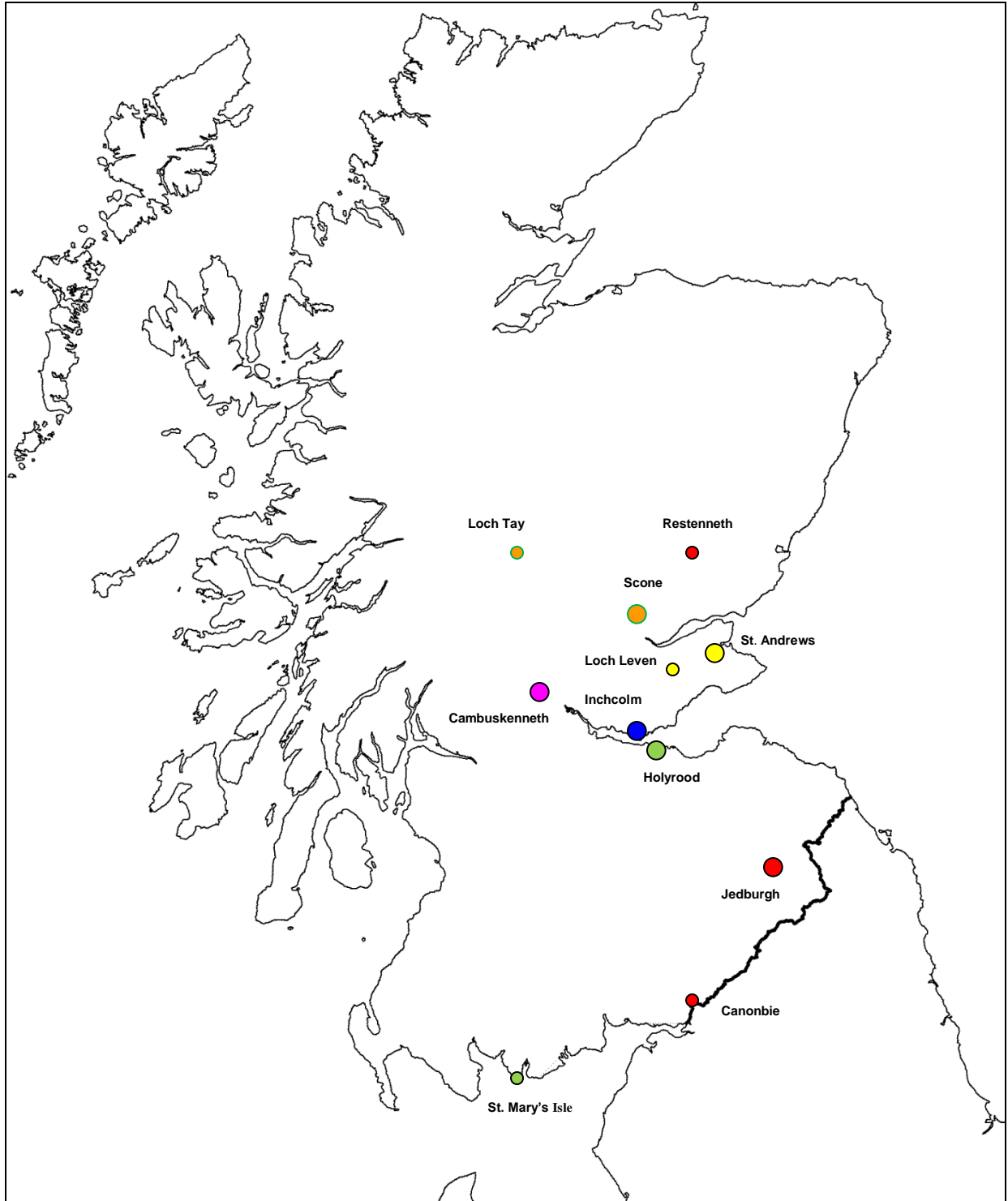
²⁵⁸ *Holyrood Liber*, nos. 15, 22, 23, 31, 34, 36, 40, 44, 48, 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, 66, 67, 73; app. 2, nos. 2, 7, 10, 11, 13.

²⁵⁹ As noted, there is a rather large collection of charters held in the Lincoln Record Office that are not printed in the Holyrood edition (*Registrum Antiquissimum of Lincoln*, III, nos. 804-11, 813-21, 823-6, 828).

²⁶⁰ *Inchcolm Charters*, pp. 101-211.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. x.

²⁶² Ross, 202-33 (p. 223).



Map 1: Subject Institutions

Part I

Chapter 1: Foundations in Context

This chapter will provide a house by house analysis of the establishment of six independent houses of Augustinian canons: Scone, Holyrood, Jedburgh, St. Andrews, Cambuskenneth, and Inchcolm. In the words of C.A. Empey, this chapter, and indeed this thesis, proceeds with the understanding that ‘what happens *intra muros* is directly influenced by what happens *extra muros*’.²⁶³ It will therefore seek to contextualise the foundation of each house in order to provide individualised perspectives on these unique manifestations of the regular canonical movement.

The time period covered by this thesis was one of dynamic change in the kingdom of Scotland, which in many respects was part of more general changes taking place throughout Western Europe. Indeed, the twelfth century has longed been viewed by historians as a time of considerable social, political, and economic development, and is widely considered to have been a ‘renaissance’.²⁶⁴ Yet, it was also a period of expansion, when the peripheral regions, which included Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, began to assimilate the institutions, practices, and culture of the Franco-Roman core, a process Robert Bartlett has referred to as the ‘Europeanization of Europe’.²⁶⁵ In the secular sphere, the development of the kingdom of Scotland is attested by, *inter alia*, the monetization of the economy,²⁶⁶ the use of charters as legal instruments,²⁶⁷ and the establishment of burghs.²⁶⁸ In the ecclesiastical sphere, the *Scoticana ecclesia* turned away from an ecclesiastical structure based on the Irish model and gradually adopted the Roman model, which is attested by, *inter alia*, the establishment of territorial bishoprics, territorial parishes, and compulsory tithes.²⁶⁹ Through this process, the Scottish Church became progressively more integrated into Latin Christendom, as documented by a steady increase in papal intervention in Scottish affairs from c. 1100.²⁷⁰

²⁶³ C.A. Empey, ‘The sacred and the secular: the Augustinian priory of Kells in Ossory, 1193-1541’, *Irish Historical Studies*, 24:94 (1984), 131-51 (p. 132).

²⁶⁴ C.H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1927). See also, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, eds. R.L. Benson and G. Constable (Cambridge, MA, 1982); R.N. Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Manchester, 1999).

²⁶⁵ R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (London, 1993), pp. 24-59. See also, R.I. Moore, *The First European Revolution, c. 970-1215* (Oxford, 2000).

²⁶⁶ W.W. Scott, ‘The use of money in Scotland, 1124-1230’, *SHR*, 58 (1979), 105-31; I. Blanchard, ‘Lothian and beyond: the economy of the ‘English empire’ of David I’, in *Progress and Problems in Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Edward Miller*, eds. R.H. Britnell and J. Hatcher (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 23-45.

²⁶⁷ A.A.M. Duncan, ‘The Earliest Scottish Charters’, *SHR*, 38 (1958), 103-35; J. Donnelly, ‘The Earliest Scottish Charters?’, *SHR*, 68 (1989), 1-22; A.A.M. Duncan, ‘Yes, The Earliest Scottish Charters’, *SHR*, 78:1 (1999), 1-38; Broun, ‘Brieves’, pp. 164-83.

²⁶⁸ A.A.M. Duncan and G.S. Pryde, *The Burghs of Scotland: A Critical List* (London, 1965).

²⁶⁹ J. Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland*, ed. J.M. Thomson (Glasgow, 1912); G. Donaldson, ‘Scottish Bishops’ sees before the reign of David I’, *PSAS*, 87 (1952-3), 106-17; I.B. Cowan, ‘The Development of the Parochial System in Medieval Scotland’, *SHR*, 40 (1961), 43-55.

²⁷⁰ *Scotia Pontificia*, pp. 3-10; *MPRS*, pp. 1-64. See also, D.E.R. Watt, *Medieval Church Councils in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2000), pp. 1-30.

While many changes were quite radical and accomplished in a relatively short period of time, there was also a remarkable level of continuity in the kingdom of Scotland, which Geoffrey Barrow described as the balance of new and old.²⁷¹ This can be seen in the way in which the reorganisation of the Scottish Church and the establishment of reformed monastic institutions appropriated and built upon the pre-existing ecclesiastical structure, rather than starting anew.²⁷² The settlement of Augustinian canons in the kingdom of Scotland exemplifies this balance of old and new.

As in England, Wales, and Ireland, the Augustinian canons were the first reformed religious institutions established in the kingdom of Scotland.²⁷³ Yet, these new institutions were founded in ecclesiastical landscapes which were already well populated with indigenous religious institutions, both secular and monastic. An important aspect of Augustinian settlement in the British Isles, and Scotland in particular, was the establishment of regular canons at pre-existing religious sites, whether active or defunct, and the use of their patrimonies as endowment.

In England and Wales, more than one-third of Augustinian houses were established at pre-existing religious sites and during the first phase of settlement from 1100 to 1135 such foundations made up nearly half of the total.²⁷⁴ In this respect, the re-foundation or conversion of minster churches in England and *clas* churches in Wales are particularly noteworthy.²⁷⁵ In Ireland, approximately half of all Augustinian houses were established at pre-existing religious sites.²⁷⁶ These sites were typically monastic; only two appear to have been secular collegiate churches (viz. Kells-Ossory, Mayo).²⁷⁷ By comparison, Cistercian houses, which were also prevalent in Ireland, were usually founded *de novo*.²⁷⁸ Thus, in England, Ireland, and Wales, the use of pre-existing religious sites in the foundation of houses of regular canons was a prominent feature of settlement. Yet, the evidence suggests that it was even more significant in Scotland.

²⁷¹ G.W.S. Barrow, *Scotland and its Neighbours in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), pp. 45-66.

²⁷² K. Veitch 'A study of the extent to which existing native religious society helped to shape Scotland's reformed monastic community, 1070-1286' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1999); J.M. Rogers, 'The formation of parishes in twelfth-century Perthshire', *RSCHS*, 27 (1997), 68-96.

²⁷³ *GAS*, I, p. 19. *MRHI*, pp. 2-3, 146.

²⁷⁴ *GAS*, I, pp. 33-41.

²⁷⁵ For Welsh *clas* churches and their conversion to Augustinian houses, see F.G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066-1344* (Cardiff, 1977), 28-37; M.J. Pearson, 'Introduction: The Welsh cathedrals, 1066-1300', in *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066-1300: The Welsh Cathedrals (Bangor, Llandaff, St Asaph, St Davids)* (London, 2003), IX, pp. 19-24; K. Stöber, 'The Regular Canons in Wales', *The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles*, eds. J. Burton and K. Stöber (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 91-108.

²⁷⁶ *MRHI*, pp. 153-200.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 151; Preston, pp. 23-40.

²⁷⁸ *MRHI*, pp. 121-44; G. Carville, *The Occupation of Celtic Sites in Medieval Ireland by Canons Regular of St Augustine and the Cistercians* (Kalamazoo, 1982). See also, J.G. Barry, 'Monasticism and Religious Organisation in Rural Ireland', in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della "Societas Christiana" dei secoli XI-XII: Diocesi, pievi, e parrocchie-Atti della sesta settimana internazionale di studio, Milano, 1-7 settembre 1974* (Milan, 1977), pp. 406-15.

There were a total of nineteen independent and dependent houses of Augustinian canons established in Scotland.²⁷⁹ During the period from c. 1120 to 1200, there were eleven Augustinian foundations of which seven, or sixty-three percent, were established at pre-existing religious sites. As will be seen, a case could be made that both Inchcolm and Holyrood should also be included in this figure. After 1200, all eight Augustinian foundations made use of an earlier site. Thus, roughly eighty percent of all Augustinian houses in Scotland were established through the re-foundation or conversion of a pre-existing religious site (See Table 1).²⁸⁰

Table 1: Augustinian Foundations and Pre-Existing Religious Sites

House	Foundation Date	Pre-existing Religious Site
Scone	c. 1120	✓
Loch Tay (*)	c. 1122	✗
Holyrood	1128	✗
Jedburgh	c. 1138	✓
St Andrews	c. 1140	✓
Cambuskenneth	c. 1140	✓
Loch Leven (*)	c. 1150	✓
Restenneth (*)	c. 1153	✓
Canonbie (*)	c. 1157	✓
Inchcolm	c. 1163	✗
St Mary's Isle (*)	c. 1165	✗
House	Foundation Date	Pre-existing Religious Site
Inchaffray	1200	✓
Monymusk	c. 1200 × 1245	✓
Inchmahome	1238	✓
Blantyre (*)	1239 × 1248	✓
Abernethy	1273	✓
Strathfillan	1317/8	✓
Pittenweem (*)	1318	✓
Oronsay	× 1353	✓

(*) Dependent Houses

I. Scone

This section will consider the foundation of the priory of Scone by Alexander I and his queen consort, Sybil. The priory (later abbey) of Scone was the first house of Augustinian canons founded in the kingdom and the first reformed institution established in *Scotia*.²⁸¹ Yet, the significance of the house goes well beyond its chronological primacy, for while regular canons are generally characterised in the British Isles as a religious movement with modest institutions, in Scotland, they were first established at the centre of royal power, taking on a prominent role in the king-making ceremony and as a royal

²⁷⁹ This number excludes the hospitals of Segden and Soutra, which adopted the Rule of St Augustine, and the female houses of Iona and St Leonard, Perth (*MRHS*, II, pp. 88-99, 151, 191-3).

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 46-54, 88-99.

²⁸¹ The house was given abbatial status by Mael Coluim IV in 1163 × 1164 (*RRS*, I, no. 243). The term *Scotia* will be used in this study to describe the territories north of the Forth-Clyde line.

mausoleum.²⁸² As a result, the house developed upon a trajectory rarely, if ever, associated with the regular canons.

A. Historical Context of Foundation

The first house of Augustinian canons in the kingdom Scotland was the priory of Scone founded in c. 1120 with canons from Nostell Priory in Yorkshire.²⁸³ Æthelwold, prior of Nostell, and future bishop of Carlisle, sent the colony to Scone in Gowrie at the request of Alexander I.²⁸⁴ Two fifteenth-century chronicles, both authored by Augustinian canons, provide consistent, although not identical, accounts of the foundation of Scone Priory, placing it within a specific historical context not found in other sources.

The earlier of these chronicles, the *Original Chronicle* by Andrew Wyntoun, prior of Loch Leven, dates to 1408 × 1424. It relates in Scots verse an episode that took place at Invergowrie, where we are told Alexander I held a manor and demesne. While at Invergowrie, the king was attacked by men from the north bent on killing him. The attackers were driven away over the Mounth and at Stockford (a crossing of the river Beaully) were forced to scatter and retreat. Following his victory in Ross, the king returned to Invergowrie and in thanksgiving for this military success founded a house of regular canons at Scone.²⁸⁵ The *Scotichronicon* authored by Walter Bower, abbot of Inchcolm, in the 1440s provides a similar account of the circumstances leading to the foundation of Scone Priory. Bower offers a fuller and more colourful version of events. According to Bower, Alexander received the lands of Liff and Invergowrie as a baptismal gift from his uncle, the earl of Gowrie. As king, Alexander determined that he would build a royal palace at Liff, but during the building process ‘ruffians of the Mearns and Moray’ attacked, forcing the king to make an ignominious escape ‘through a latrine’ to avoid capture. Alexander then made his way south via Invergowrie in order to raise an army. To show thanks to God for his narrow escape, he founded the priory of Scone, which he provisioned with the royal estates of ‘Liff and Invergowrie as endowment and glebe’. The king then promptly continued his expedition into Moray where he dispersed his enemies.²⁸⁶ The accounts of Wyntoun and Bower, while differing in the particulars, preserve the same core narrative- yet, the chroniclers obtained their information

²⁸² E.g., Southern, *Western Society*, p. 248.

²⁸³ See Appendix 1.

²⁸⁴ *Scone Liber*, no. 1.

²⁸⁵ *Chron. Wyntoun*, II, pp. 174-5.

²⁸⁶ *Scotichronicon*, III, pp. 104-5. The *Augustinian's Account* references the foundation of Scone. It states that Alexander I gave liberally to the canons of Scone enriching them ‘with many gifts and estates’ (*PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 603, 610)).

independently.²⁸⁷ Thus, an oral or textual tradition existed that considered the foundation of Scone Priory to be an act of piety made in response to a specific political event.²⁸⁸

The contemporary *Annals of Ulster* and the *Historia Novorum* by Eadmer of Canterbury, contain references which are potentially related to the events described in the chronicles of Wyntoun and Bower. An entry in the *Annals of Ulster* in 1116 relates that Lagmann, son of Domnall, a ‘grandson of the king of Scotland, was killed by the men of Moray’.²⁸⁹ Lagmann appears to have been the son of ‘Domnall, son of Mael Coluim, king of Scotland’, whose death was recorded in the same source in 1085.²⁹⁰ Domnall seems to have been a younger son of Mael Coluim III and his first wife Ingibiorg (and thus a brother of King Donnchad II), and it has been suggested that he and his son Lagmann served consecutively as *mormaer* of Ross.²⁹¹ If this is accurate, then Lagmann was not only a significant individual as the *mormaer* of a large northern territory, but also a close relative of Alexander I. As such, his death would have destabilised the region and been an affront to the overlordship of the king of Scots. The semi-autobiographical *Historia Novorum* by Eadmer of Canterbury, who served as bishop of St Andrews for a short time between 1120 and 1121, contains a second potential link.²⁹² In 1120, as bishop-elect of St Andrews, Eadmer met with Alexander I to make arrangements concerning his consecration, but the meeting was rushed due to the fact that the king ‘was planning to lead an army against his enemies’.²⁹³ Unfortunately, there is no indication of exactly who these enemies were, but since there is no evidence of a foreign campaign by the king in this year, it can be said with some confidence that his enemies were domestic. Therefore, there is contemporary evidence of conflict in northern Scotland and a domestic military campaign by Alexander I in 1116 and 1120 respectively.

A tradition found independently in the chronicles of Andrew Wyntoun and Walter Bower link the foundation of Scone Priory to a specific event, namely the triumph of Alexander I over domestic enemies from the northern provinces of Moray and/or Ross. The contemporary evidence suggests that such an event may have occurred in 1116 × 1120. Given this date range, it is possible that these political events

²⁸⁷ Watt, ‘Abbot Walter Bower’, 286-304 (p. 289).

²⁸⁸ The insurgents are called ‘*Scottys men*’ by Wyntoun and men of ‘Mearns and Moray’ by Bower. In Wyntoun’s version the confrontation between the king and rebel force takes place on the river Beauly, which separates Ross and Moray. In Bower’s account the confrontation occurs on the river Spey in Moray (*Chron. Wyntoun*, II, pp. 174-5; *Scotichronicon*, III, pp. 104-5).

²⁸⁹ *Annals of Ulster*, s.a. 1116.6 (p. 559). This connection was first made by Andrew McDonald (R.A. McDonald, ‘“Treachery in the Remotest Territories of Scotland”: Northern Resistance to the Canmore Dynasty, 1130-1230’, *Canadian Journal of History*, 33 (1999), 161-92 (pp. 165-6)).

²⁹⁰ *Annals of Ulster*, s.a. 1085.2 (p. 519); A. Grant, ‘The Province of Ross and the Kingdom of Alba’, in *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era*, eds. E.J. Cowan and R.A. McDonald (East Linton, 2000), pp. 88-126 (pp. 100-10).

²⁹¹ Grant, ‘Province of Ross’, pp. 88-126 (pp. 100-10).

²⁹² Eadmer of Canterbury, *Eadmer's History of Recent Events in England: Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. G. Basanquet (London, 1964), pp. vii-xiii; *Fasti*, p. 377.

²⁹³ Eadmer of Canterbury, *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia, et opuscula duo de vita Sancti Anselmi et quibusdam miraculis eius*, ed. M. Rule (London, 1884), p. 283.

encouraged the foundation of the priory of Scone in c. 1120. Such a catalyst would not be unique. For example, William the Conqueror founded Battle Abbey in thanksgiving for his victory at Hastings.²⁹⁴ If the late medieval chroniclers are accurate, then the objective of the foundation seems to have been the projection of royal authority after that power had been challenged. Regardless, the establishment of the house was unquestionably a political act for Scone was the symbolic fount of royal power in Scotland.

B. Church of the Holy Trinity, Scone

The first canons of Scone were established in an existing church dedicated to the Holy Trinity.²⁹⁵ The church was once thought to be a house of *céli Dé*, and more recently it has been suggested that Scone was a major monastic site; however, both contentions seem unlikely.²⁹⁶ On the basis of place-name evidence, recent scholarship suggests that the church of Scone had the status of an *andóit*, a Gaelic term indicating the site of a mother church with pastoral responsibility over a network of subordinate churches and chapels.²⁹⁷ The church seems to have served the important royal manor of Scone. The limited evidence for the pre-Augustinian church of Scone indicates that it was a *matrix ecclesia*, probably served by a community of secular clergy, and perhaps similar to an Anglo-Saxon minster or Welsh *clas* church in its organisation and function.

Despite being established in a *matrix ecclesia*, the ecclesiastical dimension of the site was left undeveloped. Alexander did not confirm to the priory any form of ecclesiastical income associated with the pre-existing church, nor did he make any new donations of this type.²⁹⁸ Rather, the endowment of the house consisted entirely of lands carved from royal and comital estates in Gowrie, and royal revenues.²⁹⁹ The complete absence of any assets of an ecclesiastical character is peculiar when compared to the foundation endowment of its mother house.

The Augustinian priory of Nostell in the West Riding of Yorkshire developed from an eremitical community and was formally recognised as an Augustinian priory in 1120. During this early phase in its development the priory received the bulk of its endowment. Before 1122, the priory held the advowson of no fewer than fifteen churches and the moiety of another. By this time, the house had also established four

²⁹⁴ E. Searle, *Lordship and Community: Battle Abbey and its Banlieu, 1066-1538* (Toronto, 1974), pp. 21-2.

²⁹⁵ *Scone Liber*, no. 1; *Chron. Melrose*, s.a. 1115 (p. 65). For a recent discussion of saint dedications at Scone, see M.H. Hammond, 'Royal and aristocratic attitudes to saints and the Virgin Mary in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland', in *The cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, eds. S. Boardman and E. Williamson (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 61-86 (pp. 68-71).

²⁹⁶ *Scone Liber*, p. ix; *Chron. Melrose*, p. 65; Duncan, *Kingship*, p. 83, fn. 5.

²⁹⁷ T.O. Clancy, 'Annat in Scotland and the origins of the parish', *IR*, 46 (1995), 91-115. See also, A. MacDonald, 'Annat' in Scotland: A Provisional Review', *Scottish Studies*, 17 (1973), 135-46.

²⁹⁸ *Scone Liber*, nos. 1, 2, 4; *RRS*, I, no. 243.

²⁹⁹ A. Smith and G. Ratcliff, 'A Survey of Relations between Scottish Augustinians before 1215', in *The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles*, eds. J. Burton and K. Stöber (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 115-44 (pp. 122-32).

dependent cells situated in converted churches.³⁰⁰ Endowments heavy in churches and *spiritualia* were typical for Augustinian houses in Yorkshire.³⁰¹ Obviously, Nostell Priory was established in a different ecclesiastical and economic landscape than the one found in Gowrie. However, the establishment of the priory of Scone, entirely disengaged from its ecclesiastical surroundings, is striking considering that the canons were settled in a *matrix ecclesia*. Scone was evidently not intended to replicate the situation in Yorkshire, in which pastoral administration and ecclesiastical revenue were important from the outset.

C. Scone and Royal Inauguration

The significance of founding a religious house at Scone, a site which for centuries had been synonymous with Scottish kingship, would have been unmistakable to contemporaries.³⁰² The site had served as the location of royal inaugurations and important political assemblies from at least the Pictish period.³⁰³ The significance of the location was connected to the Moot Hill, or ‘hill of belief’.³⁰⁴ It is thought that the Moot Hill was used in inauguration ceremonies at Scone from an early date, a custom with parallels in Ireland.³⁰⁵ In fact, the place-name itself (i.e. Scone) is a reference to the Moot Hill.³⁰⁶ Thus, the importance of the site to Scottish kingship, particularly with respect to the king-making ceremony, seems to have been a key factor in the decision to found the priory of Scone, although for precisely what reasons, must be considered.

A.A.M. Duncan argued that the establishment of the priory by Alexander I was aimed at bringing the inauguration rites of the Scottish kings into the European mainstream. In his view, the foundation was a step towards obtaining coronation and unction for the kings of Scotland, rituals which increasingly came to symbolise Christian kingship throughout Latin Christendom.³⁰⁷ Yet, it was not until 1306 and 1331, respectively, that coronation and unction were incorporated into the Scottish inauguration ceremony.³⁰⁸ If the foundation was intended to bring these innovations to the Scottish rite, it took over two centuries to

³⁰⁰ Frost, *Nostell Priory*, p. 25.

³⁰¹ J.E. Burton, ‘Monasteries and Parish Churches in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Yorkshire’, *Northern History*, 23 (1987), 39-50 (p. 40).

³⁰² Scone was referred to as ‘the principal seat of our kingdom’ in a charter of Mael Coluim IV in 1163 × 1164 (*RRS*, I, no. 243). See also *Chron. Fordun*, I, pp. 227-8; *Scotichronicon*, III, p. 107.

³⁰³ Barrow, *Kingship*, p. 24. See also, S.T. Driscoll, ‘Political Discourse and the Growth of Christian Ceremonialism in Pictland: the Place of the St Andrews Sarcophagus’, in *St Andrews Sarcophagus: A Pictish Masterpiece and its International Connections*, ed. S.M. Foster (Dublin, 1998), pp. 168-78 (pp. 170-3).

³⁰⁴ *Chron. Picts-Scots*, p. 9.

³⁰⁵ A. Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba 789-1070* (Edinburgh, 2007), pp. 134-8; T.O. Clancy, ‘King-making and Images of Kingship in Medieval Gaelic Literature’, in *The Stone of Destiny: artefact and icon*, eds. D.J. Breeze, T.O. Clancy and R. Weland (Edinburgh, 2003), pp. 85-105.

³⁰⁶ The place-name is derived from the P-Celtic *scon* meaning ‘place of the (lump-like) hill’ (*PNF*, III, p. 530).

³⁰⁷ Duncan, *Kingship*, pp. 82-6.

³⁰⁸ *RRS*, I, pp. 27-8. The kings of Scotland had unsuccessfully sought papal permission for anointment, which was finally obtained in 1329 (Barrow, *Neighbours*, p. 34; D. Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain: From the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh, 2007), pp. 180-1).

reach fruition. Nonetheless, as will be seen, the inauguration ceremony evolved gradually from a largely secular to an ecclesiastical rite, a progression facilitated by the canons of Scone.

Details of the king-making ceremony at Scone only begin to come into view during the twelfth century, and then only in piecemeal fashion.³⁰⁹ The traditional inauguration ritual appears to have been principally secular and included pre-Christian elements.³¹⁰ It seems to have entailed enthronement on the Stone of Destiny, a reading of the royal genealogy, the public deference of leading nobles, enrobement, and perhaps investment with the orb, sceptre, and sword.³¹¹ Only over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did the ecclesiastical dynamic of the ceremony begin to take centre stage, particularly episcopal consecration of the new ruler.

The bishops of Scotland were evidently involved in the inauguration of David I, although their exact role is unclear. The lone reference to his inauguration suggests that David took issue with certain non-Christian elements of the ceremony and needed reassurance from his bishops.³¹² Important details concerning the nature of the ceremony come to light in the inauguration of William I in 1165. Richard, bishop of St Andrews (1163-78), with a contingent of unnamed bishops, blessed and raised-up the king on the royal throne (*in regem benedicatur, atque regali cathedra sublimatur*).³¹³ Thus, by this time, it seems that episcopal benediction and investment were central to the inauguration ceremony.³¹⁴ This appears to have continued in 1214 when Alexander II was inaugurated in the presence of three bishops: Walter, bishop of Glasgow (1207-32), Robert, bishop-elect of Ross (1214-49), and William, bishop of St Andrews (1202-38).³¹⁵ It is with the inauguration of Alexander III in 1249 that a clearer picture of the ceremony emerges: the soon-to-be (*mox futurum*) king was led by the earls of Fife and Strathearn and

³⁰⁹ The main source for inaugurations in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland is the *Gesta Annalia*, the pertinent sections of which were largely produced during the reign of Alexander III (× 1285) (Broun, *Scottish Independence*, pp. 174-9). See also, D. Broun, 'The Origin of the Stone of Scone as a National Icon', in *The Stone of Destiny: artefact and icon*, eds. D.J. Breeze, T.O. Clancy and R. Welander (Edinburgh, 2003), pp. 183-97.

³¹⁰ *MK*, pp. 115-6. See also, A.C. Lawrie, *Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William, Kings of Scotland, A.D. 1153-1214* (Glasgow, 1910), pp. 5-9, 107-8.

³¹¹ For the use of stones in king-making ceremonies, see E. Campbell, 'Royal Inauguration in Dál Riata and the Stone of Destiny', in *The Stone of Destiny: artefact and icon*, eds. D.J. Breeze, T.O. Clancy and R. Welander (Edinburgh, 2003), pp. 43-59. For the role of the *ollam rí* (or the king's poet) in inauguration, see J.W.M. Bannerman, 'The King's Poet and the Inauguration of Alexander III', *SHR*, 68 (1989), 120-49. For a consideration of Scottish king-lists and their relationship too inauguration, see D. Broun, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 187-200. For the role of the earls in inauguration, particularly the earl of Fife, see J. Bannerman, 'MacDuff of Fife', in *Medieval Scotland, Crown, Lordship and Community: Essays presented to G.W.S. Barrow*, eds. A. Grant and K.J. Stringer (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 20-38 (pp. 22-3).

³¹² Ailred of Rievaulx, 'Lament for David, King of Scots', in *Ailred of Rievaulx: The Historical Works*, ed. M.L. Dutton, trans. J.P. Freeland (Kalamazoo, 2005), pp. 45-70 (p. 47).

³¹³ *Chron. Fordun*, I, pp. 259-60.

³¹⁴ Based upon the Carolingian model, the *benedictio* was a distinct and secondary element of the Christian inauguration rite (S. Bobrycki, 'The royal consecration *ordines* of the Pontifical of Sens from a new perspective', *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre*, 13 (2009), 131-42). However, it seems to be used here as a synonym for consecration.

³¹⁵ *Chron. Fordun*, I, p. 280.

other leading nobles to a cross in the cemetery, east of the abbey church, where he was placed on the royal throne (*regali cathedra*) and consecrated (*consecrarunt*) as king by the bishop of St Andrews.³¹⁶ The inauguration of Alexander III did not take place on the Moot Hill, as might be expected, but rather on hallowed ground of another sort. It is unclear whether consecration in the abbey's cemetery had been introduced at an earlier date or if it was an innovation in 1249.³¹⁷ However, it is clear that by this point episcopal consecration was unquestionably the 'constitutive act' in the king-making ceremony, and, despite the lack of unction, it conveyed sacral kingship.³¹⁸ At the next inauguration of a Scottish king at Scone, the last of the thirteenth century, there was a change in venue. In 1292, John Balliol was inaugurated in the abbey church of Scone, where the Stone of Destiny was placed beside the high altar.³¹⁹

Over the course of roughly two centuries, consecration by the bishops of Scotland, and in particular the bishops of St Andrews, had become paramount in the king-making ceremony or as A.A.M. Duncan put it, the Scottish rite underwent 'liturgification'.³²⁰ At the same time, the setting of the inauguration ceremony had also migrated. It is probable that in the twelfth century the inauguration ceremony was conducted on the Moot Hill, thought to be the burial mound of an early king.³²¹ In c. 1120, Moot Hill became part of the precinct of the priory of Scone and thus was absorbed into the sacred space of the new religious house.³²² By 1249, the ceremony had moved to the abbey's cemetery, next to what was probably a stone high cross. The cemetery was an extension of the abbey's sanctuary, but in the middle ages it was also a thoroughly public space, and, indeed, was a traditional place of oath-taking.³²³ The final move in 1292 brought the ceremony into the abbey church itself and completed the migration from the traditional, and essentially secular, site of king-making on the Moot Hill to the fully ecclesiastical setting of the abbey church.

The prelates and canonical community of Scone seem to have participated in royal inaugurations from the foundation of their house, although we can only speculate as to their specific duties in the ceremony. By at least the inauguration of Alexander III the abbot of Scone had a prominent role in the

³¹⁶ Ibid., I, p. 294-5; *Scotichronicon*, V, p. 438. The bishop of St Andrews in 1249 was David de Bernham (1239-53) (*Fasti*, p. 380).

³¹⁷ A.A.M. Duncan, 'Before coronation: making a king at Scone in the 13th century', in *The Stone of Destiny: artefact and icon*, eds. D.J. Breeze, T.O. Clancy and R. Welander (Edinburgh, 2003), pp. 139-68 (pp. 145-6); Broun, *Scottish Independence*, p. 181.

³¹⁸ Broun, *Scottish Independence*, pp. 174, 181.

³¹⁹ G. Watson, 'The Coronation Stone of Scotland', *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, 3 (1909-10), 13-31 (pp. 17-8).

³²⁰ Duncan, 'Before coronation', pp. 139-68 (pp. 139-40).

³²¹ *MK*, p. 115.

³²² O. O'Grady, 'Tracing the Medieval Royal Centre of Scone', *Medieval Archaeology*, 52 (2008), 376-8. See also, R. Fawcett, 'The Buildings of Scone Abbey', in *The Stone of Destiny: artefact and icon*, eds. D.J. Breeze, T.O. Clancy and R. Welander (Edinburgh, 2003), pp. 169-80.

³²³ S.L. Fry, 'Penance, Prizefights and Prostitution: The Medieval Irish Cemetery and its Many Uses', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 20:1 (2000-1), 29-50. See also, J.H. Baker, 'The English Law of Sanctuary', *Ecclesiastical Law Journal*, 2:6 (1990), 8-13.

consecration of the new king, and it seems likely that the canons were also active participants in the ceremony.³²⁴ Due to the clerical nature of their vocation, regular canons would be ideal participants in the consecration ceremony, which took place within the context of the Mass.³²⁵ Yet, perhaps the most meaningful task assigned to the canons was the guardianship of the paraphernalia of king-making. The Stone of Destiny, referred to as the royal throne (*regalis cathedra*), was 'kept reverently in the [abbey of Scone] for the consecration of the kings of Alba'.³²⁶ Thus, the canons served as the keepers of the Stone of Destiny, the seat upon which the kings of Scotland were made. This function likely dates to the foundation of the house and continued until 1296 when the stone was removed by Edward I.³²⁷ In this way, the canons of Scone helped to Christianise one of the most fundamental and pre-Christian elements of the inauguration ritual in Scotland. Unsurprisingly, the institutional identity of the house was firmly tied to its role in the king-making ceremony, as clearly observed in the abbey's thirteenth-century seal depicting the inauguration of Alexander III (See Plate 2.1).

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the king-making ceremony in Scotland evolved; while retaining many traditional elements, the model of Christian kingship in use throughout Latin Christendom was adopted. The establishment of regular canons at Scone aided in the modernisation of the Scottish rite by appropriating traditional secular elements and providing an ecclesiastical setting for the inauguration ceremony. Thus, with the assistance of the canons of Scone, the kings of Scotland joined in the time honoured tradition of claiming divine sanction for their power and therefore elevating Scottish kingship, and probably also queenship, to the same plane as its European counterparts.

D. Sepulchre of Queens

The foundation of the priory of Scone was in fact a joint act of Alexander I and his queen, Sybil.³²⁸ Joint patronage of this type was a common, perhaps even traditional, form of royal munificence in Scotland, intended, it would seem, to heighten the significance of the transfer.³²⁹ In the case of Queen Sybil, however, her participation seems to have been more than symbolic. The foundation of Scone Priory

³²⁴ Duncan, 'Before coronation', pp. 139-68 (p. 160).

³²⁵ Bobrycki, 131-42.

³²⁶ *Chron. Fordun*, I, p. 294. Dauvit Broun demonstrated that certain elements of this section of the *Gesta Annalia* (including this sentence) were interpolated before 1296 (Broun, *Scottish Independence*, pp. 174-9).

³²⁷ Broun, 'Stone of Scone', pp. 183-97.

³²⁸ *Scone Liber*, no. 1.

³²⁹ For example, the abbey of Loch Leven received joint gifts from Macbethad, son of Findláech, and Queen Gruoch and also from Mael Coluim III and Queen Margaret (*St Andrews Liber*, pp. 113-4). See also, D. Broun, 'The property records in the Book of Deer as a source for early Scottish Society', in *Studies on the Book of Deer*, ed. K. Forsyth (Dublin, 2008), pp. 313-260 (p. 332).

was not the only occasion in which Sybil, the illegitimate daughter of the English king Henry I (1100-35), appears to have been an active, rather than passive, participant.³³⁰

On several occasions Alexander's patronage to monastic institutions was made in conjunction with Queen Sybil, a role typically overlooked by historians.³³¹ For example, the cathedral church of St Andrews received joint-patronage from the royal couple.³³² However, the queen also acted as donor in her own right. The Benedictine monks of Dunfermline acquired seven temporal estates from Alexander I and Queen Sybil. The monastery received six manorial estates from the king and a seventh (at Beath) directly from the queen.³³³ The gift was seemingly made from property held by the queen in her own right.³³⁴

The queen consort, therefore, took an active interest in the promotion of religious life, and continental monasticism in particular, in the kingdom. Yet, the connection between the queen and the Augustinian priory which she co-founded appears especially close. This special bond is indicated by the actions of Alexander I following the queen's premature death on 12/3 July 1122.³³⁵ As will be discussed, Alexander gave the island of Loch Tay to the priory of Scone in 1122 × 1124 so that a dependent house might be established there for his soul and the soul of his recently deceased queen. The evidence suggests that the queen died and was buried on the island of Loch Tay.³³⁶ Therefore, responsibility for the body and soul of the queen was given to the canons of Scone. The queen and the house were close in life and in death, and this bond may have led to a lasting association between Scone and the queens of Scotland.

The monastery of Dunfermline undoubtedly functioned in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as the mausoleum for the house of Canmore: Margaret, Mael Coluim III, Edgar, Alexander I, David I, and

³³⁰ K. Thompson, 'Affairs of State: the illegitimate children of Henry I', *Journal of Medieval History*, 29 (2003), 129-51 (pp. 133-4, 137-8, 146-7, 149).

³³¹ See for example, Veitch, 'Alexander I', 136-66.

³³² *St Andrews Liber*, p. xxvi; *RRS*, I, no. 51.

³³³ The estates received by Dunfermline Abbey from Alexander I: Primrose, the shire of Goatmilk, Pitconmark, Balweary, Drumbarrie, and Keith (or Humberie). Dunfermline received the estate of Beath directly from Queen Sibyl (*dona Sibillae Reginae*) (*DC*, nos. 33, 172).

³³⁴ Countess Ada de Warenne, wife of Earl Henry, and mother of Mael Coluim IV and William I, alienated property in her own right in Haddington, Crail, and the Liberty of Tynedale, Northumberland (V. Chandler, 'Ada de Warenne, Queen Mother of Scotland', *SHR*, 60 (1981), 119-39 (pp. 124-6)).

³³⁵ William of Malmesbury claimed that Alexander 'did not waste many sighs on her, for she was wanting, it is said, in correctness of manners and charm of person' (William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of English Kings*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1998), I, pp. 724-7). However, evidence indicates that the Alexander and Sybil had an affectionate marriage. For example, affixed to a copy of Adomnán's *Life of Columba* commissioned by Alexander I was a prayer for Queen Sybil: 'protect the queen and let her know no desolation' (*The Triumph Tree: Scotland's earliest Poetry, AD 550-1350*, ed. T.O. Clancy (Edinburgh, 1998), p. 185). The king may have enlisted the prayers of the monks of Durham. The obituary lists of Durham include an obit for Queen Sibyl (A.J. Piper, 'The Obits Entered in DCL MS B.IV.24', in *Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North*, ed. D. Rollason (Stamford, 1998), pp. 161-201 (p. 196)). The queen is also mentioned in a letter from Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, to Alexander I in 1122 (*ESC*, no. 42).

³³⁶ See Chapter 2.

Mael Coluim IV were all buried at Dunfermline.³³⁷ However, the queens of Scotland were not entombed at Dunfermline, which was reserved for the progenitors of the line and their descendants.³³⁸ For a short time, Scone seems to have performed a similar function as the sepulchre of queens, for its canons were responsible for the entombment of two consecutive twelfth-century queens. The burial of Sybil on the island of Tay in 1122, which became a cell of Scone, was followed by the burial of Matilda de Senlis, queen of David I, at Scone itself in 1130 × 1131.³³⁹ Matilda de Senlis was a benefactress to a number of religious houses in England.³⁴⁰ Yet, aside from a small gift to Nostell Priory, the mother house of Scone, made shortly before her death, no previous connection between Matilda de Senlis and Scone is known.³⁴¹ Thus, her burial at Scone seems related to her role as queen, rather than personal preference.

The use of Scone as a burial site for queens may be connected to an elevation in the ritual of Scottish queenship, corresponding to fundamental changes in the king-making ceremony taking place at this time. It seems likely that both Sybil and Matilda de Senlis received episcopal consecration at Scone, perhaps an innovation in Scotland, but customary based upon the continental model.³⁴² As a result, Scone perhaps took on new importance during this period as the site of queen-making, and this may have recommended it as the burial site for queens. The use of Scone, the ancient site of royal inaugurations, as the burial place for Scotland's queens, would pay homage to the feminine component of regality, and thereby associate the site with the duality of royal power.

It has been acknowledged that the foundation of a religious house at Scone, the site of royal inaugurations in Scotland, perhaps followed a practice taking root in England.³⁴³ The abbey of Westminster was the site of English coronations after the reign of Edward the Confessor (d. 1066).³⁴⁴ However, the selection of Scone as the burial place for two twelfth-century Scottish queens, Sybil (d. 1122), and Matilda de Senlis (d. 1130/1), may also reflect an English precedent. Matilda II, queen of

³³⁷ S. Boardman, 'Dunfermline as a Royal Mausoleum', in *Royal Dunfermline*, ed. R. Fawcett (Edinburgh, 2005), pp. 139-53 (pp. 140-3). Alexander I was responsible for moving his father's body from Tynemouth to Dunfermline (William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, I, pp. 464-5).

³³⁸ In 1275, Queen Margaret, wife of King Alexander III, became the first queen consort to be interred at Dunfermline (Boardman, 'Dunfermline', pp. 139-53 (pp. 143-4)).

³³⁹ *Chron. Fordun*, I, p. 233; *Chron. Picts-Scots*, p. 337. Matilda de Senlis died between 23 April 1130 and 22 April 1131 (*DC*, p. 76).

³⁴⁰ Matilda de Senlis gave or confirmed gifts to the following English religious houses: the Cluniac houses of St Andrews and Daventry, the Benedictine monasteries of St Neots and Elstow, and the Augustinian houses of Cambridge (Barnwell), Llanthony Prima, and Nostell (*DC*, nos. 3, 217, 218, 221, 227, 219).

³⁴¹ *DC*, no. 221.

³⁴² For a discussion of the Carolingian model of queenly consecration, see J.L. Nelson, 'Early Medieval Rites of Queen-Making and the Shaping of Medieval Queenship', in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference held at King's College London, April 1995*, ed. A. Duggan (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 301-16.

³⁴³ Duncan, *Kingship*, pp. 83, 89.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

England, and sister to Alexander I and David I, was buried at Westminster Abbey.³⁴⁵ Matilda II died on 1 May 1118, and was subsequently interred at Westminster by Henry I.³⁴⁶ Westminster Abbey was evidently the king's choice; the queen had preferred her own Augustinian foundation of Holy Trinity, Aldgate.³⁴⁷ Like Sybil, Matilda II was the first queen consort of a new royal dynasty. She followed the progenitors of the new Anglo-Norman dynasty, William the Conqueror and Matilda I, both of whom were buried in Normandy. The burial of Matilda II at Westminster appears to have been a deliberate effort to strengthen the association of the Anglo-Norman dynasty with the site of royal coronations in England. This may have influenced the decisions to entomb the two earliest queens of the Canmore dynasty at a site of parallel significance. As it turns out, however, they were the last Scottish queens to be buried at Scone.³⁴⁸

This said, the special relationship between the institution and Scotland's queens did continue. A continuation of the special relationship can be observed in the unique gift made by Ermengarde de Beaumont, queen consort of William I. On the occasion of Ermengarde and William's marriage in 1186, Scone received the by-products of the queen's household.³⁴⁹ Therefore, after a hiatus of fifty-five years there was a new queen of Scots, and the unique relationship with Scone was again renewed. Scone is the only religious house in twelfth-century Scotland known to have held revenue from the queen's household. By the late thirteenth century, however, the monastery of Dunfermline had also acquired a stake in these revenues.³⁵⁰ This acquisition may be connected to changes at Dunfermline, which beginning with Margaret, the first wife of Alexander III, in 1275 had finally become the mausoleum of the kings and queens of Scotland.³⁵¹

II. Holyrood

The foundation of the abbey of Holyrood in Edinburgh began in 1128 with an abbot and canons imported from Merton Priory in England, an important centre for the propagation of the regular canonical

³⁴⁵ B. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 28, 373 (fn. 6).

³⁴⁶ J.A. Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 138.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 140. See also, AC, p. 111.

³⁴⁸ It is worth noting that the first Stewart king, Robert II, was buried at Scone in 1390 (A.H. Dunbar, *Scottish Kings: A Revised Chronology of Scottish History, 1005-1625* (Edinburgh, 1899), p. 165).

³⁴⁹ RRS, II, p. 14; no. 270. In 1234, Queen Ermengarde was buried at the Cistercian abbey of Balmerino in Fife, which she had helped to found (M.H. Hammond, 'Queen Ermengarde and the Abbey of St Edward, Balmerino', in *Life on the Edge: The Cistercian Abbey of Balmerino, Fife (Scotland)* (Forges-Chimay, 2008), pp. 11-36 (pp. 12-7). Interestingly, Scone's right to the by-products of the queen's household was renewed by Alexander II on the occasion of his marriage to Joan of England on 7 September 1221 (*Scone Liber*, no. 61).

³⁵⁰ *Dunfermline Registrum*, no. 88.

³⁵¹ This shift in burial practices seems to have resulted from the canonisation of Queen Margaret and the translation of her body to a new tomb in 1249/50. This 're-invigorated the abbey's status as a royal mausoleum', and from this time forward the queens of Scotland were regularly buried at Dunfermline (Boardman, 'Dunfermline', pp. 139-53 (pp. 143-4, 150)).

movement. Holyrood Abbey was the first house of regular canons founded by David I in the kingdom of Scotland, and it was established in an urban context and with urbanisation in mind. This section will consider the impulses – personal, practical, and religious – that influenced the foundation of the abbey of Holyrood, a religious institution which was avant-garde in the kingdom of Scotland.

A. Royal Chaplains and Confessors

J.C. Dickinson considered the reign of Henry I from 1100 to 1135 to be a ‘golden period’ for Augustinian canons in England.³⁵² A key factor in their success was undoubtedly the support of the king and his queen, Matilda II.³⁵³ The royal couple seem to have been influenced by an inner circle of religious men, i.e. personal chaplains and confessors. Royal chaplains and confessors were influential individuals who often gained preferment to important ecclesiastical posts. For example, Thurstan, a former royal chaplain, became the archbishop of York, arguably the highest ecclesiastical office in England.³⁵⁴ During the reign of Henry I, the Augustinian movement gained popularity with influential clerics at the English court.

In the first half of the twelfth century, examples of this phenomenon abound. The first prior of St Frideswide, Oxford, was Gwymund, a former chaplain of Henry I. The first prior of Nostell, and later bishop of Carlisle, was Æthelwold, confessor to the king. Indeed, it appears that Æthelwold continued to act as royal confessor even after assuming his new post. Matilda II, queen consort of Henry I and sister of Alexander I and David I of Scotland, was an important supporter of the regular canons in her own right. The queen founded the priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, in 1107. Norman, the first prior, served as the queen’s confessor. In addition, the queen’s chaplain, Ernisius, became the first prior of Llanthony Prima.³⁵⁵ The regular canonical movement had evidently become popular among clerics at the court of Henry I and Matilda II. During this era, it would seem that regular canons were viewed as ideal chaplains and confessors for the kings and queens of England, regarded perhaps as priests par excellence.³⁵⁶ This had tangible benefits for the movement in terms of new foundations, made not only by the English king and queen, but also by members of their court.³⁵⁷

³⁵² AC, p. 139.

³⁵³ Ibid., pp. 108-31.

³⁵⁴ D. Nicholl, *Thurstan: Archbishop of York* (York, 1964), pp. iv, 8-15.

³⁵⁵ AC, pp. 108-14; J.C. Dickinson, ‘St. Anselm and the First Regular Canons in England’, in *Spicilegium Beccense* (Paris, 1959), pp. 541-6; C.W. Hollister, *Henry I*, ed. A.C. Frost (New Haven, CT, 2001), pp. 397-8; L.L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 106-7.

³⁵⁶ In the next reign, Matilda III, queen consort of Stephen, and countess of Boulogne (and also niece of David I), took Ralph, prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, as her confessor. In 1137, the queen also buried two infant children at the priory (D. Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen, 1135-1154* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 315-6).

³⁵⁷ AC, pp. 108-31.

Enthusiasm for the regular life and the Rule of St Augustine, which had evidently taken hold of the royal clerics of England, was also in vogue in the household of David, the future king of Scots. During the reign of Henry I, David was closely connected to the English court, first as brother of the queen consort and later as earl. From 1100 to c. 1113, i.e. before receiving the title of earl, David was a regular witness to acts of his sister and brother-in-law.³⁵⁸ The frequency with which David witnessed their acts only increased as earl.³⁵⁹ His attendance at the court of Henry I also continued as king of Scotland, although with less regularity.³⁶⁰ Thus, David was a member of the English court during a period in which regular canons were favoured as confessors and chaplains, a milieu which seems to have influenced his own religious tastes.

The significance of royal chaplains in the Augustinian foundations of David I was first demonstrated by Geoffrey Barrow.³⁶¹ As in the household of Henry I, the position of royal chaplain was often a steppingstone to higher posts in Scotland. A number of royal officials and bishops began their careers as royal chaplains for David I. However, there are only two cases in which preferment led to a canonico-monastic vocation, and both became prelates of newly founded Augustinian houses.³⁶² These two royal chaplains, namely Osbert and Ælfwine, served David as earl and king during the period from roughly 1114 to 1128.³⁶³ These individuals were intimately involved in the first two foundations of regular canons made by the king. Osbert became the first, and probably only prior, of Great Paxton in the honour of Huntingdon, which was founded in 1124 × 1128.³⁶⁴ Ælfwine became the first abbot of Holyrood in Edinburgh founded in 1128. In 1151, Ælfwine retired as abbot of Holyrood and was succeeded by Osbert.³⁶⁵ Thus, royal chaplains became the prelates of the earliest canonical institutions established by David I, and undoubtedly influenced their foundation.

It appears that Ælfwine was a particularly favoured member of the household of David. The foundation narrative of Holyrood Abbey (c. 1450) is an important source in this respect. Like many texts of this type, the foundation narrative purports to be based upon the ancient traditions of the house.³⁶⁶ While some aspects of the narrative lack credibility, the information concerning the first abbot of

³⁵⁸ David attested or subscribed eight charters of Henry I and one of Matilda II (*Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154: Regesta Henrici Primi, 1100-1135*, eds. H.A. Cronne and C. Johnson (Oxford, 1956), II, nos. 648, 689, 701, 703, 706, 818a, 828, 832, 833).

³⁵⁹ Earl David attested or subscribed thirteen charters of Henry I and two of Matilda II (Ibid., nos. 1015a, 1062, 1102, 1108, 1180, 1241, 1247, 1248, 1249, 1285, 1301, 1334, 1391, 1398, 1400). Six charters of Henry I are addressed to Earl David (Ibid., nos. 1064, 1066, 1317, 1359, 1389, 1423).

³⁶⁰ David, king of Scotland (1124-53), attested or subscribed five charters of Henry I (Ibid., nos. 1451, 1466, 1639, 1654, 1659).

³⁶¹ *KS*, pp. 178-9.

³⁶² *DC*, p. 33.

³⁶³ Ibid., nos. 6, 11, 13, 14, 28.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., no. 28.

³⁶⁵ *HRHS*, p. 92. See also, *KS*, pp. 178-9.

³⁶⁶ *Holyrood Ordinale*, p. 69.

Holyrood is consistent with what is known of his career. The text records that Ælfwine, a canon of Merton Priory in Surrey, served as the secretary and confessor (*secretarius et confessor*) of David as earl (c. 1113-24).³⁶⁷ It appears that Ælfwine, a regular canon at Merton Priory (f. 1114), was recruited into the service of the earl, later king. While the foundation narrative is the only source to ascribe the role of confessor to Ælfwine, it seems reasonable considering his service as a royal chaplain and obvious high standing, and it would certainly parallel practices at the English court.

The Augustinian foundations made by David I in the 1120s, namely Great Paxton and Holyrood, must be viewed, as Geoffrey Barrow emphasised, in connection to the personal influence of canonical chaplains. However, this did not occur in isolation: Osbert and Ælfwine were part of a wider clerical movement, which had first become popular among clergy at the English court. The popularity of canonical chaplains and confessors was at its peak while David was an active member of that court. Socialisation at the English court led to the recruitment of canonical chaplains, and probably also a canonical confessor, into the household of David as earl and as king these individuals were instrumental in the foundation of his first two Augustinian houses.

B. Holyrood Abbey and the Church of St Cuthbert

Under the year 1128, the *Holyrood Chronicle* records that the ‘church of the Holy Cross in Edinburgh began to be founded’.³⁶⁸ The architectural and documentary evidence indicates that the description of the project as incomplete was appropriate. For centuries the first abbey church of Holyrood lay beneath the nave of the much larger second abbey church begun in c. 1180.³⁶⁹ The choir and transepts of the earlier church are now visible due to the dilapidated state of the house. This early church was at one time considered to be of ‘Saxon or Celtic’ design.³⁷⁰ For this reason, it was believed that the first community of regular canons were settled in a pre-existing church. However, this has been shown to be inaccurate. The small stone-built church actually dates to the early twelfth century and represents the first Augustinian abbey church.³⁷¹ Indeed, its small size and unaisled design are consistent with the first

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 68.

³⁶⁸ *Chron. Holyrood*, s.a. 1128 (p. 116). See also, *Chron. Melrose*, s.a. 1128 (p. 68). The foundation narrative of the abbey states that the king brought in twenty skilled masons from France and construction began in 1128 (*Holyrood Ordinale*, pp. 63-6).

³⁶⁹ J.P. McAleer, ‘A unique facade in Great Britain: the west front of Holyrood Abbey’, *PSAS*, 115 (1985), 263-275 (pp. 266-7).

³⁷⁰ W.T. Oldrieve, ‘Holyrood Abbey Church: Notes of Recent Excavations and Researches’, *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, 3 (1911-2), 326-30 (p. 329); W.T. Oldrieve, ‘Recent Excavations and Researches at Holyrood’, in *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* (1911), IV, pp. 191-4 (p. 193).

³⁷¹ *The Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland: An inventory of the ancient and historical monuments of the city of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1951), p. 130.

generation of Augustinian houses at Kirkham (f. c. 1122) and Norton (f. 1134) in England.³⁷² Thus, the first abbey church was built *de novo*, and its construction could not have been completed overnight.³⁷³ The building of stone churches, even relatively small ones, often took many years. For example, the abbey of Cirencester (also founded from Merton Priory), although much larger, took over fifty years to complete.³⁷⁴ With this in mind, it seems reasonable to conclude that the first abbey church of Holyrood, considering its small size, may have taken a decade or more to reach completion.

During the interval between their arrival in Edinburgh in 1128 and the completion of their abbey church, the canons must have found not only a residence, but an altar at which to perform Mass and the *opus Dei*. There are indications that the church of Edinburgh Castle (St Margaret's) may have served in this capacity. The canons received the church of the castle from David I during the foundation process.³⁷⁵ Later, the house was occasionally referred to as the abbey of Holyrood of 'the castle of the maidens' (*castellum puellarum*).³⁷⁶ The castle of Edinburgh was known by this name from at least the twelfth century into the late middle ages.³⁷⁷ For this reason, it has been argued that the original residence of the canons was the church of Edinburgh Castle.³⁷⁸ However, another alternative name for the house was the abbey 'of Edinburgh'.³⁷⁹ It was common for religious houses in Scotland to take on the name of associated towns. For instance, Kelso Abbey was sometimes referred to as the abbey of Roxburgh and Cambuskenneth Abbey was originally known as the abbey of Stirling.³⁸⁰ Thus, it seems probable that occasional references to the 'castle of the maidens' are due to the close association between the town and castle of Edinburgh, rather than a special historical relationship with the abbey.³⁸¹ Nevertheless, the inaugural community of canons could not have taken up residence, or conducted religious services, in an unfinished abbey church.

³⁷² D.B. Gallagher, 'Holyrood Abbey: the disappearance of a monastery', *PSAS*, 128 (1998), 1079-99 (p. 1085-7). Richard Fawcett has recently argued that the aisle-less cruciform design of the original abbey church of Holyrood was based upon its mother house (R. Fawcett, *The Architecture of the Scottish Medieval Church* (New Haven, CT, and London, 2011), pp. 19-20).

³⁷³ This is corroborated by the right given to the canons by David I between 1128 and 1141 × 1147 allowing their men to take as much timber from the royal forests as was necessary 'to build the church and other buildings' (*DC*, no. 147).

³⁷⁴ A.K.B. Evans, 'Cirencester Abbey: the first hundred years', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 109 (1991), 99-116 (p. 103).

³⁷⁵ *DC*, no. 147.

³⁷⁶ E.g., *RRS*, I, no. 261.

³⁷⁷ *Holyrood Ordinale*, p. 64.

³⁷⁸ *Chron. Holyrood*, p. 117.

³⁷⁹ *DC*, no. 124. It is referred to as the house of the 'Crag' by John of Hexham (*Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia: Historia Regum*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols (London, 1885), II, p. 330).

³⁸⁰ E.g., *DC*, nos. 34, 128.

³⁸¹ For example, 'castle of the maidens' was sometimes used as an alternative name for Edinburgh in place-dating (*DC*, no. 125).

While the foundation of Holyrood Abbey began in 1128, its foundation charter was not produced until 1141 × 1147. This document is in the form of a modified-diploma, i.e. it includes features of both a writ-charter and a diploma.³⁸² However, it is also a composite charter, i.e. it includes text taken directly from earlier charters.³⁸³ Indeed, not only does the body of the charter contain the substance of earlier charters, but the testing clause includes witnesses from these earlier charters.³⁸⁴ For this reason, the foundation charter is attested by individuals who were almost certainly deceased at the time of its production.³⁸⁵ It was, therefore, intended to provide a cumulative record of the foundation process from 1128 to 1141 × 1147.

The production of foundation charters of this type often coincided with the conclusion of the foundation process and the formal commencement of conventual life. It was common for foundation charters to be produced in conjunction with the dedication of a religious house when it ‘would be considered by its inmates to be really founded’.³⁸⁶ The foundation charter of Holyrood may have been produced for just such a formal occasion. The original charter survives, and its particularly large size (432 mm × 440 mm) suggests that it was conceived and produced (probably by the canons themselves) as a showpiece charter.³⁸⁷ The diploma form, or in this case a modified-diploma, was also particularly well-suited as a solemn charter of foundation.³⁸⁸ Moreover, internal evidence in the foundation charter indicates that the construction of the first abbey church was likely complete by the time of its production.³⁸⁹ Thus, the foundation charter may have been produced for the dedication of the first abbey church, the moment from which the house would be considered formally founded.³⁹⁰ As the *Holyrood Chronicle* intimated, the foundation process for the abbey of Holyrood only began in 1128. It appears that that process was completed by 1141 × 1147. The seal used by Ælfwine, first abbot of Holyrood, is an artistic rendering of the abbey church, indicating the significance of this achievement to his abbacy (See Plate 2.2).³⁹¹

³⁸² *DC*, pp. 4-5.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 4; Broun, ‘Brieves’, pp. 164-83 (p. 169).

³⁸⁴ E.g. *DC*, no. 71.

³⁸⁵ G.W.S. Barrow, ‘Witnesses and the Attestation of Formal Documents in Scotland, Twelfth-Thirteenth Centuries’, *Journal of Legal History*, 16 (1995), 1-20 (pp. 3, 15).

³⁸⁶ V.H. Galbraith, ‘Monastic Foundation Charters of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries’, *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 4:3 (1934), 205-22 (pp. 214-5).

³⁸⁷ Edinburgh City Archives, Historical Charters, no. 1; *DC*, p. 123; J. Hudson, ‘Legal aspects of Scottish charter diplomatic in the twelfth century: a comparative approach’, in *Anglo-Norman Studies: proceedings of the Battle Conference of 2002*, ed. J. Gillingham (Woodbridge, 2002), xxv, 121-38 (p. 124).

³⁸⁸ Galbraith, 205-22 (pp. 214-5).

³⁸⁹ The canons received the right to found a burgh between ‘their church’ and the royal burgh. The future burgh of Canongate was situated between the abbey and the royal burgh (*DC*, no. 147).

³⁹⁰ Marjorie Anderson suggested that the canons of Holyrood began to keep the *Holyrood Chronicle* in c. 1150, shortly after the dedication of the first abbey church (*Chron. Holyrood*, pp. 116-8, 121).

³⁹¹ The seal is appended to a charter dating to 1141 × 1151 (NAS, GD40/1/3).

In the interim, it appears that the church of St Cuthbert, the historic *matrix ecclesia* of Edinburghshire, may have been used by the canonical community as a place of residence and worship. The history of the church of St Cuthbert is not entirely clear.³⁹² The dedication of the church indicates that it was at one time affiliated with Durham.³⁹³ Unfortunately, the corroborative evidence for this is not particularly forthcoming. Nevertheless, it indicates that the church was associated with Durham and was established by the ninth century. For instance, Edinburgh (*Edwinesburch*) was noted as a possession of Lindisfarne in 854.³⁹⁴ In addition, the church of St Cuthbert had an associated settlement, known as Kirkton (*kyrchetune*), which incorporates the late Old English place-name elements *cirice* (church or chapel) and *tūn* (farm or village).³⁹⁵ Thus, the place-name evidence also supports a ninth century date for the church. While little is known of the history of the church of St Cuthbert, or its relationship to Durham, it is evident that it continued to serve as a significant regional church into the twelfth century.

The charter evidence suggests that during the foundation process, which lasted from 1128 to 1141 × 1147, the church of St Cuthbert may have acted as the temporary residence and place of worship for the canons of Holyrood. It was common for parish churches in England to be used as temporary residences by regular canons before more permanent conventual facilities were secured.³⁹⁶ In the case of the church of St Cuthbert, this is indicated by several gifts made directly to the church by the king and two royal functionaries during this period. The church received from Mael Beatha, lord of Liberton, the chapel of Liberton, from Norman, sheriff of Berwick, the chapel of Corstorphine, and from David I, lands at the base of Edinburgh Castle.³⁹⁷ These gifts were made directly to the church of St Cuthbert between 1128 and 1141 × 1147, i.e. before the completion of the first abbey church, and reveal the deliberate harnessing of the parochial authority and resources of the church of St Cuthbert.³⁹⁸ This activity suggests a calculated effort to reorganise the church of St Cuthbert and its *paruchia* in connection with the establishment of regular canons in Edinburgh.³⁹⁹ The use of pre-existing churches in this manner is observable in England. For example, during the foundation process of Plympton Priory, revenues and

³⁹² I.B. Cowan, 'The Early Ecclesiastical History of Edinburgh', *IR*, 23 (1972), 16-21 (pp. 16-7).

³⁹³ G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Kings of Scotland and Durham', in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093-1193*, eds. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwick (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 311-23 (pp. 311-2).

³⁹⁴ *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, II, p. 101.

³⁹⁵ N. Dixon, 'The Place-Names of Mid-Lothian' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1947), pp. 71, 222-4); G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Childhood of Scottish Christianity: a Note on Some Place-Name Evidence', *Scottish Studies*, 27 (1983), 1-15 (p. 5). See also, C. Aliaga-Kelly and E. Proudfoot, 'Aspects of Settlement and Territorial Arrangements in South-East Scotland in the Late Prehistoric and Early Medieval Periods', *Medieval Archaeology*, 41 (1997), 33-50.

³⁹⁶ *GAS*, I, pp. 39-40.

³⁹⁷ *DC*, nos. 71, 147; *Holyrood Liber*, no. 8.

³⁹⁸ Smith and Ratcliff, pp. 115-44 (pp. 122-32).

³⁹⁹ For the sake of clarity, this study will apply the term *paruchia* to the parochial authority exercised by minsters and churches in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries and the term *parochia* or parish to describe the territorially defined parochial unit in its modern conception.

lands were built up around a collegiate church for the benefit of the first canonical community.⁴⁰⁰ The two earliest churches given to the canons of Holyrood were the churches of Edinburgh Castle and St Cuthbert.⁴⁰¹ However, only the latter received multiple direct benefactions before the culmination of the foundation process. It is therefore a distinct possibility that this patronage was intended to support the canons of Holyrood, who at that time may have lived and worshiped in the *matrix ecclesia* of Edinburghshire.

The canons of Holyrood were given almost total control over the parochial life of Edinburgh and its shire. Yet, their parochial authority was based upon a new model. From 1128 to 1141 × 1147, the historic *paruchia* of the church of St Cuthbert was transformed into a territorial parish, bringing the pastoral authority of the church into line with the Roman model.⁴⁰² The process of territorial parish formation was also taking place simultaneously in England, although beginning at a slightly earlier date.⁴⁰³ As a result, the church of St Cuthbert and its pendicle chapels of Liberton and Corstorphine formed a large territorial parish embracing most of Edinburghshire (See Plate 1.1).⁴⁰⁴ However, in the early twelfth century, two urban parishes were also established in Edinburgh, conterminous with its two burghs.⁴⁰⁵ The royal burgh and the ecclesiastical burgh of Canongate each constituted their own parish. The royal burgh seems to have originally been served by the church of Edinburgh Castle, which was held by the abbey from its foundation. It was superseded by the burghal church of St Giles before 1215.⁴⁰⁶ As will be discussed, the burgh of Canongate was served by the abbey church of Holyrood. Thus, from its foundation the parochial life of Edinburgh and Edinburghshire was almost entirely under the control of the abbey of Holyrood.

⁴⁰⁰ A.D. Fizzard, 'The Augustinian Canons of Plympton Priory and their Place in English Church and Society, 1121-c.1400' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1999), pp. 25-30. See also, A.D. Fizzard, *Plympton Priory: A House of Augustinian Canons in South-Western England in the Late Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2008).

⁴⁰¹ *DC*, no. 147.

⁴⁰² Cowan, 'Edinburgh', 16-21 (pp. 16-7).

⁴⁰³ J. Blair, 'Introduction: from Minster to Parish Church', in *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition, 950-1200*, ed. J. Blair (Oxford, 1988), pp. 1-19 (p. 10).

⁴⁰⁴ Smith and Ratcliff, pp. 115-44 (pp. 122-32).

⁴⁰⁵ For a broader discussion of the development of urban parishes, see J. Barrow, 'Churches, education and literacy in towns 600-1300', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, 600-1540*, ed. D.M. Palliser (Cambridge, 2000), I, pp. 127-52 (pp. 139-45).

⁴⁰⁶ I.B. Cowan, *The Medieval Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1995), p. 40; *Inchcolm Charters*, no. 8.

Parish of St Cuthbert, Edinburgh

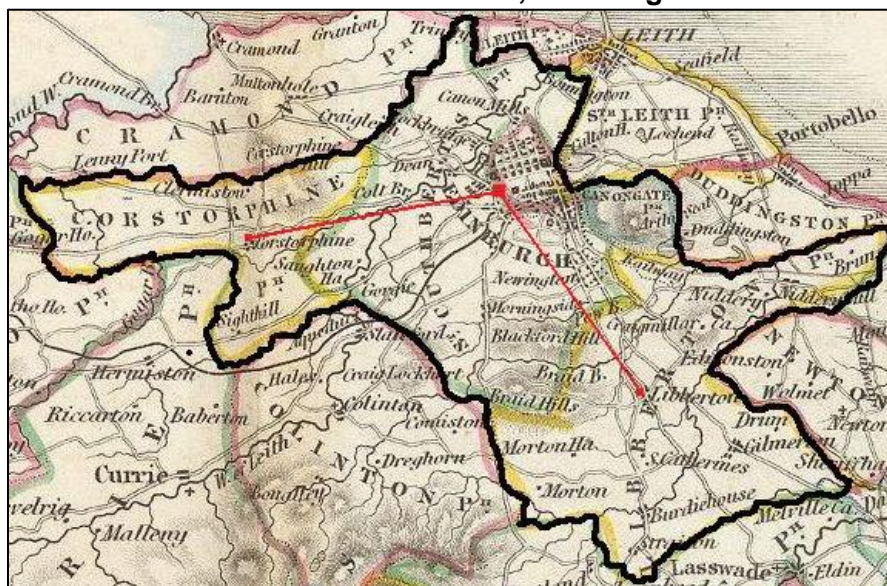


Plate: 1.1

C. Urban Canons and the Burgh of Canongate

Paradoxically, mainstream Augustinians were both an urban and rural movement. In the twelfth century, when most religious movements were consciously rejecting urbanism, an influential branch of Augustinianism appears to have embraced it.⁴⁰⁷ This phenomenon has been considered in an English context by David Postles. He theorised that ‘the involvement of the Austin canons in English boroughs and towns was an integral part of the original objectives of the Order; and that the first wave of houses of the Order (c.1100-35) was directed towards towns in southern England’.⁴⁰⁸ He further postulated that this first wave of foundations in southern England had an active and pastoral interpretation of canonical life. In contrast, he argued, the second wave of foundations after 1135, and also those houses founded in northern England (from the River Trent) both before and after 1135, were rural and contemplative in their interpretation.⁴⁰⁹ This two-wave model, among other things, provides an explanation for the noticeable differences in the physical setting of houses of regular canons in England. However, as will be seen, it also provides essential background to the foundation of the abbey of Holyrood.

David Robinson found that almost a quarter of all Augustinian foundations in England and Wales were situated in an urban setting.⁴¹⁰ As suggested by Postles, the majority of these were established in

⁴⁰⁷ L.J.R. Milis, *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men: Monasticism and its Meaning to Medieval Society* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 15-6, 38-40, 50-3. See also, J. Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages* (New York, NY, 1988).

⁴⁰⁸ Postles, ‘Austin Canons’, 1-20 (p. 2).

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 1-20 (pp. 2-3).

⁴¹⁰ He identified forty-five such houses in England and Wales, i.e. approximately twenty-three percent (*GAS*, I, p. 334).

southern England before 1135.⁴¹¹ However, some Augustinian houses had a more significant role in their urban environment than others. There are five Augustinian houses known to have gained full control over boroughs in England, namely Bodmin, Cirencester, Dunstable, Hexham, and Plympton.⁴¹² In fact, the control of boroughs by Augustinian canons in England was second only to the Black Monks, who held over twenty.⁴¹³ Thus, as Postles argued, there was a strong correlation between Augustinian foundations and urban centres in southern England before 1135.

Not only was southern England the epicentre for urban Augustinianism in Britain before 1135, but two London-based houses in particular acted as centres for the propagation of convents of this type. In his study, Postles called attention to the colonisation of urban convents from the priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, in London: the urban houses of Plympton (1121), St Frideswide, Oxford (1122), Launceston (1127), and Dunstable (1131/2), were all founded with canons from Holy Trinity, Aldgate.⁴¹⁴ As noted, Dunstable and Plympton controlled boroughs. It is evident, therefore, that the reform circle of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, played an important part in the spread of urban houses of regular canons.

The priory of Merton, located just outside London, had an even more impressive network of urban daughter houses. Indeed, all six of the daughter houses of Merton Priory established before 1135, which included Taunton (1120), Plympton (1121), Bodmin (1123), St Gregory's, Canterbury (1123), Holyrood (1128), and Cirencester (1131), were founded in an urban context.⁴¹⁵ The houses of Plympton, Bodmin, Cirencester, and Holyrood all controlled boroughs or, in the case of Scotland, a burgh. Thus, four of the five known Augustinian boroughs in England, and the earliest and most substantial Augustinian burgh in Scotland, were controlled by houses belonging to the Merton and Holy Trinity reform circles. One of the more interesting aspects of these two reform circles are the instances where their colonisation efforts overlapped. For example, the urban priory of Plympton was actually founded jointly with canons from the priories of Holy Trinity and Merton.⁴¹⁶ Therefore, the London-based priories of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, and Merton, had a compatible interpretation of canonical life which was exported to urban centres across England, and also, significantly, to Scotland.

Ailred, abbot of Rievaulx, and eulogist of David I, considered the economic development of the kingdom of Scotland to have been an important achievement of the king's reign:

⁴¹¹ Postles, 'Austin Canons', 1-20 (pp. 18-9).

⁴¹² N.M. Trenholme, *The English Monastic Boroughs* (Columbia, MO, 1927), p. 95. It is possible that the houses of Carmarthen, Berden, Drax, Stone, and Waltham, also controlled associated boroughs (*GAS*, I, p. 334). See also, S. Reynolds, *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns* (Oxford, 1977).

⁴¹³ Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 444-7.

⁴¹⁴ Postles, 'Austin Canons', 1-20 (pp. 7-8, 18-9).

⁴¹⁵ L. Green, *Daughter Houses of Merton Priory* (Merton, 2002), pp. 4-21.

⁴¹⁶ See Chapter 3.

He adorned you with castles and cities; he lifted you up in high towers; he enriched your ports with foreign merchandise and increased your delights with the delicacies of other kingdoms. He exchanged your shaggy cloaks for precious garments and covered your former nakedness with linen and purple.⁴¹⁷

As will be seen, the foundation of the abbey of Holyrood fits into the programme of urbanisation described by the abbot of Rievaulx, specifically in the development of Edinburgh.

The origin of the burgh, or incorporated towns, in Scotland has been the subject of considerable debate.⁴¹⁸ Nonetheless, it is clear that by the time the abbey of Holyrood was founded in 1128, the royal burghs of Berwick, Roxburgh, Dunfermline, Stirling, Perth, and Edinburgh had been established.⁴¹⁹ Between 1128 and 1141 × 1147, the canons of Holyrood received the right from David I to establish their own burgh adjacent to the royal burgh of Edinburgh.⁴²⁰ This burgh, later known as Canongate (i.e. the street or walk of the canons), became the first private burgh (ecclesiastical or secular) in Scotland.⁴²¹ Moreover, only one other religious house, the Tironensian abbey of Arbroath (f. 1178), controlled a burgh in the twelfth century.⁴²²

The creation of the burgh of Canongate provided the abbey a foothold in the commercial life of Edinburgh and also a considerable source of revenue.⁴²³ The foundation charter of David I outlines in some detail the rights afforded to the new burgh:

Moreover, I give the right to build a burgh between their church and my burgh, and also that their burgesses shall have the freedom to buy and sell in my market freely and without blame or dues, like my own burgesses; and I prohibit anyone from taking by force or without the consent of their burgesses any bread, beer, cloth, or other items for

⁴¹⁷ Ailred of Rievaulx, 'Lament', pp. 45-70 (p. 60).

⁴¹⁸ For scholarship concerning the origin of burghs in Scotland, see G. Neilson, 'On Some Scottish Burghal Origins', *Juridical Review*, 14 (1902), 129-40; A. Ballard, 'The Theory of the Scottish Burgh', *SHR*, 13 (1915), 16-29; D. Murray, *Early Burgh Organisation in Scotland as illustrated in the history of Glasgow and of some neighbouring Burghs* (Glasgow, 1924); W.M. Mackenzie, *The Scottish Burghs: An Expanded Version of the Rhind Lectures in Archaeology for 1945* (Edinburgh, 1949), pp. 1-14; Duncan and Pryde, *Burghs of Scotland*; A.A.M. Duncan, 'Burghs before 1296', in *An Historical Atlas of Scotland, c. 400-c. 1600*, eds. P. McNeill and R. Nicholson (St. Andrews, 1975), pp. 31-2, 132-4; *MK*, pp. 463-501; I.H. Adams, *The Making of Urban Scotland* (London, 1978), pp. 11-30; Barrow, *Kingship*, pp. 84-104; E.P. Dennison and G.G. Simpson, 'Scotland', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: 600-1540*, ed. D.M. Palliser (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 715-37.

⁴¹⁹ *DC*, nos. 14, 19. See also, Duncan and Pryde, *Burghs of Scotland*, pp. 4-5.

⁴²⁰ *DC*, no. 147.

⁴²¹ Duncan, 'Burghs before 1296', pp. 31-2, 132-4; Dixon, 'Mid-Lothian', pp. 65-6.

⁴²² Arbroath Abbey held the burgh of Arbroath (1178 × 1182), Kelso Abbey the burgh of Kelso (1237), Dunfermline Abbey the burghs of Dunfermline (1303), Kirkcaldy (1315 × 1328), and Queensferry (1315 × 1328), the nunnery of Haddington held a burgh in Haddington known as Nungate (1367), and Inchcolm Abbey held a burgh in Aberdour, known as Aberdour West (1508/9) (Duncan and Pryde, *Burghs of Scotland*, pp. 37-48; *Inchcolm Charters*, no. 53).

⁴²³ For the most in-depth consideration of the development of Canongate, see E.P. Dennison, *Holyrood and Canongate: A Thousand Years of History* (Edinburgh, 2005).

sale into their burgh. I also wish the canons to be free from all toll and custom in all my burghs and in all my lands for everything they buy and sell.⁴²⁴

The burgh of Canongate was not intended to have the same status as the royal burgh. For example, the junior burgh was not given its own market place or market day. Instead, the burgesses of Canongate had the privilege of trading freely in the market of the royal burgh. Nevertheless, within Canongate, the burgesses were given a trading monopoly over certain goods, namely bread, beer, and, presumably woollen, cloth. The canons were therefore provided the opportunity to take advantage of their chief commodities and to convert them into money.⁴²⁵ The abbey was able to directly market (via their burgesses) the produce of its landed estates, mills, and tithes, specifically in grain and wool, and, due to the monetisation of the Scottish economy from around 1136, the canons could expect payment in silver coin.⁴²⁶ Thus, the establishment of the abbey of Holyrood was an important step in the development of the city for the abbey brought into Edinburgh a steady stream of grain and wool, primarily from Lothian, but also from its more distant holdings (e.g. Galloway). In this way, the abbey and its burgh were a boon to the economic development of Edinburgh and the regional economy.

The possession of Canongate, in and of itself, was a significant source of revenue for the abbey of Holyrood. The abbey had temporal and spiritual authority over the burgh, which meant that the canons received both rents and tithes from their burgesses. The rents owed by the burgesses were undoubtedly a significant source of revenue for the house. For instance, burghal rents were the primary source of royal revenue in cash during the reign of David I.⁴²⁷ As noted, the abbey was also responsible for the pastoral care in its burgh. The urban parish of St Cuthbert, which encompassed Edinburgh and Edinburghshire, and the church (or chapel) of Edinburgh Castle, which originally served the royal burgh, were both held by the abbey from its foundation. However, the burgh of Canongate constituted its own parish, which was served by the parochial altar of the abbey church.⁴²⁸ Thus, the burgesses of Canongate owed tithe and other parochial dues to the abbey.

The most straightforward explanation for the establishment of burghs in Scotland was purposed by Ian Adams, which he referred to as the 'emulation theory'. He proposed that burghs were founded in Scotland for utilitarian reasons and were modelled upon the boroughs of England and elsewhere.⁴²⁹ This theory also seems applicable to the foundation of Holyrood and Canongate. As earl, David became

⁴²⁴ *DC*, no. 147.

⁴²⁵ This imitates the economic relationship of the king and his burghs, in which excess produce of royal estates was passed on to market (Duncan, 'Burghs before 1296', p. 31).

⁴²⁶ Edinburgh, along with Berwick and Roxburgh, became the site of a royal mint before 1153 (*MK*, pp. 464-5; Blanchard, 'David I', pp. 23-45; H. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle: The City and the Borders from the Late Eleventh to the Mid-Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols (Kendal, 1993), I, pp. 25, 42).

⁴²⁷ *MK*, p. 475.

⁴²⁸ See Chapter 5.

⁴²⁹ Adams, *Urban Scotland*, p. 22.

particularly familiar with two urban convents in England, namely Huntingdon Priory, which was located at the *caput* of his English honour, and its daughter house of Merton Priory.⁴³⁰ The latter house, a centre for the propagation of urban convents, became the source of the first abbot and canons of Holyrood. In essence, the king imported urban canons to found an urban house. It seems reasonable to conclude that the decision to found an urban house of regular canons in Edinburgh was calculated to achieve a utilitarian end and that this was done in emulation of English exemplars.

III. Jedburgh

The priory (later abbey) of Jedburgh in Roxburghshire was founded through the reorganisation of an existing minster church with historical ties to Durham.⁴³¹ There were two major stages in its foundation: the first self-contained, involving the conversion of incumbent clergy to the regular life, and the second, in which canons and customs from France were installed under the direction of the David I and John, bishop of Glasgow. This section will examine the nuanced foundation of Jedburgh.

A. Jedburgh and Durham

The Augustinian priory of Jedburgh was established at an existing religious site in Teviotdale which had a longstanding and relatively well-documented history. The foundation of the church of Jedburgh dates to the ninth century when Ecgred, bishop of Lindisfarne (830-45), gave the vill of Jedworth and the other Jedworth (*Gedwearde et altera Gedwearde*) to the church of Lindisfarne.⁴³² Shortly thereafter, a church was established in the vill of Jedworth (*Gedwearde*) by the same bishop.⁴³³ It has been suggested that the earls of Northumbria also had an estate complex at Jedburgh, which would fit the usual pattern of corresponding secular and ecclesiastical centres.⁴³⁴ The surviving stone sculptures indicate a significant Anglian church at the site in the ninth and tenth centuries.⁴³⁵ However, the church of Jedburgh disappears from the historical record until the 1080s, when it is noted as the burial place of Eadulf Rus, the Northumbrian nobleman responsible for the murder of Walcher, earl of Northumbria and bishop of Durham (c. 1071-80). A short time later, the body of Eadulf Rus was disinterred and removed

⁴³⁰ *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, II, nos. 1301, 1359.

⁴³¹ The house was raised to abbatial status between 1153 and 8 April 1156 (*RRS*, I, nos. 112, 114).

⁴³² *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, ed. T.J. South (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 48-9; *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, I, p. 201.

⁴³³ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, SS, 34 vols (Hannover, 1826-), XIX, pp. 502-8 (p. 506); *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, II, p. 101.

⁴³⁴ J. Watson, *Jedburgh Abbey: Historical and Descriptive*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 1894), pp. 7-10.

⁴³⁵ R. Cramp, 'The Anglian Sculptures from Jedburgh', in *From the Stone Age to the 'Forty-Five': studies presented to R.B.K. Stevenson, former keeper, National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland*, eds. A. O'Connor and D.V. Clarke (Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 269-84.

from the church by Turgot, archdeacon of Durham (1093-1107).⁴³⁶ The actions of the archdeacon indicate that in the late eleventh century the church of Jedburgh was an active religious site which was subject to Durham. However, Teviotdale became detached from the diocese of Durham in 1101, along with Carlisle.⁴³⁷ The territory of Teviotdale came under the authority of the bishops of Glasgow, undoubtedly placing the church of Jedburgh and its religious community in a state of flux.

The twelfth century saw the gradual extinguishing of the traditional authority of the bishops of Durham in Lothian, Tweeddale, and Teviotdale. This was due in part to the establishment of jurisdiction over these territories by the bishops of Glasgow and St Andrews, but it was in equal measure due to a programme implemented by David, as ruler of Scottish Cumbria and king of Scotland, in which religious sites associated with Durham were reconstituted and occupied by communities of reformed religious.⁴³⁸ David challenged the claims of Durham to the historic patrimony of St Cuthbert.⁴³⁹ In 1113, the king established Tironensian monks at Selkirk, a site with probable links to Durham.⁴⁴⁰ The use of the church of St Cuthbert, Edinburgh, as the nucleus of the endowment for Holyrood Abbey can perhaps also be seen as part of this programme. In the 1140s, the king founded a Cistercian abbey at Melrose, a site with strong historical links to Durham.⁴⁴¹ Yet, the foundation of Jedburgh Priory provides perhaps the clearest example of this policy. The church of Jedburgh, which had maintained connections to Durham until 1101, was converted into a house of regular canons. As will be seen, the king and bishop of Glasgow, working in concert, effectively extirpated the claims of Durham by reconstituting the church of Jedburgh into an Augustinian priory.

B. Jedburgh and Regular Canons: Stage One

Assigning a fixed date for the foundation of religious house can be problematic. For instance, chronicles, which often provide precise dates, only rarely reveal the standard used to determine that a house was 'founded'.⁴⁴² As has been seen, the foundation date provided for Holyrood Abbey marked the arrival of the canons in Edinburgh, not the beginning of conventual life. In some instances, however, the chronicles do not agree on a foundation date, further complicating the matter. In the case of Jedburgh, while contemporary sources such as the *Holyrood Chronicle* and the *Melrose Chronicle* do not provide a foundation date for Jedburgh Priory, later chronicles offer a range of different dates, including 1118,

⁴³⁶ *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, II, pp. 197-8.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 139.

⁴³⁸ E. Craster, 'The Patrimony of St. Cuthbert', *English Historical Review*, 69 (1954), 177-99; W.M. Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans: The Church of Durham, 1071-1153* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 227-67.

⁴³⁹ Aird, *St Cuthbert*, p. 254.

⁴⁴⁰ *KS*, p. 203.

⁴⁴¹ Aird, *St Cuthbert*, p. 254.

⁴⁴² *AC*, pp. 97-8.

1128, 1143 and 1147.⁴⁴³ The absence of a foundation date in the contemporary chronicles and the inconsistent dates given by the later chronicles suggests a complex foundation process.

The earliest contemporary evidence of the foundation appears in two charters of David I, which are among the thirteen acts of the king to include a date of time.⁴⁴⁴ These two charters, which are in favour of Coldingham Priory, were produced on 16 August 1139 at Roxburgh, and both were attested by Daniel, prior of Jedburgh.⁴⁴⁵ As will be seen, the evidence indicates a rather long period between the establishment of a reformed community at Jedburgh and the formal adoption of the Rule of St Augustine and a set of customs, which may account for the inconsistent foundation dates provided by the chronicles.

The foundation charter of David I to Jedburgh Priory dates to 1147 × 1151.⁴⁴⁶ Like the foundation charter of Holyrood Abbey, it is a modified diploma and was composed of the substance of earlier documents.⁴⁴⁷ The *narratio* of the charter provides a short description of the foundation:

[...] through divine inspiration and for the salvation of my soul and the soul of Henry, my son, and our ancestors and successors, I have founded a religious house in the vill of Jedburgh, in which, with the advice and assent of John, bishop [of Glasgow], of venerable memory, and of the other bishops, and my earls and barons, and religious men of my kingdom, regular canons have been established.⁴⁴⁸

The charter goes on to enumerate the assets given to the priory during the foundation process. As the nucleus of the endowment, the king gave (*dare*) to the canons the *monasterium de Jedword cum omnibus ad illud pertinentibus*.⁴⁴⁹ From the use of the Latin term *monasterium*, it can be inferred that the religious site at Jedburgh was probably a minster church (Old English *mynster*), a status perhaps dating to its foundation by Bishop Ecgrid.⁴⁵⁰ Other minster-style churches have been identified in the diocese of Glasgow at Stobo, Old Roxburgh, Mow, Hoddum, and Applegarth.⁴⁵¹ At Jedburgh, archaeological evidence indicates that the priory was actually erected on the site of the ancient church.⁴⁵² Therefore, the

⁴⁴³ G. Watson, 'The foundation of Jedburgh Abbey', *Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society* (1923), 42-8 (pp. 42-3). See also, *MRHS*, II, p. 92.

⁴⁴⁴ *DC*, pp. 22-3.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, nos. 68, 69. Prior Daniel witnessed a charter of Henry, earl of Northumberland, to Huntingdon Priory in 1139 × 1141, also at Roxburgh (*Ibid.*, no. 72).

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, nos. 174. The foundation charter was confirmed by the king's son, Henry, earl of Northumberland, in 1147 × 1151 (*Ibid.*, no. 175).

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5, 17.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 174.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 174. See also, *Ibid.*, no. 175; *RRS*, II, no. 62.

⁴⁵⁰ *DC*, p. 140; Blair, 'Minster', pp. 1-19 (pp. 1-2).

⁴⁵¹ N.F. Shead, 'The diocese of Glasgow in the 12th and 13th Centuries with an edition of the bishops' Acta (c. 1140-1258)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 1965), p. 99.

⁴⁵² G. Ewart and J. Lewis, *Jedburgh Abbey: the archaeology and architecture of a border abbey* (Edinburgh, 1995), p. 131.

minster church of Jedburgh was reconstituted as a house of regular canons, assuming not only its site, but also its parochial structure and revenue base.

The parochial authority of the minster church was modernised as part of the establishment of the Augustinian priory. The historic *paruchia* of the minster church was converted into a large territorial parish served by the priory church of Jedburgh and its chapels of Crailing, Scraesburgh (in Oxnam), and Nisbet, which included the villis of Jedburgh, the other Jedburgh, Lanton, Nisbet (in Crailing), Crailing, and Crailinghall.⁴⁵³ This new parish was largely based upon the historic parochial rights of the minster church and, as can be seen, resulted in somewhat irregular territorial bounds (See Plate 1.2). The priory, therefore, served as the baptismal church of an extensive territorial parish which provided the tithes and other parochial revenues that formed the core of its endowment.

Parish of Jedburgh

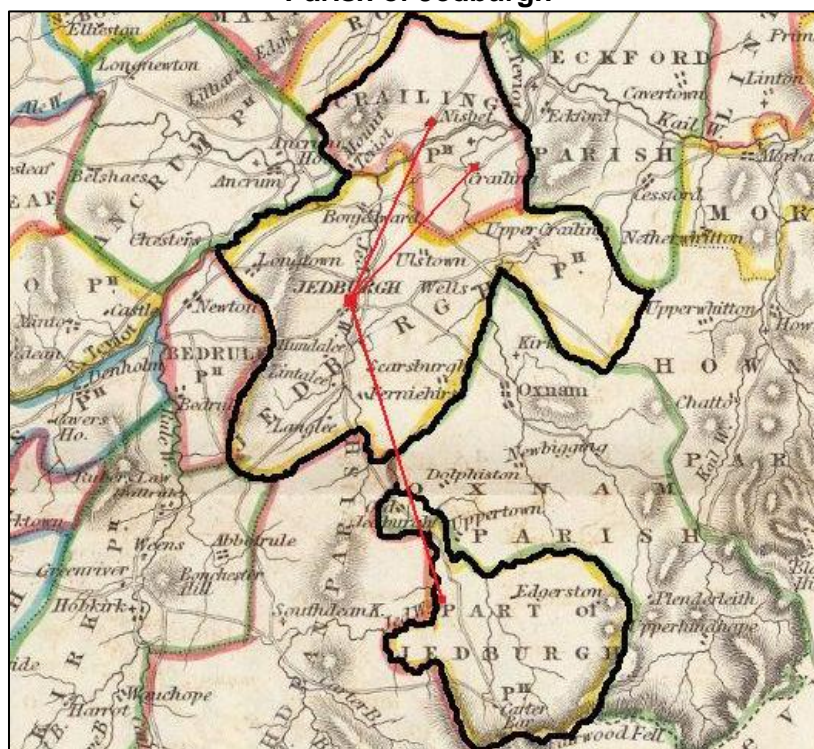


Plate: 1.2

The conversion of pre-existing churches, and in particular collegiate churches, was an important part of Augustinian settlement in Britain. In the early twelfth century, there are numerous examples of minster churches in England (especially in the southwest) and *clas* churches in Wales being transformed into houses of regular canons. In some cases, the incumbent clergy were regularised, but in others they

⁴⁵³ DC, nos. 174, 175. See also, Smith and Ratcliff, pp. 115-44 (pp. 122-32).

were provided life tenures or were simply disbanded.⁴⁵⁴ The function of the Anglo-Saxon minster has been the subject of considerable debate among English scholars.⁴⁵⁵ In most instances, however, it appears that minster churches provided some degree of pastoral care. For example, the minster church (*monasterium*) of Easby (Yorks.), which was served by a community of secular clergy, was converted into a house of Premonstratensian canons in 1152 × 1153. It seems that there was functional continuity between the minster church and its Premonstratensian successor.⁴⁵⁶ Similarly, it appears that the incumbent community of the minster church of Jedburgh, who were responsible for provisioning pastoral care in Teviotdale, adopted the regular life in the early twelfth century and, as will be seen, the evidence suggests functional continuity.

The composite structure of the foundation charter reveals that gifts were made directly to the minster church of Jedburgh before its formal transformation into a house of regular canons. While the evidence is limited, this seems to indicate that the incumbent clergy of the minster church had adopted the regular life and become the focus of largesse in their own right. According to the charter, Cospatric, sheriff of Roxburgh, granted the chapel of Crailing directly to the *monasterium*.⁴⁵⁷ Significantly, the gift of the chapel was made, not to the canons of Jedburgh, nor to the church of St Mary of Jedburgh, as the priory was known, but directly to the minster church.⁴⁵⁸ The language of the charter confirms that the gift of Sheriff Cospatric originated in a separate charter or verbal contract, for it was confirmed by its own 'legitimate witnesses' (*testibus legitimis*).⁴⁵⁹ As noted, the foundation charter dates to 1147 × 1151, by which time Cospatric was likely deceased and was certainly no longer sheriff of Roxburgh. The *floruit* of Cospatric, sheriff of Roxburgh, was from 1114 to 1131 and his successor as sheriff, Gervase Ridel, appears in 1138/9.⁴⁶⁰ Thus, the patronage of the sheriff of Roxburgh to the minster church occurred

⁴⁵⁴ GAS, I, pp. 35-6; AC, pp. 241-4. Christine Butterill identified twenty-nine minster churches that were converted into Augustinian houses in England (C.A.T. Butterill, 'The Royal Foundation of Augustinian Priors during the Reign of Henry I' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 2000), pp. 91-8).

⁴⁵⁵ There is an ongoing debate concerning the function of the Anglo-Saxon minster; some view its function as essentially pastoral and others see it as essentially contemplative (Blair, 'Minster', pp. 1-19; E. Cambridge and D. Rollason, 'Debate: The pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church: a review of the "Minster Hypothesis"', *Early Medieval Europe*, 4 (1995), pp. 87-104; J. Blair, 'Debate: Ecclesiastical organization and pastoral care in Anglo-Saxon England', *Early Medieval Europe*, 4 (1995), pp. 87-104; D. Rollason, 'Monasteries and Society in Early Medieval Northumbria', in *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain: Proceedings of the 1994 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. B. Thompson (Stamford, 1999), pp. 59-74). A third way has been proposed by Sarah Foot, namely that pastoral and contemplative objectives could be housed under the same roof and were not incompatible (S. Foot, 'The Role of the Minster in Earlier Anglo-Saxon Society', in *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain: Proceedings of the 1994 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. B. Thompson (Stamford, 1999), pp. 35-58 (pp. 38-9, 56-7)).

⁴⁵⁶ Pastoral care in the priory church was provided by the canons (G.W.O. Addleshaw, *Rectors, Vicars and Patrons in Twelfth- and Early Thirteenth-Century Canon Law* (London, 1987), pp. 16-7).

⁴⁵⁷ DC, nos. 174, 175.

⁴⁵⁸ E.g., *Ibid.*, no. 167.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, nos. 174-75. For oral forms of attestation, see M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066-1307* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 253-283.

⁴⁶⁰ DC, nos. 14, 31, 32, 42, 75. See also, *Sheriffs*, p. 37.

between approximately 1114 and 1131, and, as will be seen, this predates the formal establishment of a religious house at Jedburgh by David I and John, bishop of Glasgow, after 1138.

There is no direct evidence that a community of secular clergy adopted the regular life at Jedburgh between 1114 and 1131. However, the surviving evidence for the house is particularly poor. Moreover, what does survive is charter evidence, which was not produced in order to elaborate on the circumstances of the foundation. If an incumbent community was successfully regularised, there would be no reason for this to appear in the charter evidence. In twelfth-century Scotland, charter evidence pertaining to the conversion of incumbent religious communities only appears due to their resistance to it (e.g. St Andrews and Loch Leven). On the basis of archaeological and architectural evidence, it has recently been argued by J.G. Scott that a community of reform-minded clergy were brought to Jedburgh from the minster church of Hoddom in Annandale before 1122.⁴⁶¹ This assertion, while largely speculative, fits what appears to be a nuanced foundation process, the initial stage of which seems to have involved the regularisation of incumbent clergy.

C. Jedburgh and Regular Canons: Stage Two

The instrumental role ascribed to the bishop of Glasgow in the foundation of Jedburgh Priory helps to elucidate the second stage of the foundation process. As seen, the *narratio* of the charter of David I emphasises the role of John, bishop of Glasgow, in the foundation. However, according to the chronicle of John of Hexham (c. 1160-1209), the bishop of Glasgow had a more substantial part in the foundation. The chronicle states that the bishop was personally responsible for placing (*disponere*) a convent of regular canons in the church of Jedburgh.⁴⁶² Therefore, the second stage in the foundation process involved the transformation of Jedburgh into a formal religious institution under the auspices of David I and John, bishop of Glasgow.

It is important to recognise that the priory of Jedburgh was established during a formative period in the development of the diocese of Glasgow and, moreover, that it took place within the context of a protracted dispute between the bishop of Glasgow and the archbishop of York. The bishopric of Glasgow was heir to the Anglian bishopric of Kentigern, but was essentially reconstituted in the early twelfth century by David as ruler of Scottish Cumbria.⁴⁶³ David nominated Michael to the see of Glasgow in

⁴⁶¹ J.G. Scott, 'Bishop John of Glasgow and the Status of Hoddom', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 66 (1991), 37-45. The minster church of Hoddom is the putative seat of the Anglian bishops of St Kentigern, the predecessors of bishops of Glasgow (*MRHS*, II, p. 48). For a recent discussion of the Anglian bishopric of Kentigern, see J.R. Davies, 'Bishop Kentigern among the Britons', in *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World*, eds. S. Boardman, J.R. Davies and E. Williamson (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 66-90 (pp. 72-83).

⁴⁶² *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, II, p. 321.

⁴⁶³ N.F. Shead, 'The Origin of the Diocese of Glasgow', *SHR*, 48:2 (1969), 220-5.

1109 × 1114. He was consecrated by Thomas II, archbishop of York (1109-14), and later buried at Moreland in English Cumbria.⁴⁶⁴ His successor, John, became bishop of Glasgow in 1114 × 1118, during a period of vacancy at York and, thus, was consecrated by Pope Paschal II (1099-1118).⁴⁶⁵ Before becoming bishop, John served as tutor and chaplain to David, alongside Osbert and Ælfwine the future prelates of Great Paxton and Holyrood.⁴⁶⁶ The colourful career of John, bishop of Glasgow, provides an essential backdrop to the institutionalisation of Jedburgh.

During his episcopal career, John resisted the claims of the archbishops of York to metropolitan authority over Glasgow.⁴⁶⁷ This led to years of conflict and long absences from his diocese. He was enjoined by successive popes, Gelasius II (1118-9) and Calixtus II (1119-24), to submit to the authority of York. However, he refused and in 1122 was suspended from office by Calixtus II.⁴⁶⁸ He went to Rome and unsuccessfully pled his case to the pope, after which he went to Jerusalem and spent several months there as the guest of the patriarch of Jerusalem. In 1123, he was commanded by Calixtus II to return to his bishopric, which he obeyed.⁴⁶⁹ However, the issue was raised again in short order. In 1125, Honorius II (1124-30) sent a papal legate, John of Crema, to Roxburgh to inquire into the controversy between the bishop of Glasgow and the archbishop of York. In the same year, the bishop went again to Rome to have his case heard by the pope. The bishop returned to Scotland with the matter still unresolved in 1126.⁴⁷⁰ At this point, it appears that the conflict subsided for a few years. However, it was renewed by Innocent II (1130-43) in 1131, who again commanded that Bishop John accept the archiepiscopal authority of York.⁴⁷¹ The continued insistence by the papacy that the bishop submit to York seems to have led Bishop John to entertain the idea of supporting the anti-pope Anacletus II (1130-8).⁴⁷² To escape these controversies, the bishop again left Scotland and entered the monastery of Tiron in c. 1136.⁴⁷³ The abbey of Tiron was the mother-house of Selkirk, a house of reformed Benedictines established by David in 1113 in the diocese of Glasgow.⁴⁷⁴ Bishop John lived as a monk at Tiron (*apud Tironas monachatu*) until he

⁴⁶⁴ *Fasti*, pp. 187-8.

⁴⁶⁵ *Glasgow Registrum*, I, no. 1; *Fasti*, p. 188; *DC*, p. 33, no. 15.

⁴⁶⁶ *Glasgow Registrum*, I, no. 1; *DC*, no. 2.

⁴⁶⁷ For an in-depth discussion of the claims of York to jurisdiction over Glasgow, see J. Durkan, 'Glasgow Diocese and the claims of York', *IR*, 50:2 (1999), 89-101.

⁴⁶⁸ *ESC*, pp. 267-8; *Scotia Pontificia*, nos. 7, 8, 9, 10.

⁴⁶⁹ *Chron. Melrose*, s.a. 1123, 1124 (p. 67); *CED*, II, p. 21.

⁴⁷⁰ *Scotia Pontificia*, nos. 11, 15; *CED*, II, pp. 23-4.

⁴⁷¹ *Scotia Pontificia*, nos. 16, 17.

⁴⁷² *KS*, p. 176, fn. 52.

⁴⁷³ *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, II, p. 298; *ESC*, p. 269.

⁴⁷⁴ *KS*, pp. 174-6, 199-204. For a recent consideration of the relationship between the abbey of Selkirk-Kelso and its mother house of Tiron, see A. Smith, 'The Kelso Abbey Cartulary: Context, Production, and Forgery' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2011), pp. 49-63.

was recalled by the papal legate, Alberic, at the council of Carlisle in 1138, which effectively ended the dispute over the jurisdiction of York.⁴⁷⁵

Geoffrey Barrow argued that the foundation of the priory of Jedburgh was intended to mark the reconciliation of Bishop John with the papacy after 1138. As will be discussed, he also showed through a process of elimination that the first canons of Jedburgh were brought from St Quentin of Beauvais in France. Moreover, he linked these events together; implying that the bishop of Glasgow brought canons of Beauvais back with him to Scotland in 1138 and with the help of the king founded the priory of Jedburgh.⁴⁷⁶ This reconstruction of events and its chronology have been widely accepted, and there is certainly much to recommend it.⁴⁷⁷ For instance, as noted, the earliest evidence of a prior of Jedburgh dates to 1139. Yet, there has never been any consideration of how the bishop of Glasgow might have come into contact with the canons of St Quentin of Beauvais, and their influential customs, during his stay at the abbey of Tiron from c. 1136 to 1138.

The abbey of Tiron was linked to the priory of St Quentin of Beauvais from its earliest period. In 1109 × 1113, an eremitical community under the leadership of Bernard of Abbeville was transformed into a formal religious community. The abbey of Tiron was established at modern day Thiron-Gardais in the diocese of Chartres. Ivo, bishop of Chartres (1090-1115), famed for his scholastic achievements, was closely involved in the foundation process. In fact, the abbey was established on diocesan lands.⁴⁷⁸ Before embarking on his episcopal career, Ivo of Chartres was prior of the regular canonical community of St Quentin in Beauvais, founded in 1067. As will be discussed, he was responsible for instituting a set of customs at Beauvais which became particularly influential within the Augustinian movement.⁴⁷⁹ In 1090, Ivo became bishop of Chartres, which he remained until his death in 1115. However, until 1094/5 the bishop continued to act as the prelate of the house at Beauvais.⁴⁸⁰ Thus, the two communities of Tiron and Beauvais, despite their distance from one another, seem to have developed and maintained a fraternal bond due to the close relationship between Ivo of Chartres and Bernard of Abbeville.

The second stage in the foundation process, namely the establishment of Jedburgh as a formal religious institution, began upon the return of John, bishop of Glasgow, to Scotland in 1138 × 1139. During his self-imposed exile at the abbey of Tiron from c. 1136 to 1138, the bishop of Glasgow was apparently introduced to St Quentin of Beauvais and its influential customal, likely via its nearby

⁴⁷⁵ *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, II, p. 298; *CED*, II, pp. 31-2; Shead, 'Glasgow', pp. 1-4. See also, *Scotia Pontificia*, nos. 19, 20.

⁴⁷⁶ *KS*, p. 180. For a more detailed discussion of the customs, see Chapter 3.

⁴⁷⁷ E.g., *MK*, p. 150.

⁴⁷⁸ R.H. Cline, 'The Congregation of Tiron in the Twelfth Century: Foundation and Expansion' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Georgetown University, 2000), pp. 97-150, 326-30.

⁴⁷⁹ See Chapter 3.

⁴⁸⁰ L.K. Barker, 'History, reform, and law in the work of Ivo of Chartres' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1988), pp. 16-28, 204-14.

daughter houses of St Jean-en-Vallée or St André in Chartres.⁴⁸¹ The bishop returned to Scotland in 1138 × 1139 and, working in conjunction with the king, installed canons and customs from Beauvais in the minster church of Jedburgh, justifying the prominent role ascribed to him by John of Hexham. At this time, the incumbent clerical community at Jedburgh, already living the regular life from 1114 to 1131, were seemingly placed under the authority of the more experienced regular canons of Beauvais. This also meant the adoption of the Rule of St Augustine and the leadership of a prior. According to earliest surviving papal confirmation to the house (1209), the priory of Jedburgh followed the Rule of St Augustine from its foundation.⁴⁸² The adoption of the Rule of St Augustine by communities living the regular life frequently coincided with their institutionalisation, especially under royal and episcopal supervision.⁴⁸³ More formal leadership, in this case a prior, was also part of the transition. The appearance in 1139 of Daniel, prior of Jedburgh, fits the second stage in the foundation process.⁴⁸⁴ Furthermore, it is likely that the dedication of the house to the Virgin Mary (See Plate 2.3) also occurred during this stage, which occurred at the peak of Marian devotion in the kingdom of Scotland and, indeed, in the British Isles.⁴⁸⁵ Thus, through the combined efforts of David I and John, bishop of Glasgow, the minster church of Jedburgh, which seems to have already been served by reformed clergy, was transformed into an Augustinian priory following the customs of Beauvais.

In England, there are examples of houses of regular canons founded under similar circumstances. The priory of Taunton (f. 1120) in Somerset is particularly instructive. The details concerning the foundation are found in a narrative account of the life of its first prior.⁴⁸⁶ The prior and four canons from Merton were brought to Taunton by William Giffard, bishop of Winchester (1100-29). The canons were placed in charge of the ancient minster church (*monasterium*) and its incumbent secular clergy, who to that point had lived according to a prebendary system, but were converted to the regular life (with mixed results).⁴⁸⁷ The priory of Jedburgh seems to have been founded in a similar manner, in which incumbent clergy and a colony of experienced canons combined to form a conventual body.

The inconsistency of the Scottish chronicles concerning the date of the foundation of Jedburgh Priory seems to be the result of multiple stages in its development. The earliest date provided by the chronicles is that of Andrew Wyntoun, who states that the priory was founded in 1118.⁴⁸⁸ This date is too

⁴⁸¹ See Chapter 3.

⁴⁸² *PL*, CCXVI, bk. XII, no. 22.

⁴⁸³ *AC*, pp. 49-58. See Appendix 1.

⁴⁸⁴ It is probable that Daniel was professed at St Quentin in Beauvais.

⁴⁸⁵ Hammond, 'Virgin Mary', pp. 61-86; R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin, 1075-1225* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 469-71.

⁴⁸⁶ The *vita* of Guy of Merton, which is in the form of an epistle, was produced in 1132 × 1151 (M.L. Colker, 'The Life of Guy of Merton by Rainald of Merton', *Mediaeval Studies*, 31 (1969), 250-61 (p. 251)).

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 252, 257. See also, Green, *Merton Priory*, pp. 7-9.

⁴⁸⁸ *Chron. Wyntoun*, II, p. 179.

early for the existence of a formal religious house at Jedburgh under the leadership of a prior. However, if the house went through two stages of development, as appears to be the case, then this date perhaps marks the year in which the incumbent clergy of Jedburgh began to live the regular life. However, this period of self-reform ended in 1138 × 1139, when a prior, canons, and customs derived from St Quentin in Beauvais were installed at Jedburgh under the supervision of David I and John, bishop of Glasgow. The foundation of the priory of Jedburgh was therefore a complex process, accomplished it would seem in two distinct stages, during the period from c. 1118 to 1138 × 1139, explaining the absence of a foundation date in the chronicles of Holyrood and Melrose, and excusing the inconsistency of the later chronicles.

IV. St Andrews

Geoffrey Barrow described St Andrews in the early twelfth century as a ‘Gordian knot’ of overlapping interests and religious communities.⁴⁸⁹ Like his namesake, Alexander I seems to have simply cut the knot, initiating a process which led to the foundation of an Augustinian cathedral priory at the premiere ecclesiastical site and pilgrimage centre in the kingdom of Scotland. The establishment of the cathedral priory was significant on numerous levels, including the acquisition of the cult of St Andrew the Apostle (See Plate 2.4) by regular canons. This section will explore the creation of an Augustinian cathedral priory at St Andrews, a centuries-old religious site with numerous entrenched religious bodies with which to contend.

A. Planned Foundation

Historians have become increasingly aware that in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries the kings of Scotland took possession of the vast resources held by a number of ancient ecclesiastical institutions and began redirecting them to new projects of their choosing.⁴⁹⁰ The cathedral priory of St Andrews was an early beneficiary of this process of reallocation. It was outfitted by Alexander I with resources expropriated from the patrimony of the ancient church of St Andrews. The source of the endowment and its method of procurement would delay the foundation in the short-term, and have long-term effects upon the institution which developed.

Alexander I set aside an endowment for a new religious house at St Andrews shortly before his death in 1124, but the project was only realised under the supervision of his brother and successor, David

⁴⁸⁹ Barrow, *Kingship*, p. 78.

⁴⁹⁰ M.O. Anderson, ‘The Celtic Church in Kinrinvie’, *IR*, 25 (1974), 67-76; M.O. Anderson, ‘St Andrews before Alexander I’, in *The Scottish Tradition: Essays in honour of Ronald Gordon Cant* (Edinburgh, 1974), pp. 1-13; A. Macquarrie, ‘Early Christian religious houses in Scotland: foundation and function’, in *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, eds. J. Blair and R. Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), pp. 110-33; Veitch, ‘Alexander I’, 136-66; Duncan, *Kingship*, p. 88; Woolf, pp. 312-20.

I. In c. 1140, an Augustinian cathedral priory was founded using the endowment provided by Alexander.⁴⁹¹ Despite being founded decades after his death, the canonical community of St Andrews did not forget the work of Alexander I. The *Augustinian's Account* recalls the largesse of the king, 'a special friend of the holy church of God; who magnified the church of the blessed apostle Andrew with estates and revenues'.⁴⁹² Without this narrative account, Alexander's pivotal role in the foundation of St Andrews would be lost to posterity. Despite the survival of a substantial corpus of charter material for the cathedral priory, Alexander receives little recognition through this medium.⁴⁹³ Therefore, the text casts a unique light on the context of the priory's foundation and the source of its principal endowment.

The *Augustinian's Account* relates that the posthumous transfer of the generous endowment of Alexander I was the occasion of 'much controversy'.⁴⁹⁴ According to the narrative, a dispute arose between David I and Robert, bishop of St Andrews, concerning the source of the endowment.⁴⁹⁵ Bishop Robert was reluctant to hand over estates from the territory collectively known as the Boar's Raik (*Cursus Apri*). The dilemma from the bishop's perspective was that the endowment designated by Alexander for a new religious house at St Andrews was not a 'gift' at all, but simply a reallocation of ecclesiastical property. His position reflects a concern for the long-term integrity of an endowment, which he argued could be viewed by his successors as rightfully episcopal. Conversely, the king viewed the bishop as merely the custodian of the lands, arguing that Alexander had given the lands to God and St Andrew (i.e. the church of St Andrews), rather than the bishop. From the royal perspective, then, the Boar's Raik was ultimately under royal, not episcopal authority (*episcopatu non erat*).⁴⁹⁶ Predictably, the *Augustinian's Account*, representing the interests of the recipient institution, also took the stance of the king.⁴⁹⁷ However, as Bishop Robert cautioned, the source of the endowment could (and in fact would) have long-term ramifications for the cathedral priory of St Andrews.

By the time the Augustinian cathedral priory was established at St Andrews in the twelfth century, it had been an important religious site in Scotland for nearly four hundred years. The foundation

⁴⁹¹ The traditional date for the foundation of cathedral priory is 1144. However, A.A.M. Duncan demonstrated that a community of regular canons was operational at St Andrews by c. 1140 (Duncan, 'St Andrews', 1-37). See also, *DC*, p. 99, nos. 88, 92-4.

⁴⁹² *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 602, 609).

⁴⁹³ Alexander I is not mentioned in the foundation diploma of Robert, bishop of St Andrews, nor in the confirmations of David I or Earl Henry (*St Andrews Liber*, pp. 122-3; *DC*, nos. 126, 129). Furthermore, he is absent from all episcopal and papal confirmations to the house. Notice of Alexander's role occurs only twice in the charter evidence, namely in general confirmations of Mael Coluim IV and William I. In these general confirmations, Alexander is mentioned alongside David I, Earl Henry, and Bishop Robert as contributing to the foundation of the cathedral priory (*RRS*, I, no. 174; *RRS*, II, no. 28). From the reign of Alexander II, he no longer appears in general confirmations (*St Andrews Liber*, pp. 232-6).

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, app. 1 (p. 605).

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, app. 1 (pp. 605, 614-5).

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, app. 1 (pp. 602, 609).

legends of St Andrews (versions A and B) credit the Pictish king *Hungus* (or *Ungus*) with its establishment as a religious site.⁴⁹⁸ This seems to refer to the historical Pictish king, Onuist, son of Wrguist (729-61).⁴⁹⁹ In any case, the monastery of Cennrígmonaid was certainly in existence by 747.⁵⁰⁰ The possession of relics of St Andrew the Apostle contributed to its growth as an ecclesiastical centre, making it an important pilgrimage site from an early date, and by the tenth century the monastery had also become the seat of a bishop.⁵⁰¹ By the end of the century, however, the ecclesiastical character of the site had been transformed. Unlike other monastic centres in Scotland, such as Abernethy, Brechin, Dunkeld, and probably St Vigean, which underwent secularisation during this period, the monastery of Cennrígmonaid was apparently absorbed into the bishopric of St Andrews.⁵⁰² The position of abbot was assumed by the bishop of St Andrews and the historic *paruchia* of the abbey of Cennrígmonaid, including the Boar's Raik, was inherited by the cathedral church of St Andrews.⁵⁰³ The bishops of St Andrews gradually grew in importance and by the middle of the eleventh century had emerged as the leading ecclesiastical figure in the kingdom of the Scots – the ‘chief bishop of Scotland’ (*ardepscop Alban*).⁵⁰⁴

In the early twelfth century, Alexander I fostered important and lasting changes to the bishopric of St Andrews. There was a change from native Gaelic-speaking bishops to imported English and Anglo-Norman bishops. Giric, bishop-elect in 1093 × 1107, was the last native Gaelic-speaking prelate of St Andrews.⁵⁰⁵ Significantly, version A of the St Andrews foundation legend seems to have been produced during the episcopacy of Giric. On the basis of historical precedent, this text confidently asserts the metropolitan status of St Andrews, in response to the claims of York that St Andrews was its suffragan, an idea which began to receive active papal support in 1100.⁵⁰⁶ Therefore, during the period from 1093 to

⁴⁹⁸ For detailed discussions of these texts, see Anderson, ‘St Andrews’, pp. 1-13 (pp. 9-13); Taylor, ‘Augustinians’, pp. 115-23 (pp. 119-20); D. Broun, ‘The church of St Andrews and its foundation legend in the early twelfth century: recovering the full text of version A of the foundation legend’, in *Kings, Clerics, and Chronicles in Scotland, 500-1297: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson on the Occasion of Her Ninetieth Birthday*, ed. S. Taylor (Dublin, 2000), pp. 109-11.

⁴⁹⁹ *Chron. Picts-Scots*, p. 139; *PNF*, III, app. 1 (p. 568). See also, M.O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1973), pp. 97-100.

⁵⁰⁰ *Annals of Ulster*, s.a. 747 (p. 203).

⁵⁰¹ *PNF*, III, pp. 405-8.

⁵⁰² Macquarrie, ‘Early Christian’, pp. 110-33; Anderson, ‘Kinrimund’, 67-76 (pp. 67-72); Anderson, ‘St Andrews’, pp. 1-13 (pp. 1-5). See also, M. Ash, ‘The diocese of St Andrews under its ‘Norman’ bishops’, *SHR*, 55 (1976), 105-26 (pp. 108-13).

⁵⁰³ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 572-3, 578-9, 594-5, 602, 609). This change is illustrated by the different terminology used in the two versions of the St Andrews foundation legend. In the earlier text (version A), the prelate of the church of St Andrews is referred to as an abbot, in the later (version B), as a bishop (*Chron. Picts-Scots*, pp. 138-40; *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 567-75, 576-9)).

⁵⁰⁴ *Annals of Ulster*, s.a. 1093 (p. 527); G. Donaldson, ‘Scottish Bishops’ sees before the reign of David I’, *PSAS* (1952-3), 106-17 (pp. 109-11).

⁵⁰⁵ *Fasti*, p. 377. Walter Bower notes that Giric was elected bishop of St Andrews, but never consecrated (*Scotichronicon*, III, pp. 344-5).

⁵⁰⁶ Broun, ‘St Andrews’, pp. 108-14 (pp. 111-2); D. Broun, ‘The church and the origins of Scottish independence in the twelfth century’, *RSCHS*, 31 (2001), 1-34 (p. 31).

1107, the church of St Andrews, under the leadership of a native bishop, was a vigorous and self-confident centre of religious life.⁵⁰⁷ The claim of the bishops and clergy of St Andrews to archiepiscopal status was taken up by Alexander I. The king was steadfast in his determination for an independent Scottish Church, desirous it seems for the coronation and unction which only a *pallium* could provide.⁵⁰⁸ It appears, however, that Alexander believed this goal could best be achieved by an imported prelate with a background in continental monasticism.

Alexander twice looked to the Benedictines, once to Durham and once to Canterbury, and in both cases he failed to find a collaborator. His first choice, Turgot, prior of Durham, served as bishop of St Andrews from 1109 to 1115.⁵⁰⁹ In 1115, the relationship between the bishop and king soured, apparently due to their disagreement concerning the metropolitan status of York, and, as a result, Turgot left Scotland permanently by 28 June 1115.⁵¹⁰ The see remained vacant until Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, was elected bishop of St Andrews on 29 June 1120.⁵¹¹ The short episcopate of Eadmer was plagued by controversy. First, Eadmer had reservations about accepting the symbols of episcopal office, namely the pastoral staff and ring, from the king. However, the king and bishop-elect were able to reach a compromise in which Eadmer agreed to accept the episcopal ring from the king, but the pastoral staff he took from the altar 'as if from the hand of God'.⁵¹² Once this issue had been resolved, the bishop-elect received the revenues of his office, which included the Boar's Raik, from the hands of the king.⁵¹³ Secondly, while Eadmer could be counted on to eschew the metropolitan claims of York, the bishop-elect sought instead the archiepiscopal authority of Canterbury for St Andrews.⁵¹⁴ On this issue, Alexander found Eadmer intractable. The king reacted by ceasing negotiations and repossessing the assets of the bishopric. According to Eadmer, the king placed a professional estate manager over the bishopric, a certain William, monk of St Edmund's, who he instructed 'to remain as he used to be in the bishopric, plundering the newly invested bishop'.⁵¹⁵ Alexander's approach for dealing with a dissatisfactory bishop was hardly novel.⁵¹⁶ It had the desired effect and in the spring of 1121, finding the king resolute in his stance and his episcopal revenues diverted into royal coffers, Eadmer effectively resigned his post and

⁵⁰⁷ Broun, 'St Andrews', pp. 108-14.

⁵⁰⁸ Duncan, *Kingship*, pp. 86-8.

⁵⁰⁹ Eadmer of Canterbury, *Eadmer's History*, p. 212.

⁵¹⁰ *MK*, p. 129; Nicholl, pp. 49-50.

⁵¹¹ *Fasti*, p. 377. See also, R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer: a study of monastic life and thought, 1059-c.1130* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 229-40.

⁵¹² Eadmer of Canterbury, *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia*, pp. 283, 285-6.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 282-3. See also, M. Brett, *The English Church under Henry I* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 20-1.

⁵¹⁵ Eadmer of Canterbury, *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia*, p. 283.

⁵¹⁶ For example, Henry I seized archiepiscopal property during a dispute with Thurstan, archbishop of York (Nicholl, pp. 52-68).

returned to Canterbury.⁵¹⁷ Thus, with the exception of a few months in 1120-1, St Andrews was under royal administration from 1115 until the election of Robert, prior of Scone, in 1123 × 1124.⁵¹⁸

The extended vacancy of St Andrews was undoubtedly a profitable situation for the king. It was the largest and wealthiest religious institution in Scotland. Taking direct possession of ecclesiastical lands during a vacancy was an opportunity to see appreciable profits from the considerable wealth held by the Church, and, therefore, prolonging vacancies was fairly common.⁵¹⁹ The long vacancy at St Andrews is reminiscent of vacancies at the archdiocese of Canterbury in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, when it was left vacant by William Rufus from 1089 to 1093 and by Henry I from 1109 to 1114.⁵²⁰ The vacancy at St Andrews of roughly eight years was long even by these standards, which had been considered scandalous by contemporaries. Moreover, the long vacancy during the reign of Alexander I appears to have initiated a period of decline at St Andrews. The lack of episcopal leadership, and the siphoning off of resources, seems to have negatively impacted religious life at the bishopric. The prolonged vacancy from 1115 to 1123 × 1124, and the state of decline it encouraged, are an essential preface to the establishment of the Augustinian cathedral priory at St Andrews.

In the last years of his reign, 1123 × 1124, Alexander I was finally able to find an imported prelate with a background in continental monasticism to support his aspirations for St Andrews, namely Robert, prior of Scone.⁵²¹ The timing of his election is interesting for it corresponds to the election of an Augustinian canon to the see of Canterbury in 1123, the first Augustinian archbishop in England.⁵²² Although perhaps merely a coincidence, it is certainly noteworthy that an Augustinian canon was elected contemporaneously in the would-be archbishopric of Scotland. More importantly, however, the king of Scotland had found a collaborator in Robert, prior of Scone. Robert seems to have embraced the idea that St Andrews was, and should be recognised as, the primate of the kingdom of Scotland. This was not an especially radical stance, for St Andrews was already understood to be the *de facto* archbishopric of Scotland by many outside observers.⁵²³ Nevertheless, Robert accepted this mantle, where his predecessors had balked. For instance, on at least one occasion Robert was styled *episcopus Scottorum*, the Latinised

⁵¹⁷ Eadmer of Canterbury, *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia*, pp. 279-88, 298-302.

⁵¹⁸ *Fasti*, pp. 377-8.

⁵¹⁹ For a detailed discussion, see M. Howell, *Regalian Right in Medieval England* (London, 1962), pp. 60-109.

⁵²⁰ F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (London, 1983), pp. 181-5; Green, *Henry I*, pp. 262-3; Southern, *Saint Anselm*, p. 235.

⁵²¹ *Fasti*, p. 378.

⁵²² William de Corbeil (d. 1136), was the former canon of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, and prior of St Osyth (Essex) (F. Barlow, 'Corbeil, William de (d. 1136)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6284>, accessed 22 June 2012]).

⁵²³ For example, Nicholas, prior of Worcester, advised Eadmer to seek archiepiscopal status for St Andrews, which he considered to be the *summus pontifex Scottorum*, and Symeon of Durham referred to the bishopric of St Andrews as 'the seat of the primate of the whole Scottish nation' (*CED*, II, pt. 1, pp. 202-4; *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, II, p. 204).

equivalent of the traditional title of *ardepiscop Alban*.⁵²⁴ The acceptance of the archiepiscopal status of St Andrews also implied an unwillingness to submit to the authority of York or Canterbury. Robert's consecration was delayed for several years due to his refusal to accept suffragan status, but in 1127, Robert was finally consecrated by Thurstan, archbishop of York, without a profession of obedience.⁵²⁵

The investment of Robert with the symbols and revenues of episcopal office became the occasion for the endowment of a new religious house at St Andrews. According to the *Augustinian's Account*, the king returned the Boar's Raik for 'the specific purpose and on condition that' a new religious community be established in the cathedral church of St Andrews.⁵²⁶ The investment of the cathedral church with its lands and revenues was confirmed by a ceremonial act, in which 'an Arab steed, with its own bridle, saddle, shield and silver lance, and covered with a large, precious cloth' was led to the high altar.⁵²⁷ In attendance at the ceremony was Earl David, who had been designated as the successor to the childless Alexander.⁵²⁸ The endowment of a new conventual body at St Andrews at this time has therefore been viewed as an act of contrition by a dying king.⁵²⁹

The ceremony symbolised the investment of the cathedral church with its historic *paruchia*, namely the Boar's Raik.⁵³⁰ In the eyes of the king and the author of the *Augustinian's Account*, there was a theoretical distinction between the proprietary rights of the bishop and the ancient corporation known as the church of St Andrews. By investing the church of St Andrews, rather than the bishop, the king placed the Boar's Raik in jurisdictional limbo and preserved patronal right to it as steward. This was important in terms of the future jurisdiction of the Boar's Raik. It also provided the rationale for insisting that these estates be used to support a new religious house at St Andrews. Nevertheless, it was the newly elected bishop, as representative of the church of St Andrews, that took possession of the Boar's Raik in 1123 × 1124.

It was the bishop's reluctance to accept any distinction between the rights of the bishop and the church of St Andrews which slowed the foundation of the priory of St Andrews. It must be appreciated that it was Robert, himself an Augustinian, who impeded the foundation of the cathedral priory.⁵³¹ It was specifically the reluctance of the bishop to transfer control over properties within the Boar's Raik for the

⁵²⁴ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 122-3. His successor Arnold also used this style on at least one occasion (Ibid., pp. 126-7). The bishops of St Andrews used this as an alternative title until the late thirteenth century (M. Ash, 'The administration of the diocese of St Andrews, 1202-1328' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1972), p. vii).

⁵²⁵ *DC*, no. 29; *ESC*, no. 76. See also, *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 603, 611).

⁵²⁶ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 602, 609).

⁵²⁷ Ibid., app. 1 (pp. 603, 610). For a discussion of ceremonial conveyance, see Clanchy, pp. 254-60.

⁵²⁸ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 603, 610).

⁵²⁹ Duncan, 'St Andrews', 1-37 (p. 7).

⁵³⁰ Ash, 'Norman bishops', 105-26 (pp. 107-8); Veitch, 'Alexander I', 136-66 (p. 149); Duncan, *Kingship*, p. 88.

⁵³¹ Richard Oram recently asserted that it was Bishop Robert who pushed forward the foundation of the cathedral priory (Oram, *Dominion*, p. 356).

support of the new conventual body which hindered progress.⁵³² The bishop contended that the Boar's Raik was the property of the bishopric, and that future bishops armed with this information might undermine the economic independence of the cathedral priory of St Andrews. However, the bishop's qualms were overcome by the personal intervention of David I who came to St Andrews and compelled the bishop to concede to the Augustinian community a sufficient endowment from the Boar's Raik.⁵³³

As previously discussed, Alexander I made a lasting assertion of royal authority over the assets of the church of St Andrews, the former patrimony of the abbey of Cennrígmonaid. From this point forward, the kings of Scotland would claim comprehensive rights to the assets of Scottish bishoprics during vacancies, providing them with an important means of control over the Scottish Church.⁵³⁴ The manner in which Alexander I and David I asserted control over the church of St Andrews had the potential to be interpreted negatively in ecclesiastical circles.⁵³⁵ However, the Augustinian cathedral priory, which owed its endowment to the reallocation of these resources, produced a text providing a favourable interpretation for posterity. In fact, one of the central objectives of the *Augustinian's Account* was to provide a historical justification for the redistribution of the patrimony of the church of St Andrews, and, in this way, it served as a work of propaganda for the royal founders of the cathedral priory, who had simply robbed Peter to pay Paul.

The cathedral priory of St Andrews also promoted the independence of the Scottish Church, and the archiepiscopal status of St Andrews. The *Augustinian's Account* provides clear evidence of this position:

[...] so now in ordinary and common speech they are called *Escop Alban*, that is 'Bishops of Alba'. And they have been called, and are (still) called this on account of their pre-eminence by all the bishops of the Scots, who are called after the places over which they preside.⁵³⁶

Moreover, the text emphasises Robert's consecration by Archbishop Thurstan 'without profession'.⁵³⁷ The kings of Scotland found in the Augustinian canons a group of religious to champion the ecclesiastical hegemony of St Andrews on historical grounds and collaborate in efforts to have this recognised by papal authority and confirmed by a *pallium*.

⁵³² *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 605-6, 613-5).

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, app. 1 (pp. 602, 605, 609, 614).

⁵³⁴ This included full economic right to the *temporalia* and *spiritualia* of Scottish bishoprics and also to the moveable property of deceased bishops (G. Donaldson, 'The rights of the Scottish crown in episcopal vacancies', *SHR*, 45 (1966), 27-35).

⁵³⁵ For instance, the requisitioning of diocesan property during vacancies was outlawed at the Second Lateran Council (Canon 5) in 1139 (*Ecumenical Councils*, I, pp. 97-203).

⁵³⁶ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 603, 611).

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*, app. 1 (pp. 603-4, 611).

In the twelfth century, there were similar efforts in Ireland, Scotland, and to a lesser extent in Wales, to assert ecclesiastical independence and, thus, to participate in Latin Christendom on their own terms. In Ireland, Máelmaedóc Úa Morgair unsuccessfully sought the *pallia* for Armagh and Cashel in 1139. However, the Irish Church obtained *pallia* for the metropolitan sees of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam in 1152.⁵³⁸ In Wales, churchmen, particularly Gerald of Wales, maintained that the bishopric of St Davids should be the primate of Wales.⁵³⁹ In Scotland, a *pallium* for St Andrews would mean freedom from the claims of the English archbishops of York and Canterbury, which also had implications for the historical claims of the English kings to overlordship in Scotland.⁵⁴⁰ This was finally accomplished, although without a *pallium*, through the bull *Super anxietatibus* of Pope Alexander III in 1176, which ended the metropolitan claims of York over the ‘bishops of Scotland’, and in 1192 with the bull *Cum universis* of Pope Celestine III, which made the Scottish Church ‘a special daughter’ of the apostolic see and subordinate only to the Roman pontiff.⁵⁴¹

B. Foundation of the Cathedral Priory

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries regular canons were introduced into cathedral churches across Latin Christendom, particularly in Italy, France, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Iberian Peninsula.⁵⁴² There were also several Augustinian cathedral priories in Ireland.⁵⁴³ Yet, there was only a single Augustinian cathedral priory established in England and Wales: the priory of Carlisle founded by Henry I in 1122 × 1123 became the cathedral chapter of the new bishopric of Carlisle in 1133.⁵⁴⁴ During this period, an Augustinian cathedral priory was also planned in the kingdom of Scotland. As discussed, the groundwork for a cathedral priory at St Andrews was laid by Alexander I in 1123 × 1124.⁵⁴⁵ Thus, the initial steps towards the establishment of Augustinian cathedral chapters at Carlisle and St Andrews were made by Henry I and Alexander I in the period from 1122 to 1124. It is not clear if there was conscious imitation, but the actual foundation of cathedral priory of St Andrews in c. 1140 was undoubtedly connected to Carlisle and its first bishop, Æthelwold.

In the first half of the twelfth century, Æthelwold was a leading figure in the spread of the regular canonical movement into northern England and also into the kingdom of Scotland. Æthelwold, who had

⁵³⁸ J.A. Watt, *The Church and Two Nations in Medieval Ireland* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 27-34; A. Gwynn, *The Irish Church in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, ed. G. O’Brien (Dublin, 1992), pp. 218-70.

⁵³⁹ Gerald of Wales, *Journey through Wales*, pp. 17-8.

⁵⁴⁰ Broun, ‘Scottish independence’, 1-34 (pp. 31-2).

⁵⁴¹ *Scotia Pontificia*, nos. 80, 156.

⁵⁴² AC, pp. 244-5; *Les Chanoines réguliers: Émergence et expansion (XIe-XIIIe siècles)*, ed. M. Parisse (Saint-Étienne, 2009), pp. 361-453.

⁵⁴³ Empey, ‘Introduction’, pp. 3-8.

⁵⁴⁴ Dickinson, ‘Carlisle’, 134-43; AC, pp. 245-51.

⁵⁴⁵ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 605, 614).

served as confessor to Henry I, became the first prior of Nostell in 1119 × 1120.⁵⁴⁶ In c. 1124, Æthelwold became the first prior of Carlisle (receiving papal permission to hold both posts in plurality). In 1133, Æthelwold became the bishop of Carlisle, while retaining the priorship of both Carlisle and Nostell, with the canons of Carlisle forming his cathedral chapter.⁵⁴⁷ Æthelwold also assisted in the foundation of at least two houses of Augustinian canons in the kingdom of Scotland, namely Scone in c. 1120 and St Andrews in c. 1140. In the case of St Andrews, David I and Robert, bishop of St Andrews, himself a former canon of Nostell, requested that Æthelwold send a canon of Nostell to serve as the first prior of St Andrews. The bishop communicated with the Æthelwold ‘by letters and messengers’, while the king met with Æthelwold in person.⁵⁴⁸

The meeting between David I and Æthelwold suggests that arrangements for the foundation of the cathedral priory at St Andrews were made after September 1138.⁵⁴⁹ The death of Henry I in 1135 resulted in the almost immediate annexation of Carlisle and English Cumbria by David.⁵⁵⁰ This strained relations between David and the bishop of Carlisle.⁵⁵¹ However, David I and Bishop Æthelwold were reconciled at a council held by the papal legate Alberic in Carlisle from 26-9 September 1138.⁵⁵² Following their rapprochement, the king took the opportunity to personally request the assistance of Æthelwold in founding the cathedral priory at St Andrews. Æthelwold agreed and sent Robert, a canon of Nostell, who the bishop of St Andrews had requested by name.⁵⁵³ The first prior of St Andrews was therefore acquired through contact with the influential bishop of Carlisle. Yet, the formation of the first community of regular canons at St Andrews was a far more nuanced undertaking.

The surviving evidence presents a complex, and seemingly contradictory, picture of the inaugural convent of the cathedral priory of St Andrews. The contemporary *Augustinian's Account* indicates that the first convent was not the result of colonisation, while the fifteenth-century chronicle of Andrew Wyntoun gives the opposite impression. According to the *Augustinian's Account*, likely authored by Prior Robert, the foundation of the cathedral priory was carried out in stages under the direction of Robert, bishop of St Andrews, and David I. With construction underway and many of the necessary conventual buildings complete, Robert, the first prior of St Andrew, was brought to St Andrews.⁵⁵⁴ However, the

⁵⁴⁶ See Appendix 1.

⁵⁴⁷ Dickinson, ‘Carlisle’, 134-43 (pp. 135-41); Summerson, I, pp. 22, 32-8; Nicholl, pp. 140-50.

⁵⁴⁸ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 604, 612).

⁵⁴⁹ Duncan, ‘St Andrews’, 1-37 (p. 9).

⁵⁵⁰ Summerson, I, pp. 39-40. See also, K.J. Stringer, ‘State-Building in Twelfth-Century Britain: David I, King of Scots, and Northern England’, in *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England, 1000-1700*, eds. J.C. Appleby and P. Dalton (Stroud, 1998), pp. 40-62.

⁵⁵¹ Æthelwold appears to have been satisfied with Stephen. He was with English king in Normandy in 1137 (Summerson, I, p. 40).

⁵⁵² *CED*, II, pt. 1, pp. 31-2.

⁵⁵³ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 604, 612).

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, app. 1 (pp. 604-5, 612-3).

narrative explains that for a long time the new prior waited at St Andrews ‘without any canons, but not without clerks’ (*sine canonicis, non tamen sine clericis*).⁵⁵⁵ It is therefore evident that Prior Robert did not bring any of his fellow canons of Nostell with him to St Andrews.⁵⁵⁶ More interesting, however, is the fact that those clergy who were present at St Andrews were not considered to be canon material. The term *clericus* typically applied to individuals in minor clerical orders (cantor, doorkeeper, lector, exorcist, and acolyte), rather than the major orders (subdeacon, deacon, and priest).⁵⁵⁷ Regular canons generally belonged to the major orders, for which celibacy was requisite, and, in fact, were expected to attain priesthood in order to perform the Eucharist.⁵⁵⁸ The implication of the narrative, then, is that while there were many clergy at St Andrews, these were *clerici*, men from a lower stratum of the secular clergy, who were not suitable candidates.⁵⁵⁹

The prior of St Andrews was a shepherd without a flock. The *Augustinian’s Account* offers rare, and potentially first-person, access to the rationale of a prior in shaping his community:

He did not want in any way to enter into the work of outsiders (which might perhaps have been easy for him), to gather to himself brothers from other and diverse churches, lest different brothers, taking different views, wishing to appear to be a somebody, should not coalesce into unity, and thus the fabric of the building should suffer harm before the foundation was laid. If, however, God should send him men who were prepared to live in the way in which he himself was minded to live, he would receive them warmly.⁵⁶⁰

The prior did not desire to establish a house composed of brothers (*fratres*) from ‘other and diverse churches’ – a clear reference to other canonical communities.⁵⁶¹ In other words, the prior was concerned with the potential negative aspects of colonisation. To form a community through colonisation meant bringing to St Andrews regular canons with their own experiences of regular life, which might differ from those of the prior and who might not accept the interpretation of canonical life which he sought to install at St Andrews.⁵⁶² Thus, the prior did not want to form his community with colonies, which might have been the path of least resistance, but instead wished to recruit new converts.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, app. 1 (pp. 604, 612-3).

⁵⁵⁶ A.A.M. Duncan suggests that these *clerici* ‘were perhaps would-be canons for whom Nostell could find no room’. However, this suggestion does not fit; as ‘would-be canons’ at Nostell, why wouldn’t they become canons at St Andrews, if it was only ‘room’ which they lacked? (Duncan, ‘St Andrews’, 1-37 (pp. 9-10)).

⁵⁵⁷ Bartlett, *England*, pp. 378-9, 384-6. See also, G.W.S. Barrow, ‘The *Capella Regis* of the Kings of Scotland, 1107-1222’, in *Miscellany Five*, ed. H.L. Macqueen (Edinburgh, 2006), pp. 3-4.

⁵⁵⁸ *The observances in use at the Augustinian Priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire*, ed. J.W. Clark (Cambridge, 1897), pp. 110-21; Colker, ‘Guy of Merton’, 250-61 (pp. 252, 256-7); *Libellus de diversis ordinibus*, pp. 68-73, 82-3, 106-7.

⁵⁵⁹ It is likely that this also related to the common clergy’s inability to provide entry gifts.

⁵⁶⁰ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 605, 613).

⁵⁶¹ Duncan, ‘St Andrews’, 1-37 (pp. 10, 13, 22, 24). For reservations concerning this interpretation, see *PNF*, III, app. 1 (p. 613, fn. 382).

⁵⁶² For the possibility that Prior Robert wished to install Arrouaisian customs at St Andrews, see Chapter 3.

The *Original Chronicle* by Andrew Wyntoun provides conflicting evidence. Rather than avoiding colonisation, the chronicle states that the first canons of St Andrews came from the priory of Scone.⁵⁶³ As a former canon of St Andrews and the prior of Loch Leven, Wyntoun was well situated to know the origin of the first canons. Recently, A.A.M. Duncan has produced a detailed study of the foundation period at St Andrews which, on the basis of the early charter evidence, attempts to demonstrate that canons of Scone formed part of the first convent of St Andrews, and, in effect to corroborate the statement of Wyntoun. He argues persuasively that a 'nucleus of canons' was brought from Scone to St Andrews.⁵⁶⁴ Duncan also argues, less convincingly, that canons from Holyrood also joined the community at St Andrews.⁵⁶⁵ Yet, if the cathedral priory was the result of colonisation, then the cryptic description given by the author of the *Augustinian's Account* would seem unnecessary.

The evidence indicates that the formation of the first community of regular canons at St Andrews involved both colonisation and conversion. The *Augustinian's Account* provides an important clue concerning the composition of the first community of regular canons. Its concluding section explains that there was a considerable delay in the foundation of the house, which was only overcome by the intervention of David I. After the disagreement between the bishop and king concerning the foundation endowment was settled, the prior was finally in a position to recruit canons for the new community. The narrative ends by explaining that once the king and bishop had come to an understanding, Robert, a priest, and the half-brother of the bishop, became the first canon of St Andrews.⁵⁶⁶ The identity of the first canon is significant in two respects. First, the fact that he was a relative of the bishop of St Andrews indicates that the bishop had moved from disputing the endowment to fully facilitating the establishment of the house. Secondly, the conversion of a member of the secular clergy, specifically an individual in major orders, in this case a priest (*presbyter*), is highly significant.⁵⁶⁷ The conversion of Robert the Priest to the regular life indicates that the prior of St Andrews was successful, at least in part, in recruiting converts, instead of depending entirely on colonisation. Furthermore, it suggests that the prior envisioned the conversion of secular clergy, specifically those in major orders. However, A.A.M. Duncan has made a

⁵⁶³ *Chron. Wyntoun*, II, p. 183.

⁵⁶⁴ Duncan, 'St Andrews', 1-37 (pp. 12-3, 19-22).

⁵⁶⁵ Duncan argues that the similarity of the resources acquired by Holyrood and St Andrews from David I indicates intimate knowledge of the other's endowment. This is used in support of the theory that canons from Holyrood joined the first convent of St Andrew (Duncan, 'St Andrews', 1-37 (pp. 19-22)). While it is certainly possible that canons left Holyrood to take up residence at St Andrews, the charter evidence presented in favour of this argument is not convincing. In fact, St Andrews shared as many features with the Benedictine priory of Dunfermline (five) as it did with the Augustinian abbey of Holyrood (viz. protection from poinding, a court, money from the *cáin* of ships at Perth, and fishing in Berwick and Perth) (*DC*, nos. 147, 126, 127, 172). By this logic, St Andrews could just as easily have been settled by monks from Dunfermline as canons from Holyrood.

⁵⁶⁶ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 605-6, 615). This section of the *Augustinian's Account* may have been interpolated by a later author (Duncan, 'St Andrews', 1-37 (p. 29)). Bishop Robert had a large contingent of family members in Scotland, including his nephews Ralph, Roger, and Robert the knight (*Holyrood Liber*, nos. 2, 5).

⁵⁶⁷ Robert, the bishop's brother, attested a charter of Bishop Robert in 1127 (*ESC*, no. 73).

strong case that Prior Robert also had another group in mind. It seems that the prior also wished to recruit the *céli Dé* of St Andrews, and, as will be seen, this plan met with moderate success.⁵⁶⁸

The first community of regular canons at St Andrews appears to have consisted of a mixture of converts and experienced canons from Scone, resulting from the different visions of the bishop and prior of St Andrews.⁵⁶⁹ The bishop seems to have desired to install canons from Scone Priory (where he had served as the first prior) under the leadership of a prelate brought from Nostell Priory (where he had been professed). On the other hand, Prior Robert seems to have desired a community formed through the conversion of secular clergy and the *céli Dé* of St Andrews.⁵⁷⁰ It appears that in the end, a compromise was reached.

While the cathedral priory of St Andrews was organised under the leadership of a prior imported from Nostell Priory in Yorkshire, the first canons were assembled from religious men already living in the kingdom of Scotland. Experienced canons from Scone seem to have formed the core of the community. For this reason, it is accurate to say, as Wyntoun did, that the first ‘canons’ came from Scone Priory. The remainder of the community was made up of converts, who adopted the regular life for the first time at St Andrews and therefore needed to undergo a noviciate. There is clear evidence that secular clergy adopted the regular life, but only from the highest ecclesiastical stratum. It appears that Prior Robert also wished to convert individuals who were living a monastic lifestyle, namely the *céli Dé* of St Andrews. However, the bishop does not appear to have been enthusiastic about this plan.⁵⁷¹ In the 1150s, the prior managed to persuade the bishop and the king, and the priory obtained a licence to recruit the *céli Dé* of St Andrews. Thus, the early community of regular canons at St Andrews was an amalgam of secular and monastic converts, and regular canons brought from Scone Priory.

The heterogeneous recruitment witnessed at St Andrews was not unique. The priory of Merton in Surrey was founded in c. 1117 in a similar manner. Robert, the first prior of Merton (c. 1117-50), came from the priory of Huntingdon, where he had served as sub-prior. Like the first prior of St Andrews, the prior of Merton did not bring a colony with him from his home priory. Instead, men were attracted from diverse parts of England who converted from a secular lifestyle.⁵⁷² The make-up of the first convent of Merton, like that at St Andrews, did not result from simple colonisation, but was achieved through the recruitment and conversion of individuals, and in a similarly piecemeal fashion.

⁵⁶⁸ Duncan, ‘St Andrews’, 1-37 (p. 24).

⁵⁶⁹ There is a hint in the *Augustinian’s Account* that the bishop had his own plan: ‘the canons whom he was arranging to establish in the church of St Andrews’ (*PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 604, 612)).

⁵⁷⁰ Duncan, ‘St Andrews’, 1-37 (pp. 10, 13, 22, 24).

⁵⁷¹ Duncan suggests that it was Bishop Robert who was not interested in converting the *céli Dé* (*Ibid.*, 1-37 (pp. 28-9)).

⁵⁷² Colker, ‘Gilbert, Founder of Merton’, 241-71 (p. 249).

C. Active Religious Communities and the Cathedral Church of St Andrews

Unlike other religious movements of the period, such as the Cistercians, whose houses tended to be founded *de novo*, it was common for regular canons to assume control of existing religious establishments.⁵⁷³ For this reason, the regular canonical movement frequently had to contend with incumbent clergy, and this often took place in the setting of a cathedral church. Both on the continent (e.g. Lucca, Narbonne, and Salzburg) and in Ireland (e.g. Armagh), there are numerous examples where the secular canons of a cathedral church were either converted to, or replaced by, regular canons.⁵⁷⁴ However, in mainland Britain this experience, with one exception, did not extend to cathedral churches. As noted, the lone Augustinian cathedral chapter in England and Wales was at Carlisle, which was only founded in 1133.⁵⁷⁵ Only at St Andrews did regular canons come into contact with the entrenched religious bodies of a cathedral church.

Unless the original impetus came from the incumbents themselves, there were essentially three ways in which regular canons and their supporters engaged existing cathedral communities: conversion, life tenure, or outright expulsion. Secular canons and other clergy could be encouraged to adopt the regular life, but they were usually reluctant for it meant giving up their privileged position and valuable personal property.⁵⁷⁶ Suger, the influential abbot of St Denis, neatly summarised the situation: ‘Irregular [canons] will never consent to [be] regular canons except by force’.⁵⁷⁷ However, the use of force did not necessarily mean expulsion. While there are examples of incumbent clergy both in Britain and on the continent being removed by force, it was far more common for them to be afforded life tenures.⁵⁷⁸ In such cases, the incumbents were allowed to retain their position and property, but on their deaths these would pass to the new community.⁵⁷⁹ This process could last for a considerable length of time (e.g. at Parma it took over fifty years), and, as will be seen, it was not always effective.⁵⁸⁰

There were two incumbent religious bodies attached to the cathedral church of St Andrews in c. 1140, namely the *personae* and *céli Dé*, and the regular canons sought to supplant both and, thereby, become the exclusive cathedral community. As is often the case, the best source concerning the

⁵⁷³ B.H. Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries and their Patrons in the Twelfth Century* (Chicago, 1968), pp. 42-55; GAS, I, pp. 33-41.

⁵⁷⁴ Little, p. 106; Empey, ‘Introduction’, pp. 3-8.

⁵⁷⁵ Dickinson, ‘Carlisle’, 134-43 (p. 134); E.U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England: A Study of the ‘Mensa Episcopalis’* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 105-13.

⁵⁷⁶ AC, pp. 241-4.

⁵⁷⁷ This statement was made in reference to the conversion of the collegiate church of St Geneviève, Paris (Constable, *Reformation*, p. 112).

⁵⁷⁸ AC, pp. 241-4; Constable, *Reformation*, pp. 114-5.

⁵⁷⁹ Constable, *Reformation*, pp. 114-5.

⁵⁸⁰ Little, p. 106.

incumbents is a narrative account written from the perspective of the reformers.⁵⁸¹ The *Augustinian's Account* provides a detailed description of the existing religious life at St Andrews at the time of the foundation of the new Augustinian cathedral priory. In varying degrees, the text, which was probably written by the first prior of St Andrews, is hostile to the incumbent religious communities and clearly echoes the reforming ideology of the twelfth century. It presents the canons as initiating a renewal of religious life at St Andrews which had declined through the laxity and unorthodox practices of the incumbent religious bodies. It is possible that the reports were exaggerated or even fabricated by an unquestionably biased author. Yet, what stands out is that the incumbent religious bodies at St Andrews were being measured using the same Gregorian ideals as religious communities throughout Latin Christendom in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and for which many were found wanting.

Personae:

There has been no consensus with respect to the status of the group referred to as *personae* in the *Augustinian's Account*. This is apparent from the various translations for the Latin term offered by scholars, including 'persons', 'parsons', 'individuals', 'beneficiaries', and 'incumbents'.⁵⁸² As will be seen, the term *personae* was actually used in reference to the dignities or offices within the pre-Augustinian cathedral chapter, five of which were held by individuals who were the equivalent of secular canons. Within twenty years of their foundation, a community of regular canons had supplanted these secular clergy, appropriated their revenues, and gained control of the cathedral chapter of St Andrews and most if its historical offices.

According to the *Augustinian's Account*, there were seven *personae* who divided amongst themselves the offerings made to the high altar of St Andrews.⁵⁸³ Five of these *personae* were secular clerics who have hitherto largely escaped definition, for example, being vaguely described as 'married clergy of some kind'.⁵⁸⁴ Yet, the evidence indicates these clerics formed a cohesive group, collectively responsible for the ministration of the cathedral church and for the administration of its hospital.⁵⁸⁵ Each held an individual share of the altar offerings and was also supported by a prebend. Their prebends consisted of individual lands, residences, rents, and other properties carved from the patrimony of the

⁵⁸¹ AC, pp. 241-2.

⁵⁸² PNF, III, app. 1 (p. 608, fn. 336); Anderson, 'Kinrimund', 67-76 (p. 75); Veitch, 'Alexander I', 136-66 (p. 147); Macquarrie, 'Early Christian', pp. 110-33 (p. 120); W. Reeves, *The Culdees of the British Islands as they Appear in History: with an appendix of evidences* (Dublin, 1864), p. 37.

⁵⁸³ PNF, III, app. 1 (pp. 602, 608).

⁵⁸⁴ *Fasti*, p. 388.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

church of St Andrews, which they held as personal property.⁵⁸⁶ This group of *personae* constituted a college of secular cathedral clergy who were entitled to individual prebends and emoluments from the resources of the church of St Andrews.⁵⁸⁷ They were therefore comparable to secular canons in other contexts and, like their counterparts elsewhere, their conduct was considered to be degenerate in the reforming atmosphere of the twelfth century.

The author of the *Augustinian's Account* shows a particular disdain for the lifestyle of the secular cathedral clergy at St Andrews. He chastised the clerics for their private possession of church property and for 'their wives, whom they openly kept', issues which compounded at the clerics' deaths because their wives, children, and other relatives expected to inherit their property, 'even the very offerings of the altar'.⁵⁸⁸ This attitude with respect to private ownership, clerical marriage, and the secularisation of church property, is unmistakably Gregorian. Yet, it was their dereliction of duty with respect to the service of the altar of St Andrew and the performance of Mass which met with particular opprobrium. The author claimed that these rituals only occurred on the rare occasions when the king or the bishop worshiped in the cathedral church.⁵⁸⁹ Even then, the five clerics did not personally conduct religious services for they 'performed no duty whatsoever to the altar or the church'; but, much to the chagrin of the author, readily accepted the offerings made to an altar 'which they did not serve'.⁵⁹⁰ According to the *Augustinian's Account*, not only had the lifestyle of the incumbent cathedral community become secularised, but they had shirked responsibility for the ministration of the cathedral church, their *raison d'être*. In the eyes of the author, these incumbents were unfit: the new custodians of the cathedral church would be celibate, live and hold property in common, and have a special concern for the regular performance of Mass and for the altar of the patron saint.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁶ The term prebend (*prebenda*) is never specifically used in connection to the secular cathedral clergy of St Andrews. However, the terminology for this form of income had not become uniform in the twelfth century (Crosby, pp. 263-4). The term used at St Andrews is *personagiis*, which has usually been translated as 'parsonage' and explained as a domicile or manse (*St Andrews Liber*, p. 123; Duncan, 'St Andrews', 1-37 (pp. 1, 10); *PNF*, III, app. 1 (p. 615, fn. 396)). However, the term had a far more inclusive meaning. It embodied not only the lands, residences, rents, and other properties held by the five *personae* from the revenues and estates of the church of St Andrews, but also their individual shares in the offerings made to the high altar of St Andrew (*St Andrews Liber*, pp. 122-3, 129; *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 602-3, 605, 608-9, 614-5)). Thus, *personagiis* referred not only to the individual endowments, or prebends, of the cathedral community, but also to their individual shares in the common fund of the church.

⁵⁸⁷ There are instances in which the term *persona* was used in a similar fashion. For example, the eight *personae* of Arbuthnott in 1206 were high-status individuals, who seem to have inherited clerical offices and their revenues ('Decree of the Synod of Perth, in the case between William, bishop of St Andrew's, and Duncan de Aberbuthenoth, A.D. 1206', in *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, ed. J. Stuart (Aberdeen, 1852), V, pp. 209-13).

⁵⁸⁸ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 602, 609).

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, app. 1 (pp. 602-3, 609-10).

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, app. 1 (pp. 602-3, 608-9). A.A.M. Duncan suggested that episcopal chaplains or clerks may have taken over this responsibility (Duncan, 'St Andrews', 1-37 (p. 11)).

⁵⁹¹ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 602-3, 609-10).

However, the term *personae* as it was used in the *Augustinian's Account* did not only apply to the college of secular clergy at St Andrews. The bishop of St Andrews was also considered to be a *persona* and, as a result, the bishop received an altar portion.⁵⁹² The hospital for pilgrims and visitors at St Andrews was also counted as a *persona*. However, this altar portion went directly to the institution, rather than to an administrator (e.g. an almoner). In fact, the administration of the hospital was the collective responsibility of the five secular clerics.⁵⁹³ Therefore, the *personae* of St Andrews consisted not only of the five secular clerics, but also the bishop and hospital. For this reason, the term *persona* as it is used in the *Augustinian's Account* cannot be translated as simply 'person' or 'incumbent', for it applied to both living and non-living entities, and also transcended ecclesiastical rank. Instead, this usage must be understood in terms of the offices responsible for the administration of the church of St Andrews.

The term *persona* was commonly used in reference to a dignitary or officer within in a secular cathedral chapter. There was considerable diversity between different cathedral chapters in terms of the 'duties, titles, number and order of precedence of officers',⁵⁹⁴ but the term *personae* almost always applied to the upper echelon of chapter offices.⁵⁹⁵ According to the English model, for instance, the cathedral chapter consisted of four major officers (*quatour majores personae*), namely the dean, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer.⁵⁹⁶ It seems likely, given the use of the term by the author of the *Augustinian's Account*, that *persona* was used in reference to the offices and officeholders of a pre-Augustinian cathedral chapter at St Andrews. Yet, this identification goes beyond terminology.

Before proceeding, it will be useful to briefly describe the basic composition of a secular cathedral chapter. The main clerical body of a secular cathedral church was its canons. Their primary responsibility was the service of the high altar of the cathedral church. As the cathedral community, the canons were endowed with individual prebends and received a stipend from the common fund. Together the canons constituted the cathedral chapter. The leading officers, or *personae*, of the cathedral chapter were usually elected or appointed from among the canons to govern the cathedral church, and in their leadership roles were distinct from the simple canons (*canonici simplices*).⁵⁹⁷ Yet, only the possession of a cathedral prebend could provide membership, or a voice, in the cathedral chapter.⁵⁹⁸ In theory, the bishop was also a canon and frequently received a portion of the common fund of the cathedral church.⁵⁹⁹ However, like the other members of the cathedral chapter, it was through the possession of a prebend that

⁵⁹² Ibid., app. 1 (pp. 604, 611).

⁵⁹³ Ibid., app. 1 (pp. 602, 608).

⁵⁹⁴ K. Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1949), p. 136.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 136-324. The term usually implied cure of souls (Ibid., pp. 50, 136 (fn. 1)).

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 136-8. See also, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, eds. H. Bradshaw and C. Wordsworth, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1897), II, pt. 2, pp. 40-4, 101-8, 291.

⁵⁹⁷ Edwards, pp. 33-49, 136-8, 238-48.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 120-4, 248-5.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 104; *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, II, pt. 2, p. 102.

the bishop typically gained a voice in the proceedings.⁶⁰⁰ There is reason to believe that a rudimentary secular cathedral chapter had developed at St Andrews before the arrival of the regular canons.

The pre-Augustinian cathedral chapter of St Andrews consisted of seven offices or *personae*. Each *persona* held a share in the common fund of the cathedral church, namely its altar offerings. One share of the common fund went directly to the support of the hospital for pilgrims and visitors, and another went to the bishops of St Andrews, who used their altar portion for the fabric of the church.⁶⁰¹ The other five portions supplemented the income of the cathedral clergy, who had collective responsibility for the service of the church and for hospitality. In short, the allotment and employment of the common fund was typical of a secular cathedral chapter.⁶⁰² Moreover, the rights and responsibilities of the college of secular clergy at St Andrews are consistent with the canons of a secular cathedral chapter. Their prebends and shares in the common fund were held by right, having evidently been collated to them by episcopal authority.⁶⁰³ For this reason, the clerics could not be simply replaced, but instead had to be afforded life tenures. At their deaths, the prebends and altar portions reverted to the bishop of St Andrews.⁶⁰⁴ The bishop was then free to transfer them to the regular canons. It is interesting to note that even the tenor of the complaints made by the author of the *Augustinian's Account* concerning the five *personae* are consistent with problems experienced at English cathedral churches (e.g. St Paul's, London). For instance, due to the existence of married canons in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, it was common for wives, children, and other relatives to attempt to make prebends heritable.⁶⁰⁵ While it seems clear that the term *personae* applied to the offices or dignities of a secular cathedral chapter, it is also apparent that the chapter had evolved from an earlier communal arrangement.

There is scattered evidence that certain monastic offices of the ancient abbey of Cennrígmonaid were retained by both the pre-Augustinian and Augustinian cathedral chapters. Several offices associated with the cathedral church at St Andrews used Gaelic titles, which are consistent with monastic offices based upon the Irish model.⁶⁰⁶ The clearest example of the retention of a monastic office at St Andrews

⁶⁰⁰ There was, however, considerable variation in the relationships between bishops and their cathedral chapters (Edwards, pp. 101-13).

⁶⁰¹ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 604, 611).

⁶⁰² Edwards, pp. 104, 238-48; Crosby, p. 306.

⁶⁰³ Crosby, p. 261.

⁶⁰⁴ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 605, 614-5); *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 122-3, 125, 129.

⁶⁰⁵ Crosby, pp. 318-9.

⁶⁰⁶ J. Robertson, 'On Scholastic Offices in the Scottish Church in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, ed. J. Stuart (Aberdeen, 1852), V, pp. 56-77; G.W.O. Addleshaw, *The Pastoral Structure of the Celtic Church in Northern Britain* (York, 1973), pp. 23-7. For consideration of monastic offices in early medieval Ireland, see K. Hughes, *Church and Society in Ireland, A.D. 400-1200*, ed. D. Dumville (London, 1987), chps. I, VIII.

was the *fer légin*, or head of the monastic school (lit. ‘man of reading’).⁶⁰⁷ At St Andrews, the *fer légin* was responsible for the administration of the cathedral school, and had a house associated with his office.⁶⁰⁸ The students of the cathedral school were termed ‘scholars’ or ‘poor scholars’, who are first recorded in 1120.⁶⁰⁹ The earliest evidence of the *fer légin* of St Andrews dates to 1212 × 1215, when the office was held by Laurence de Thornton, archdeacon of St Andrews (1209-38 × 40). However, the actual instruction of the scholars was the responsibility of a subordinate officer, the *magister scholarum*, who at this time was a certain Master Patrick.⁶¹⁰ For the sake of comparison, the office responsible for the administration of the cathedral school in secular cathedral chapters in England was the chancellor and in France the equivalent office was usually the *magister scholarum* or *scolasticus*.⁶¹¹

The cathedral school of St Andrews was the responsibility of the *fer légin* and his subordinate officer the *magister scholarum*. As noted, the administration of the cathedral school was traditionally the responsibility of the cathedral chapter. It is therefore significant that the regular canons, despite gaining control of the cathedral chapter of St Andrews, were never responsible for the cathedral school.⁶¹² The office usually responsible for the administration of the cathedral school in cathedral chapters was the chancellor – an office that did not exist at St Andrews until it was erected in 1447 × 1449.⁶¹³ The explanation for this irregularity seems to relate to the persistence of the monastic office of *fer légin*. It appears that through their possession of this office the archdeacons of St Andrews held a seat in the cathedral chapter, although apparently not a voice.⁶¹⁴ In the 1250s, the archdeacon of St Andrews claimed to hold both a dignity in the church of St Andrews, and a voice in chapter, which predated the existence of the Augustinian cathedral chapter.⁶¹⁵ This is perhaps a reference to the office of the *fer légin*. The fact that the office of the *fer légin* and the cathedral school remained outside the purview of the cathedral priory is remarkable and is a clear remnant of the pre-Augustinian organisation of the cathedral church of St Andrews.

⁶⁰⁷ K. Jackson, *The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 67-8, 156. For consideration of the office of *fer légin* in Scotland, see Robertson, pp. 72-7.

⁶⁰⁸ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 316-18.

⁶⁰⁹ Eadmer of Canterbury, *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia*, p. 283. The Old Irish term *scolóc* and the Latin term *scholaris* were often used interchangeably. However, the term could apply to a student or to an ecclesiastical tenant, sometimes of servile status (F. Kelly, *Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1998), pp. 324-5; Robertson, pp. 56-67). See also, *MHRS*, II, p. 53.

⁶¹⁰ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 316-18; *PNF*, III, pp. 418-20; *Fasti*, p. 394. For consideration of the office of master of schools in Scotland, see Robertson, pp. 68-71.

⁶¹¹ Edwards, pp. 178-208, 309-13.

⁶¹² However, the situation is complicated by the fact that the cathedral priory acquired from the bishop of St Andrews lands in the Boar’s Raik which were historically used for the support the scholars. For these lands, the priory owed rents to the *fer légin* (*St Andrews Liber*, pp. 316-8; *PNF*, III, pp. 97-100, 418-20, 468-70).

⁶¹³ Edwards, pp. 178-220; *Fasti*, p. 392.

⁶¹⁴ M. Dilworth, ‘The Augustinian Chapter of St Andrews’, in *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, ed. D. McRoberts (Glasgow, 1976), pp. 121-36 (pp. 125-6).

⁶¹⁵ *KS*, pp. 227-8.

Another example of monastic antecedents at St Andrews is the preservation of the office of the *deòradh*, or relic-keeper.⁶¹⁶ Unlike the *fer légin*, however, this office and its corresponding assets came under the control of the cathedral priory.⁶¹⁷ In 1199 × 1209, the priory installed Gellin, son of Gille Críst mac Cussegerri, in the office of *deòradh* in exchange for certain property rights, noting that the office had formerly been held by a certain Gille Muire.⁶¹⁸ At this time, the office included the right to carry the great shrine of St Andrew and also a corrody of food and clothing for life.⁶¹⁹ Based on the properties involved in this exchange, it can be deduced that Gillen and Gille Muire were probably members of the *céli Dé* community at St Andrews.⁶²⁰ According to the English and continental models, the official responsible for the relics of a cathedral church was the treasurer.⁶²¹ It seems that at St Andrews the *deòradh* may have developed into a subordinate office under the supervision of the treasurer. In this way, the cathedral chapter integrated and subordinated the traditional office responsible for the relics of St Andrew. Not only was the monastic office of the *deòradh* retained, but it appears to have continued to be staffed by native clergy.

The hospital for pilgrims and visitors of St Andrews was an institution associated with the pre-Augustinian cathedral chapter, and it has been proposed that the administrator responsible for the hospital retained the Gaelic title of *briugu*, or hospitaller.⁶²² It seems likely that there had traditionally been such an officer, which would explain the inclusion of the hospital as a *persona*, but by the twelfth century the hospital of St Andrews was administered by the cathedral chapter as a group. At this time, the hospital had continual accommodation for six guests. However, if more arrived, the five secular clerics were responsible for lodging the extra guests.⁶²³ At other cathedral churches, it was not unusual for the secular canons to have collective responsibility for the provisioning of hospitality.⁶²⁴ The cathedral priory took control of the hospital of St Andrews and its altar portion, lands, rents, and other properties at its foundation; and, as will be discussed, the regular canons expanded the caritative role of the hospital.⁶²⁵

⁶¹⁶ W. Gillies, 'Some thoughts on the Toschederach', *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 17 (1996), 128-42 (pp. 129, 135-6).

⁶¹⁷ It was common for the Gaelic term *deòradh* to become imbedded in the place-names of lands associated with the office (W.J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, ed. S. Taylor, 2nd edn (Edinburgh and London, 1926; repr. 2004), pp. 264-5). The cathedral priory held lands in the Boar's Raik associated with this office at St Andrews (*St Andrews Liber*, pp. 140-1; *PNF*, III, pp. 499-502).

⁶¹⁸ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 329; *PNF*, III, pp. 499-502.

⁶¹⁹ The shrine is referred to in the charters as the *Morbrac* (i.e. *mòr breac*), a Gaelic term frequently used in reference to ornate reliquaries (*PNF*, III, p. 501, fn. 150). The relics of the saint apparently consisted of three fingers from the right hand, a humerus bone, a knee cap, and one tooth (Ibid., III, app. 1 (pp. 567, 576)).

⁶²⁰ Ibid., pp. 530-1.

⁶²¹ Edwards, pp. 220-32.

⁶²² Veitch, 'Alexander I', 136-66 (p. 147). I can find no evidence of such an office at St Andrews.

⁶²³ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 602, 608).

⁶²⁴ Edwards, p. 60.

⁶²⁵ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 122-3. See also, Chapter 6.

The introduction of secular cathedral chapters into England offers an important point of comparison for the situation at St Andrews. The first secular cathedral chapters in England were established at Salisbury, Lincoln, and York in 1090-1, and were influenced by, if not modelled upon, practices in Northern France.⁶²⁶ This type of organisation became widely popular in England, spreading to other cathedral churches, and eventually coming to rival the Benedictine cathedral chapters in influence.⁶²⁷ Nevertheless, secular cathedral chapters were usually established through the reorganisation of an earlier communal system, based upon a monastic model, and often preserved features of the earlier arrangement. At York Minster, for example, there was a deliberate change from the communal organisation of the cathedral community to a secular and prebendal system under Thomas I, archbishop of York (1070-1100).⁶²⁸ In other instances, the transition from a communal to a secular organisation was more gradual and left traces of the earlier system (e.g. Exeter, Hereford, and London).⁶²⁹ This was also the case for secular cathedrals in Wales.⁶³⁰ It is not clear when a secular cathedral chapter supported by a prebendal system was instituted at St Andrews, but it likely occurred during the episcopate of Turgot from 1109 to 1115, perhaps in conscious imitation of developments at York. The pre-Augustinian cathedral chapter seems to have evolved from the earlier monastic arrangement and, as discussed, the monastic terminology for certain offices was retained. This would explain the inclusion of the bishop as a *persona*, which would have been unusual based on English and continental models, but seems to have been related to the idea of the bishop as titular abbot.⁶³¹ It seems that a rudimentary secular cathedral chapter had been established at St Andrews during the period from roughly 1090 to 1124, and that the first order of business for the regular canons and their supporters was to gain control of the cathedral church and its governing body, a process which lasted from c. 1140 until 1153 × 1159.

The regular canons secured control over the administration of the cathedral church of St Andrews, and its cathedral chapter, by acquiring the prebends and shares in the common fund held by the seven *personae*. The canons acquired the prebends and altar portions of two of the five secular clerics in c. 1140. The income of these two incumbents passed to the bishop of St Andrews at their deaths, who then transferred them to the nascent cathedral priory. In instances where regular canons were replacing an incumbent secular community, it was common for the first group of canons to acquire some of the

⁶²⁶ Edwards, pp. 12-22.

⁶²⁷ Crosby, pp. 48-361.

⁶²⁸ Edwards, pp. 19-20.

⁶²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁶³⁰ For example, the bishopric of St Davids was re-established from a pre-Norman *clas* church in the 1120s. The *claswyr*, i.e. the incumbent secular clergy (often styled canons), of the *clas* church of St Davids, were transformed into the secular cathedral chapter by Bernard, the first Norman bishop of St Davids (1115-48) (Pearson, 'Welsh cathedrals', pp. 19-24).

⁶³¹ Edwards, pp. 101-43.

prebends at the time of their settlement and to secure rights over the rest through life tenure.⁶³² As noted, the canons also gained control of the hospital of St Andrews, and its altar portion, at their foundation.⁶³³ It seems that the remaining three clerics were given life tenures, continuing to hold their prebends and altar portions for over a decade. In 1153 × 1159, Bishop Robert confirmed to the cathedral priory rights over all the altar portions that had once belonged to the secular cathedral community and the portion reserved for the hospital (i.e. 6 of 7), while retaining for himself the altar portion belonging to the bishops of St Andrews.⁶³⁴ The production of a confirmation charter at this time likely coincided with the death of the last of the three incumbents. Thus, the canons had fully supplanted the secular cathedral community by 1153 × 1159, obtaining their prebends and shares in the common fund of the cathedral church.⁶³⁵

The only thing left was for the bishop to transfer control of his share in the altar offerings to the cathedral priory for the process to reach its conclusion. This occurred in 1160 × 1161, in a highly ceremonial act by Arnold, bishop of St Andrews (1160-2), the successor to Bishop Robert. The record of this episcopal act was produced for a solemn occasion, very likely at Christmas in 1160. It was attested by twenty-six individuals, representing the leading secular aristocracy and clergymen of the kingdom of Scotland, including William, bishop of Moray, who was acting as a papal legate at the time.⁶³⁶ Moreover, the charter produced on this occasion articulates the theological basis for the change from a secular to a regular cathedral community at St Andrews:

[...] for the peace of the canons of the church of St Andrew the Apostle, serving God in perpetuity, we decree that all the offerings of their high altar, which were divided into seven parts and held by seven *personae*, who were not living in common, hereafter should be relinquished to the aforementioned canons who have professed the regular life and are living in common, whole, entire, and undiminished according to reasonable provision and necessity. Since those who serve the altar, should be able to live from the altar (I Cor. 9:13), and anyone not following the clerical rules there should not be allowed to hold altar portions, when a community living as one should possess them.⁶³⁷

This charter represents the final step in the transformation from a secular to a regular cathedral community at St Andrews. It may also be the moment from which the bishop conceded membership in the cathedral chapter of St Andrews. Using biblical allusions, the charter presents the regular canons as the rightful recipients of the offerings to the high altar, due to their service of the altar and a religious life lived in common.

⁶³² AC, pp. 242-3.

⁶³³ PNF, III, app. 1 (pp. 605, 614-5); *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 122-3.

⁶³⁴ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 125; RRS, I, nos. 159, 174.

⁶³⁵ For early evidence of an operative Augustinian cathedral chapter, see *Holyrood Liber*, no. 2.

⁶³⁶ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 129; NLS, Adv. 15.1.18, no. 10. See also, RRS, I, no. 176.

⁶³⁷ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 129.

The role of regular canons in reforming cathedral communities was commonplace throughout Latin Christendom, but the context of this gift in particular, and of the reform of the cathedral church of St Andrews in general, is significant. As noted, William, bishop of Moray, was acting as papal legate at the time of this gift. His legateship was connected to continued efforts to avoid subjection to York or Canterbury and to secure a *pallium* for the bishop of St Andrews. In 1159, following the death of Robert, bishop of St Andrews, envoys were sent to the papal court. While a pall was not obtained at this time, William, bishop of Moray, was made a papal legate. Upon his return, Arnold, abbot of Kelso, was elected bishop of St Andrews and consecrated by the legate on 20 November 1160.⁶³⁸ Interestingly, Bishop Arnold briefly succeeded William as legate in 1161, during which time he managed to consecrate a new bishop of Ross.⁶³⁹ Thus, the regularisation of religious life at the cathedral church and the establishment of an Augustinian cathedral chapter at St Andrews can be viewed as part of a wider effort to secure metropolitan status.

The Augustinian priory was erected as the cathedral chapter between c. 1140 and 1147. The dual role of the cathedral priory as a religious corporation and as the cathedral chapter of St Andrews was confirmed in 1147. In that year, the canons received papal confirmation of their right to elect the bishop of St Andrews.⁶⁴⁰ The canons formed the body politic of the cathedral chapter. As previously noted, the possession of prebends was directly related to membership in secular cathedral chapters. The acquisition of the prebends and altar portions of the secular clergy at St Andrews was the means by which the cathedral chapter passed to the regular canons. The bishop was responsible for transferring these rights to the canons and, thus, in effect for the creation of the Augustinian cathedral chapter. The officers of the chapter would also largely be made up of regular canons. For instance, the prior was the head, or dean, of the chapter, and other dignities, such as the precentor and treasurer were also held by canons.⁶⁴¹ Yet, as seen earlier, some offices, such as the *fer légin* and *deòradh*, were vestiges of an earlier system. As was usual, the bishop and his episcopal officers, namely the archdeacons of Lothian and St Andrews, were entitled to a seat in the chapter, but not a voice.⁶⁴² As noted, the archdeacon of St Andrews seems to have claimed a voice in connection to the office of *fer légin*. Similarly, the *céli Dé* community claimed to hold a seat in the chapter on the basis of historical precedent.

The role of the cathedral chapter went beyond its responsibility for the cathedral church and the election of the bishop. The chapter played an important part in governing the diocese of St Andrews. The chapter not only had responsibility for the diocese during episcopal vacancies and when the bishop was

⁶³⁸ Watt, *Medieval Church Councils*, pp. 19-20.

⁶³⁹ *MPRS*, pp. 40-3.

⁶⁴⁰ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 47-8, 48-50.

⁶⁴¹ Dilworth, 'Augustinian Chapter', pp. 125-6. See also, *Fasti*, p. 391.

⁶⁴² Dilworth, 'Augustinian Chapter', pp. 125-6; Ash, 'St Andrews', pp. 232-40.

away, but also acted as an advisory board to the bishop, who was required to consult the chapter in matters permanently affecting the church and diocese of St Andrews – such as in the alienation of diocesan property or the establishment of a private chapel – which would confirm its assent in the form of capitular acts.⁶⁴³ The dual function of priory and chapter led to certain ambiguities, particularly with respect to financial matters. As at Carlisle, at the foundation of the cathedral priory it was anticipated that the canons and the bishop, who at the time were themselves regular canons, would cooperate. For this reason, there was no real effort to create a division of the properties of the cathedral church and the cathedral priory, at least at the outset.⁶⁴⁴ As will be discussed, a clearer demarcation of the properties of the cathedral priory and the cathedral church took place in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, by which time the bishops of St Andrews were consistently secular clergy.

Céli Dé:

The *céli Dé*, or ‘clients of God’, was a religious movement that emerged in Ireland in the eighth century, emanating from the monasteries of Tallaght and Finglas, near Dublin.⁶⁴⁵ The *céli Dé* have traditionally been viewed as an eremitical and highly ascetic movement that was motivated by a general decline in the discipline of Irish monasticism.⁶⁴⁶ However, recent scholarship indicates that this paradigm is flawed and suggests instead that the *céli Dé* were a more pragmatic movement emphasising, among other things, pastoral care and penitential reform.⁶⁴⁷ Yet, it has also been acknowledged that there existed considerable potential for variation between different communities of *céli Dé* in terms of religious practice due to the absence of a uniform rule text.⁶⁴⁸ Despite this amorphism, the movement became widely popular throughout Ireland, northern England, Wales, and Scotland.⁶⁴⁹

Although the details are shadowy, it seems that the *céli Dé* movement spread into Scotland in the ninth and tenth centuries, with communities subsequently established at Abernethy, Brechin, Iona, Loch Leven, Monifieth, Monymusk, Muthill, Rosemarkie, and St Andrews, and perhaps also at Lismore, Dornach, and Dunkeld.⁶⁵⁰ A number of these communities were established at sites which were, or would

⁶⁴³ The earliest capitular act dates to 1147 × 1153 (*Cambuskenneth Registrum*, no. 109). For a catalogue of capitular acts after 1200, see Ash, ‘St Andrews’, app. 3.

⁶⁴⁴ Crosby, pp. 108-9.

⁶⁴⁵ P. O’Dwyer, *Céli Dé: Spiritual Reform in Ireland, 750-900*, 2nd edn (Dublin, 1981), pp. xi, 1-16, 27-35, 53-4, 192-201. For the etymology of *céli Dé*, see W. Follett, *Céli Dé in Ireland: Monastic Writing and Identity in the Early Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 1-2, fn. 1.

⁶⁴⁶ E.g., *MRHI*, p. 22.

⁶⁴⁷ Follett, pp. 9-23, 171-215.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁹ For the *céli Dé* communities at York in northern England and Bardsey in Wales, see Reeves, pp. 58-63.

⁶⁵⁰ Reeves, pp. 25-58; *MRHS*, II, pp. 46-54, 201-12; K. Veitch, ‘The Scottish material in *De domibus religiosis*: date and provenance’, *IR*, 47:1 (1996), 14-23; G.W.S. Barrow, ‘*De domibus religiosis*: a note of Dornach’, *IR*, 48:1 (1997), 83-4.

become, episcopal seats, including significantly St Andrews, where the earliest evidence of a community of *céli Dé* dates to 943.⁶⁵¹ As was frequently the case in Ireland, this community appears to have been attached to, but separate from, the monastery of Cennrígmonaid.⁶⁵² In c. 950, the abbot and *céli Dé* of the abbey of Loch Leven in Kinross became dependent upon the bishops of St Andrews, perhaps indicative of a connection between the two *céli Dé* communities.⁶⁵³ However, as will be discussed, by the twelfth century the *céli Dé* of St Andrews and Loch Leven had developed along different vocational lines.

The evidence for the *céli Dé* community at St Andrews reveals the nature of their religious life in the twelfth century. As was typical of *céli Dé*, the community consisted of an abbot and twelve brothers.⁶⁵⁴ The *céli Dé* were not responsible for the service of the high altar of St Andrews or the performance of Mass, but instead ‘celebrated their office after their own fashion’ in a corner of the cathedral church, evidently using a side altar of the church for their *opus Dei*.⁶⁵⁵ Nonetheless, the *céli Dé* of St Andrews were active in pastoral care; the *céli Dé* acted as confessors, literally ‘soul-friends’ (*anmae charae*), to secular penitents.⁶⁵⁶ As will be discussed, this was a traditional function of *céli Dé* and the intimate connection which this fostered with secular society was perhaps the greatest strength of the *céli Dé* of St Andrews.

Like the secular cathedral community, the *céli Dé* of St Andrews were castigated by the author of the *Augustinian’s Account* for religious practices considered incongruent with the ideals of the Gregorian Reform. The author makes three accusations against the *céli Dé* of St Andrews. First, while celibacy appears to have been a requirement of the *céli Dé* at St Andrews, it seems that these men had typically been married before their conversion.⁶⁵⁷ Earlier in the text, the *céli Dé* are noted as inheriting their membership in the community ‘through carnal succession’.⁶⁵⁸ The insinuation here is that the *céli Dé* had become a hereditary caste, rather than a true vocation, a practice considered reprehensible by reformers.⁶⁵⁹ The second issue raised by the author concerned private property. The *céli Dé* are described as living a watered-down version of the common life: ‘they have certain things in common which are less in amount and value, while they have as their own the things which are greater in amount and value’.⁶⁶⁰ The third,

⁶⁵¹ Anderson, ‘Kinrimund’, 67-76 (pp. 69-70); Anderson, ‘St Andrews’, pp. 1-13 (pp. 2-3).

⁶⁵² *PNF*, III, p. 415; O’Dwyer, p. xiv.

⁶⁵³ See Chapter 2.

⁶⁵⁴ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 601-2, 607); *St Andrews Liber*, p. 133. The apostolic number of a prelate and twelve brothers was significant to the *céli Dé* as it was to numerous other monastic movements (e.g. the Order of Cîteaux) (O’Dwyer, pp. 35-6).

⁶⁵⁵ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 602-3, 609-10).

⁶⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, app. 1 (pp. 601-2, 607, fn. 333). The Old Irish term *anmcharae*, i.e. ‘soul-friend’, was used in eighth-century *céli Dé* texts to describe the role of confessor (O’Dwyer, p. 127; Follett, pp. 191-4).

⁶⁵⁷ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 602, 607).

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, app. 1 (pp. 601, 607).

⁶⁵⁹ Bartlett, *England*, pp. 384-6.

⁶⁶⁰ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 601, 607).

and most serious, criticism in the reforming atmosphere of the twelfth century was the claim that the *céli Dé* lacked a rule text and lived ‘more according to their own judgement and human tradition, than according to the statutes of the holy fathers’.⁶⁶¹ To the author of the *Augustinian’s Account*, the lack of a recognised rule text seems to have been the fundamental flaw with the *céli Dé* of St Andrews. Thus, according to the author, it was not so much the immorality of the community, but its lack of regulation, which made it an outdated form of religious life. Unlike the rudderless *céli Dé*, the regular canons would establish a religious life based upon a recognised rule text.

The Augustinian cathedral priory, under the leadership of its first prior and the probable author of the *Augustinian’s Account*, placed immediate pressure on the community of *céli Dé*. Prior Robert travelled to Auxerre, France, for an audience with Pope Eugenius III in 1147, at which time he petitioned the support of the papacy in suppressing the *céli Dé* of St Andrews.⁶⁶² On this occasion, the papacy sided with the more familiar and modern of the two religious movements. The cathedral priory obtained a bull commanding that ‘as the *céli Dé* die they are to be replaced by regular canons’.⁶⁶³ Yet, as will be seen, the use of life tenures proved to be ineffective in this case.

A short time later, the priory adopted a new approach to the *céli Dé*. Perhaps wishing to press the issue, the canons obtained a charter from David I in 1150 × 1153 which provided royal approval for a new tactic:

Know that I have given and confirmed to the prior and canons of the church of St Andrew the Apostle permission to receive the *céli Dé* of St Andrews as canons along with themselves, with all their possessions and revenues, if they are willing to become canons. If they are unwilling to become canons, they are to have and hold their possessions in their own lifetime, but after their death as many canons shall be established in their place in the church of St Andrew as there were *céli Dé*, and all their farms, lands, and alms shall be converted to the use of the canons of the aforementioned church in perpetuity [...]⁶⁶⁴

The *céli Dé* of St Andrews were given the option of life tenure or conversion. In either scenario the priory would acquire the assets of each *céli Dé*, these resources being used to finance an expansion in the number of regular canons at St Andrews. This expansion would be directly proportional to the resources which they were able to obtain from the *céli Dé*. It appears that six members of the *céli Dé*, i.e. half of the *céli Dé* community of St Andrews (excluding the abbot), accepted the offer to join the Augustinian

⁶⁶¹ Ibid. The ‘statutes of the holy fathers’ refers to the whole catalogue of patristic texts which might be used as a guideline for religious life (Milis, ‘Hermits and Regular Canons’, pp. 181-246 (p. 218)).

⁶⁶² Prior Robert was in the company of Herbert, bishop-elect of Glasgow, who was consecrated on 24 August 1147 by Eugenius III (DC, p. 130).

⁶⁶³ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 48-50. On the same occasion, Prior Robert obtained a papal confirmation for the Arrouaisian abbey of Cambuskenneth (*Scotia Pontificia*, no. 27).

⁶⁶⁴ DC, no. 209.

cathedral priory.⁶⁶⁵ However, as it turned out, the only assets of the *céli Dé* which the Augustinian priory was able to realise were those obtained through these voluntary converts. The assets of the *céli Dé* who chose life tenure were never acquired by the cathedral priory.

This more direct approach to the *céli Dé* of St Andrews must be viewed in light of the efforts by the cathedral priory to make the abbey of Loch Leven into a dependency. During this same period, the king gave the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven the option of adopting the regular life or of being expelled.⁶⁶⁶ As will be seen, the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven resisted for a time, but ultimately succumbed. In contrast, those *céli Dé* who refused to adopt the regular life at St Andrews successfully resisted. One reason for their success was that life tenure allowed them to weather the storm. Yet, the evidence suggests a more fundamental reason for their resilience. The author of the *Augustinian's Account* notes that the *céli Dé* received their personal property from their friends and kinsmen, but also from those whom they served as confessors.⁶⁶⁷ The role of confessor (*anmcharae*) was an important aspect of the *céli Dé* movement from its inception and it was common for the confessor-penitent relationship to result in almsgiving.⁶⁶⁸ This function would create a bond with the local community and in particular with the local elite.⁶⁶⁹ Ties to the local elite through kinship, but importantly through the intimacy of the confessor-penitent relationship, seems to have been the key to the resistance of the *céli Dé* of St Andrews to a concerted effort to replace them with Augustinian canons.⁶⁷⁰

The cathedral priory continued to receive papal confirmations of their right to the life tenures of the *céli Dé* throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as a matter of course.⁶⁷¹ Yet, on the ground, the canons seem to have accepted the reality of the situation. In 1156 × 1160, the cathedral priory entered into diplomatic relations with the *céli Dé* of St Andrews. The king, Mael Coluim IV, ratified a chirograph between the canons and *céli Dé* concerning an exchange of lands near St Andrews.⁶⁷² Evidently, royal policy towards the *céli Dé* of St Andrews had tempered, for such an exchange would have been unnecessary under the terms established by David I.⁶⁷³ In 1198 × 1199, the cathedral priory and *céli Dé* of

⁶⁶⁵ Duncan, 'St Andrews', 1-37 (p. 28).

⁶⁶⁶ See Chapter 2.

⁶⁶⁷ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 601-2, 607).

⁶⁶⁸ It is worth noting that this practice was viewed as a potential corrupting force by the *céli Dé* and was often the subject of regulations in rule texts (O'Dwyer, pp. 84-5, 90-5, 127).

⁶⁶⁹ Milis, *Angelic Monks*, pp. 81-2.

⁶⁷⁰ There are hints of the role which familial relationships may have played in this episode. For example, in the mid-twelfth century, the hereditary abbot of Abernethy, which had a religious community composed of *céli Dé* and secular clerics, was Orm, son of Aedh (fl. 1160s). Orm was the grandson of Gille Michael, earl of Fife, and thus a member of the cadet branch of the comital family of Fife (Macquarrie, 'Early Christian', pp. 110-33 (pp. 115-8); *PNF*, II, p. 394; Woolf, p. 319).

⁶⁷¹ The right was confirmed in 1156, 1183, 1188, 1187, 1206, 1216, and 1248 (*St Andrews Liber*, pp. 51-3, 56-62, 62-7, 67-71, 71-6, 76-81, 98-102).

⁶⁷² *RRS*, I, nos. 173. See also, *RRS*, I, no. 174; *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 130-2.

⁶⁷³ The policy of Mael Coluim IV with respect to the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven was also lax, see Chapter 2.

St Andrews entered into a second agreement which secured for the *céli Dé* a block of territory over which they held the right to tithes, but at the same time restricted their parochial rights by confirming to the canons rights over marriages, purifications, oblations, baptisms, and burials.⁶⁷⁴ Over and beyond the particulars of the agreements, these documents provide explicit recognition by the cathedral priory of the lawful existence of the *céli Dé* as a religious body at St Andrews. It appears that the cathedral priory accepted the *céli Dé* community at St Andrews as thoroughly entrenched and recognised that royal authority could not be counted on to enforce the life tenures.

The *céli Dé* maintained a presence at St Andrews down to the Reformation. However, as Geoffrey Barrow demonstrated, through the work of two successive bishops of St Andrews, namely Roger de Beaumont (1189-1202) and William Malveisin (1202-38), they were converted into a collegiate church composed of high-status secular clerics and members of the episcopal *familia*.⁶⁷⁵ This transformation of the *céli Dé* into a college of secular canons was complete by c. 1250, a development which seems to have coincided with the establishment of their own facilities at St Andrews, namely the church of St Mary on the Rock.⁶⁷⁶ The bishops of St Andrews would use this group of clergy, who retained the appellation *céli Dé* until 1332, to offset the power of the Augustinian priory.⁶⁷⁷ For instance, beginning in the 1230s, the *céli Dé* claimed a voice in the cathedral chapter dating to the pre-Augustinian period.⁶⁷⁸ The *céli Dé* were involved in the elections of 1239 and 1255, but were never successful in gaining a permanent voice in the chapter or in the election process.⁶⁷⁹ However, in 1386, the church of St Mary on the Rock did secure a seat in the choir and chapter as the third secular dignitary, alongside the two archdeacons.⁶⁸⁰

The unsuccessful attempts to reform or supplant the *céli Dé* of St Andrews can be viewed from a wider perspective. In Ireland, the birthplace of the *céli Dé* movement, most of the historic monastic institutions were either reorganised along continental lines or disappeared altogether during this period.⁶⁸¹ In several instances, however, communities of *céli Dé* managed to coexist at religious sites where regular canons had been introduced and gained ascendancy (e.g. Armagh, Devenish, and Monahincha).⁶⁸² The circumstances at the cathedral church of Armagh closely resemble St Andrews. At Armagh, regular canons were introduced in the early twelfth century. The regular canons formed the primary cathedral

⁶⁷⁴ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 318-9. For full discussion of the landholdings of the *céli Dé* of St Andrews, see *PNF*, III, pp. 416-7.

⁶⁷⁵ *KS*, pp. 212-32.

⁶⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 228-9; *MRHS*, II, pp. 225-6.

⁶⁷⁷ *KS*, pp. 212-32.

⁶⁷⁸ Dilworth, 'Augustinian Chapter', pp. 125-6.

⁶⁷⁹ *KS*, pp. 225-9.

⁶⁸⁰ *Fasti*, p. 390.

⁶⁸¹ *MRHI*, pp. 2-4, 20-46.

⁶⁸² Reeves, pp. 6-25.

community and had control of the cathedral chapter. The community of *céli Dé*, which had existed there since at least the tenth century, became relegated to a secondary cathedral community. Only the prior of the *céli Dé* community, which consisted of five brothers, held a seat in the cathedral chapter.⁶⁸³ It seems that at the cathedral churches of both Armagh and St Andrews the introduction of regular canons and the minimisation of the role of the *céli Dé* may be connected to reforming platforms which had as their ultimate goal the recognition of both as archiepiscopal seats: the bishops of Armagh received the *pallium* in 1152, the bishops of St Andrews would have to wait until 1472.⁶⁸⁴

V. Cambuskenneth

The abbey of Stirling, later known as Cambuskenneth, is the only house of regular canons in this study belonging to a religious order, and the only member of the Order of Arrouaise in Scotland.⁶⁸⁵ It is also the only house that was definitively part of the *ordo novus*, which in Scotland were primarily represented by Premonstratensian canons.⁶⁸⁶ Its membership in the order sets it apart from the other houses in this study. That membership, however, proved to be ephemeral, and before the close of the twelfth century the abbey of Cambuskenneth had become non-congregational. The foundation of the abbey of Cambuskenneth as a member of the Order of Arrouaise, its secession from the order, and the institutional memory of the Arrouaisian period will be considered.

A. Cambuskenneth and the Order of Arrouaise

The abbey of Cambuskenneth was founded by David I as a house of Arrouaisian canons in c. 1140. The king successfully negotiated with the abbey of Arrouaise in northern France, resulting in the establishment of a daughter house near Stirling.⁶⁸⁷ The membership of the house in the Order of Arrouaise was first confirmed in 1147.⁶⁸⁸ As will be discussed later, the foundation of the abbey seems to have been the by-product of failed attempts to institute Arrouaisian customs at the cathedral priories of St Andrews

⁶⁸³ Ibid., pp. 10-19. See also, J.A. Watt, 'The medieval chapter of Armagh Cathedral', in *Church and City, 1000-1500: Essays in honour of Christopher Brooke*, eds. D. Abulafia, M. Franklin, M. Rubin (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 219-45.

⁶⁸⁴ *MRHI*, pp. 47-57; *Fasti*, p. 376.

⁶⁸⁵ The abbey of Stirling acquired the nearby lands of Cambuskenneth at its foundation. From 1201, the house became known as the abbey of Cambuskenneth (*DC*, no. 159; *Cambuskenneth Registrum*, pp. xx-xxi).

⁶⁸⁶ There were six houses belonging to the Order of Prémontré established in Scotland, namely Dryburgh, Souleseat, Holywood, Whithorn, Tongland, and Fearn (*MRHS*, II, pp. 100-4).

⁶⁸⁷ *KS*, pp. 182-4; *RRS*, I, p. 96; *DC*, no. 139. See also, *MRHS*, II, p. 89.

⁶⁸⁸ *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 27.

and Carlisle.⁶⁸⁹ The affiliation of the abbey of Cambuskenneth with the Order of Arrouaise lasted until 1181 × 1195, when it seceded from the order and became a non-congregational house of regular canons.

Before proceeding, it will be useful to briefly examine the Order of Arrouaise in order to better situate the foundation of the abbey of Cambuskenneth within its developmental history. The abbey of St Nicholas of Arrouaise, the mother house of the order, began as a small hermitage in Picardy in the diocese of Arras. Roger of Arrouaise, who was living as a hermit in the forest of Arrouaise, was joined by Hildemar and Cono, former chaplains of William the Conqueror; and this small eremitical community evolved into a house of regular canons in c. 1090. Before 1108, the membership of the house consisted predominately of clerics, rather than laymen, and during this period the canons followed the *ordo antiquus*. However, from about 1121, the proportion of clerics to laymen shifted in favour of the latter and, shortly thereafter, in 1126 × 1127 the house adopted the stricter *ordo novus*.⁶⁹⁰ Thus, the religious order which emerged from these eremitical antecedents became representative of the more ascetic interpretation of canonical life.

In the second quarter of the twelfth century, the Order of Arrouaise grew rapidly into an important international religious order. This, however, was preceded by two important developments: the implementation of the general chapter and the production of the first customal. These innovations were instituted under Gervase, the second abbot of Arrouaise (1121-47). The first general chapter took place in 1129 × 1132. The original customs of the order were produced in 1133 × 1139. The customal borrows heavily from the customaries of Cîteaux and Prémontré and embodies the rigorous model of canonical life.⁶⁹¹ These developments were instrumental in the growth of the order, which spread rapidly into England, Ireland, Poland, and also Scotland.⁶⁹²

The abbey of Cambuskenneth was founded during the initial and most extensive expansion of the Order of Arrouaise. Its membership in the order provided it with a textual model and central organisation. Yet, evidence of its active membership in the order is limited. For instance, although likely, there is no confirmation that the abbots of Cambuskenneth attended the annual general chapter at Arrouaise. In fact,

⁶⁸⁹ See Chapter 3.

⁶⁹⁰ AC, pp. 86-7; *Chanoines Reguliers D'Arrouaise*, I, pp. 93-113, 178-85.

⁶⁹¹ *Chanoines Reguliers D'Arrouaise*, I, pp. 181-5, 533-4. For example, it prescribed silence, manual labour, fasting, and woollen habits (*Constitutiones Canoniorum Regularium Ordinis Arroasiensis*, ed. L. Milis (Turnhout, 1970), nos. 210-4).

⁶⁹² *Chanoines Reguliers D'Arrouaise*, I, pp. 114-20, 141-59, 276-92, 323-37, 345-50, 380-3. For Arrouaisian foundations in England, particularly prevalent in the diocese of Lincoln, see J.C. Dickinson, 'English Regular Canons and the Continent in the Twelfth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1 (1951), 71-89 (pp. 80-9); A.G. Dyson, 'The Monastic Patronage of Bishop Alexander of Lincoln', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 26 (1975), 1-24; GAS, I, p. 59. For Arrouaisian foundations in Ireland, which constituted a third of all Augustinian houses there, see P.J. Dunning, 'The Arroasian Order in Medieval Ireland', *Irish Historical Studies*, 4:16 (1945), 297-315; M.T. Flanagan, 'St. Mary's Abbey, Louth, and the Introduction of the Arrouaisian Observances into Ireland', *Clogher Record*, 10:2 (1980), 223-34; Empey, 'Introduction', pp. 3-8.

the clearest evidence for its participation in the order is purely circumstantial. In the 1160s, the second abbot of Cambuskenneth is found in the company of the English Arrouaisian prelates of Bourne, Harrold, and perhaps Warter.⁶⁹³ Interestingly, the abbeys of Cambuskenneth, Harrold, and Warter later seceded from the Order of Arrouaise during the same period, and, it would appear, for similar reasons. As will be seen, the departure of these houses from the order seems to have stemmed from problems with central organisation, rather than a referendum on the form of canonical life.

Through a close inspection of the charter evidence of the abbeys of Cambuskenneth and Arrouaise, Ludo Milis has demonstrated that the abbey of Cambuskenneth left the Order of Arrouaise at some point between 1181 and 1195.⁶⁹⁴ It will be worthwhile to briefly recount this evidence. In 1139 × 1147, David I gave to the abbey of Arrouaise, ‘half the hides and a quarter of the tallow of the beasts slaughtered (for the king) at Stirling’.⁶⁹⁵ These rights were confirmed to the abbey of Arrouaise by Pope Alexander III in 1181.⁶⁹⁶ However, in 1195, these same rights are confirmed to the abbey of Cambuskenneth in a bull of Celestine III.⁶⁹⁷ The two earliest papal bulls to Cambuskenneth, those by Eugenius III in 1147 and Alexander III in 1164, make no mention of these rights.⁶⁹⁸ In addition, there was a corresponding change in the papal bulls with respect to membership in the Order of Arrouaise. Of the three bulls to Cambuskenneth in 1147, 1164, and 1195, only the earliest refers to the abbey as following the customs of Arrouaise. The second bull, in its current form, does not; however, reference to the Order of Arrouaise was removed at a later date, a point to which we shall return. The third bull makes no mention of the Order of Arrouaise; however, in this case the omission is authentic. Thus, between 1181 and 1195, the rights in Stirling given by David I to the mother house of Arrouaise were transferred to the abbey of Cambuskenneth, signalling the exit of the house from the Order of Arrouaise.⁶⁹⁹

The abbey of Cambuskenneth gained its independence during a period of internal crisis within the Arrouaisian Order which coincided with the secession of the English houses of Harrold (Beds.) in 1188 and Warter (Yorks.) in 1185 × 1192.⁷⁰⁰ The problems within the order, at least in part, seem to have resulted from a breakdown in corporate governance. The experience of Harrold Priory, for which details

⁶⁹³ *Registrum Antiquissimum of Lincoln*, II, no. 347; *KS*, p. 183, fn. 91.

⁶⁹⁴ *Chanoines Reguliers D'Arrouaise*, I, pp. 331-2.

⁶⁹⁵ *DC*, no. 139. This parallels the direct patronage given by David I to the abbey of Tiron the mother house of Selkirk (later Kelso) (*KS*, p. 183; *DC*, nos. 90, 101).

⁶⁹⁶ *Papsturkunden in Frankreich: Picardie*, ed. J. Ramackers (Göttingen, 1942), IV, no. 249.

⁶⁹⁷ *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 161.

⁶⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, nos. 27, 55.

⁶⁹⁹ Further evidence for the independence of the house begins to appear in the early thirteenth century. In 1201, for example, the abbey is referred to as belonging to the Order of St Augustine (*ordinis Sancti Augustini*) in a bull of Innocent III (*Cambuskenneth Register*, no. 27). In 1207, William, a canon of Holyrood, became abbot of Cambuskenneth. However, Arrouaisian houses were explicitly prohibited from electing non-Arrouaisians by at least 1186 (*Scotichronicon*, IV, p. 439; *Chanoines Reguliers D'Arrouaise*, I, p. 421).

⁷⁰⁰ *Chanoines Reguliers D'Arrouaise*, I, pp. 281-3, 290-2, 297. See also, J. Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire 1069-1215* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 95-97.

are relatively forthcoming, may help to explain the secession of Cambuskenneth. Like the abbey of Cambuskenneth, the priory of Harrold was a daughter house of Arrouaise itself. At the general chapter of 1179, for reasons of proximity, the abbey of Arrouaise sought to change the filiation of Harrold and make Missenden Abbey (Bucks.) its mother house. This arrangement was rejected by Harrold, and, instead, the house chose to secede in 1188.⁷⁰¹ In this case, distance from the mother house was considered problematic, and the central administration of the Order of Arrouaise attempted to provide a corrective.

It is not clear how integrated the abbey of Cambuskenneth ever was in the Arrouaisian Order. It would seem that their association can be compared to Arrouaisian houses in Ireland, which readily adopted the customs, but were more reluctant to accept central control, resulting in the frequent non-attendance of Irish houses at the annual general chapter.⁷⁰² During the abbacy of Nicholas, the canons of Cambuskenneth seem to have no longer considered membership in the Order of Arrouaise to be advantageous and, likely influenced by the English dissidents, chose secession.⁷⁰³ The problems experienced by the order in England, Ireland, and Scotland seems to have ultimately resulted from the difficulty in maintaining control over houses outside of its 'central zone' in France and the Low Countries.⁷⁰⁴

The authenticated cartulary of Cambuskenneth provides interesting evidence concerning the institutional memory of the abbey's Arrouaisian era. As noted, in its current form, the papal bull of Alexander III in 1164, which only survives in a copy engrossed into the authenticated cartulary, does not make reference to membership in the Order of Arrouaise.⁷⁰⁵ However, in its original form, the bull almost certainly did. Therefore, the cartulary copy has been either purposefully or accidentally truncated. The pertinent section of the bull reads: *communimus: Statuentes ut quascunque possessiones quecunque.*⁷⁰⁶ It is clear that a substantial portion of the bull concerning the circumstances of foundation and the affiliation with Arrouaise is missing, and, instead, it proceeds directly into a clause concerning past and future patronage to the house. The truncation is obvious when it is compared to the corresponding section of the bull of Eugenius III in 1147:

[...] *communimus: statuentes ut ~~ordo canonicus de Arrosia qui per te, dilecte in Domino fili Willelme abbas, preveniente gratia Dei consilio et auxilio venerabilis fratris nostri Roberti episcopi sancti Andree, in eadem ecclesia noscitur institutus perpetuis ibidem~~*

⁷⁰¹ *Chanoines Reguliers D'Arrouaise*, I, pp. 290-2.

⁷⁰² Dunning, 297-315 (pp. 308, 310-1); *MRHI*, p. 150.

⁷⁰³ *HRHS*, p. 25. It is worth noting that the abbey of Cambuskenneth adopted Victorine customs in the early sixteenth century (*Cambuskenneth Registrum*, pp. lxxxix-xci).

⁷⁰⁴ *Chanoines Reguliers D'Arrouaise*, I, pp. 275-322, 338-77, 537-43.

⁷⁰⁵ NLS, Adv. 34.1.2, fol. 20^r.

⁷⁰⁶ *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 55.

~~temporibus inviolabiliter conservatur. Preterea quascunque possessiones quecunque~~
[...]⁷⁰⁷

It is evident that a considerable portion of the text concerning the establishment of the abbey and its membership in the Order of Arrouaise is missing from the bull of Alexander III.⁷⁰⁸ It is not clear, however, how this occurred. As a cartulary copy, the bull had potentially been through multiple redactions before it was engrossed. However, given the particular care taken for accuracy in the production of the authenticated cartulary in 1535, it seems probable that this truncation was copied verbatim from an earlier manuscript. Indeed, it seems likely that bull was copied into the authenticated cartulary from the earlier cartulary (or register) of the abbey, which was still extant in 1535.⁷⁰⁹ Although it cannot be said with certainty, the elimination of the clause concerning the Order of Arrouaise may indicate a deliberate whitewashing by later canons of an indecorous period in the history of their abbey. In the end, the abbey of Cambuskenneth retained little from its time in the Order of Arrouaise, except devotion to the Virgin Mary which remained important throughout its history (See Plate 2.5).⁷¹⁰

B. Foundation and Regional Parochial Authority

The abbey of Cambuskenneth was founded through the combined efforts of David I, Robert, bishop of St Andrews, and Robert, prior of St Andrews. While the house was undoubtedly a royal foundation, the bishop and prior took a special interest in the house.⁷¹¹ Yet, the significant contribution of the two Roberts has not always been recognised. For instance, A.A.M. Duncan suggested that the cathedral priory of St Andrews was the limit of the bishop's 'efforts to bring the Augustinian rule to his see'.⁷¹² However, the earliest papal bull to the abbey of Cambuskenneth demonstrates that both the bishop and prior of St Andrews were intimately involved in the foundation. Prior Robert was responsible for procuring the papal confirmation for the abbey of Cambuskenneth. The prior attended the papal curia in Auxerre in 1147 and acted as an advocate on behalf of the abbey of Cambuskenneth, procuring for the house its earliest papal confirmation.⁷¹³ The same bull records that the abbey was established as part of

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid., no. 27. A similar clause is found in a bull of Alexander III to the Cluniac priory of Paisley in 1173 (Ibid., no. 66).

⁷⁰⁸ For the sake of comparison, examine the wording of the parallel clause in the bull of Celestine III in 1195 to Cambuskenneth, which dates to after secession: [...] *in primis siquidem statuentes ut ordo canonicus qui secundum Deum et beati Augustini regulam in eadem ecclesia institutus esse dinoscitur perpetuis ibidem temporibus inviolabiliter observetur* (Ibid., no. 161).

⁷⁰⁹ *Cambuskenneth Registrum*, pp. xxix-xxxii.

⁷¹⁰ For discussion of the growth of the cult of St Mary and its connection to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, see Bartlett, *England*, pp. 384-6. For a recent study of the cult in Scotland, see Hammond, 'Virgin Mary', pp. 61-86 (pp. 68-71).

⁷¹¹ *DC*, no. 159; *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 161.

⁷¹² Duncan, *Kingship*, p. 91.

⁷¹³ See Chapter 3.

the canonical order of Arrouaise through the ‘counsel and assistance’ (*consilio et auxilio*) of Robert, bishop of St Andrews.⁷¹⁴ Thus, the bishop and prior of St Andrews supported the abbey in its early years. However, the evidence for the collaboration of the king, bishop, and prior, in the practical foundation of the house is unusually clear, and reveals that the foundation of Cambuskenneth followed a similar blueprint to the houses of Holyrood and Jedburgh.

The abbey obtained a modified diploma from David I as its foundation charter in 1147.⁷¹⁵ This document provides a cumulative record of the rights and properties acquired by the house from its foundation in *c.* 1140 to 1147. For this reason, it describes an already functioning community of canons serving the church of St Mary, Stirling.⁷¹⁶ It is possible that the abbey of Cambuskenneth was founded *de novo*. However, the evidence indicates that a low-status ecclesiastical site was converted into a house of regular canons. It seems that the first canons were established in a pre-existing church, or more likely a chapel.⁷¹⁷ This is suggested by the confirmation in the foundation charter of all offerings made to the altar of the church of St Mary, a right which appears to predate the foundation of the abbey.⁷¹⁸ Thus, it appears that a minor church or chapel was converted into the first abbey church of Cambuskenneth, and subsequently dedicated to the Virgin Mary. As part of the foundation process, however, the king ensured that the church of St Mary was transformed into a baptismal church with a territorial parish.

The abbey of Cambuskenneth inherited limited parochial rights from the pre-existing church or chapel. However, David I helped to elevate the parochial status of the conventual church. In 1140 × 1147, the king obtained for the canons the tithe of the lands of Cambuskenneth from Dunfermline Abbey in exchange for the tithes of Brixwald (in Airthrey).⁷¹⁹ As will be discussed, the abbey of Dunfermline held the tithes of all royal demesnes in Stirlingshire via its possession of the chapel of Stirling Castle. For this reason, the royal demesne which the new abbey received from David I at its foundation, namely the lands of Cambuskenneth, owed tithes to the abbey of Dunfermline.⁷²⁰ The efforts of king had the effect of creating the territorial parish of Cambuskenneth. This was a significant consideration for it has been recently demonstrated that religious houses that were unable to acquire their home parishes had very low success rates.⁷²¹ However, with the aid of the bishop of St Andrews, the canons of Cambuskenneth were able to gain extensive parochial authority through their acquisition of the historic *matrix ecclesia* of

⁷¹⁴ *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 27.

⁷¹⁵ *DC*, pp. 4-5.

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 159.

⁷¹⁷ It is possible that the church of St Mary, Stirling, was in origin a pendicle chapel of the church of St Ninians.

⁷¹⁸ *DC*, no. 159; *RRS*, II, no. 60. See also, *Parishes*, p. 25.

⁷¹⁹ *DC*, no. 99. See also, Constable, *Tithes*, p. 136.

⁷²⁰ *Dunfermline Registrum*, no. 4.

⁷²¹ B. Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order c. 1130-c. 1300* (Oxford, 1995), p. 361.

Stirlingshire. In this respect, the foundation of Cambuskenneth follows the same general pattern as other Augustinian foundations of David I, such as Holyrood and Jedburgh.

The *matrix ecclesia* of the soke or shire of Stirling was the church of St Ninians, located a short distance from Stirling (2.4 km).⁷²² The church of St Ninians was known in early charters as *Eccles* (*Eggles, Egglis, Egles*), a name which reveals its antiquity.⁷²³ *Eglēs* represents the P-Celtic word for church, derived from the Latin *ecclesia*; the use of this place-name element is indicative of an ecclesiastical foundation dating to the Pictish period from roughly 400 to 800.⁷²⁴ The *paruchia* of the ancient church of St Ninians included the four dependent chapels of Dunipace, Larbert, Gargunnoch, and Kirk of Muir.⁷²⁵ This important regional church was handed over to the abbey of Cambuskenneth as part of the foundation process.⁷²⁶ However, before this could take place, the parochial rights of the church of St Ninians were defined and a territorial parish formed.

In c. 1140 × 1151, an agreement was reached between Robert, bishop of St Andrews, and Geoffrey I, abbot of Dunfermline (1128-54), in the *curia regis* at Edinburgh Castle.⁷²⁷ In the presence of David I, his son Henry, and the barons of Scotland, the respective parochial rights of the parish church of St Ninians, which was under diocesan authority, and the chapel of Stirling Castle, held by Dunfermline Abbey, were delineated. It was agreed that Alexander I had given to the chapel of Stirling Castle, on the day of its dedication, the tithe of all royal demesne in Stirlingshire, whether these lands increased or decreased.⁷²⁸ The court established that the parish church (*ecclesia parochialis*) of St Ninians would hold the tithes of all hiredmen, bonders, and gresmen throughout Stirlingshire including the tithes of all land not held in royal demesne and from all peasants who did not dwell on royal demesne (even if they worked it).⁷²⁹ The church of St Ninians would also hold full burial rights over all peasants, whether they dwelled on royal demesne or not, excluding the burgesses of Stirling. All increases in the productivity (e.g. through assart) or population of the royal demesne would be accounted for in the tithe to the chapel of

⁷²² *KS*, pp. 38-9. See also, *RRS*, I, p. 40.

⁷²³ E.g., *RRS*, II, no. 36.

⁷²⁴ Barrow, 'Childhood of Scottish Christianity', 1-15 (pp. 2-6).

⁷²⁵ *Parishes*, pp. 52, 72, 123-4, 127. The chapel of St Mary of Garvald in the Dundafmoor is now represented by Kirk O' Muir which is north of the Carron Valley Reservoir (P.E. McNiven, 'Gaelic place-names and the social history of Gaelic speakers in Medieval Menteith' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2011), p. 414).

⁷²⁶ The church of St Ninians had an associated settlement known as Kirkton, which incorporates the late Old English place-name elements *cirice* (church or chapel) and *tūn* (farm or village). Kirkton became an alternative name for the church and parish (*Parishes*, p. 124; *RRS*, II, p. 145; *Cambuskenneth Registrum*, no.110).

⁷²⁷ For consideration of the *curia regis* in Scotland, see W.C. Dickinson, 'The Administration of Justice in Medieval Scotland', *Aberdeen University Review*, 34 (1952), 338-51.

⁷²⁸ *Dunfermline Registrum*, no. 4. See also, *RRS*, I, no. 50. This provides evidence for the payment of tithes in Scotland before the reign of David I. However, tithe payment was not based upon the territorial parish, but upon demesne, and therefore resembles the use of tithes in England at a similar stage in parochial development (Blair, 'Minster', pp. 1-19 (p. 13)).

⁷²⁹ For a discussion of the distinctions between these different classes of tenants, see Barrow, *Kingship*, pp. 7-10.

Stirling Castle and similarly to the church of St Ninians for the lands and people under its jurisdiction.⁷³⁰ The written agreement between the two parties was attested by a heavy contingent of Augustinian prelates, including significantly William, the first abbot of Cambuskenneth.⁷³¹ It appears that the bishop of St Andrews sought to clarify the rights of the church of St Ninians and establish its territorial parish in anticipation of handing it over to the canons of Cambuskenneth.

This settlement provides the most detailed evidence in twelfth-century Scotland of the formation of a territorial parish, and also reveals the personal involvement of both David I and Robert, bishop of St Andrews, in ecclesiastical reform on the parish level.⁷³² The regional parochial authority of the ancient *matrix ecclesia* remained intact, but was placed within a modern parochial framework. By largely preserving the integrity of the historic *paruchia* of St Ninians, a large territorial parish was formed which encompassed all of Stirlingshire (See Plate 1.3). This compares favourably to the authority exercised by the church of St Cuthbert over Edinburghshire. However, the agreement also provided for the chapel of Stirling Castle. The chapel was dependent upon the church of the Holy Rude, Stirling, which was held by Dunfermline Abbey. Together, the church and chapel served the urban parish of Stirling.⁷³³ Thus, parochial life over the burgh of Stirling was controlled by the church of Holy Rude and its chapel, but Stirlingshire belonged to the church of St Ninians. Once the parochial rights of the church of St Ninians had been secured, the church was given over to the abbey of Cambuskenneth. The circumstances of that transfer are enlightening.

⁷³⁰ *Dunfermline Registrum*, no. 4. However, this detailed arrangement did not prevent future dispute between Cambuskenneth and Dunfermline over the tithes of Stirlingshire (*Cambuskenneth Registrum*, nos. 118, 199-201; *Dunfermline Registrum*, no. 215; *MPRS*, app. 1 (no. 20)). See also, Constable, *Tithes*, p. 129.

⁷³¹ The canonico-monastic attestations include the abbots of Holyrood and Cambuskenneth, and the priors of Jedburgh, Holyrood, and Coldingham (*Dunfermline Registrum*, no. 4).

⁷³² Rogers, 68-96 (p. 74).

⁷³³ *Parishes*, pp. 187-8.

Parish of St Ninians

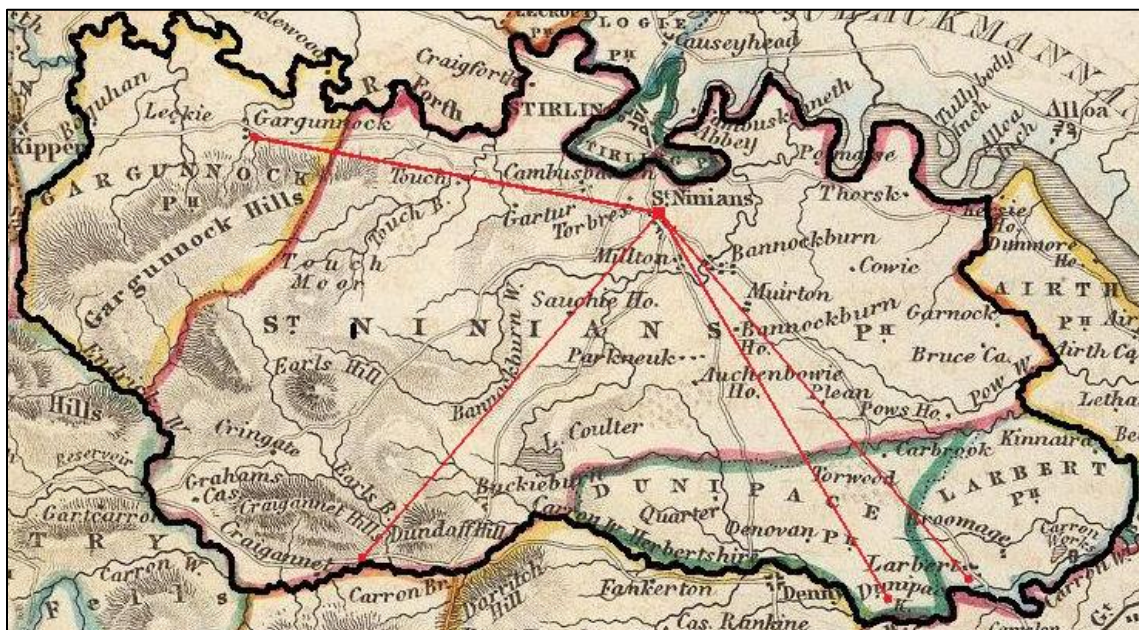


Plate: 1.3

Robert, prior of St Andrews, also played an important part in the practical foundation of the abbey and was involved in the transfer of the church of St Ninians to the abbey. In 1147 × 1153, the prior issued a charter confirming the gift of the church. It states that Robert, bishop of St Andrews, made the gift to the abbey with the full support of the cathedral chapter and synod.⁷³⁴ The prior was acting as head of the cathedral chapter, whose consent was needed in this case. Capitular consent was necessary when diocesan property was being permanently alienated.⁷³⁵ The gift of the church of St Ninians to the abbey of Cambuskenneth evidently fell into this category, and the prior's charter is the earliest surviving capitular act. However, the gift was made by the bishop in the setting of an ecclesiastical council (*synodus*). As will be discussed, it was common for Augustinian houses to receive churches in this setting, evidence of the close relationship which the movement had with the episcopacy in Scotland.⁷³⁶ Through the combined efforts of David I, Bishop Robert, and the prior and cathedral chapter of St Andrews, the abbey of Cambuskenneth was founded and given parochial authority over Stirlingshire. Thus, while the abbey of Cambuskenneth adopted the customs of Arrouaise, noted for its austerity, the foundation of the abbey was not ostensibly different from the non-congregational houses founded in the kingdom of Scotland during this period.

⁷³⁴ *Cambuskenneth Registrum*, no. 109.

⁷³⁵ Ash, 'St Andrews', pp. 147-50, 235. David I also held rights to the church of St Ninians which he conveyed to the abbey (*Scotia Pontificia*, no. 55). See also, *RRS*, II, no. 36; *Cambuskenneth Registrum*, nos. 26, 59, 112; *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 161.

⁷³⁶ See Chapter 4.

VI. Inchcolm

The priory (later abbey) of Inchcolm was the only house of regular canons established in the diocese of Dunkeld.⁷³⁷ The small island-based house was closely associated with the bishops of Dunkeld from its foundation. The relationship between Inchcolm and Dunkeld led naturally to the house becoming an important centre for the cult of St Columba, which remained strong throughout its history (See Plate 2.6).⁷³⁸ This section will explore the foundation context of Inchcolm Priory, which cannot be separated from the early history of the territorial bishopric of Dunkeld.

A. Inchcolm: context and controversy

The canons of Inchcolm dated their foundation to the year of the first *donatio*, namely 1123.⁷³⁹ The principal narrative source for the foundation of Inchcolm is the *Scotichronicon*, produced by Walter Bower, abbot of Inchcolm from 1418 until his death in 1449.⁷⁴⁰ The text emphasises the role of Alexander I as the founder of the house. Were it not for Walter Bower's narrative, which presumably reflects the corporate memory of the house, the involvement of Alexander would be relegated to an historical footnote. This is because the extant charter material for Inchcolm includes only a passing reference to Alexander I.⁷⁴¹ Walter Bower's account, albeit miraculous, is therefore an important record of Inchcolm's foundation, especially (as will be seen) in its emphasis on Alexander I. The narrative ascribes the following events to 1123:

For 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 Columba, and earnestly devoted himself to it at a certain little chapel on the island, content with a meagre diet consisting 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

⁷³⁷ The earliest mention of the house as an abbey is in 1233 (*Inchcolm Charters*, no. 15). The house received papal confirmation of its abbatial status from Gregory IX in 1235 (*Ibid.*, no. 16).

⁷³⁸ Inchcolm possessed at least one secondary relic of St Columba (P. Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland* (London, 1999), p. 64).

⁷³⁹ *Scotichronicon*, III, pp. 110-1. It has been suggested that Bower had a personal motivation for promoting the antiquity of his abbey over others (viz. Holyrood). He was denied the abbacy of Holyrood (founded in 1128) on two occasions (Veitch, 'Alexander I', 136-66 (pp. 154-5))

⁷⁴⁰ *Scotichronicon*, III, pp. 242-3.

⁷⁴¹ The role of Alexander I is mentioned only once in the surviving charter material for Inchcolm. It appears in a charter of William de Mortimer from 1179 × 1183 in which the canons of Inchcolm were said to hold rights from the time of Alexander I (*Inchcolm Charters*, no. 5).

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 the same place, just as it can be seen at the present day. There was also the fact that he had always even from his youth revered St Columba with particular honour. There was moreover the fact that his parents had been infertile and deprived of the comfort of children for some years, until they implored St Columba with suppliant devotion, and gloriously achieved what they had long sought with eager desire.⁷⁴²

According to the Inchcolm tradition, the island of *Emonia* was inhabited by a hermit who was a devotee of St Columba.⁷⁴³ While the hermit may have been introduced by Bower as a plot device, archaeologists have found indications of an earlier religious settlement on the island.⁷⁴⁴ Islands were commonly used as eremitical sites in Scotland.⁷⁴⁵ It was also common for Augustinian houses to be founded at the sites of earlier hermitages.⁷⁴⁶ The pre-existing religious significance of the island of *Emonia* must remain a largely speculative dimension of the priory's foundation. Yet, the importance assigned by the narrative to Alexander's veneration for St Columba can be corroborated, and the king's contact with the cult in Scotland provides an important context for the foundation of the priory.

According to Bower's narrative, Alexander had a special regard for St Columba, which benefitted the king when he and his men were shipwrecked. However, Alexander's connection to the cult of St Columba can be independently verified. It appears that Alexander was responsible for transferring the remains of his deposed uncle Domnall Bán from his original burial site at Dunkeld to the abbey of Iona (*Í Cholum Cille*).⁷⁴⁷ These actions show that contact was maintained with the community of Iona, the ancient epicentre of the cult of St Columba. This indicates that the king took a direct interest in Dunkeld. The direct involvement of the king with Dunkeld is also suggested by his commissioning of a copy of Adomnán's *Life of Columba* before 1122, which indicates a sincere interest in the cult of Columba and presumably in Dunkeld, a site long associated with the saint.⁷⁴⁸ While other details provided by Bower,

⁷⁴² *Scotichronicon*, III, pp. 110-1. For Columban literature produced at Inchcolm in the fourteenth century, see *Triumph Tree*, pp. 317-8.

⁷⁴³ G. Márkus, 'Tracing Emon: *Insula Sancti Columbae de Emonia*', *IR*, 55 (2004), 1-9.

⁷⁴⁴ J.W. Paterson, 'The Development of Inchcolm Abbey', *PSAS*, 60 (1925-6), 227-53 (pp. 230-1); R. Fawcett, 'Inchcolm Abbey', in *Church, Chronicle, and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland: essays presented to Donald Watt on the occasion of the completion of the publication of Bower's Scotichronicon*, ed. B.E. Crawford (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 93-108 (pp. 93-4). It has been argued that the hermit was a *céle Dé*. However, there is no evidence to support this contention (*Inchcolm Charters*, pp. xix-xx).

⁷⁴⁵ D. McRoberts, 'Hermits in Medieval Scotland', *IR*, 16 (1965), 199-216.

⁷⁴⁶ J. Herbert, 'The transformation of hermitages into Augustinian priories in twelfth-century England', *Studies in Church History: Monks, Hermits, and the Ascetic Tradition*, 22 (1985), 131-45.

⁷⁴⁷ *Chron. Picts-Scots*, p. 175.

⁷⁴⁸ The version of Adomnán's *Life of Columba* commissioned by Alexander is known as the B2 text, which is a transcript of the B text. Attached to the B2 text is a prayer to St Columba to protect and aid King Alexander, Queen Sybil, and the kingdom of the Scots. The prayer also notes that it was authored by a certain Symeon, and that the text itself was illuminated by a certain William (*Adomnán's Life of Columba*, eds. and trans. A.O. Anderson and

such as the infertility of Mael Coluim III and Margaret, are perhaps far-fetched (they had no less than eight children together!), his emphasis on Alexander's affinity for St Columba is warranted. However, the origin of royal veneration for St Columba and the close connection of Scotland's kings to Dunkeld, particularly the Canmore dynasty, long predates the reign of Alexander I.

The monastery of Dunkeld was founded under royal aegis in the first half of the ninth century by either Constantín, son of Wrguist (c. 789-820), or Cinaed, son of Alpín (842-58).⁷⁴⁹ Regardless of its founder, the religious significance of the site was certainly increased in 849 when Cinaed, son of Alpín, brought relics of St Columba from Iona to Dunkeld.⁷⁵⁰ By 865, the abbot of Dunkeld had become a leading ecclesiastic in the kingdom of the Scots, bearing the title of *primepscop* of Fortriu.⁷⁵¹ From the tenth century forward, however, the abbey of Dunkeld appears to have become secularised.⁷⁵² It was also during this period that the abbey became more closely bound to the royal house.⁷⁵³ Bethoc, the daughter of Mael Coluim II, son of Cinaed (1005-34), married Crínán, the abbot of Dunkeld. The couple became the parents of the next king, Donnchad I (1034-40). In an event immortalised by William Shakespeare, Donnchad I was killed by Macbethad, son of Findláech (1040-57).⁷⁵⁴ In 1045, Abbot Crinán died in battle in apparent opposition to King Macbethad.⁷⁵⁵ Crínán, abbot of Dunkeld, was the grandfather of Mael Coluim III who regained the crown in 1058, and for this reason the royal line is sometimes referred to as the house of Dunkeld.⁷⁵⁶ Thus, the heirs of Mael Coluim III, whose name literally meant 'servant of Columba', inherited strong familial links to Dunkeld and in particular with its abbacy, which the family continued to hold into the twelfth century.⁷⁵⁷

Æthelred, an elder son of Mael Coluim III and Margaret, was the abbot of Dunkeld in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.⁷⁵⁸ Before 1093, Abbot Æthelred in the presence of his brothers Alexander and David and in conjunction with the earl of Fife gave the lands of Auchmuir (*Admore*) to the

M.O. Anderson (Oxford, 1991), pp. lix-lx; *Triumph Tree*, pp. 185-6). It has recently been suggested (by Kenneth Veitch) that Symeon of Durham authored the prayer affixed to the B2 text (Woolf, pp. 75-6).

⁷⁴⁹ Macquarrie, 'Early Christian', pp. 110-33 (pp. 121-3); Woolf, pp. 64-5.

⁷⁵⁰ D. Broun, 'Dunkeld and the origin of Scottish identity', in *Spes Scotorum, Hope of Scots: Saint Columba, Iona and Scotland*, eds. D. Broun and T.O. Clancy (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 95-111; J. Bannerman, 'The Scottish takeover of Pictland and the relics of Columba', *IR*, 48 (1997), 27-44; Woolf, pp. 88-101.

⁷⁵¹ *Annals of Ulster*, s.a. 865.6 (p. 321); Donaldson, 'Scottish Bishops', 106-17 (pp. 109-10).

⁷⁵² In 965, Donnchad, abbot of Dunkeld, was killed in a battle between the men of Scotland (*Annals of Ulster*, s.a. 965.4 (p. 405)).

⁷⁵³ B.T. Hudson, 'Kings and Church in Early Scotland', *SHR*, 73 (1994), 145-70 (pp. 153-5, 164, 169).

⁷⁵⁴ Woolf, pp. 249-63.

⁷⁵⁵ *Annals of Ulster*, s.a. 1045 (p. 483).

⁷⁵⁶ J.E. Morby, *Dynasties of the World: A Chronological and Genealogical Handbook* (Oxford, 1989), p. 72.

⁷⁵⁷ T.O. Clancy, 'Columba, Adomnán and the Cult of Saints in Scotland', in *Spes Scotorum, Hope of Scots: Saint Columba, Iona and Scotland*, eds. D. Broun and T.O. Clancy (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 3-33 (p. 30).

⁷⁵⁸ It appears likely that Æthelred was the third son of Mael Coluim and Margaret following Edward and Edmund (Barrow, 'Durham', pp. 311-23 (p. 315, fn. 32)).

céli Dé community at Loch Leven.⁷⁵⁹ The gift of Auchmuir is one of the few shreds of evidence for the career of Abbot Æthelred.⁷⁶⁰ The year of his death is uncertain although it appears that he survived Edgar.⁷⁶¹ Two late chronicles relate the tradition that Abbot Æthelred was buried at St Andrews.⁷⁶² Æthelred's death created a vacancy at Dunkeld which placed control of the abbey into the hands of the king. At other secularised abbeys there remained entrenched families who inherited the position of abbot.⁷⁶³ However, at Dunkeld that entrenched family was in fact the royal house. Following the death of Æthelred, the abbacy was inherited by the king of Scotland.⁷⁶⁴

By the reign of Alexander I, control of the abbey of Dunkeld and its revenue base had passed to the king. The assumption of control corresponds to the period of royal interest in Dunkeld evidenced by the commissioning of a copy of Adomnán's *Life of Columba* and the disinterment of Domnall Bán. Alexander should be credited with transforming the monastery of Dunkeld into the seat of a territorial bishopric based upon the Roman model. Indeed, Æthelred, the last abbot of Dunkeld, was succeeded by Cormac, the first bishop of Dunkeld, during his reign.⁷⁶⁵ Alexander should also be credited with dissolving the abbey of Dunkeld and initiating a long process of redistributing its assets.

There is strong evidence that throughout the twelfth century the kings of Scotland reallocated the abbatial patrimony of Dunkeld. One facet of the patrimony's redistribution, as might be expected, was its use as financial support for the bishops of Dunkeld. For instance, David I gave to the bishop of Dunkeld the land of Dalguise in Little Dunkeld, Perthshire.⁷⁶⁶ In addition, the king gave to the bishop the title of *cáin* from the *prebenda* of his palaces and from the malt of his royal demesne; significantly, the king also included the title of *cáin* from the manors (*maneriis*) pertaining to the abbey of Dunkeld.⁷⁶⁷ This indicates

⁷⁵⁹ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 115-6. See also, *ESC*, p. 243.

⁷⁶⁰ Æthelred also gave to Dunfermline Abbey the estate of Hailes in Lothian (*DC*, no. 33).

⁷⁶¹ *ESC*, pp. 243-4. Æthelred's placement after Donnchad and Edgar in a diploma to Dunfermline recording gifts made by the royal siblings may indicate that Æthelred outlived his brother Edgar (*DC*, nos. 33, 172).

⁷⁶² John of Fordun, 'Chronica Gentis Scotorum', in *The Historians of Scotland*, ed. W.F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1871), I, p. 223; *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie*, ed. W.B.D.D. Turnbull (Edinburgh, 1842), p. 63.

⁷⁶³ For example, Brechin continued to have hereditary lay-abbots into the thirteenth century (Macquarrie, 'Early Christian', pp. 110-33 (pp. 127-8)).

⁷⁶⁴ This possibility was first suggested by Gordon Donaldson (Donaldson, 'Scottish Bishops', 106-17 (p. 114, fn. 3)).

⁷⁶⁵ The earliest record of Cormac, bishop of Dunkeld, occurs in c. 1120 × 1122 when he appears (without territorial designation) in the foundation diploma of Scone (*Scone Liber*, no. 1). See also, Dowden, p. 47.

⁷⁶⁶ *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, p. 6; *DC*, no. 230; *RRS*, I, no. 65; *RRS*, II, no. 531.

⁷⁶⁷ The record of this act appears in the *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum* by Alexander Myln (1474-1548) a text which notes the accomplishments of the bishops of Dunkeld (M.J. Yellowlees, 'Dunkeld and the Reformation' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 6-8). The gift in question is problematic because it occurs in a notice which contains obvious inaccuracies. The notice pertains to Bishop Cormac; however, it credits William I as the king who conferred gifts to the bishop and records the bishop's death in around 1174 (*obit circa annos*) (*Vitae Dunkeldensis*, p. 6). The *flourit temp* for Cormac, bishop of Dunkeld, is 1120 × 1132. He therefore was deceased long before the reign of William I (*Fasti*, p. 123). Thus, the gift has been erroneously ascribed to William I, and the obit year of 1174 for Bishop Cormac is also made in error. Instead, the gift appears to have been made by David I to Cormac, bishop of Dunkeld, and there is contemporary evidence contained in two charters to

that the king was in possession of the manors of the abbey of Dunkeld and was also engaged in redistributing its resources as he saw fit, in this case to the benefit of the bishop of Dunkeld. This example illustrates an underlying characteristic of not only the formation of the episcopal *mensa*, but in the configuration of the diocese of Dunkeld. The direct royal supervision of Dunkeld's abbatial patrimony was so pervasive that, as a result, the majority of churches held in episcopal patronage were located on royal lands.⁷⁶⁸ In other words, the bishops of Dunkeld received ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the former territories of the abbey of Dunkeld, yet, more often than not, the kings of Scotland retained the land. Thus, the right inherited by the kings of Scotland to the abbacy of Dunkeld was largely responsible for the form which the bishopric of Dunkeld took; however, not all of the abbey's assets were retained by the king, nor handed over to the new bishopric. An early beneficiary of the royal possession of the abbatial patrimony was a new religious house founded in honour of St Columba on the island of *Emonia*.⁷⁶⁹

The priory of Inchcolm had an especially protracted foundation process. In this respect it was similar to the island-based house of Cluniac monks established on the isle of May.⁷⁷⁰ One important aspect of the delay appears to be purely practical, namely the difficulties associated with the construction of conventual buildings on an island.⁷⁷¹ Yet, it appears that the delays at Inchcolm mirror in a number of respects the problems experienced at St Andrews, which are recorded in fortuitous detail in the *Augustinian's Account*. While the details are not as forthcoming for Inchcolm, there are parallels between the two Augustinian houses which were endowed by Alexander I, but not founded in his lifetime. As at St Andrews, Inchcolm's endowment was held by the bishop. However, it was not transferred to the canons of Inchcolm until late in the episcopacy of Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld (c. 1147-69), some forty-plus years after the endowment was set aside by Alexander.⁷⁷² It will be recalled that Robert, bishop of St Andrews, held the Boar's Raik for almost twenty years before the cathedral priory was formally established and invested with its endowment, and that the bishop's release was only reluctantly secured.

Dunfermline Abbey which support this interpretation. In the second general confirmation diploma made to the abbey by David I in 1150 × 1152, but not in the first which dates to 1127 × 1131, the king confirms to the monks the title of his *cáin* and barley (*brasei*) in Fife and Fothrif, 'saving the rights which pertain to the abbey of Dunkeld'. The first general confirmation diploma to Dunfermline, however, included the title of the king's *prebenda* in Fife and Forthrif (*DC*, nos. 33, 172). The change in the gift to Dunfermline, and the reservation by the king of rights to abbey of Dunkeld, as Professor Barrow noted, suggests that David I was likely the king in question (*RRS*, I, p. 166, fn. 1).

⁷⁶⁸ Rogers, 68-96 (p. 82).

⁷⁶⁹ Kenneth Veitch offers a different interpretation of the source of Inchcolm's endowment. He argues that the lands which formed the Augustinian priory's endowment were the former possessions of an earlier church 'which it superseded on the island' (Veitch, 'Alexander I', 136-66 (p. 151)). There is, however, no clear evidence that the priory of Inchcolm overtook an existing religious site or its patrimony.

⁷⁷⁰ Duncan, 'May', 52-80 (pp. 53-8).

⁷⁷¹ Paterson, 227-53 (p. 245).

⁷⁷² *Fasti*, p. 123.

The charter of Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld, conferring the king's endowment to the canons of Inchcolm dates to 1163 × 1169 and provides key details concerning the circumstances of the transfer.⁷⁷³ The bishop's charter, produced late in the reign of Mael Coluim IV or early in the reign of William I, is categorical in its recognition of David I, although deceased for at least a decade, as the driving force in ensuring that the endowment was turned over to the canons. Gregory's charter is clear on this point stating that 'by reason of King David's command and recommendation, I have protected and held the lands in custody for the benefit of the canons until they should be in the island of *Emonia*, just as the king ordered me'.⁷⁷⁴ David I evidently played a significant role in ensuring that the house planned by Alexander came to fruition.⁷⁷⁵ Thus, the situation parallels the foundation of the priory of St Andrews where David, while not responsible for the original endowment, was the prime-mover in its foundation. It perhaps also follows (as at St Andrews) that David was responsible for organising the initial community which would become the inaugural convent of canons at Inchcolm.

The most intriguing parallel between the two foundations is the uneasiness of the bishops of St Andrews and Dunkeld in releasing the endowments to the canons. The language of disposition used in Bishop Gregory's charter is informative: *reddidisse et quietas clamasse*.⁷⁷⁶ The use of a quitclaim suggests that there were questions surrounding the transfer which necessitated strong concessionary language from the bishop. It is important to remember that Robert, bishop of St Andrews, was encouraged by David I in essence to quitclaim the Boar's Raik. Besides the use of the quitclaim and the prominence given to David I in orchestrating the transfer, the charter further reiterates that the bishop 'held no right except only the custody from David and episcopal right from God'.⁷⁷⁷ It is not clear whether the vehemence of the language was the result of a dispute over the bishop's continued possession of the lands (i.e. beyond his mandate), or whether it was couched in such language in an effort to prevent future problems. It does suggest that there was the potential for ambiguity. More specifically, it appears that the heritage of the estates as the former patrimony of the abbey of Dunkeld had the potential to be interpreted as the legitimate property of its corporate successor, the cathedral church of Dunkeld. In short, the bishops of Dunkeld, like their counterparts at St Andrews, were compelled by the kings of Scotland to found a house of regular canons using resources which might be viewed as diocesan.

The source of its endowment, the close involvement of the bishop of Dunkeld in the foundation process, and the simple fact that the house stood within the diocese of Dunkeld, led to the priory of Inchcolm being closely associated with the bishops of Dunkeld throughout its history. At its foundation,

⁷⁷³ *Inchcolm Charters*, no. 1.

⁷⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷⁵ The importance of David I in the practical foundation of Inchcolm has been downplayed in the past (*Ibid.*, pp. xx, 101).

⁷⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 1.

⁷⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld, gave to the canons of Inchcolm the tithes of his expenditures and food while in residence on the island.⁷⁷⁸ This is the first indication that the bishops of Dunkeld would assume the role of patron. Despite its status as a royal foundation, the bishops acted as the *de facto* patrons of Inchcolm. The patronal role of the bishops of Dunkeld is also attested by their use of the priory of Inchcolm as an episcopal mausoleum.⁷⁷⁹

In a process begun by Alexander I and completed by David I, the kings of Scotland asserted their authority over the ancient patrimony of Dunkeld, and reallocated its resources, in order to establish a house of regular canons. This took place as part of the reorganisation of Dunkeld from an abbey to a cathedral church. The eventual result of this programme was the foundation of the priory of Inchcolm. Yet, it is not clear if the foundation of an Augustinian priory on the island of *Emonia* was in fact the original intention. As will be seen, the original plan may have been to found an Augustinian cathedral priory at Dunkeld; and, indeed, regular canons served the cathedral church of Dunkeld, at least in an informal capacity, into the thirteenth century.⁷⁸⁰

B. Inchcolm and Dunkeld

The establishment of a community of regular canons at the cathedral church of St Andrews was a significant step in reforming the Scottish Church. Yet, there is evidence that Alexander I may have intended to found not one, but two, such communities. Alexander I may have sought to institute an Augustinian cathedral community at Dunkeld, and, thereby, to install regular canons at the two premiere religious institutions in the kingdom of Scotland. Indeed, there is evidence that regular canons served the cathedral church of Dunkeld, at least on an informal basis, into the thirteenth century. The end result of this venture, however, was not the foundation of an Augustinian cathedral priory at Dunkeld, but the foundation of the priory of Inchcolm on the island of *Emonia*.

Two surviving texts record that the cathedral church of Dunkeld was served by regular canons and *céli Dé*. These texts indicate not only that a group of regular canons were established at Dunkeld, but that they persisted into the thirteenth century. The first text, the *Mappa mundi* by Gervase of Canterbury, is a tabular account produced in c. 1201, primarily concerned with the monastic topography of England and Wales.⁷⁸¹ Yet, it also provides a list of religious communities in the kingdom of Scotland.⁷⁸² Gervase,

⁷⁷⁸ *Inchcolm Charters*, no. 1.

⁷⁷⁹ In the thirteenth century, Richard de Prebenda (1203-10), John of Leicester (1211-4), Gilbert (1229/1230-36), and Richard de Inverkeithing (1250-72) were all entombed at the priory of Inchcolm (*Vitae Dunkeldensis*, pp. 6-11).

⁷⁸⁰ In the thirteenth century, an annual sum of 100 marks from the church of Dunkeld to Inchcolm was renewed by the bishop and chapter of Dunkeld. This substantial payment indicates that the house was considered an adjunct of the cathedral church, which was effectively acting as its mother house (*Inchcolm Charters*, no. 16).

⁷⁸¹ D. Knowles, 'The Mappa Mundi of Gervase of Canterbury', *Downside Review*, 48 (1930), 237-47 (pp. 237-41).

a monk of Canterbury, seems to have obtained this information from Dunfermline Abbey, a daughter house of Christ Church, Canterbury.⁷⁸³ The second text, *De partitione Anglie per comitatus et domibus religiosis in eis contentis*, was attached as an appendix to a chronicle produced by Henry of Silgrave, a monk of Canterbury, in c. 1270.⁷⁸⁴ As the title intimates, the text is principally a catalogue of religious houses in England, but it also lists religious communities in the kingdom of Scotland. The Scottish material in *De domibus religiosis* has been considered in detail by Kenneth Veitch.⁷⁸⁵ Veitch has shown that the list of Scottish religious communities was compiled in 1191 × 1200 by a Benedictine monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, who obtained his information via Dunfermline Abbey.⁷⁸⁶ Thus, both the *Mappa mundi* and *De domibus religiosis* were products of Christ Church, Canterbury, and contain lists of Scottish religious communities assembled during the same period.

Due to their Canterbury provenance and similarity in content, it was at one time believed that the Scottish material contained in *De domibus religiosis* had been simply copied from the *Mappa mundi*.⁷⁸⁷ However, this does not appear to be the case. When compared entry by entry, it becomes evident that neither is a close copy of the other.⁷⁸⁸ Instead, the textual similarities suggest a common source, namely a list of Scottish religious communities obtained by Christ Church, Canterbury, through contact with its daughter house of Dunfermline Abbey.⁷⁸⁹ Thus, the Scottish material contained in the two texts seems to be largely derived from a list produced in 1191 × 1201 and held at Canterbury. In the past, it has been maintained that the entries which record regular canons at Dunkeld were mistakes for secular canons.⁷⁹⁰ However, as will be seen, not only does the evidence indicate that the cathedral church of Dunkeld was served by both regular canons and *céli Dé*, but that the period from 1191 to 1201, when these lists were produced, was several decades too early for a community of secular canons to be operative at Dunkeld.

⁷⁸² Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols (London, 1879-80), II, pp. 414-49 (pp. 441-2).

⁷⁸³ G.H. Martin, 'Canterbury, Gervase of (b. c.1145, d. in or after 1210)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10570, accessed 6 May 2011]. The abbey of Dunfermline was a (non-filial) daughter house of Christ Church, Canterbury (*RRS*, I, no. 8; *KS*, pp. 194-5). Geoffrey I and Geoffrey II, abbots of Dunfermline from 1128 to 1178, were formerly monks of Canterbury (*HRHS*, p. 67; *MK*, pp. 145-6).

⁷⁸⁴ *CED*, II, pt. 1, pp. 181-2.

⁷⁸⁵ Veitch, 'De domibus religiosis', 14-23. See also, Barrow, 'De domibus religiosis', 83-4.

⁷⁸⁶ Veitch, 'De domibus religiosis', 14-23.

⁷⁸⁷ W.G. Birch, 'On Three Lists of Monasteries compiled in Thirteenth Century', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 28 (1872), 45-64.

⁷⁸⁸ Veitch, 'De domibus religiosis', 14-23 (pp. 16-7).

⁷⁸⁹ Similarities between the texts suggest a common source. For instance, in both texts, the filiations of Scottish monasteries are specified on only two occasions and in both cases these are the same, namely that Urquhart Priory was a dependent of Dunfermline Abbey and that May Priory was a dependent of Reading Abbey (Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works*, II, pp. 414-49 (pp. 441-2); *CED*, II, pt. 1, pp. 181-2).

⁷⁹⁰ *MRHS*, I, p. 192.

Unfortunately, there is little evidence concerning the transformation of the ancient abbey of Dunkeld into a bishopric organised along continental lines. This lack of evidence extends to the religious communities which served it during this formative period. Alexander Myln (1474-1548), the sixteenth-century abbot of Cambuskenneth, provides the only detailed description of this important period in the development of Dunkeld.⁷⁹¹ According to Myln's *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum*, it was David I who in c. 1127 was responsible for converting the monastery of Dunkeld into a cathedral church, instituting the first bishop, removing the *céli Dé* in favour of canons (*canonici*), and arranging for a college of secular canons to be established there in the future.⁷⁹² Alexander Myln's work is obviously a late tradition and, despite his apparent access to the now lost archives of Dunkeld, the accuracy of his claims, unless verified by other evidence, are certainly questionable.⁷⁹³ Myln implies a seamless transition from *céli Dé* to a collegiate body at Dunkeld. This explanation, however, is anachronistic, anticipating the establishment of a cathedral chapter of secular canons at Dunkeld in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.⁷⁹⁴ The telescoping of the changes that occurred at Dunkeld over the course of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries also conflicts with the evidence supplied by the *Mappa mundi* and *De domibus religiosis* which indicate a more nebulous development of religious life at the bishopric of Dunkeld.

In the twelfth century there was at least one secular canon at Dunkeld. Abraham, canon of Dunkeld, attests a charter of Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld, dating to 1163 × 1169. The charter confirms the church of Holy Trinity, Dunkeld, to the abbey of Dunfermline.⁷⁹⁵ Abraham is the first secular canon of Dunkeld to appear on record. Master Abraham was a frequent witness to the acts of Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld, and Richard and Hugh, bishops of St Andrews.⁷⁹⁶ Abraham was a high status individual who did not exclusively serve the bishopric of Dunkeld. In fact, Master Abraham is noted as a clerk of Richard, bishop of St Andrews (1163-78).⁷⁹⁷ Thus, while it appears that Master Abraham served the bishops of Dunkeld in an official capacity and seemingly received financial compensation as a canon of Dunkeld, it is unlikely that he was responsible for the administration of the cathedral church of Dunkeld. This responsibility fell to a rudimentary cathedral chapter.

The first steps to establish a secular cathedral chapter were taken by Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld. In 1163, Bishop Gregory secured a bull from Pope Alexander III confirming the right of the 'canons of

⁷⁹¹ Yellowlees, pp. 6-8.

⁷⁹² *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, pp. 4-5.

⁷⁹³ *MK*, p. 258, fn. 18.

⁷⁹⁴ *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, pp. 5, 10. The chronology provided by Alexander Myln is still accepted by some historians (Oram, *Domination*, p. 359).

⁷⁹⁵ *Dunfermline Registrum*, no. 124.

⁷⁹⁶ D.E.R. Watt, *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D. 1410* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 167-8.

⁷⁹⁷ *Holyrood Liber*, no. 13.

Dunkeld' to elect the bishop of Dunkeld.⁷⁹⁸ The language used in the bull suggests that the canons in question were secular, not regular.⁷⁹⁹ It appears therefore that the bishop of Dunkeld desired a secular cathedral chapter and procured papal licence with this end in mind. Yet, despite this privilege, and the existence of at least one canon, a secular cathedral chapter was not erected at Dunkeld until the 1230s.⁸⁰⁰ In the interim, however, the cathedral chapter of Dunkeld was synodal in character, consisting of a variety of clergy associated with the cathedral church.

The earliest evidence of the organisational structure of the synodal cathedral chapter dates to the election of John of Leicester in 1211. The election was presided over by the archdeacon of Dunkeld, an office which first appears on record in 1177.⁸⁰¹ Headed by the archdeacon, an assembly described as the 'chapter' and 'all the clergy' of the diocese elected the bishop. Rather than an identifiable group of secular canons, the cathedral chapter had a wide membership and was not restricted to any particular group of clergy. This synodal chapter, under the leadership of the archdeacon of Dunkeld, continued to be responsible for the administration of the cathedral church until it was superseded by a collegiate body in the 1230s.⁸⁰²

Gilbert, bishop of Dunkeld (1229/30-6), was responsible for restructuring the cathedral chapter of Dunkeld. During his episcopacy, the dean replaced the archdeacon as head of the chapter, and a college of secular canons became the exclusive body politic of the cathedral church.⁸⁰³ A dean is found presiding over the chapter in 1231 × 1236, and in 1236 the dean and chapter elected one of its canons, Geoffrey, son of Martin, as bishop of Dunkeld.⁸⁰⁴ By 1238, a secular cathedral chapter had been fully erected at Dunkeld, and the dignities of dean, precentor, treasurer, sub-dean, succentor, and probably chancellor, were in place.⁸⁰⁵ It also appears that Geoffrey, bishop of Dunkeld (1236-49), was responsible for

⁷⁹⁸ [...] *nisi quem canonici Dunchaldensis ecclesie communi consensus vel eorum pars consilii sanioris secundum Deum previderint eligendum* (*Scotia Pontificia*, no. 48).

⁷⁹⁹ Pope Alexander III issued three bulls to Scottish Augustinian houses which include clauses pertaining to elections, namely Holyrood, Cambuskenneth, and Inchcolm. In all three instances, reference is made to following the election procedure contained in the Rule of St Augustine. Take for example, the bull to Cambuskenneth in 1164: *nisi quem fratres communi consensus vel fratrem pars sanioris consilii secundum Deum et beati Augustini regulam previderint eligendum* (*Scotia Pontificia*, no. 55). The language used in the bulls to Holyrood and Inchcolm is nearly identical (*Ibid.*, no. 85; *Holyrood Liber*, pp. 168-71).

⁸⁰⁰ The development at Dunkeld compares favourably to the bishopric of Aberdeen. The bishop of Aberdeen received papal license to establish monks or secular canons there in 1157. However, a secular cathedral chapter was not fully erected until 1240s (*Fasti*, pp. 6-7; *MRHS*, II, pp. 202-3).

⁸⁰¹ *Fasti*, p. 155.

⁸⁰² *MRHS*, II, pp. 205-6; *Fasti*, pp. 132-3. See also, N.F. Shead, 'The Household and Chancery of the Bishops of Dunkeld, 1160s-1249', in *Church, Chronicle and Learning: Essays Presented to Donald Watt on the Occasion of the Completion of the Publication of Bower's Scotichronicon*, ed. B.E. Crawford (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 123-34.

⁸⁰³ *Fasti*, pp. 124, 132-3; *MRHS*, II, pp. 205-6.

⁸⁰⁴ *Fasti*, pp. 132-3; *MRHS*, II, pp. 205-6; *Inchcolm Charters*, nos. 14, 16.

⁸⁰⁵ *Fasti*, pp. 133-54. A chancellor does not appear until 1274. However, it seems likely that the office existed from c. 1230 (*MRHS*, II, p. 205).

instituting statutes based on the Salisbury model.⁸⁰⁶ Thus, from c. 1163 to c. 1230 the cathedral chapter of Dunkeld was made up not of secular canons, but of the wider cathedral community. This leaves a rather long period when the regular canons and *céli Dé* recorded by the *Mappa mundi* and *De domibus religiosis* may have served the cathedral church and formed part of its synodal chapter.

The contention that in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries a community of regular canons served the cathedral church of Dunkeld must be viewed in light of the foundation of the Augustinian priory of Inchcolm. A.A.M. Duncan and Kenneth Veitch have argued that Alexander I sought to establish an Augustinian cathedral chapter at Dunkeld, but after his death the plan was scuttled and a house of Augustinian canons was instead founded on the island of *Emonia*.⁸⁰⁷ However, the foundation of the priory of Inchcolm completed by 1163 × 1169, which may represent a diversion from the original plan, does not explain the existence of a community of regular canons at Dunkeld in c. 1200, as documented by the *Mappa mundi* and *De domibus religiosis*.

A community of regular canons was evidently assembled during David I's lifetime in anticipation of the foundation of the priory of Inchcolm. Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld, was charged by David I with ensuring that the priory would be founded, and in the interim that the regular canons would be financially cared for.⁸⁰⁸ This group of regular canons, which became the first convent of Inchcolm, were therefore supported by the bishop of Dunkeld during the construction of their conventual buildings on the island. As noted, this process was particularly protracted, during which time the community of regulars likely resided at the cathedral church of Dunkeld serving both its altar and bishop. When the priory was complete, a group of regular canons seems to have remained in the service of the bishopric. The lack of any mention of a prior of Dunkeld suggests that if regular canons served the cathedral church it was in an informal capacity with the canons belonging to another institution. This would account for the evidence found in the *Mappa mundi* and *De domibus religiosis* of regular canons at Dunkeld, and may explain the inklings found in other contemporary sources which suggest the potential for such an arrangement.

The testing clause of the charter of Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld, dating to 1163 × 1169, noted earlier as documenting the earliest secular canon of Dunkeld, may provide a glimpse of the patchwork of clergy serving the cathedral church of Dunkeld in the twelfth century.⁸⁰⁹ The charter is also the earliest evidence of a prior of Inchcolm. Besides Abraham, canon of Dunkeld, and Brice, prior of Inchcolm, the charter is also attested by Robert, abbot of Scone. More significantly, the charter is also witnessed by two

⁸⁰⁶ *Fasti*, pp. 132-3; *MRHS*, II, pp. 205-6.

⁸⁰⁷ *MK*, p. 268; Veitch, 'Alexander I', 136-66 (p. 155). Veitch also suggested that the plan may have been stifled by the reluctance of the incumbent clergy at Dunkeld (i.e. the *céli Dé*) to adopt the Rule of St Augustine, an interpretation which has been adopted by Richard Oram (Veitch, 'Alexander I', 136-66 (p. 155); Oram, *Domination*, p. 359).

⁸⁰⁸ *Inchcolm Charters*, no. 1.

⁸⁰⁹ *Dunfermline Registrum*, no. 124.

canons, Gille Muire and Maurice. These canons follow Brice, prior of Inchcolm, in the witness list, but neither canon is designated as serving a particular institution. Given their appearance in the witness list, it appears that they were canons of Inchcolm. However, Gille Muire and Maurice may represent a more ambiguous class of regular canon who served the cathedral church of Dunkeld as part of an adjunct community.

The charter was also attested by two priests, Duftach and Somerled. These two priests, and a third named Mael Muire, appear to be representatives of the *céli Dé* community of Dunkeld.⁸¹⁰ Besides the references to a community of *céli Dé* at Dunkeld in the *Mappa mundi* and *De domibus religiosis*, contemporary evidence is quite limited.⁸¹¹ Unlike the situation at Brechin where there is ample evidence for a prior and cathedral chapter of *céli Dé* in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, there is no charter evidence confirming a formal arrangement of this type at Dunkeld.⁸¹² There is, however, a late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century version of a litany ascribed to the *céli Dé* of Dunkeld and its inclusion of a prayer for the soul of David I suggests that the community remained active beyond his reign, despite the reports of Alexander Myln.⁸¹³ It seems likely that the *céli Dé* of Dunkeld and their resources were absorbed into the college of secular canons in the 1230s. This would correspond to the period in which the *céli Dé* of Brechin were gradually being converted into a college of secular canons and the *céli Dé* of St Andrews were also undergoing a similar transformation.⁸¹⁴ If this interpretation is accurate, then the cathedral church of Dunkeld may have originally been served by *céli Dé* and regular canons with both groups gradually being replaced by the college of secular canons.

In the thirteenth century, in spite of the changes taking place at Dunkeld, regular canons continued to serve the bishopric. In two *acta* of Gilbert, bishop of Dunkeld, rather unique terminology is used for the regular canons that appear as witnesses. In a charter from 1229 × 1236, Phillip, canon of Scone, is referred to as ‘our associate’ (*socio nostro*).⁸¹⁵ In another charter of Bishop Gilbert dated to 1231 × 1232, the same Phillip, canon of Scone, is found alongside T[homas], canon of Inchcolm, as

⁸¹⁰ Mael Muire the priest attests the earliest charter of Inchcolm Priory alongside Duftach and Somerled (*Inchcolm Charters*, no. 1). It should be noted that there is no explicit evidence that these individuals were *céli Dé*. When individual *céli Dé* attested charters they were sometimes designated as such (*St Andrews Liber*, p. 329; *Charters, Bulls, and Other Documents relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray*, ed. J. Dowden (Edinburgh, 1908), no. 1). However, this was not always the case. In some instances, the personnel of *céli Dé* communities were referred to as priests or their affiliation was left unrecorded (*St Andrews Liber*, pp. 115-6, 329; *PNF*, III, pp. 530-1). This was obviously at the discretion of the scribe.

⁸¹¹ Reeves, pp. 41-3.

⁸¹² *Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc: Registrum Abacie de Aberbrothoc*, eds. C.N. Innes and P. Chalmers, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1848-56), I, nos. 188, 192.

⁸¹³ *CED*, II, pt. I, pp. 278-85. D.E. Easson considered this evidence unsatisfactory, but provided no explanation (*MRHS*, I, p. 192).

⁸¹⁴ *MRHS*, II, p. 203; *Fasti*, p. 57; *KS*, pp. 212-32.

⁸¹⁵ *Inchcolm Charters*, no. 14.

witnesses; both canons are noted as ‘our associates’ (*socii nostri*).⁸¹⁶ By the thirteenth century the title *socius* was frequently used to refer to a deputy given the responsibility of overseeing accounts and of advising prelates in economic matters, particularly within a monastic context. In other words, a *socius* was an accountant.⁸¹⁷ Canons of Scone and Inchcolm were part of the episcopal household, potentially acting as financial advisors. During this period the bishop of Dunkeld was in the process of establishing a secular cathedral chapter. Nevertheless, regular canons seem to have retained a perhaps ill-defined role in the bishopric. Alexander Mlyn, despite his obvious chronological inaccuracies, offers an indication of what the establishment of the secular college meant for the other religious bodies. He notes that there was a small group of canons who continued to reside at Dunkeld, but whose importance faded with the establishment of the collegiate chapter.⁸¹⁸ This description might be equally true for the *céli Dé* or the regular canons of Dunkeld.

Before c. 1230, a synodal cathedral chapter, headed by the archdeacon of Dunkeld, was responsible for the administration of the cathedral church of Dunkeld. During this period, religious life at Dunkeld may have been composed of a mixture of clerical and monastic groups akin to the situation at St Andrews where in the middle of the twelfth century secular clerics (*personae*), *céli Dé*, and regular canons, all served the cathedral church. The institution of a collegiate body at Dunkeld seems to have ultimately eclipsed the community of *céli Dé*, absorbing their function and their resources. In the case of the regular canons, it seems the main contingent gradually migrated to the priory of Inchcolm, a house closely associated with the bishopric. The role of the regular canons at Dunkeld seems to have evolved into the direct service of the bishops of Dunkeld as part of their episcopal *familia*, specifically as financial advisors. However, their role became increasingly unnecessary with the institution of the collegiate foundation. The creation of a college of secular canons, and secular cathedral chapter, brought to an end the eclectic blend of religious bodies which had served the cathedral church and its bishops, and constituted its synodal cathedral chapter.

Chapter Conclusion:

In the mid twelfth century, the *Libellus de diversis ordinibus* suggested that geographical setting could be used to predict the societal function of both monastic and canonical institutions, with urban houses tending to be active and pastoral and rural or remote houses tending towards contemplation. Modern scholars, particularly Christopher Brooke and David Postles, have emphasised the importance of

⁸¹⁶ *Liber S. Marie de Balmorinach*, ed. W.B.D.D. Turnbull (Edinburgh, 1841), no. 26. See also, *Carte Monialium de Northberwic: Prioratus Cisterciensis B. Marie de Northberwic munimenta vetusta que supersunt*, ed. C.N. Innes (Edinburgh, 1847), no. 11.

⁸¹⁷ *DPE*, p. 180.

⁸¹⁸ *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, p. 10.

geographical setting in studies of the English Augustinians. Other scholars, including J.C. Dickinson, were also cognisant of this phenomenon.⁸¹⁹ Thus, both contemporaries and modern scholars have argued for a correlation between geographical setting and societal function. It is worth briefly exploring this theory in a Scottish context.

As discussed, Holyrood Abbey stands as the clearest example of an urban house in Scotland. Before the arrival of the mendicants, it was arguably the most urban religious house in the kingdom. The abbey was settled from Merton Priory, an important centre for the propagation of urban houses in England, and from the outset it took an active role in urban life, for instance possessing its own burgh. Clearly, the canons of Holyrood adopted a brand of canonical life which did not reject the world, but rather embraced it. In addition to Holyrood, several other Scottish houses fit this urban mould.

Jedburgh Priory was the site of an ancient minster church, which lay on an important north-south travel route. In the early twelfth century, a royal castle was established at Jedburgh. In fact, one of the earliest references to the castle is the foundation charter of Jedburgh in 1141 × 1151.⁸²⁰ By at least the reign of Mael Coluim IV, but probably earlier, a royal burgh was established at Jedburgh, within which the canons of Jedburgh had acquired property by 1153 × 1165.⁸²¹ Thus, the establishment of regular canons at Jedburgh corresponds to its development as an urban centre.

St Andrews was important as an episcopal seat from an early date. However, shortly after the arrival of the regular canons, it began to grow as a commercial centre. Under the direction of Mainard the Fleming, its first provost, and with the approval of David I, the burgh of St Andrews was founded by Robert, bishop of St Andrews, in c. 1144. From the beginning, the canons of St Andrews and the episcopal burgh were linked. In fact, a document recording the foundation of the episcopal burgh was attested by Robert, the first prior of St Andrews.⁸²² Moreover, the cathedral priory became a significant player in the land market within the burgh, acquiring a substantial amount of urban property.⁸²³ The house also enjoyed freedom from burgage and toll within the whole kingdom.⁸²⁴ Not only was the cathedral priory established in an urban environment, but it was directly involved in its development.

Despite the eremitical background of the order, Arrouaisian canons were frequently established in urban contexts.⁸²⁵ Such was the case at Cambuskenneth Abbey, which was founded in a small church or chapel near Stirling. The abbey was located roughly two kilometres from the royal castle, administrative

⁸¹⁹ Brooke, 'Monk and Canon', pp. 109-29; Brooke, 'David I', pp. 319-34; Postles, 'Austin Canons', 1-20; AC, p. 73. See also, H. Sunley and N. Stevens, *Kenilworth: The Story of the Abbey* (London, 1995), p. 2.

⁸²⁰ DC, no. 174.

⁸²¹ RRS, I, no. 278; RRS, II, no. 62.

⁸²² ESC, no. 169. See also, PNF, III, pp. 429-30.

⁸²³ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 124, 127, 132-3, 134, 139, 141.

⁸²⁴ DC, no. 92; *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 147-9.

⁸²⁵ *Chanoines Reguliers D'Arrouaise*, I, pp. 193-7.

centre, and burgh of Stirling.⁸²⁶ The close association of the house with Stirling is evident. As noted, the house was referred to as the abbey 'of Stirling' until the thirteenth century. Moreover, the abbey was active in the burgh of Stirling from an early date.⁸²⁷ The location of the abbey can perhaps best be described as suburban, but it was unquestionably integrated into the urban environment.

Two Scottish Augustinian houses were established in rural or remote geographical settings, namely Scone and Inchcolm. Scone was founded at the site of an important royal manor, in an essentially rural and agrarian environment. However, it was only five kilometres from the urban centre of Perth, which was the site of a royal burgh and administrative centre from the reign of David I.⁸²⁸ Despite its close proximity to Perth, the house appears to have deliberately isolated itself from Perth, at least in the twelfth century. One indication of its isolation was a licence given to the house by David I to have their own tanner, smith, and shoemaker, who would act on behalf of the canons in the burgh of Perth.⁸²⁹ Not until the end of the twelfth century would the canons of Scone begin to take an active role in the burgh of Perth.⁸³⁰ Likewise, the priory of Inchcolm, located on an island in the Firth of Forth, was isolated from population centres. Thus, according to the paradigm, the geographical settings of houses of Holyrood, Jedburgh, St Andrews, and Cambuskenneth are indicative of an active approach to canonical life, while Scone and Inchcolm suggest a contemplative approach.

Although a number of its earliest and most famous houses were urban, the vast majority of Augustinian houses founded in England and Wales were rural. In fact, only twenty-three percent of houses in England and Wales were located in urban contexts.⁸³¹ Interestingly, of the twenty-one independent and dependent houses of regular canons founded in the kingdom of Scotland between c. 1120 and 1318, only five, or twenty-three percent, were established in an urban context. Thus, from a statistical perspective, Scotland was identical to its southern neighbours as far as the geographical setting of its Augustinian houses.

Like England, the chronology of Augustinian settlement in Scotland must be taken into consideration. As discussed, David Postles has argued for two 'waves' of Augustinian foundations in England, one before and one after 1135, with the first consisting predominantly of urban foundations with an active interpretation of canonical life, while the second was largely rural and contemplative.⁸³² This two wave model can also be applied to the kingdom of Scotland before and after 1153. Of the six major

⁸²⁶ *MK*, p. 465; *RRS*, I, pp. 40-1, 46-7; *Sheriffs*, pp. 41-3.

⁸²⁷ *DC*, nos. 214, 159; *Cambuskenneth Registrum*, no. 104.

⁸²⁸ *RRS*, II, nos. 233, 278; *MK*, pp. 467-9; *Sheriffs*, pp. 33-36.

⁸²⁹ *RRS*, I, nos. 243, 246.

⁸³⁰ *Scone Liber*, nos. 82, 86, 90, 97, 106. Preserved in the muniments of Scone are two charters of William I (after 1196), which record royal activity in the burgh of Perth (via the king's provost and sheriff) (*RRS*, II, nos. 415, 523).

⁸³¹ *GAS*, I, p. 334.

⁸³² Postles, 'Austin Canons', 1-20 (pp. 2-3). He also argued that there was a geographical dynamic in which northern England was predominantly rural and contemplative both before and after 1135 (*Ibid.*).

houses founded, or planned, before 1153 four were in urban contexts (Holyrood, Jedburgh, St Andrews, and Cambuskenneth), while two were rural or remote (Scone, Inchcolm). The dependent priory of Restenneth, to be discussed in the next chapter, was founded near the royal burgh and castle of Forfar in *c.* 1153.⁸³³ In fact, Restenneth was the last urban house founded in the kingdom. Of the twelve independent Augustinian houses founded in medieval Scotland only four were urban, all of which were founded before 1153, while of the nine dependencies established, only Restenneth was in an urban context. Thus, the establishment of urban houses was, like England, part of the first phase of Augustinian settlement in the kingdom of Scotland. Afterwards, the movement took on a more rural character. However, as will be seen, while geographical setting is an important barometer of societal function, other factors seem to have influenced the Scottish Augustinians and set them on a different course than the English Augustinians.

⁸³³ *RRS*, I, p. 48; *RRS*, II, pp. 16-7, no. 280.

Chapter 2: Foundations in Context—Dependencies

The bond of filiation did not play the same role in the history of the mainstream Augustinian canons as it did for canonical congregations such as the Premonstratensians, Victorines, and Arrouaisians, or for the monastic orders such as the Cluniacs, Cistercians, and Tironensians. Nonetheless, there existed a significant number of Augustinian dependencies whose existence was largely defined by the mother-daughter relationship. The prevalence of Augustinian dependencies varied in different regions of Latin Christendom, but it was without question a salient feature in Scotland.

In discussing the phenomenon in England, J.C. Dickinson noted that ‘a new house of regular canons large enough to maintain a permanent common life automatically became an independent unit’.⁸³⁴ The number of dependencies in England and Wales reinforces Dickinson’s conclusion. There were roughly 245 houses of Augustinian canons in England and Wales of which forty-five, or roughly eighteen percent, were dependencies.⁸³⁵ Of the approximately 200 independent houses in England and Wales only twenty-eight, or around fourteen percent, had at least one dependency and only nine had more than one.⁸³⁶ Thus, for the vast majority of Augustinian houses in England and Wales dependence was not a factor in their religious life.

In Ireland, the number of Augustinian dependencies is quite similar. There were approximately 122 houses of Augustinian canons founded in Ireland, of which sixty-four were non-congregational, fifty were Arrouaisian, and eight were Victorine. There were twenty-three dependencies established in Ireland belonging to an Irish mother house (three belonged to English mother houses). Of these houses, eleven were non-congregational, nine were Arrouaisian, and three were Victorine. Of the approximately sixty-four non-congregational houses in Ireland, eleven, or around seventeen percent, were dependencies. Eleven of the fifty-three independent houses of regular canons, or roughly twenty percent, had one dependency. However, none of the non-congregational houses had more than one.⁸³⁷ Thus, the number of dependencies in Ireland is consistent with evidence for England and Wales.

The picture on the continent is considerably different, where it appears that dependent priories were quite common, particularly in the Holy Roman Empire and France.⁸³⁸ Unfortunately, it has been impossible to calculate the relative numbers of independent and dependent houses in these areas. Nevertheless, it is clear that dependencies existed in far greater numbers on the continent, than in England, Ireland, or Wales. In France, for example, not only were dependencies common for Augustinian

⁸³⁴ *AC*, p. 158.

⁸³⁵ *GAS*, I, pp. 22-7; *DPE*, apps. 1, 2. See also, *AC*, pp. 157-60; *GAS*, II, app. 4.

⁸³⁶ *DPE*, p. xix.

⁸³⁷ *MRHI*, pp. 153-200. Only three houses of regular canons in Ireland appear to have had more than one dependency. The Arrouaisian houses of Armagh and Rascommon, and the Victorine house of St Thomas, Dublin, each had two dependencies (*Ibid.*, pp. 157-8, 168, 172-3).

⁸³⁸ *AC*, p. 157; Weinfurter, ‘Regularkanonikern’, 379-97 (p. 390).

houses, but the larger houses, which often possessed abbatial status, frequently had large numbers of dependencies (i.e. more than five).⁸³⁹

The Scottish Augustinians, although constituting a smaller sample, seem to have fallen somewhere between their insular and continental brethren. In Scotland, a third of all non-congregational houses had at least one dependency. There were a total of seven Augustinian dependencies belonging to four houses, namely Scone (Loch Tay), Holyrood (St Mary's Isle), St Andrews (Loch Leven, Pittenweem), and Jedburgh (Restenneth, Canonbie, Blantyre), which accounted for thirty-six percent of all Augustinian houses in Scotland. Moreover, the majority of Scottish houses were involved in a dependent relationship acting as either mother or daughter.⁸⁴⁰ Dependent status was therefore characteristic of the Augustinian movement in the kingdom of Scotland.

I. Loch Tay

Shortly after the foundation of the priory of Scone in c. 1120, Alexander I commissioned the foundation of a daughter house on the island of Loch Tay. This projected cell is the earliest example of an Augustinian institution, or indeed of any reformed institution, taking on a dependency in Scotland. Yet, the paucity of evidence for the cell has led to some scepticism among historians as to whether the project ever came to fruition at all.⁸⁴¹ The evidence suggests that it did, but that the house remained exceptionally small, had a nondescript history, and may have functioned in a manner rarely associated with Augustinian canons.

The Loch of Tay is approximately fifty kilometres from Scone. Its largest island is a crannog, i.e. an artificial island, and it was here that the small dependent cell of the priory of Scone was established.⁸⁴² As discussed, Sybil, queen of Scotland, acted as co-founder of the priory of Scone. The queen's premature death on 12/3 July 1122 became the catalyst for the establishment of a religious house on the island.⁸⁴³ At some point following the queen's death in 1122 and before his own death on 23 April 1124, Alexander gave the island of Loch Tay to the canons of Scone under the following terms:

⁸³⁹ *Des clercs au service de la réforme: études et documents sur les chanoines réguliers de la province de Rouen*, ed. M. Arnoux (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 330-44, nos. 1-11. In the diocese of Sens, for example, each Augustinian house had at least one dependent priory (*prieurés simples*) with some houses such as St James, Provins, or the cathedral priory of St John, Sens, having more than ten (C. Beaunier and J.M. Besse, *Abbayes et Prieurés de L'Ancienne France* (Paris, 1913), VI, pp. 37-40, 47-69).

⁸⁴⁰ *MRHS*, II, pp. 88-99.

⁸⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 98-9; *MK*, p. 131.

⁸⁴² Crannogs are common to the lochs of Scotland and Ireland. There are roughly 350 of these manmade islands in Scotland and Loch Tay contains at least seventeen (T.N. Dixon, 'A survey of crannogs in Loch Tay', *PSAS*, 112 (1982), 17-38 (pp. 17-23)).

⁸⁴³ Symeon of Durham dates Sibyl's death to 12 July 1122 (*Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, II, p. 265). Her obit at Durham fell each year on 12 July (Piper, 'Obits', pp. 161-201 (p. 196)). The *Melrose Chronicle* dates the queen's

[...] for the honour of God, St Mary, and all the saints and for my soul and for soul of Queen Sybil, I have given the island of Loch Tay, to be held in perpetual right with all demesne pertaining to it, to the canons of the Holy Trinity of Scone and to the brothers serving God there so that a church of God might be built [on the island], for my soul and for the soul of the queen who died in that place, where God shall be served in the habit of religion and this I give to them in the meantime, until I should increase the gift so that the place may be more worthy of the worship of God.⁸⁴⁴

As the above charter indicates, the queen seems to have died on the island of Loch Tay.⁸⁴⁵ The circumstances of her death are unknown, but her presence on the island in the summer of 1122 is certainly intriguing.⁸⁴⁶ The language of the charter and the king's desire to establish a religious house on the remote island strongly suggest that the queen was in fact buried there. Island burials for members of the Scottish nobility were not unknown in the twelfth century. In 1198, Gille Brígte, earl of Strathearn, and his wife Matilda chose to bury their first-born son, Gille Críst, on the island of Inchaffray. The island was occupied by Mael Ísu, a hermit and priest, and his brethren. It was at this site and with the personnel of the hermitage that the earl and countess founded the Augustinian priory of Inchaffray in 1200. Later, the earl and countess would also be interred on the island.⁸⁴⁷ Thus, at Inchaffray, the burial of a Scottish noble at the site of an island-based hermitage quickly led to the foundation of a formal Augustinian institution. The parallels with Loch Tay are manifest, and the potential for eremitical tendencies, in particular, is a point to which we shall return.

The death of Queen Sybil on an island in Loch Tay and her burial there became the basis for a small dependent cell of Scone Priory. Alexander I's decision to use the canons of Scone for this task perhaps reflects the wishes of the queen, who shortly before her death had taken a prominent role in the foundation of the Augustinian priory. It is clear that the cell was to be founded *de novo* with no apparent connection to any pre-existing religious site on the island. The king's charter is unambiguous in its intention that the canons serving the cell would provide intercessory prayer for the souls of Alexander I and Sybil in perpetuity. Thus, the cell was the result of purely eschatological objectives, which was perhaps the most common reason benefactors chose to establish dependencies in the middle ages.⁸⁴⁸

The canons of Scone were derived from a house in England with affinity for dependencies. The priory of Nostell had five dependent cells, more than any other Augustinian house in England, and four of

death to 13 July 1122 (*Chron. Melrose*, s.a. 1122 (p. 67)). Walter Bower, probably following the *Melrose Chronicle*, also dates the death to 13 July 1122 (*Scotichronicon*, III, pp. 108-9).

⁸⁴⁴ *Scone Liber*, no. 2.

⁸⁴⁵ Walter Bower also states that the queen died on the island of Loch Tay (*Scotichronicon*, III, pp. 108-9).

⁸⁴⁶ Symeon of Durham states that her death was 'sudden' (*Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, II, p. 265). A.C. Lawrie speculated that her death was the result of drowning (*ESC*, p. 294).

⁸⁴⁷ *Inchaffray Charters*, no. 9.

⁸⁴⁸ *DPE*, p. 48.

these were established in the 1120s, shortly after its own foundation.⁸⁴⁹ Interestingly, one of the early cells of Nostell seems to parallel Loch Tay. The small cell of Hirst was founded by Nigel D'Aubigny in 1120 × 1129 in the marshy terrain of the Isle of Axholme (Lincs.) in order to provide intercessory prayer for him and his heirs. Unlike Nostell's other dependent cells, the cell of Hirst was not founded in a parish church, but was remote and eremitical in character. In fact, a single hermit occupied the cell at its foundation and throughout its history it was seemingly home to only one or two canons. Also, there is no indication in the twelfth century that the head of the cell of Hirst ever held a priorship. In fact, charters pertaining to Hirst were directed to individual canons of Nostell who were evidently in charge of the cell at the time.⁸⁵⁰ As Martin Heale noted, the possession of a remote cell could provide the opportunity for brothers at the mother house to experience the eremitical lifestyle for a time.⁸⁵¹ This mode of religious life is usually and justifiably associated with the Benedictines for whom the life of a hermit was always an option.⁸⁵² However, as discussed, eremitism also influenced the Augustinian movement and dependent cells were established with this ideal in mind by Benedictines and Augustinians alike.

There is reason to believe that the cell of Loch Tay may have also functioned more along the lines of a small hermitage. The cell was located at a solitary site in a territory which was far removed from the mother house and its main area of proprietary interest.⁸⁵³ Like Hirst, it was probably never inhabited by more than one or two canons and, as was common with dependencies, the personnel were probably frequently rotated.⁸⁵⁴ There is no medieval evidence confirming a prior of Loch Tay, and this fact has undoubtedly contributed to the idea that the cell was never founded at all. However, a prior was not a prerequisite for small daughter houses; sometimes the heads of minor dependencies used titles such as *custos* or *magister*, in others, such as Hirst, the use of formal titles was evidently deemed unnecessary.⁸⁵⁵

While Alexander I never followed through with his intention to fully endow the cell, there is sufficient evidence that a small dependency on the island of Loch Tay did exist. Limited documentation is not particularly surprising given the cell's size, potential function, and lack of a prior. The island of Loch Tay was confirmed three times between 1163 and 1226 as the property of Scone.⁸⁵⁶ However, the first explicit mention of a cell at Loch Tay dates to the fifteenth century when Walter Bower made reference to the island-based cell. As discussed, the *Scotichronicon* was intended as a continuation of the *Chronica*

⁸⁴⁹ The cells of Nostell Priory include Scokirk/Tockwith (×1121), Woodkirk (1121 × 1127), Hirst (1121 × 1129), Breedon (×1122), and Bamburgh (c. 1221) (Ibid., apps. 1, 2).

⁸⁵⁰ Four different individual canons are named in five twelfth-century charters, Ralph, Robert, Warin, and Osbert Silvain (Frost, 'Nostell Priory Cartulary', II, nos. 978, 982-4, 986).

⁸⁵¹ *DPE*, pp. 143-4.

⁸⁵² *Benedict's Rule: A Translation and Commentary*, ed. and trans. T.G. Kardong (Collegeville, MN, 1996), pp. 34-45.

⁸⁵³ Loch Tay was located in the earldom of Atholl (*RRS*, I, pp. 42-3).

⁸⁵⁴ *DPE*, pp. 123-4.

⁸⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 88-9.

⁸⁵⁶ *RRS*, I, no. 243; *Scone Liber*, nos. 18, 103.

Gentis Scotorum by John of Fordun. In his chronicle, John of Fordun provides a topographical description of the islands of Scotland, on occasion noting the religious houses established on them. He mentions three, one of which was the Augustinian priory of Oronsay.⁸⁵⁷ In the *Scotichronicon*, Walter Bower makes additions to this chapter, namely the four island-based Augustinian houses of Inchmahome, Iona, Loch Leven, and Loch Tay.⁸⁵⁸ The religious house on Loch Tay was described as a ‘cell of the canons of Scone’.⁸⁵⁹ This reference to the cell of Loch Tay has been largely dismissed by historians.⁸⁶⁰ However, as discussed, Walter Bower was particularly interested in recording the history of the Augustinian canons in Scotland, and this chapter provides an excellent example of his predilection. The evidence provided by Walter Bower is further substantiated by the inclusion of Loch Tay as a cell of Scone in a list of Scottish religious houses attached to the *Pluscarden Chronicle*, which dates to c. 1460.⁸⁶¹ In addition, there are several seventeenth-century references to the priory of Loch Tay and its possessions.⁸⁶² Therefore, there is no reason to doubt the existence of a cell on Loch Tay, although the details of its history will likely remain murky at best. It would appear that the canons of Scone, although never receiving the increases envisioned in the charter of Alexander I, fulfilled the terms of the king’s charter and continued to operate a dependency offering intercessory prayer for the souls of the founders of their house.

II. Loch Leven

In the middle of the twelfth century, the cathedral priory of St Andrews established a dependent priory on the island of Loch Leven and, in doing so, the canons gained control of the centuries old abbey of Loch Leven, which at the time of its conversion was still actively served by a community of *céli Dé*. It stands as the clearest and most dramatic example of a reformed institution supplanting a native monastery and, for this reason, became a favourite subject of Scottish antiquarians.⁸⁶³ Some antiquarians saw this event as part of a sweeping policy aimed at removing the *céli Dé* from the kingdom of Scotland.⁸⁶⁴ Recent work by Kenneth Veitch, however, has demonstrated the inaccuracy of this thesis and showed that the treatment of

⁸⁵⁷ *Chron. Fordun*, pp. 43-4. For the priory of Oronsay, see *MRHS*, II, p. 94.

⁸⁵⁸ *Scotichronicon*, I, pp. 186-91, 343-51.

⁸⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 190-1.

⁸⁶⁰ *MRHS*, II, pp. 98-9.

⁸⁶¹ *Liber Pluscardensis*, ed. F.J.H. Skene, 2 vols (1877), I, app. 1 (p. 406).

⁸⁶² *MRHS*, II, pp. 98-9.

⁸⁶³ J. Jamieson, *An Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees of Iona, and of their settlements in Scotland, England, and Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1811), pp. 101-14; Reeves, pp. 51-3.

⁸⁶⁴ D. MacCallum, *The History of the Culdees; the Ancient Clergy of the British Isles, A.D. 177-1300* (Edinburgh and London, 1855), pp. 132-41. The basis for this view comes from the idea advanced in the nineteenth century that the *céli Dé* were essentially proto-Presbyterians who were persecuted by the Catholic Church. For the example par excellence of the proto-Presbyterian thesis, see T.V. Moore, *The Culdee Church: or, The Historical Connection of Modern Presbyterian Churches with those of Apostolic Times, through the Church of Scotland* (Richmond, VA, 1868). For a recent discussion of the impact of the Protestant-Catholic divide on Scottish historiography, see M.H. Hammond, ‘Ethnicity and the Writing of Medieval Scottish history’, *SHR*, 85 (2006), 1-27.

the incumbent community at Loch Leven was atypical.⁸⁶⁵ Yet, the difficulties incurred by the cathedral priory in actually gaining control of Loch Leven, and the legacy which this had for the Augustinian dependency, has not been fully appreciated by historians.

At the time of its conversion, the island-based abbey of Loch Leven was already an ancient monastic institution. There is relatively substantial evidence for the pre-Augustinian religious house which was entered as *notitiae* or memoranda into the St Andrews cartulary in the thirteenth century. These provide a partial record of the history of the *céli Dé* community of Loch Leven.⁸⁶⁶ The tradition of the abbey of Loch Leven held that Bridei, son of Der-Ilei, king of the Picts (c. 697-706), gave the island of Loch Leven to God, St Servanus, and the *céli Dé*, who are described as hermits.⁸⁶⁷ The short notice of the foundation included in the *notitiae* is related to a wider narrative tradition, which relates that Adomnán, abbot of Iona (679-704), with the support of the Pictish king, Bridei, son of Der-Ilei, gave the island of Loch Leven to St Servanus so that a religious house might be establish there.⁸⁶⁸ From its foundation, the house appears to have been dependent upon a more significant religious house at Culross, also founded by St Servanus.⁸⁶⁹ Yet, neither Culross nor Loch Leven could have been founded as houses of *céli Dé*, for the religious movement itself did not begin in Ireland until the second half of the eighth century.⁸⁷⁰

⁸⁶⁵ Veitch, 'Augustinian Rule', 1-22 (pp. 2-5).

⁸⁶⁶ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 113-8. The *notitiae* are prefaced by an explanatory note by the scribe, who explains that the records of the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven were being entered into the cartulary because they provided documentation of economic rights now held by the cathedral priory. The scribe notes that *notitiae* were based upon 'an old book written in Gaelic' (Ibid., p. 113).

⁸⁶⁷ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 113. See also, T.O. Clancy, 'Philosopher-King: Nechtan mac Der-Ilei', *SHR*, 60 (2004), 125-49 (p. 130, fn. 26); Woolf, pp. 28-9.

⁸⁶⁸ The historical tradition related in the *notitia* is connected to the anonymous *Vita Sancti Servani*, a text which was likely produced in 1100 × 1165 (A. Macquarrie, 'Vita Sancti Servani: The Life of St Serf', *IR*, 44:2 (1993), 122-52 (pp. 136-52); A. Boyle, 'St Servanus and the Manuscript Tradition of the Life of St. Kentigern', *IR*, 21 (1970), 37-45 (pp. 38-9)). This text was also used by Andrew de Wyntoun, prior of Loch Leven (1390-1421), to produce his *Original Chronicle* (*Chron. Wyntoun*, II, pp. 37-44). All three texts relate the foundation of Loch Leven to Bridei, son of Dargart, king of the Picts, and use related spellings of the king's name: *Brude filius dergard*, *Brude filius Dargart*, and *Brwde Dargardys* (*St Andrews Liber*, p. 113; Macquarrie, 'Vita', 122-52 (p. 140); *Chron. Wyntoun*, II, p. 39). T.O. Clancy has produced a persuasive argument that Bredei and Nechtan were the sons of Der-Ilei (mother) and Dargart (father) (Clancy, 'Philosopher-King', 125-49 (pp. 127-31)). The use of the patronymic, rather than the matronymic by which the king is usually known, suggests a textual relationship. Thus, the foundation account in the *Vita Sancti Servani* appears to be representative of the tradition of the abbey of Loch Leven. Moreover, a version of the text seems to have been held by the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven, which passed to their Augustinian successors, and was still extant in the early fifteenth century when it was used by Wyntoun (Macquarrie, 'Vita', pp. 125-7). See also, A. Macquarrie, *The Saints of Scotland: Essays in Scottish Church History AD 450-1093* (Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 145-59.

⁸⁶⁹ Macquarrie, 'Vita', 122-52 (pp. 123, 127-8, 132-3). For a discussion of the potential foundation context of Culross, see Clancy, 'Philosopher-King', 125-49 (pp. 137-43).

⁸⁷⁰ O'Dwyer, pp. 1-16.

Nothing else is known of abbey of Loch Leven until the mid-tenth century when the abbey became dependent upon St Andrews.⁸⁷¹ In c. 950, Rónán, abbot of Loch Leven, arranged with Fothad I, bishop of St Andrews, for his abbey to become a cell (*cellula*) under episcopal supervision.⁸⁷² Therefore, the bishops of St Andrews held proprietary right to the abbey and in return would provide food, clothing, and protection to the community.⁸⁷³ By this time, Loch Leven was served by *céli Dé*, perhaps introduced from St Andrews which also had a community of *céli Dé*.⁸⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the dependence of the abbey of Loch Leven upon the church of St Andrews had significant consequences for the *céli Dé* in the twelfth century.

Evidence provided by the *notitiae* reveals the economic development of the abbey from roughly 1050 to 1125, during which the house flourished as a result of royal and episcopal patronage.⁸⁷⁵ The earliest record of royal patronage to the abbey was made by Macbethad, son of Findláech (1040-57), and his queen, Gruoch.⁸⁷⁶ Their successors and dynastic competitors Mael Coluim III (1058-93) and Queen Margaret also became benefactors of Loch Leven.⁸⁷⁷ Thereafter, both Domnall Bán who claimed the throne following the death of his brother Mael Coluim III in 1093 and Edgar who overthrew him in 1097 confirmed property to the community.⁸⁷⁸ In the late eleventh century, Æthelred, abbot of Dunkeld, and son of Mael Coluim III and Margaret, was also a benefactor.⁸⁷⁹ Royal donations came in the form of landed property and also tribute renders (e.g. *cáin*).⁸⁸⁰ Therefore, the *notitiae* give the impression of a significant religious institution, whose importance on the ecclesiastical landscape was such that it received consistent support from the kings and queens of Scotland, and their immediate families, despite dynastic changes.⁸⁸¹ The abbey also received considerable patronage from the bishops of St Andrews. The

⁸⁷¹ As noted, Loch Leven originally appears to have been a daughter house of the monastery of Culross. Alex Woolf suggests that the religious community of Culross, located on the Firth of Forth, retreated inland to Loch Leven in response to Viking incursions, which would be consistent with moves made by other monastic communities, such as Iona to Dunkeld and Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street (Woolf, p. 201).

⁸⁷² *St Andrews Liber*, p. 113. For consideration of the early bishops of St Andrews, see Anderson, 'Kinrimund', 67-76.

⁸⁷³ For a useful discussion of the terminology, see *ESC*, p. 229.

⁸⁷⁴ See Chapter 1.

⁸⁷⁵ This is supported by archaeological evidence indicating that a stone-built church on Loch Leven dates to 1050 × 1100 (M.A. Hall, 'Liminality and Loss: The Material Culture of St Serf's Priory, Loch Leven, Kinross-shire, Scotland', in *West Over Sea: studies in Scandinavian sea-borne expansion and settlement before 1300: a festschrift in honour of Dr. Barbara E. Crawford*, eds. B.B. Smith, S. Taylor, and G. Williams (Leiden, 2007), pp. 379-99 (p. 379)).

⁸⁷⁶ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 114.

⁸⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 115. It is interesting to note that Macbethad, which means 'son of life', was actually used as a synonym for *céli Dé* (O'Dwyer, pp. 92-3).

⁸⁷⁸ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 115; *ESC*, pp. 242-3.

⁸⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 115-6.

⁸⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 114. The *céli Dé* of Loch Leven were owed *cáin* from Markinch, Auchmuir, Balchristie, and from Bolgin, son of Torfin (*Ibid.*, pp. 43, 144-7, 149-52).

⁸⁸¹ Hudson, 'Kings', 145-70 (pp. 165-6). See also, K. Veitch, 'The Alliance between Church and State in Early Medieval Alba', *Albion*, 30 (1998), 193-220.

notitiae record the bequests of three eleventh-century bishops, Maoldhùin, Tuathal, and Fothad II.⁸⁸² Their gifts to Loch Leven came in the form of churches, namely Markinch, Scoonie, and Auchterderran.⁸⁸³ Thus, the abbey benefited from significant royal and episcopal patronage in the second half of the eleventh century, making it one of the leading monastic houses in Scotland.

The abbey continued on this upward trajectory into the twelfth century. The latest *notitia* dates to early in the reign of David I in 1124 × 1130 and records a dispute. It shows the abbey confidently asserting its rights at the royal court against the encroachment of a secular neighbour, Robert the Burgundian.⁸⁸⁴ Thus, by the early twelfth century the abbey was one of the wealthiest religious institutions in Scotland and a formidable political entity in its own right.

There is no evidence in the *notitiae* or elsewhere to suggest that the quality of religious life at Loch Leven was in a state of decline. As Kenneth Veitch has pointed out, unlike other houses of *céli Dé* in Scotland (e.g. Abernethy), there is no evidence of secularisation at Loch Leven, such as the presence of a lay abbot.⁸⁸⁵ On the contrary, it has been suggested that the quality of religious life at Loch Leven may have been particularly high in comparison to other *céli Dé* communities.⁸⁸⁶ The possibility that a house of *céli Dé* could maintain a high level of religious life into the twelfth century certainly exists. In Wales, for example, the *céli Dé* of the island-based monastery of Bardsey were considered by at least one late twelfth-century observer to live an exemplary form of religious life.⁸⁸⁷ In addition, judging by the seventeen books held by the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven – including a work by Bernard of Clairvaux, glosses on the Song of Songs, and probably two separate works by Ivo of Chartres – the community was in touch with modern doctrinal currents.⁸⁸⁸ Nevertheless, the abbey of Loch Leven still became a target for reform. The abbey of Loch Leven was vulnerable for two reasons: one was historical, since the tenth century the house had been dependent upon the bishops of St Andrews; the other was constitutional, for the *céli Dé* lacked a recognised rule text as the basis of their religious life.

In c. 1152, the abbey of Loch Leven was given over to the canons of St Andrews by Robert, bishop of St Andrews, who exercised the authority vested in the bishops of St Andrews since the mid-tenth century.⁸⁸⁹ The charter recording the terms of the transfer ensured that the historic role of the

⁸⁸² *Fasti*, pp. 376-7.

⁸⁸³ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 116-7.

⁸⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 117-8.

⁸⁸⁵ Veitch, 'Augustinian Rule', 1-22 (pp. 3-4). In fact, the opposite was the case. Duthac, abbot of Loch Leven, was noted as a priest (*sacerdos*) in 1124 × 1130 (*St Andrews Liber*, p. 118).

⁸⁸⁶ Veitch, 'Augustinian Rule', 1-22 (pp. 4-5).

⁸⁸⁷ Gerald of Wales visited the monastery of Bardsey in 1188 and described the community as consisting of 'extremely devout monks' and 'holy men' (Gerald of Wales, *Journey through Wales*, pp. 183-4). See also, Stöber, 'Wales', pp. 97-113.

⁸⁸⁸ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 43; *Scottish Libraries*, ed. J. Higgit (London, 2006), pp. 222-5.

⁸⁸⁹ It is interesting to note that Dover Priory, a cell of the cathedral priory of Christ Church Canterbury, was historically dependent upon the archbishops of Canterbury (*DPE*, p. 102).

bishops as the patrons of Loch Leven would continue. The bishop gave the canons the tithe from his residence on the island of Loch Leven and the tithe of all rents received by the bishop while on the island.⁸⁹⁰ As discussed, the bishops of Dunkeld had a similar relationship with Inchcolm, where the bishops of Dunkeld acted as patron, had a residence, and also gave the tithe of their rents when they were in residence on the island. The property of the abbey of Loch Leven conferred to the cathedral priory at this time included the villis of Findatie, Portmoak, Kirkness, half of Auchterderran, the kirkton of Scoonie, the mills of Portmoak and Findatie, and food renders from Markinche, Auchmuir, Balchristie, and Bogie.⁸⁹¹ However, the charter does not simply address the economic resources of the *céli Dé*, but also their moveable property. The bishop gave to the canons the accoutrements of religious life including the vestments of the *céli Dé* and also the aforementioned library of seventeen books, which are listed by title in the charter.⁸⁹² Thus, the charter called for the complete absorption of Loch Leven by the cathedral priory of St Andrews. However, the bishop's efforts evidently met with resistance from the *céli Dé*, and as a result royal authority was brought to bear.

Late in the reign of David I (c. 1152 × 1153),⁸⁹³ the king issued a charter, giving force to the episcopal act, and offering an ultimatum to the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven:

Know that I have given and conceded to the canons of St Andrews the island of Loch Leven, in order that they might establish the canonical order there. The *céli Dé* who shall be found there, if they consent to live according to the Rule, shall be permitted to remain there in peace with, and subject to, the others; but, if any of them should wish to offer resistance, my will and command is that they be expelled from the island.⁸⁹⁴

⁸⁹⁰ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 43. The bishops of St Andrews were frequently in residence on the island. For an episcopal charter place-dated on the island, see *Holyrood Liber*, no. 77.

⁸⁹¹ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 43. It should be noted that this is the only mention of Findatie and Auchterderran. These properties were not confirmed in later charters.

⁸⁹² *Ibid.* Traditionally, the books listed in the charter of Bishop Robert have been seen as constituting the library of the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven (*Ibid.*, p. xvi, fn. 1; Reeves, p. 131; *CED*, II, pp. 227-8; *ESC*, p. 446; *Scottish Libraries*, pp. 222-5). More recently, however, a different interpretation was posited by Geoffrey Barrow (G.W.S. Barrow, 'The lost Gàidhealtachd of medieval Scotland', in *Gaelic and Scotland: Alba agus a' Ghàidlig*, ed. W. Gillies (Edinburgh, 1989), pp. 67-88 (pp. 75-6, fn. 80)). Barrow suggested that the seventeen books named in the charter actually represent the library of Robert, bishop of St Andrews. The basis for this interpretation is the fact that in the priory's foundation charter Bishop Robert promises 'all of his books' (*omnes libros nostros*) to the canons of St Andrews (*St Andrews Liber*, p. 123). However, the evidence indicates that the books in question indeed belonged to the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven, rather than the bishop of St Andrews. In 1165 × 1169, Richard, bishop of St Andrews, issued a new charter transferring the abbey of Loch Leven and its properties to the canons of St Andrews following the general terms set out by Bishop Robert. It differs in a few respects from the charter of Bishop Robert. One significant difference is that the books are not listed by name, but rather referred to as a group. It is clear from the language used in this document that the books had formerly belonged to the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven: [...] *cum libris et uestimentis ecclesiasticis et ceteris ad abbatiam pertinentibus* (NAS, RH6/7). The text of this original charter remains unpublished. A considerably inflated version of the charter was engrossed in the cartulary of St Andrews, which uses similar language: [...] *cum libris et vestimentis ecclesiasticis et cum ceteris omnibus ad predictam abbaciam iuste pertinentibus* (*St Andrews Liber*, p. 175).

⁸⁹³ G.W.S. Barrow suggests a date after the death of Earl Henry on 12 June 1152 (*DC*, p. 155).

⁸⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 208.

The charter marks an about-face in the relationship between the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven and the king. Shortly before, rights in Balchristie were specifically reserved to the *céli Dé* in two royal confirmation charters to Dunfermline Abbey.⁸⁹⁵ The change appears to have been fomented by Robert, bishop of St Andrews, who attests the ultimatum. As A.A.M. Duncan has argued, Robert, prior of St Andrews, should probably be credited with promoting this agenda.⁸⁹⁶ Such lobbying was not unheard-of.⁸⁹⁷ Thus, the establishment of Loch Leven as a dependency was part of a systematic effort by the cathedral priory to secure control over all religious life associated with the church of St Andrews, which since the mid tenth century included the abbey of Loch Leven.

The *céli Dé* were given the choice to adopt the Rule of St Augustine or face expulsion by the king. The emphasis placed on the adoption of the rule in the king's charter points to one of the inherent weaknesses of the *céli Dé* in the legalistic atmosphere of the twelfth century, namely the lack of a single rule text.⁸⁹⁸ From this perspective, the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven were only one of the many religious bodies in twelfth-century Europe to be forcibly regularised.⁸⁹⁹ The *céli Dé* of Loch Leven seem to have fallen victim to their historical dependence on St Andrews and to changing attitudes about legitimate religious life. It has been suggested that the conversion or expulsion of the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven was accomplished rapidly and, indeed, that the charters of the king and bishop actually represent a *fait accompli*.⁹⁰⁰ However, like their counterparts at St Andrews, the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven did not go quietly.

Despite the strong language used by David I, the process of actually converting or expelling the *céli Dé* from Loch Leven was not completed overnight. Indeed, from 1153 to 1165, that is, during the reign of Mael Coluim IV, the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven remained on the island and in possession of their assets. One indication that Mael Coluim IV had no intention of enforcing the precepts of his grandfather is that the charter commanding the conversion or expulsion of the *céli Dé* was not reissued. Additionally, the king's general confirmation to the cathedral priory in 1160 × 1161 does not include Loch Leven or any of its assets.⁹⁰¹ Yet, the most revealing evidence is the fact that in 1154 × 1159 the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven actually had their property rights in Balchristie confirmed by the king.⁹⁰² Thus, during the reign of Mael Coluim IV, the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven managed to avoid the sentence imposed by Bishop Robert and David I and to maintain their independence.

⁸⁹⁵ Ibid., nos. 171-2.

⁸⁹⁶ Duncan, 'St. Andrews', 1-37 (pp. 1, 27-9).

⁸⁹⁷ *DPE*, pp. 52-5.

⁸⁹⁸ From the eighth century the observances of the *céli Dé* varied from community to community. For instance, the communities of Tallaght, Finglas, and Terryglass each had their own rules (Follett, p. 213).

⁸⁹⁹ Constable, *Reformation*, pp. 112, 114-5.

⁹⁰⁰ Duncan, 'St. Andrews', 1-37 (p. 28).

⁹⁰¹ *RRS*, I, no. 174.

⁹⁰² Ibid., no. 118.

The next king, however, did not take such a passive approach. William I issued multiple charters concerning Loch Leven. In 1165 × 1171, he reissued the brief of his grandfather commanding the suppression of the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven.⁹⁰³ During the same period, the king issued a subject-specific charter confirming the abbey and its properties to the cathedral priory of St Andrews.⁹⁰⁴ The king's charter coincides with a fresh gift (*dare*) of the abbey and its properties made by Richard, bishop of St Andrews, in almost identical terms to the charter of Bishop Robert.⁹⁰⁵ In effect, the bishop was handing over the house to the canons of St Andrews anew. Indeed, the significance of the role played by Richard, bishop of St Andrews, is confirmed in a general confirmation of Hugh, bishop of St Andrews, from 1178 × 1184, which credits Bishop Richard, rather than Bishop Robert, with giving the abbey of Loch Leven and its properties to the cathedral priory.⁹⁰⁶ These charters provide evidence of over a decade of resistance by the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven which only ended through renewed royal and episcopal pressure after 1165. This episode stands as a reminder that the possession of a charter and the possession of real property were two very different things in the middle ages.

Early in the reign of William I, evidence begins to appear which demonstrates that the canons of St Andrews had acquired possession of the properties of the abbey of Loch Leven and were beginning to exercise control over them. In 1165 × 1171, the canons of St Andrews entered into a dispute with the abbey of Dunfermline concerning Balchristie in which the canons' claimed the property rights held there by the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven (*canonici de Sancto Andrea ius clamabant per Keledeos*).⁹⁰⁷ It provides the earliest evidence of the canons of St Andrews actually administering property formerly held by the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven. Shortly thereafter, the canons exchanged lands which they had obtained via Loch Leven with the bishop of St Andrews.⁹⁰⁸ In addition, the earliest evidence of a prior of Loch Leven dates to this period, when Roger, prior of Loch Leven, attested a charter of Richard, bishop of St Andrews, in 1172 × 1178.⁹⁰⁹ Therefore, the evidence suggests that the Augustinian priory of Loch Leven did not come into existence until 1165 × 1171. For this reason, the thirteenth-century canons of St Andrews considered David and William I, kings of Scotland, and Robert and Richard, bishops of St Andrews, as the individuals responsible for establishing regular life at Loch Leven.⁹¹⁰

The resistance of the *céli Dé* at Loch Leven had a lasting effect on the relationship between the Augustinian priory of Loch Leven and its mother house of St Andrews. It was quite common for pre-

⁹⁰³ *RRS*, II, no. 112.

⁹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 33.

⁹⁰⁵ *NAS*, RH6/7.

⁹⁰⁶ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 144-7.

⁹⁰⁷ *RRS*, II, no. 35.

⁹⁰⁸ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 140.

⁹⁰⁹ *Holyrood Liber*, no. 16. See also, *HRHS*, p. 139.

⁹¹⁰ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 121.

existing religious houses to become dependent cells and in such cases it was also common for part of the endowment to be absorbed by the new mother house.⁹¹¹ This was certainly the case at Loch Leven. In fact, the properties which had historically belonged to Loch Leven were administered centrally by the cathedral priory, and it would appear that the community was supported by a stipend from the mother house.⁹¹² Thus, the independence of the priory of Loch Leven was thoroughly restricted, a holdover perhaps from the period when the canons were struggling with the *céli Dé* for control of Loch Leven.

Due to the cathedral priory's tight control, the priory of Loch Leven does not have a significant number of surviving charters documenting its independent activity or gifts made directly to it. As will be discussed, this stands in contrast to the dependent hospital of St Andrews and other dependent priories such as Restenneth. Indeed, the only charter which shows the priory operating independently from the cathedral priory is a highly unusual document. It is a chirograph between an unnamed 'abbot' of Loch Leven and his convent, and the nuns of North Berwick in 1237.⁹¹³ Evidently, the prelate of Loch Leven had begun to style himself abbot (*abbas*), for not only is he referred to as such in the body of the charter, but also in the seal affixed to it.⁹¹⁴ While the religious house occupied by the *céli Dé* had traditionally been known as an abbey, the Augustinian prelates of Loch Leven, with the exception of this bold individual, were priors.⁹¹⁵ The agreement between the two communities was ratified by the bishop of St Andrews, William Malveisin (1202-38). In effect, the abbatial status of the prelate of Loch Leven was sanctioned by the bishop of St Andrews. As will be discussed, this bishop had an exceptionally adversarial relationship with the cathedral priory, and it would appear that he approved or even encouraged the claims of abbatial status by Loch Leven and the independence from the mother house which it implied.

Thus, for roughly a century the assets of Loch Leven were held directly by the cathedral priory of St Andrews. This unusually tight control by the mother house likely resulted from the resistance of the *céli Dé* from 1153 to c. 1165. After the claims to abbatial status made in 1237, and perhaps because of them, the priory of Loch Leven was able to obtain a degree of economic autonomy from its mother house, but in return its constitutional dependence was also solidified. In 1268, John of Haddington, prior of St Andrews (1264-1304), released into the control of Loch Leven a portion of the assets which had formerly belonged to the *céli Dé* of Loch Leven, including, the island itself, the *cáin* of Bogie and Balchristie, and the lesser tithes of the church of Portmoak.⁹¹⁶ Yet, the charter included a *quid pro quo*, for it also outlined

⁹¹¹ *DPE*, pp. 30-4.

⁹¹² The use of pensions for dependent communities was a common practice (*Ibid.*, pp. 66, 88-9).

⁹¹³ *North Berwick Charters*, no. 17.

⁹¹⁴ The legend of the seal reads: SIGILLUM ABBATIS DE S[AN]C[T]O SERVANO (NAS, GD45/13/283). See also, H. Laing, *Ancient Scottish Seals* (Edinburgh, 1850), no. 1075.

⁹¹⁵ *HRHS*, pp. 139-42.

⁹¹⁶ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 121-2, 178-9. See also, Ash, 'St Andrews', pp. 228-9.

the terms of Loch Leven's dependence. The prior of Loch Leven was to be selected by the prior and convent of St Andrews from among the canons of St Andrews or Loch Leven, who would then be presented to the bishop for consecration.⁹¹⁷

As demonstrated, the economic independence of the priory of Loch Leven before 1268 was quite restricted. As a corollary, the potential function of the house was perforce also limited. For one thing, none of the three churches historically held by the abbey of Loch Leven ever passed to its Augustinian successor. The advowson of two of these churches, Markinch, and Scoonie, belonged to the cathedral priory and the third, Auchterderran, remained in secular hands until the Reformation.⁹¹⁸ There is, moreover, no evidence to suggest that the priory itself served as a parish church or had a parochial altar. Thus, it would appear that the involvement of the canons of Loch Leven in parochial work can be ruled out. Instead, the house may have been specifically designed to provide a change in environment for the canons from the hustle and bustle of St Andrews. It appears that the priory of Loch Leven probably served as a retreat in which contemplation and the *opus Dei* were paramount. Indeed, such a dynamic between mother and daughter houses appears to have been common.⁹¹⁹ The dependent house would provide an opportunity for canons to spend periods away from the more active life of the cathedral priory. One piece of evidence which appears to hint at such a dynamic dates to 1225. In that year, Simon, prior of St Andrews, resigned his priorship and became prior of Loch Leven, due to what Walter Bower described as 'evil times'.⁹²⁰ Obviously, the resignation of the prior was due to particular circumstances at St Andrews in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, but his retirement to Loch Leven appears to be in keeping with the house's potential function as a retreat.

III. Restenneth

The priory of Restenneth suffered considerable losses to its record collection due to the Anglo-Scottish wars of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In fact, the destruction of the priory, which according to tradition was designed as a record repository, may have actually resulted in the loss of the muniments of its mother house as well.⁹²¹ In the case of Restenneth, the loss of title-deeds was severe enough due to

⁹¹⁷ By at least 1235, the priors of Loch Leven were styled as the third prior (*tertius prior*) of St Andrews, referring to their status in choir and chapter behind only the prior and subprior (*Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*, ed. C.N. Innes (Edinburgh, 1837), no. 111). See also, *HRHS*, pp. 140-42.

⁹¹⁸ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. xxi, 135-6, 241-3; *RRS*, II, nos. 28, 151, 333; *Parishes*, p. 10; *PNF*, I, pp. 90-3.

⁹¹⁹ *DPE*, pp. 142, 161, 144-50, 182-3.

⁹²⁰ *Scotichronicon*, III, pp. 416-7.

⁹²¹ Watson, *Jedburgh Abbey*, p. 58. This tradition resulted in the rather humorous explanation for the etymology of the place-name Restenneth. According to one antiquarian, the name was formed by combining the Latin *res* and *tenet*, i.e. a place designed to hold things (*The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, 15 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1834-45), XI, p. 694). Restenneth actually combines the P-Celtic place-name element *ros* (a cape, promontory, or

‘war and other misfortunes’ that a royal inquest of thirty-five men of Angus was assembled to ascertain its rightful possessions.⁹²² This lack of surviving evidence has undoubtedly hindered the study of the house, but its neglect by Scottish historians is unwarranted. In fact, the most in-depth consideration of the priory remains a study produced by John Stuart in 1868.⁹²³ With a few exceptions, the consideration of Restenneth has focused on the pre-Augustinian church and debates concerning its architecture and antiquity.⁹²⁴ This is unfortunate because the Augustinian priory of Restenneth was a significant religious institution in its own right, and the lack of modern scholarship on the priory has left fossilised paradigms in need of revision.

Restenneth is located in Angus, near Forfar, which was one of the chief power centres of the kingdom of the Picts.⁹²⁵ The evidence indicates that a church was established in this region during the reign of the Pictish king, Nechtan, son of Der-Ilei (706 × 713-24), and that the foundation of the church should be seen in the context of ecclesiastical reforms in the early eighth century.⁹²⁶ According to Bede, Nechtan implemented Roman usage (particularly with respect to the date of Easter) in his kingdom under the influence of his Anglian neighbours. The king also requested that Ceolfrith, abbot of Wearmouth-Jarrow, send builders to erect a church in his kingdom in honour of St Peter the apostle, the saintly representative of Roman usage.⁹²⁷ The projected church was a physical component of a reforming agenda aimed at bringing the Pictish kingdom into line with the Roman Church (i.e. the Church of St Peter) begun by Nechtan in c. 715.⁹²⁸ Bede does not identify the church built by Nechtan, but the church of Restenneth, which was dedicated to St Peter, has long been considered a leading candidate.

The tradition that a church or rather churches dedicated to St Peter were founded during the reign of Nechtan also appears in several late medieval sources. However, these texts attribute the establishment of Petrine churches to the work of a saint, namely Curretán-Boniface. The two principal sources for this narrative tradition are the *Aberdeen Breviary* produced by William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen (1483-1514), and published in 1510, and the *Historia Gentis Scotorum* by Hector Boece (c. 1465-1536), a

wood), related to the Welsh *rhos* (a moor, heath, or mountain meadow), and the Old Irish *tene* (fire), later *teineadh* (Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, pp. 116, 496).

⁹²² In 1322, Robert I confirmed the properties held by the priory of Restenneth on the basis of the inquest (*The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, A.D. 1306-1424*, ed. J.M. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1912), I, app. 1 (no. 29)). See also, *RRS*, V, pp. 25-7.

⁹²³ Stuart, ‘Restenneth’, 285-315.

⁹²⁴ *MRHS*, II, pp. 53, 95-6; Barrow, ‘Childhood of Scottish Christianity, 1-15 (p. 8); Barrow, ‘Gàidhealtachd’, pp. 67-88 (p. 71, fn. 33).

⁹²⁵ *MK*, p. 150; Barrow, ‘Scottish Christianity’, 1-15 (p. 8).

⁹²⁶ Nechtan was the brother and successor of Bridei, son of Der-Ilei (c. 697-706), who is credited with founding the abbey of Loch Leven (Clancy, ‘Philosopher-King’, 125-49 (pp. 127-31)).

⁹²⁷ Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds. R. Collins and J. McClure (Oxford, 1999), pp. 276-86.

⁹²⁸ J.E. Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795* (Edinburgh, 2009), pp. 269-86. For a relevant discussion of the papacy during this period, see Southern, *Western Society*, pp. 94-8.

canon of Aberdeen and the first principal of Aberdeen University, published in 1526.⁹²⁹ These texts were both products of the same Aberdeen milieu and seemingly derived from the same tradition.⁹³⁰ According to these hagiographical accounts, Curetán-Boniface arrived in Scotland from the Levant via Rome. He began to evangelise and to establish churches with Petrine dedications in the Pictish kingdom, one of which was at Restenneth.⁹³¹ Nechtan, king of the Picts, came to meet the saint at Restenneth, and there the king was baptised. Curetán-Boniface stayed at Restenneth for a number of years before leaving for Ross, where he ultimately died. He was buried in the church of Rosemarkie, also founded by the saint in honour of St Peter.⁹³²

Like all hagiography, the historical value of these sources is questionable. Despite its late date and the problems of the genre, it does seem to contain a core narrative which corresponds to the episode related by Bede.⁹³³ Indeed, Aidan MacDonald has recently argued that Curetán-Boniface may have been the individual responsible for carrying out the reforms envisioned by Nechtan in the Pictish kingdom. He also proposed that Curetán may have adopted the surname Boniface to mark his allegiance to Roman usage and in particular to Pope Boniface V (619-25).⁹³⁴ At the least, this narrative tradition offers an explicit link between the eighth-century church of St Peter and the church of St Peter at Restenneth, which in the twelfth century became an Augustinian priory.⁹³⁵

Significant physical remains of the priory of Restenneth have survived to the present day. A section of the central tower of the priory-church has long been considered to be of Anglo-Saxon design, and it has therefore been linked to the church commissioned by Nechtan. The identification of early Anglo-Saxon architecture at Restenneth dates to at least the nineteenth century, and this interpretation was subsequently reaffirmed by modern scholars.⁹³⁶ However, in the 1980s the accepted orthodoxy was challenged by Richard Fawcett and Eric Fernie, who argued that the element of the central tower in

⁹²⁹ For a full discussion of the sources, see A. MacDonald, *Curadán, Boniface and the early church of Rosemarkie* (Alass, 1992), pp. 10-37.

⁹³⁰ A. Macquarrie, 'Scottish saints' legends in the Aberdeen Breviary', in *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, eds. S. Boardman and E. Williamson (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 143-57.

⁹³¹ He also founded the churches of Tealing and Invergowrie, and possibly the churches of Meigle, Fyvie, and Inveravon (W.D. Simpson, 'The early Romanesque tower at Restenneth Priory, Angus', *Antiquaries Journal*, 43 (1963), 269-83 (p. 271)).

⁹³² *Chron. Picts-Scots*, app. 7 (pp. 421-3); Hector Boece, *The History and Chronicles of Scotland*, trans. J. Bellenden, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1821), II, pp. 100-1.

⁹³³ It should be noted that the Aberdeen Breviary did utilise Bede (Macquarrie, 'Aberdeen Breviary', pp. 143-57 (p. 147)).

⁹³⁴ MacDonald, *Curadán*, pp. 45-8.

⁹³⁵ Hector Boece noted that the church built by the saint at Restenneth is 'now an abbey of canons regular' (Hector Boece, *History*, II, p. 100).

⁹³⁶ Stuart, 'Restenneth', 285-315 (pp. 286-7, 293-4); W.D. Simpson, *The Celtic Church in Scotland: A study of its Penetration Lines and Art Relationships* (Aberdeen, 1935), pp. 112-3; Simpson, 'Restenneth Priory', 269-83; G. Donaldson, 'Scotland's Earliest Church Buildings', *RSCHS*, 18:1 (1972), 1-9; I. Henderson, 'Pictish Archaeological Sites', in *An Historical Atlas of Scotland, c. 400-c. 1600*, eds. P. McNeill and R. Nicholson (St. Andrews, 1975), pp. 11-3 (pp. 12-3); *MK*, pp. 70-1, 105. See also, G. Donaldson, *Scottish Church History* (Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 1-10.

question actually dates to a period from roughly 1090 to 1130.⁹³⁷ The historical record seems to support the latter interpretation.

Through a close examination of the charter evidence Geoffrey Barrow has helped to clarify the potential relationship between the Pictish church of St Peter and the twelfth-century church of Restenneth.⁹³⁸ As Barrow pointed out, the ancient endowment or *paruchia* of the church of Restenneth included both Restenneth itself, 'where the church is built', and also the now unidentified *Egglespether*.⁹³⁹ It is clear, therefore, that the church of Restenneth and *Egglespether* were different, but related sites. This is significant due to the etymology of the place-name *Egglespether*, which combines the P-Celtic element for church, i.e. *eglēs*, with a dedication to St Peter.⁹⁴⁰ Thus, the original church of St Peter dating to the Pictish period should be identified with the now lost *Egglespether*, rather than Restenneth.⁹⁴¹ Nevertheless, the church of Restenneth was the corporate successor of the original church of St Peter (i.e. *Egglespether*) and, by extension, so too was the Augustinian priory which succeeded it.

Historians have traditionally considered Mael Coluim IV to be the founder of the priory of Restenneth due to the fact that the abbey of Jedburgh received a charter from the king in 1161 × 1162 confirming the priory as a dependency.⁹⁴² In recent years, however, scholars have recognized that David I may have actually been responsible for founding the house.⁹⁴³ Although evidence for this has never been presented in full, it seems to indicate that the priory was indeed established during the reign of David I. Yet, it also hints at a nuanced early history in which the priory of Restenneth may have begun as an independent house and only later became dependent upon the abbey of Jedburgh.

In 1361, Patrick of Leuchars, bishop of Brechin (1351-83), and a former canon of St Andrews, testified that he had seen a charter of David I 'from which he plainly and fully perceived that the prior and canons of the priory of Rostynot' received 20s annually from the ferme of the burgh of Montrose and also the tithe pennies of the same ferme for the lighting of their church.⁹⁴⁴ If we are to believe Bishop Patrick, then the priory of Restenneth was already established during the reign of David I. However, the bishop's testimony has proved difficult for historians to reconcile with the other evidence, and so various solutions to the problem have been proposed. For example, D.E. Easson considered the letter of Bishop Patrick to

⁹³⁷ R. Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches* (Edinburgh, 1985), p. 24; E. Fernie, 'Early church architecture in Scotland', *PSAS*, 116 (1986), 393-411 (pp. 397-9). See also, Macquarrie, 'Early Christian', pp. 110-33 (pp. 114-5).

⁹³⁸ Barrow, 'Scottish Christianity', 1-15 (p. 8); Barrow, 'Gàidhealtachd', pp. 67-88 (p. 71, fn. 33).

⁹³⁹ *RRS*, I, no. 195.

⁹⁴⁰ Barrow, 'Scottish Christianity', 1-15 (pp. 2-6). See also, *PNF*, IV, pp. 685-6.

⁹⁴¹ Norman Atkinson has recently suggested that *Egglespether* be identified with Aberlemno an important site of Pictish activity and also the location of a church later held by the priory of Restenneth (N. Atkinson, *The Coming of Christianity to Angus* (Brechin, 1994), pp. 12-3).

⁹⁴² *RRS*, I, no. 195. See for example, *MK*, p. 150.

⁹⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-4; R. Fawcett, *Scottish Abbeys and Priors* (London, 1994), p. 23.

⁹⁴⁴ *Fasti*, p. 54; *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourteenth Report*, pp. 187-8 (no. 26). See also, *DC*, no. 250; *RRS*, I, no. 78.

be dubious, which of course cleared the way for Mael Coluim IV as founder. He did add, however, that David I perhaps began the foundation, but left the project incomplete.⁹⁴⁵ The problem was so perplexing to Ian Cowan that he published two different explanations. In an earlier publication, he noted that ‘steps had evidently been taken to endow and found a priory in the reign of David I’.⁹⁴⁶ Almost a decade later, while accepting the ‘veracity’ of the letter of Bishop Patrick, he nevertheless argued that it ‘must refer to an ecclesiastical establishment of earlier date than the priory on this site’.⁹⁴⁷ There seems to be no compelling reason to doubt the report of Bishop Patrick or, as Ian Cowan did, to severely modify its meaning. In fact, the bishop’s statement can be substantiated to a degree.

The charter of Mael Coluim IV is a composite charter, incorporating into a single document the substance of a number of earlier charters. For instance, it contains the entire text of a *brieve de nativis*.⁹⁴⁸ Significantly, it also contains those rights in the burgh of Montrose, which according to Bishop Patrick were given to the priory of Restenneth by David I.⁹⁴⁹ The charter does not, however, credit David I with giving this, or any, patronage to the house. Nevertheless, a later confirmation indicates that he did. In 1344, David II confirmed to the priory the gifts it had received from his royal predecessors, namely Alexander III, Mael Coluim IV, and David I.⁹⁵⁰ It seems, therefore, that the priory of Restenneth was founded during the reign of David I, although the circumstances of the foundation are unquestionably difficult to reconstruct.

As discussed, the general confirmation of Mael Coluim IV is a retrospective document providing a cumulative record of the rights and properties of the house down to 1161 × 1162. It does not, therefore, mark the beginning of conventual life at Restenneth. Indeed, the earliest contemporary evidence for the existence of the priory of Restenneth appears in an original charter of Robert, bishop of St Andrews (d. 1159), which dates to 1153 × 1156, and was attested by Robert, prior of Restenneth, and Osbert, abbot of Jedburgh.⁹⁵¹ It is worth noting that Jedburgh also received abbatial status during the same period.⁹⁵² Abbatial status was not a precondition for Augustinian houses to take on dependencies. In fact, it was common for Augustinian priories to take on daughter houses of the same status, i.e. other priories.⁹⁵³ In the case of Restenneth, however, the elevation of Jedburgh does appear to correspond with taking on a dependency. Thus, the date range for the establishment of the priory of Restenneth as a daughter house of

⁹⁴⁵ *MRHS*, I, p. 81.

⁹⁴⁶ *Parishes*, p. 171.

⁹⁴⁷ *MRHS*, II, pp. 95-6.

⁹⁴⁸ *RRS*, I, no. 195. For *brieves de nativis* in Scotland, see *Ibid.*, pp. 62-4.

⁹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-4.

⁹⁵⁰ Stuart, ‘Restennet’, 285-315 (no. 4).

⁹⁵¹ NLS, Adv. 15.1.18, no. 21. See also, *St Andrews Liber*, p. 126.

⁹⁵² *HRHS*, p. 117. Jedburgh was still a priory early in the reign of Mael Coluim IV (*RRS*, I, no. 112).

⁹⁵³ All twenty-eight Augustinian houses with one or more dependency in England and Wales were priories (*DPE*, p. xx). This is related to the fact that abbatial status was relatively rare in England (*AC*, p. 157).

Jedburgh seems to date to 1153 × 1156, the details of which were confirmed by royal and episcopal authority in 1161 × 1162.

The formal dependence of Restenneth upon the abbey of Jedburgh was established by charters of Mael Coluim IV and Arnold, bishop of St Andrews (1160-2), which were produced on the same occasion in Roxburgh in 1161 × 1162.⁹⁵⁴ The purpose of these charters was twofold. First, they confirmed proprietary right over the church of Restenneth and its assets to the abbey of Jedburgh. Significantly, the non-enumerated confirmation charter of Bishop Arnold refers to the donation (*donatio*) made by Mael Coluim IV of the church of Restenneth. The donation of Restenneth with all its property rights indicates that the dependent status of the house dates to the reign of Mael Coluim IV. It would seem, therefore, that if the house had already been founded by David I, then it must have been an independent institution up to this point. Second, the charters elaborate the specific terms of dependence. The final clause of the king's charter clarifies for posterity the dependent status of Restenneth: 'I wish also that Abbot O[sbert] and his successors should have the power to install the prior and convent in the said church of Restenneth according to its resources'.⁹⁵⁵ Because the right is confirmed to Osbert as *abbot* of Jedburgh, it must date to after 1153 × 1156. The implication of the clause is that in the future the abbots of Jedburgh would have the power to install and remove the prior and canons of Restenneth as they saw fit and, indeed, this right is confirmed by later evidence.⁹⁵⁶ However, the clause has often been read as a licence for the abbot of Jedburgh to install the first prior and thus to found the priory of Restenneth.⁹⁵⁷ Yet, as discussed, the evidence suggests that the first prior was already installed in the church of Restenneth during the reign of David I. Thus, this proviso, like the *donatio* of the church and its assets, established the constitutional dependence of the priory, rather than the foundation.

The available evidence, therefore, suggests that the priory of Restenneth had a short independent history, ending early in the reign of Mael Coluim IV when the house became formally dependent upon Jedburgh Abbey. The priory seems to have originally been conceived and founded by David I as an independent house of regular canons using the ancient endowment of the church of Restenneth as an economic base, supplemented with revenue from the royal burgh of Montrose. The use of royal revenues and the endowment of an existing religious institution would certainly fit the pattern of Augustinian foundations made by the king. The king's gift of royal revenues to the priory was recorded in an individual charter, which according to Bishop Patrick was still extant in 1361. This putative charter of

⁹⁵⁴ *RRS*, I, no. 195; W. Fraser, *History of the Carnegies, Earls of Southesk, and of their kindred* (Edinburgh, 1867), II, no. 23 (p. 476).

⁹⁵⁵ *RRS*, I, no. 195.

⁹⁵⁶ *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourteenth Report*, no. 20.

⁹⁵⁷ E.g., *MRHS*, I, p. 81.

David I was dated to 1141 × 1150 by Geoffrey Barrow.⁹⁵⁸ Barrow does not explain how he fixed upon this date range, but given the circumstances it would seem to be too early. It appears more likely that the priory of Restenneth was established closer to the end of the reign in 1153, which perhaps left the foundation process incomplete, and might explain the ambiguity of the evidence. In this scenario, due to the later affiliation of the house, it is probable that the first prior and convent were sent from Jedburgh.⁹⁵⁹

Following David I's death, the independent priory of Restenneth, only recently founded and perhaps inadequately endowed, became formally dependent on Jedburgh in 1153 × 1156. The subsequent charters of Mael Coluim IV and Bishop Arnold serve to confirm the constitutional dependence of the house. The role of Mael Coluim IV in establishing the priory as a dependency of Jedburgh and in increasing the endowment of the house seems to have secured for him the title of founder of Restenneth. The priory of Restenneth may not be the only foundation begun by David I which he did not live to see through to completion and for which his grandson was later considered to be the founder. Similarly, the Cistercian abbey of Coupar Angus may have also been begun by David I before his death, but was only completed by Mael Coluim IV in 1164.⁹⁶⁰

The core of the endowment consisted of the ancient *paruchia* of the church of St Peter of Restenneth. The charter of Mael Coluim IV confirms the church and everything the king's ancestors had given to it, including Restenneth itself, Craignathro, Petterden, Tealing, Dunninald, Dysart, and the aforementioned *Egglepether*.⁹⁶¹ This included 'all properties and manors pertaining to them', indicating that the seven named properties were made up, at least in part, of landed property. However, it is clear that the *paruchia* of the church of Restenneth consisted of both lands and parochial rights. Dunninald provides a case in point. The chapel of St Skeoch of Dunninald remained part of the territorial parish of Restenneth into the fourteenth century.⁹⁶² Remarkably, the chapel of Dunninald was located near Montrose, over twenty kilometres from its mother church. This detached element of the parish was the result of Dunninald constituting part of the ancient *paruchia* of the church of Restenneth.

The reassertion of the rights of the church of Restenneth was an important step in ensuring that the new religious house had a strong economic base.⁹⁶³ At the time of its conversion, the church was an active religious site, and the evidence, albeit limited, suggests that the church had entered a period of

⁹⁵⁸ *DC*, no. 250.

⁹⁵⁹ This type of colonisation could lead to claims of dependence. For example, the first prior and community of Brinkburn Priory (Northd.) was sent from Pentney Priory (Norfolk) and this later became the basis of claims of dependence by the colonising house (*The Chartulary of Brinkburn Priory*, ed. W. Page (Durham, 1892-3), pp. 1-2 (no. 1); *AC*, p. 159; *DPE*, pp. 53-4, 104).

⁹⁶⁰ *MRHS*, II, pp. 73-4.

⁹⁶¹ For the place-names, see A. Jervise, *Memorials of Angus and Mearns: an account Historical, Antiquarian, and Traditionary* (Edinburgh, 1885), II, pp. 210, 365).

⁹⁶² *Parishes*, p. 54.

⁹⁶³ The foundation of the priory of St Andrews also entailed a similar recovery of property (*PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 603-4, 611-2)).

decline. As noted, embedded in the charter of Mael Coluim IV is the substance of a brieve *de nativis* and it provides the best evidence of the condition of the church of Restenneth during this transitional period:

I command that all the men, clergy and laymen, who dwelt in the lands belonging [to the church of Restenneth], wherever they may be now, shall return to Restenneth with all their property; and I forbid, on pain of my forfeiture, that anyone shall henceforth detain them unjustly, contrary to this brieve [...] I therefore command that the church of Restenneth shall justly have all *Cumelagas* and *Cumherbas* and all its fugitives, wherever they may be and wherever they may be discovered.⁹⁶⁴

The language is typical of brieves concerning the recovery of unfree tenants.⁹⁶⁵ Yet, the brieve also provides useful details concerning the transition from the church to the priory of Restenneth. First, it implies that the exodus of the unfree population occurred within living memory. Second, it suggests that the authority of the church of Restenneth was waning in the years leading up to its conversion. Finally, the brieve argues against the adoption of the Rule by an incumbent clerical community. If this had occurred administrative continuity could be expected, instead of anomie. The evidence is unclear with respect to the incumbents at Restenneth or what may have become of them. However, the evidence does seem to indicate that the church of Restenneth underwent a rapid decline. As late as the reign of Alexander I, the church of Restenneth was still an ecclesiastical site of some significance. According to Hector Boece, Alexander I transferred the annals of Iona to Restenneth for safekeeping, due it seems to the concession of the Western Isles to the Norwegians by his predecessor Edgar.⁹⁶⁶ This evidence, if reliable, suggests that the change in the circumstances of the church of Restenneth occurred during the reign of David I and directly preceded its takeover by regular canons.

In addition to securing the ancient endowment of church of Restenneth for the canons, the kings of Scotland were prepared to commit royal revenues to the project. As discussed, David I provided revenues from the burgh of Montrose for the lighting of the church. This certainly follows the blueprint of the other Augustinian foundations of the king. The house was also outfitted with a significant portfolio of royal renders by Mael Coluim IV. These were predominately in kind and included the tithe of the king's *cáin* from Angus in cheese, malt, chickens, and wool, the tithe of all the money taken in pleas in Angus, the tithe of the king's mill and from fishing in Forfar, and also the tithe of the king's saltpan at Montrose. The canons also received urban tofts at Perth, Stirling, Edinburgh, Forfar, and Montrose and a mill at

⁹⁶⁴ *RRS*, I, no. 195. *Cumelagas* and *Cumherbas* are Gaelic terms referring to fugitive serfs and their heirs (*RRS*, I, pp. 63-4). See also *MK*, p. 328.

⁹⁶⁵ Clergy were included among the unfree tenants. As Geoffrey Barrow has pointed out, this supports the notion that at one time it was common for clerics to be bound to a certain estate as *nativi* (*RRS*, I, p. 64).

⁹⁶⁶ Hector Boece, *Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae*, ed. T. Maitland (Edinburgh, 1825), p. 2. The early architecture of the central tower of Restenneth seems to date to the reign of Alexander I, suggesting that the early twelfth century was a period of prosperity (Simpson, 'Restenneth Priory', 269-83 (pp. 282-3)).

Montrose.⁹⁶⁷ As was typical with Scottish Augustinian houses, the kings did not, however, give the house any royal lands and the bulk of the real property held by the priory belonged to the ancient *paruchia* of the church of Restenneth. It is also worth noting that there is no evidence of non-royal benefaction to the house. In fact, the priory seems to have been an exclusively royal institution, a situation at variance with the majority of Augustinian houses established in Scotland in the twelfth century.

As discussed, the prior and canons of Restenneth were selected by the abbot of Jedburgh from the time the house became formally dependent on the abbey in the 1150s.⁹⁶⁸ However, in practice, the priory had the freedom to administer its own affairs. For example, the priory received a charter in its own right from William I in 1189 × 1195 confirming an exchange of lands.⁹⁶⁹ Its possession of independent muniments and the exchange of property are clear signs of autonomy. By the thirteenth century, the priors of Restenneth possessed a seal matrix for conducting their own affairs, another sign of the autonomy.⁹⁷⁰ Additionally, as will be discussed, the prior had substantial latitude in administering the cure of souls in the parishes of Restenneth and Forfar.⁹⁷¹ Nevertheless, its autonomy should not be overestimated. The abbot of Jedburgh had the ultimate say over the economic life of the house. For example, the advowson of the church of Aberlemno was controlled by the abbot, although revenues from the church did go towards the support of the priory.⁹⁷² Thus, it was a constitutionally dependent religious house which was afforded some level of practical autonomy.

The priory of Restenneth developed into the most important Augustinian dependent house in Scotland. Its significance is indicated by the fact that before 1286 the priors of Restenneth served as a papal-judges delegate on five occasions.⁹⁷³ There is no evidence that any other prelate of an Augustinian dependency served in this capacity. Understandably, Restenneth was also significant within the hierarchy of the mother house of Jedburgh and its network of daughter houses. It held pride of place among the daughter houses of Jedburgh, which came to include Restenneth, Canonbie, and Blantyre. It was common for hierarchies to develop among dependencies, with certain posts being considered more prestigious than others and thus reserved for more senior or promising brothers.⁹⁷⁴ It was also commonplace for the career path of prelates to include stints at a dependent house, which offered them the opportunity to gain

⁹⁶⁷ *RRS*, I, no. 195.

⁹⁶⁸ *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourteenth Report*, no. 20.

⁹⁶⁹ *RRS*, II, no. 343.

⁹⁷⁰ The seal legend reads: S[IGILLUM] PRIORATUS DE ROSTYNOTH (*Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland preserved in her Majesty's Public Record Office*, ed. J. Bain, 5 vols (Edinburgh, 1881-8), II, app. 3, no. 146).

⁹⁷¹ See Chapter 5.

⁹⁷² *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourteenth Report*, no. 18; *Parishes*, p. 3.

⁹⁷³ *MPRS*, app. 1 (nos. 43, 44, 47, 64, 99).

⁹⁷⁴ *DPE*, p. 126.

valuable leadership experience.⁹⁷⁵ There is no evidence that the priors of Canonbie or Blantyre ever advanced directly to the abbotship. However, the priors of Restenneth made this jump on at least four occasions.⁹⁷⁶ The abbey of Jedburgh and its daughter house seem to have had an internal *cursus honorum* which allowed it to groom its own canons for leadership roles at the mother house.

The typical career path of an abbot of Jedburgh probably included time as the prior of Blantyre, Canonbie, Restenneth, or the mother house. For this reason it would seem, all elected abbots of Jedburgh had been professed as canons at Jedburgh.⁹⁷⁷ This was not the case at other Augustinian houses in Scotland. In fact, as will be discussed, it was common for Scottish houses to acquire leadership from other canonical communities. At Jedburgh, the use of dependencies as a testing ground seems to have made the election of qualified canons from other Scottish houses unnecessary. On the other hand, on at least one occasion a canon of Jedburgh took over the leadership of another Augustinian community. In 1162, Robert, canon of Jedburgh, who may have served as prior of Restenneth, was appointed as the first abbot of Scone.⁹⁷⁸ It would seem that the internal mechanism for developing leadership contributed to the influence of the abbey of Jedburgh among its peers. In this way, the interpretation of canonical life at Jedburgh influenced the wider Augustinian movement in Scotland.

IV. Canonbie

In the middle of the twelfth century, Turgis of Rosedale, lord of Liddel, established a 'house of religion' in the parish church of Liddel.⁹⁷⁹ This small dependent cell of the abbey of Jedburgh would later become known as Canonbie. Due in part to the lack of surviving evidence for its mother house and in part to its dependent status, the priory of Canonbie has received scant attention from historians.⁹⁸⁰ On the other hand, while the priory itself has not garnered much attention, the barony in which it stood certainly has. In the late middle ages the barony of Liddel became the centre of a border dispute between the kingdoms of England and Scotland over what was then called the 'debateable lands'. The histories of the priory of Canonbie and the barony of Liddel are inextricably bound, with the priory playing a central role in the

⁹⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁷⁶ Viz., Hugh (1205-1209 × 1211), John de Eskdale (1338 × 1354), Thomas de Eskdale (1411), and John Woodman (1460-76) (*HRHS*, pp. 28-9, 21-4, 116-20, 182-6).

⁹⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 117-20, 182-6.

⁹⁷⁸ The *Holyrood Chronicle* records that Robert, canon of Jedburgh, became the first abbot of Scone (*Chron. Holyrood*, pp. 139-40). Walter Bower reports that Robert, prior of Restenneth, became the first abbot of Scone (*Scotichronicon*, IV, p. 175). Until recently these Roberts were considered to be the same individual (*HRHS*, p. 182). However, Amanda Beam has argued that the Robert, canon of Jedburgh, who became the abbot of Scone and Robert, prior of Restenneth, were different individuals (A. Beam, 'Robert, Prior of Restenneth (fl. 1165)', *Paradox of Medieval Scotland, 1093-1286* <<http://www.poms.ac.uk/content/feature/june09.html>> [accessed 10 January 2012]).

⁹⁷⁹ *RRS*, II, no. 62.

⁹⁸⁰ E.g., *MK*, p. 537.

conflict from its origin to its conclusion. Indeed, the foundation of the house can be viewed as a response to the hardening of political boundaries between the kingdoms of England and Scotland.

In 1102 × 1121, Turgis Brundos, possibly of Flemish ancestry, received the barony of Liddel from Ranulf Meschin, lord of Carlisle.⁹⁸¹ It was established at a strategic point on the northern march.⁹⁸² However, opinions have varied as to what constituted the barony of Liddel at this date. This question is significant because later the barony was more or less bisected by the River Esk and Liddel Water, and these watercourses formed the linear boundary between the kingdoms of Scotland and England for much of the middle ages. In other words, the barony of Liddel came to be composed of estates which were politically and ecclesiastically part of two separate kingdoms.

Three main theories have emerged concerning the origin of the cross-border barony of Liddel. Geoffrey Barrow argued that the barony of Liddel was composed of lands both north and south of the River Esk and Liddel Water given to Turgis Brundos by Ranulf Meschin, and that therefore the entire barony was at this juncture part of Cumberland (i.e. England), rather than Cumbria (i.e. Scotland).⁹⁸³ Charles Phythian-Adams proposed a more nuanced explanation, namely that a 'buffer barony' was created through the cooperation of Ranulf Meschin, lord of Carlisle, and David, ruler of Cumbria. According to this theory, David gave to Turgis Brundos lands north of the River Esk and Liddel Water, while Ranulf Meschin provided lands to the south, which together formed the barony of Liddel.⁹⁸⁴ Recently, John Todd has posited that the barony of Liddel as it was held by Turgis Brundos consisted only of lands south of the River Esk and Liddel Water. According to Todd, during the period in which Cumberland was part of the kingdom of Scotland from 1136 to 1157 the heirs of Turgis Brundos received lands north of the River Esk and Liddel Water from the king of Scotland 'at a time when there was no frontier'.⁹⁸⁵ Given the available evidence, the hypothesis of John Todd appears to be the most reasonable and is accepted here. As will be seen, no matter which theory is accepted, the foundation of the priory of Canonbie occurred within a context of shifting suzerainty in the region and the attempt of the lord of Liddel to emerge with his barony intact.

⁹⁸¹ *Liber Feodorum: The Book of Fees commonly called Testa de Nevill*, ed. H.C. Maxwell-Lyte, 3 vols (London, 1920), I, p. 198. See also, G.W.S. Barrow, 'The pattern of lordship and feudal settlement in Cumbria', *Journal of Medieval History*, 1 (1975), 117-37.

⁹⁸² It appears that the motte of Liddel Strength was erected by Turgis Brundos (G.W.S. Barrow, 'Frontier and Settlement: Which Influenced Which? England and Scotland, 1100-1300', in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds. R. Bartlett and A. MacKay (Oxford, 1989), pp. 1-21 (p. 11)).

⁹⁸³ *KS*, pp. 145-6. See also, G.W.S. Barrow, 'King David I, Earl Henry and Cumbria', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 99 (1999), 117-27 (p. 118).

⁹⁸⁴ C. Phythian-Adams, *The Land of the Cumbrians: a study in British provincial origins, A.D. 400-1120* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 34-6.

⁹⁸⁵ J.M. Todd, 'The West March on the Anglo-Scottish Border in the Twelfth Century, and the Origins of the Western Debatable Land', *Northern History*, 43 (2006), 11-19 (pp. 17-8).

The barony of Liddel was not the only estate held by Turgis Brundos. In fact, his primary estate was at Rosedale in North Yorkshire, and it was from this English lordship that his heirs took their surname.⁹⁸⁶ In c. 1130, Turgis Brundos was succeeded by his son, William of Rosedale.⁹⁸⁷ Not long after, the political landscape changed drastically when Henry I died in 1135. By 1136, David I had established control over Carlisle, Cumberland and Westmoreland, a situation that would last for the next twenty one years. The kings of Scotland during this period, David I and Mael Coluim IV, sought to integrate these territories into their kingdom.⁹⁸⁸ Thus, the barony of Liddel became entirely part of the kingdom of Scotland. As John Todd has argued, it would seem that during this period the barony of Liddel came to include lands north of the River Esk and Liddel Water, namely the parishes of Canonbie and Kirkandrews on Esk. The enlargement of the barony appears to provide an example of a policy of assimilation by the kings of Scotland.

In 1142 × 1157, the barony of Liddel passed from William of Rosedale to his son Turgis of Rosedale, with Guy of Rosedale, presumably a younger son, also receiving lands in the barony.⁹⁸⁹ Shortly thereafter, the political landscape changed dramatically once again, and the lord of Liddel found himself in a precarious position. In 1157, Mael Coluim IV was compelled to cede Carlisle, Cumberland, and Westmoreland to Henry II.⁹⁹⁰ In the following year, Henry II personally came to the north to visit Newcastle, Carlisle, and supervise work on the border castle of Wark at Carham.⁹⁹¹ The development of a true political frontier and of border consciousness between the kingdoms of England and Scotland can be traced to this period and to the policies of Henry II.⁹⁹² The lord of Liddel suddenly found his barony in two different kingdoms, and his response would appear to be an attempt to strike a delicate balance.

The establishment of a *domus religionis* in the church of Liddel is first recorded in a general confirmation of William I to Jedburgh Abbey in 1165 × 1170. The religious house with its lands and the nearby church of Kirkandrews on Esk are confirmed as gifts of Turgis of Rosedale, lord of Liddel. The charter also confirms the gift made by Guy of Rosedale (with his son Ralph) of 42 acres of land between the River Esk and the Liddel Water at their confluence and free fishing from the ditch of Liddel to the church of Liddel.⁹⁹³ These churches, lands, and rights in the barony of Liddel all lay north of the River Esk and Liddel Water and were confirmed by the Scottish king because they were considered to be part of

⁹⁸⁶ P. Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy, and Lordship: Yorkshire, 1066-1154* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 100.

⁹⁸⁷ Todd, 11-19 (p. 17).

⁹⁸⁸ Barrow, 'David I', 117-27. William of Rosedale was likely the founder of the nunnery of Rosedale (Burton, *Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, p. 130).

⁹⁸⁹ Barrow, 'David I', 117-27 (p. 118, fn. 12).

⁹⁹⁰ W.L. Warren, *Henry II* (New Haven and London, 1973), pp. 54-81.

⁹⁹¹ *RRS*, I, pp. 9-10.

⁹⁹² *KS*, p. 148; W.M. Aird, 'Northern England or Southern Scotland? The Anglo-Scottish Border in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries and the Problem of Perspective', in *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England, 1000-1700*, eds. J.C. Appleby and P. Dalton (Stroud, 1997), pp. 27-39 (pp. 37-9).

⁹⁹³ *RRS*, II, no. 62. The lands gifted by Guy of Rosedale can be identified as Canonbie Holm.

his kingdom. Around the same time, the abbey also received from Turgis of Rosedale the church of Arthuret: also part of the barony, but lying south of the two rivers and thus in the kingdom of England.⁹⁹⁴

The division of the barony of Liddel into a cross-border lordship in 1157, henceforth owing allegiance to the kings of Scotland and England, seems to have encouraged the foundation of the priory of Canonbie and other patronage to the abbey of Jedburgh. It appears that between 1157 and 1165, i.e. after the reacquisition of Cumberland by Henry II and before the death of Mael Coluim IV, the lord of Liddel worked to protect the integrity of his barony by providing assurances to the Scottish king. The potential that Henry II might claim estates in the barony of Liddel, which he held of the king of Scotland, seems to have been a real possibility. For example, when Henry II retook Cumberland after 1157, it included at least one barony, Gilsland, not held during the reign of Henry I.⁹⁹⁵ The Scottish elements of the barony of Liddel were ripe for just such an absorption. Instead of returning his Scottish estates, the lord of Liddel gave to the abbey of Jedburgh, a Scottish royal foundation, the parish churches of his barony north of the River Esk and Liddel Water and also arranged for the canons of Jedburgh to establish a permanent presence in his barony. This would ensure that the northern part of the barony, namely the parishes of Liddel and Kirkandrews on Esk, would remain ecclesiastically and politically part of the kingdom of the Scots.

In 1133, Henry I established the bishopric of Carlisle.⁹⁹⁶ This played a significant role in firming up the ecclesiastical orientations of the region and creating the concept of a border dividing the former kingdom of Strathclyde.⁹⁹⁷ Over time the boundary between the dioceses of Carlisle and Glasgow became coterminous with the political boundary between the kingdoms of England and Scotland. The gifts by Turgis of Rosedale of the parishes of Kirkandrews on Esk and Liddel to the abbey of Jedburgh helped to cement them as part of the diocese of Glasgow.⁹⁹⁸ In the case of the parish of Liddel, a further safeguard was added in the form of a dependent priory occupied by regular canons from Jedburgh. It seems that the solidification of these parishes as part of the diocese of Glasgow went unchallenged because from 1156 to 1203 the see of Carlisle remained vacant.⁹⁹⁹

The relationship of the lords of Liddel and the kings of Scotland may have proved to be too close for the English monarch. It seems that Turgis of Rosdale died in c. 1170, at which time the baronies of

⁹⁹⁴ *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery) preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, 1916), II, no. 1035. The church of Arthuret was confirmed *in proprios usus* to the abbey of Jedburgh by Bernard, bishop of Carlisle, in 10 January 1204 × 8 July 1214 (*English Episcopal Acta: Carlisle, 1133-1292*, ed. D.M. Smith (Oxford, 2005), no. 24). See also, NAK, C 49/4/11, SC 8/16/756.

⁹⁹⁵ Summerson, I, pp. 22, 45.

⁹⁹⁶ Green, *Henry I*, pp. 272-3; Hollister, *Henry I*, pp. 392-4. See also, J.A. Green, 'King Henry I and Northern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 17 (2007), 35-55.

⁹⁹⁷ *KS*, pp. 144-5. See also, R.K. Rose, 'Cumbrian Society and the Anglo-Norman Church', in *Studies in Church History: Religion and National Identity*, 18 (1982), pp. 129-30.

⁹⁹⁸ *Glasgow Registrum*, I, no. 114.

⁹⁹⁹ J. Wilson, 'Constitutional Growth of Carlisle Cathedral', *SHR*, 17 (1920), 199-218 (pp. 203-4).

Rosedale and Liddel passed to Nicholas de Stuteville. The evidence suggests that Nicholas de Stuteville was a descendent of Turgis Brundos, but the nature of the relationship is unclear and indeed may be dubious.¹⁰⁰⁰ One thing is clear: he did not marry into the Rosedale family.¹⁰⁰¹ Nicholas de Stuteville likely received the lordship of Liddel from Henry II over the claims of members of the Rosedale family such as Guy de Rosedale and his son Ralph.¹⁰⁰² It has been suggested that the Rosedale family was disinherited due to ‘complicity with the Scots’.¹⁰⁰³ Indeed, the installation of Nicholas de Stuteville in the cross-border barony of Liddel appears to have been openly antagonistic to Scottish interests. Henry II seems to have used the de Stuteville family to pursue an aggressive northern policy in the early 1170s. For instance, Robert III de Stuteville became sheriff of Yorkshire, Roger de Stuteville, sheriff of Northumberland, and other members of the family held key baronies in the north, such as Robert de Stuteville at Appleby and Brough, his eldest son William de Stuteville at Topcliffe, and his second son the aforementioned Nicholas de Stuteville at Liddel.¹⁰⁰⁴ The settlement of the de Stuteville family in strategic positions in the north appears to have been part of a deliberate militarisation of the region by Henry II, which has gone unnoticed by historians, but which may have precipitated the conflict between the kingdoms of Scotland and England.

In an attempt to regain the counties lost in 1157, William I entered into an alliance with Louis VII of France, Queen Eleanor, and the eldest son of Henry II.¹⁰⁰⁵ In 1173-4, William I invaded northern England sweeping into Cumberland and attacking the castles of Liddel (i.e. Liddel Strength), Appleby, and Brough held by the de Stuteville family, and laying siege to Carlisle.¹⁰⁰⁶ Targeting castles garrisoned by the de Stuteville family does not seem to be a coincidence. In the case of Liddel, the Rosedale family, who had respected the cross-border composition of their barony, had been replaced by a scion of the de Stuteville family, agents of the English king. The invasion of England by William I failed and, shortly after it had begun, the king was captured at Alnwick on 13 July 1174. He was later forced to submit to the Treaty of Falaise.¹⁰⁰⁷ The terms of that treaty called for the garrisoning of Scottish castles (viz. Berwick, Edinburgh, and Roxburgh) with English knights.¹⁰⁰⁸ It should come as no surprise that Henry II called

¹⁰⁰⁰ *Liber Feodorum*, I, p. 198.

¹⁰⁰¹ Nicholas de Stuteville was married to Gunnora, daughter of Sybil de Valoniis (T.H.B. Graham, ‘Turgis Brundos’, *Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 29 (1929), 49-56 (p. 54)).

¹⁰⁰² Guy of Rosedale seems to have been alive in c. 1170. He is recorded as holding land in Lincolnshire from Walter de Ainecourt in 1166 (*The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall (London, 1896), I, p. 380).

¹⁰⁰³ Graham, 49-56 (pp. 53-4). See also, H. Doherty, ‘Robert de Vaux and Roger de Stuteville, sheriffs of Cumberland and Northumberland, 1170-1185’, in *Anglo-Norman Studies: Proceedings of the Battle Conference of 2005*, ed. C.P. Lewis (Woodbridge, 2006), XXVIII, pp. 65-102 (pp. 72-3, fn. 57).

¹⁰⁰⁴ Doherty, pp. 65-102 (pp. 72-5).

¹⁰⁰⁵ For Anglo-Scottish relations under Henry II, see *RRS*, II, pp. 6-8; Warren, *Henry II*, pp. 169-87.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *Chron. Howden*, I, p. 379.

¹⁰⁰⁷ D.D.R. Owen, *William the Lion: Kingship and Culture, 1143-1214* (Phantassie, 1997), pp. 32-56.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *MK*, pp. 230-1, 234-5.

upon members of the de Stuteville family to take custody of the castles of Roxburgh and Edinburgh.¹⁰⁰⁹ Furthermore, during the period of English occupation of southern Scotland from 1174 to 1189, an attempt was made to transfer the cell of Canonbie from a Scottish to an English mother house.¹⁰¹⁰

The composition of the barony of Liddel consisting of two parishes in Scotland (Liddel and Kirkandrews on Esk) and four parishes in England (Arthuret, Easton, Stapleton, and Bewcastle) outlasted this conflict, only collapsing when the Anglo-Scottish wars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries made the arrangement untenable. After the battle of Bannockburn in 1314, Robert I dissolved the cross-border barony, handing over the parishes of Liddel and Kirkandrews on Esk to a Scottish lord.¹⁰¹¹ Later Henry VIII would claim both parishes as English on the grounds that they historically belonged to an English barony. In effect, they were 'debateable lands' because of the cross-border heritage of the barony of Liddel. Despite the description in 1531 of the priory of Canonbie as 'a house of prayer and neutral between realms', in the aftermath of the Scottish defeat at nearby Solway Moss in 1542, Henry VIII destroyed the small house, which for nearly 400 years had stood as a visible reminder that the lands north of the River Esk and Liddel Water were part of the kingdom of Scotland and diocese of Glasgow.¹⁰¹²

Having discussed the context of the foundation, it is now time to consider, as far as possible, the nature of the small priory described in 1165 × 1170 as a *domus religionis*. The relationship of Canonbie and its priors to the mother house is not entirely clear due to the lack of surviving evidence- there are no surviving charters in the name of the priory. However, another dependency of Jedburgh founded in 1239 × 1248 may prove instructive. Like Canonbie, the priory of Blantyre was founded on a small scale and in a parish church. At Blantyre, the right to appoint the prior and canons was reserved to the abbot of Jedburgh.¹⁰¹³ It seems likely that this was also the case at Canonbie and that personnel were rotated frequently.

The priory of Canonbie was approximately sixty kilometres from its mother house. However, it stood in close proximity to a number of churches held by the abbey of Jedburgh in Annandale, Eskdale, and Liddesdale. For this reason, it appears, several churches were shifted by the abbey to the administration of its dependency. At the Reformation, the churches of Sibbaldbie, Wauchope, and Castleton were held by the house.¹⁰¹⁴ The diversion of resources by a mother house for the support of its

¹⁰⁰⁹ Doherty, pp. 65-102 (p. 72).

¹⁰¹⁰ The abbey of Jedburgh had to fend off an apparent attempt by the Arrouaisian abbey of Warter (Yorks.) to take control of the priory of Canonbie in c. 1180. The abbey of Warter unsuccessfully pressed their claims using a forged document (*Scotia Pontificia*, no. 120).

¹⁰¹¹ W.M. Mackenzie, 'The Debateable Land', *SHR*, 30 (1951), 109-25 (pp. 111-3).

¹⁰¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 109-25 (p. 113).

¹⁰¹³ E.C. Hamilton, 'The earls of Dunbar and the church in Lothian and the Merse', *IR*, 58:1 (2007), 1-34 (p. 13).

¹⁰¹⁴ *Thirds of Benefices*, p. 221.

daughter seems to have been a common practice in England.¹⁰¹⁵ This was also the case in Scotland. The Tironensian dependent priory of Lesmahagow provides an example of this practice. In 1144, the priory of Lesmahagow was established in a parish church in southern Lanarkshire as a dependency of Kelso Abbey. Similar to Canonbie, the church was at some distance from the abbey of Kelso and it too was the recipient of diverted resources, namely the churches of Closeburn, Dumfries, Dungree, Morton, and Trailflat.¹⁰¹⁶ In the late middle ages, at least, the priory of Canonbie acted as a regional church administrator for Jedburgh Abbey. The establishment of the priory in a parish church, and its role in parochial administration, raises questions about what role the canons of Canonbie played in pastoral care, with the implication being that a pastoral function was intended. As will be seen, it appears that the canons of Canonbie served the parochial altar of their church.¹⁰¹⁷ Thus, the house provided pastoral ministry in the lordship of Liddel, while also serving the political needs of the lords of Liddel.

V. St. Mary's Isle

Like many small religious houses, the foundation and early history of the dependent priory of St Mary's Isle is shadowy. Fortunately, however, the surviving documentary evidence for the priory is better than the majority of Galwegian religious houses. Historians have traditionally been concerned with the identity of the founder, the date of foundation, and the function of the priory.¹⁰¹⁸ In recent years, the conventional view on these topics has undergone some revision through the work of Ian Cowan, Daphne Brooke, Andrew McDonald, and Keith Stringer.¹⁰¹⁹ Yet, despite the work of these historians and the availability of evidence, the priory has not been considered at length since the pioneering work of R.C. Reid over fifty years ago.¹⁰²⁰ This is unfortunate, as the dependent priory of St Mary of Trail not only played an important role in the history of its mother house, the abbey of Holyrood, but in a number of respects it acted as a political nexus between the lords of Galloway and the kingdom of Scotland.

In the fifteenth century, the canons of Holyrood composed a series of historical narratives, one of which concerned the foundation of their dependent priory of St Mary's Isle. Unfortunately, the full account is no longer extant due to manuscript damage. As a result, the rubric of the text provides the only outline of the narrative in its entirety:

¹⁰¹⁵ For example, Plympton Priory transferred two churches, a mill, and lands to the dependent priory of Canonsleigh at its foundation (Fizzard, 'Plympton Priory', pp. 118-9).

¹⁰¹⁶ *Parishes*, pp. 32, 50, 52, 152, 199.

¹⁰¹⁷ See Chapter 5.

¹⁰¹⁸ Lawrie, *Annals*, pp. 67-8; *MRHS*, I, p. 82.

¹⁰¹⁹ *MRHS*, II, pp. 96-7; D. Brooke, *Wild Men and Holy Places: St Ninian, Whithorn and the Medieval Realm of Galloway* (Edinburgh, 1994), pp. 106, 126; McDonald, 'Reformed Religious Orders', 187-219 (pp. 198-9); Stringer, 'Reform monasticism', pp. 127-65 (pp. 128, 154).

¹⁰²⁰ R.C. Reid, 'The Priory of St Mary's Isle', *TDGAS*, 36 (1959), 9-26.

This is the foundation history of the priory of the island of Trail, and how Fergus the great lord of Galloway, its founder, obtained the peace of King David and gave the island and other possessions to the monastery of Holyrood, and after becoming a religious, was buried there.¹⁰²¹

The intact section of the text relates how Fergus, who had caused an unspecified offense, regained the king's peace. It explains that the lord of Galloway, wishing to be reconciled, enlisted the help of Alwin, abbot of Holyrood, who was the king's confessor and secretary. To this end, the abbot devised a twofold plan. First, Fergus took the habit of a canon. Next, the abbot arranged for the king to attend chapter, where he was asked to pardon the whole community for any transgressions. The king consented and thus unwittingly gave his peace to the lord of Galloway.¹⁰²²

In the past, the historical value of the foundation narrative has justifiably been minimised, because the account is part fiction and part historical fact.¹⁰²³ For instance, Fergus became a regular canon at Holyrood in 1160 by which time David I (d. 1153) and Abbot Alwin (d. 1155) were both already deceased.¹⁰²⁴ These anachronisms seem to relate to the author's desire to maintain thematic continuity with the other historical narratives in the series, which also centre on the exploits of the royal founder and the first abbot. Yet, despite its ahistorical cast, the foundation narrative seems to reflect historical events. Under the year 1160, the *Holyrood Chronicle* records that Mael Coluim IV 'led an army three times into Galloway, and then, having subdued his federate enemies, he returned with peace and without loss'. The next line of the chronicle reads, 'Fergus, prince of Galloway, took the canonical habit in the church of Holyrood in Edinburgh and gave to [the abbey] the vill which is called Dunrod'.¹⁰²⁵ This is clearly a related sequence of events, which in its broad strokes mirrors the foundation narrative.¹⁰²⁶ Perhaps the most significant difference between the accounts is that the foundation narrative considered the denouement of this chain of events to be the foundation of the priory of St Mary's Isle.

The foundation narrative credits the abbot of Holyrood with arranging for the reconciliation of the king and the lord of Galloway and this too reflects historical events. As noted, Fergus, lord of Galloway, entered the abbey of Holyrood as a canon in 1160, which was evidently a condition of the peace

¹⁰²¹ *Holyrood Ordinale*, p. 67.

¹⁰²² *Ibid.*, pp. 67-8.

¹⁰²³ E.g., Lawrie, *Annals*, p. 67.

¹⁰²⁴ *Chron. Holyrood*, s.a. 1153 (p. 123); s.a. 1155 (p. 128); s.a. 1160 (p. 137). Abbot Alwin resigned the abbacy in 1150 (*Ibid.*, s.a. 1150 (p. 121)).

¹⁰²⁵ *Chron. Holyrood*, s.a. 1160 (p. 137). See also, *Chron. Melrose*, s.a. 1160 (p. 77). For an important reassessment of the link between these events and the so called 'revolt of the earls', see D. Brooke, 'Fergus of Galloway: miscellaneous notes for a revised portrait', *TDGAS*, 66 (1991), 47-58.

¹⁰²⁶ However, the foundation narrative of Holyrood was not based upon the abbey's annalistic chronicle (*Holyrood Ordinale*, p. 69).

settlement.¹⁰²⁷ At this time, the abbot of Holyrood was William I (1152-72).¹⁰²⁸ It is reasonable to assume that Abbot William was involved in a settlement which would add a new member to his community. However, it appears that rather than the abbot of Holyrood, it was in fact the famous Ailred, abbot of Rievaulx (1147-67), who took the lead in negotiations. According to Walter Daniel,

As I have said, our father on a visit to the place found the princes of the province quarrelling among themselves. The King of Scotland could not subdue, nor the bishop pacify, their mutual hatreds, rancour and tyranny. Sons were against father, father against sons, brother against brother, daily polluting the unhappy little land with bloodshed. Ailred the peacemaker met them all and, with words of peace and goodness, bound together the angry sons by a firm peace in a single bond of affection. He eagerly urged their veteran sire to put on the monastic habit and by his marvellous admonishment bent him to that course, and taught him- who had taken the life of thousands- to become a partaker of the life eternal, to such effect that he ended his days in a monastery of religious brethren.¹⁰²⁹

The involvement of the abbot of Rievaulx as a mediator in this instance is not surprising for he was a man familiar to both the king of Scotland and the lord of Galloway. Ailred had spent his adolescence at the court of David I and also served in the royal household before entering upon a monastic career.¹⁰³⁰ Moreover, he remained a frequent visitor to Scotland during the reigns of Mael Coluim IV and William I.¹⁰³¹ He was also familiar with Galloway, and his abbey had a vested interest in the region. In 1142, Fergus, lord of Galloway, founded the abbey of Dundrennan, near Kirkcudbright, with monks from the abbey of Rievaulx.¹⁰³² As abbot of Rievaulx, Ailred appears to have developed a relationship with the patron of his new daughter house during visits to Galloway. While Walter Daniel and the author of the foundation narrative each give sole responsibility to their respective abbots, it seems likely that Ailred, abbot of Rievaulx, and William I, abbot of Holyrood, both took part in the diplomatic negotiations of 1160.

At one time, the identification of Fergus, lord of Galloway, as the founder of the priory of St Mary's Isle was questioned, but historical opinion on this matter has shifted. In fact, it is now considered

¹⁰²⁷ It is possible that Fergus, lord of Galloway, attested a charter of Mael Coluim IV (as *Comite Feregus*) between 20 November 1160 and 12 May 1161 (*RRS*, I, no. 176). However, as G.W.S. Barrow pointed out, it is far more likely that Ferteth, earl of Strathearn, was intended (*Ibid.*, p. 220, fn. 1).

¹⁰²⁸ *HRHS*, p. 92.

¹⁰²⁹ *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx* by Walter Daniel, ed. and trans. M. Powicke (Oxford, 1950), pp. 45-6. This work was produced by Walter Daniel in 1167 × 1176 (*Ibid.*, xxviii-xxxii).

¹⁰³⁰ Ailred spent his youth at the court of David I and was a companion of the king's son, Henry, and stepson, Waltheof. From c. 1131 to 1134 he served in the king's household on the staff of the *rannaire* or food-distributor. In 1134, he left the king's service to become a Cistercian monk at the newly founded abbey of Rievaulx (Yorks.). He served as abbot of Revesby from 1143 to 1147 and of Rievaulx from 1147 until his death in 1167 (*Life of Ailred*, pp. xxxix-xli, 2-5; *RRS*, I, pp. 32-3; *HRHEW*, I, p. 140). See also, S. Squire, *Aelred of Rievaulx: A Study* (London, 1981), pp. 12-4, 19.

¹⁰³¹ *Life of Ailred*, pp. xcii-xciv; R. Oram, *The Lordship of Galloway* (Edinburgh, 2000), p. 86 (fn. 139).

¹⁰³² Stringer, 'Reform monasticism', pp. 127-65 (p. 42).

possible or even probable.¹⁰³³ In the case of St Mary's Isle, the use of the term 'founder' must be qualified, however. As discussed, the foundation narrative is unequivocal in its recognition of Fergus as the founder of the priory, and it is not alone in this respect; a list of Scottish religious houses attached to the *Pluscarden Chronicle* (c. 1461) also credits Fergus with founding the house.¹⁰³⁴ Yet, contemporary evidence is less forthcoming. Upon taking the canonical habit, Fergus provided a substantial entry gift to the abbey of Holyrood, with the most significant element of that gift being the vill of Dunrod. However, there is evidence that the entry gift also included the church of Dunrod, the lands and church of Galtway, and the island of Trail.¹⁰³⁵ The last item is of particular significance because the island of Trail or St Mary's Isle, adjacent to Kirkcudbright, was the physical location of the priory.¹⁰³⁶ Nevertheless, it is highly unlikely that the priory was actually established on the island during the lifetime of Fergus for he died in 1161, shortly after entering the community of Holyrood.¹⁰³⁷ While it is doubtful that he lived to see the foundation, he was responsible for the original *donatio*, and this was frequently all that was required of a founder. As discussed, the priory of Inchcolm was actually founded on the island of *Emonia* over forty years after the original endowment was made by Alexander I, and yet he was considered by the canons of Inchcolm to be their founder. While it is impossible to know whether or not Fergus, lord of Galloway, gave the island of Trail to the abbey with the intention that a religious house be established there, the tradition of the canons of Holyrood, which considered Fergus its founder, cannot be dismissed.

The earliest evidence that the abbey of Holyrood had taken possession of its properties in Galloway dates to immediately after the death of Fergus. Following the retirement of their father in 1160, the sons of Fergus ruled Galloway jointly. The division of Galloway between the two brothers seems to have been part of the terms imposed by the king of Scotland.¹⁰³⁸ The joint-rule of Gille Brígte, who held western Galloway, and Uhtred, who held eastern Galloway, lasted from 1161 to 1174. During this period the kings of Scotland asserted their overlordship in Galloway by installing royal agents in both eastern and western Galloway and on occasion directly intervening in Galwegian affairs.¹⁰³⁹ One example of royal intervention relates to the gifts bestowed upon the abbey of Holyrood by Fergus. The canons seem to have wasted no time in securing their new property, for in 1161 × 1164 the abbey obtained a brieve from Mael Coluim IV providing royal protection to its men who were 'going to Galloway to visit or inhabit the land of Dunrod' and also prohibited anyone from disturbing them or from remaining on the

¹⁰³³ Lawrie, *Annals*, p. 68; *MRHS*, I, p. 82; *MRHS*, II, pp. 96-7; Stringer, 'Reform monasticism', pp. 127-65 (p. 128).

¹⁰³⁴ *Liber Pluscardensis*, I, app. 1 (p. 405).

¹⁰³⁵ *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 53; *RRS*, II, no. 39; *Holyrood Liber*, no. 49.

¹⁰³⁶ The island of Trail or St Mary's Isle is a peninsula which in the middle ages became an island at high tide (*New Statistical Account*, IV, p. 22).

¹⁰³⁷ *Chron. Holyrood*, s.a. 1161 (p. 139).

¹⁰³⁸ Walter Daniel credits Ailred with this proposal (*Life of Ailred*, pp. 45-6).

¹⁰³⁹ Oram, *Galloway*, pp. 87-92.

abbey's land against their will, on pain of the forfeiture of ten pounds.¹⁰⁴⁰ The brieve is addressed to Gille Brigte and Uhtred, and therefore clearly demonstrates the authority asserted by the kings of Scotland in post-1160 Galloway. It also provides clear evidence that the abbey had taken possession of the gifts they obtained from the lord of Galloway. The entry gift obtained from Fergus enabled the abbey to establish a presence in Galloway which would grow exponentially through the support of his son, Uhtred.

Uhtred, son of Fergus, proved to be the most significant non-royal benefactor to the abbey of Holyrood in its history. Between 1161 and 1174, the abbey received nine churches from Uhtred.¹⁰⁴¹ In total, the abbey received eleven churches from Fergus and his son Uhtred between 1160 and 1174, and with one exception these were all in eastern Galloway. To put this in perspective, in 1174 the abbey of Holyrood held only twelve other churches. Thus, in fourteen years the abbey had almost doubled its total number of churches through its expansion into Galloway, not to mention the lands and other rights they acquired from the lords of Galloway. It was during this prosperous period that the priory of St Mary's Isle was established in eastern Galloway.

The practical foundation of the dependent priory occurred during the joint-rule of Uhtred and Gille Brigte which lasted from 1161 to 1174. The earliest evidence for its existence appears in the testing clause of a charter of Richard, bishop of St Andrews, dating to 1172 × 1178. The charter is attested by four prelates: John, abbot of Holyrood, William, *prior of Galloway*, William, prior of Holyrood, and Ilbert, prior of Haddington, to whose nunnery the charter pertains.¹⁰⁴² The other witnesses suggest that the place-date was in Fife, probably at St Andrews.¹⁰⁴³ In the past, it has been noted that the 'prior of Galloway' could refer to the prior of either Soulseat or Whithorn.¹⁰⁴⁴ However, this seems unlikely considering the other witnesses to the charter and the likelihood that the charter was produced at St Andrews. William, 'prior of Galloway', attests the charter alongside the abbot and prior of Holyrood. The presence of the prior of St Mary's Isle in the company of his superiors would be natural, while the attendance of the priors of Soulseat or Whithorn at the episcopal court of St Andrews would be much harder to explain.¹⁰⁴⁵ Therefore, it seems probable that the attestation of the 'prior of Galloway' provides the earliest record of the dependent priory of St Mary's Isle.¹⁰⁴⁶

It is perhaps possible to explain the visit to Fife by the three highest ranking individuals associated with the abbey of Holyrood on the same occasion. In 1174, the political circumstances in

¹⁰⁴⁰ *RRS*, I, no. 230.

¹⁰⁴¹ *Holyrood Liber*, nos. 23, 24, 49; *RRS*, II, no. 39; *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 53; Stringer, 'Acts of Lordship', pp. 203-34 (no. 12). See also, Oram, *Galloway*, pp. 88-9.

¹⁰⁴² *St Andrews Liber*, p. 135.

¹⁰⁴³ *Viz.*, John of St Andrews, Adam, brother of Donnchad II, earl of Fife, and a large contingent of episcopal *familia*.

¹⁰⁴⁴ *HRHS*, pp. 204, 216.

¹⁰⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

¹⁰⁴⁶ This was first recognised by Ian Cowan (*MHRHS*, II, pp. 96-7).

Galloway changed dramatically. In that year, William I was captured at Alnwick. Gille Brígte and Uhtred, who had been campaigning with the king, returned to Galloway, expelled the royal agents, and began a civil war with each other for control of Galloway. During the civil war, Uhtred was captured by Mael Coluim, son of Gille Brígte, and mutilated. Shortly thereafter he died from his wounds. In fact, it may have been on the island of Trail that Mael Coluim, son of Gille Brígte, besieged and captured his uncle (where he was perhaps seeking sanctuary?).¹⁰⁴⁷ After the death of his brother, Gille Brígte set about expelling all non-Galwegian landowners from eastern Galloway, and this provides a potential context for the presence of William, prior of St Mary's Isle, in the company of the abbot and prior of Holyrood in Fife.¹⁰⁴⁸

It seems that the prior and canons of St Mary's Isle were not the only religious men to be expelled or to evacuate Galloway after 1174. The monks and lay brothers of the Cistercian abbey of Holm Cultram (Cumb.) who worked the grange of Kirkgunzeon were also forced to leave. The grange only became operational again once Roland, son of Uhtred, gained control of eastern Galloway in c. 1176 × 1185.¹⁰⁴⁹ Like their Cistercian counterparts, the canons of St Mary's Isle may have also waited until stability returned to eastern Galloway. The earliest evidence for the return of the canons to Galloway dates to 1186 × c. 1193.¹⁰⁵⁰ It appears that the canons of St Mary's Isle may have been a bit more cautious than the Cistercians, and waited until Roland established firm control over all of Galloway following the death of Gille Brígte in 1185.

Due to the proprietary interests of the abbey of Holyrood in Galloway, the dependent priory of St Mary's Isle has often been viewed, to use the words of David Knowles, as 'a *pied-à-terre* or centre of economic administration'.¹⁰⁵¹ This viewpoint has some merit for the mother house did indeed shift some of its property in Galloway to the control of its dependency. For example, in 1167 × 1209 the parochial revenue of the church of Anwoth was diverted to the priory and in 1200 × 1218 the dependency received the church of Galtway from its mother house.¹⁰⁵² Be that as it may, the priory never controlled a significant portion of the mother house's assets in Galloway. Thus, it seems unlikely that the primary

¹⁰⁴⁷ *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1867), I, pp. 79-80. G.W.S. Barrow speculated that the location described in the text as *insulam de*, which appears to omit the place name, is actually the Latinised form of *innis De* or the 'Isle of Dee', referring to island of Trail (i.e. St Mary's Isle) located at the mouth of the River Dee (Barrow, *Neighbours*, p. 75 (fn. 34)). Richard Oram, however, has suggested the island of Threave further upstream (Oram, *Galloway*, p. 95). Daphne Brooke has provided a third option, namely Burned Island (Brooke, *Wild Men*, p. 111).

¹⁰⁴⁸ The consecration of a new abbot may explain the presence of these three prelates in St Andrews on the same occasion. John was elected abbot of Holyrood in c. 1173 (*HRHS*, p. 92).

¹⁰⁴⁹ Stringer, 'Acts', pp. 203-34 (no. 15). See also, Oram, *Galloway*, pp. 93-9.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *RRS*, II, no. 293. See also, Stringer, 'Acts', pp. 203-34 (no. 22).

¹⁰⁵¹ *MRHS*, I, p. ix. See for example, Oram, *Galloway*, p. 256.

¹⁰⁵² *Holyrood Liber*, nos. 49, 73; *Parishes*, pp. 7, 72.

purpose of the priory was the economic administration of the considerable properties held by the mother house in Galloway.

Daphne Brooke envisioned quite a different function for the house. She argued that the canons lived communally at St Mary's Isle while serving 'the surrounding churches and chapels of the old mother-church- celebrating Mass, performing baptisms and burials, and caring for the spiritual welfare of the laity'.¹⁰⁵³ Brooke theorised that the canons of St Mary's Isle provided pastoral care in the former minster church of St Cuthbert, Kirkcudbright, and its pendicle chapels, which were by then baptismal churches in their own right, namely Dunrod, Galtway, and Tongland.¹⁰⁵⁴ However, the surviving evidence does not support this argument. The biggest obstacle to this idea is the fact that for most of the priory's history the important urban church of St Cuthbert in Kirkcudbright and the churches of Dunrod and Tongland remained in the hands of the mother house.¹⁰⁵⁵ It was only in the late middle ages that the priory came into possession of the churches of Kirkcudbright and Dunrod, by which time the priory itself had a parochial altar.¹⁰⁵⁶ Of the churches mentioned by Brooke, only the church of Galtway, given to the priory by its mother house in 1200 × 1218, was potentially served by the canons of St Mary's Isle. Thus, the theory proposed by Brooke that canons of St Mary's Isle took up the pastoral ministry of an ancient minster church is inconsistent with the evidence. In the case of the churches which the priory did possess in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, namely the churches of Eggerness, Galtway, and the garbal tithes of the church of Anwoth, the provisioning of pastoral care by the canons also seems unlikely. For instance, the canons only held an interest in the church of Anwoth, and the church of Eggerness was roughly sixty kilometres away making pastoral care highly improbable.¹⁰⁵⁷ Instead, the churches seem to have provided for the financial needs of the house.

The nature of the mother-daughter relationship indicates that St Mary's Isle acted with relative autonomy. D.E. Easson once said of the priory that it 'was not regarded as an independent unit'.¹⁰⁵⁸ In one respect the independence of the house was certainly limited, for the prior of St Mary's Isle was, like most other dependencies, dative.¹⁰⁵⁹ Thus, the prior and canons were appointed by the abbot of Holyrood and

¹⁰⁵³ Brooke, *Wild Men*, p. 106.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 126.

¹⁰⁵⁵ *RRS*, II, no. 39; *Holyrood Liber*, nos. 25, 49, 73; *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 53; *Parishes*, pp. 55, 119. The church of Tongland was given to the Premonstratensian abbey of Tongland by Alan, son of Roland, at its foundation in c. 1218. The circumstances of the transfer are obscure (*Parishes*, p. 198).

¹⁰⁵⁶ In 1572, the priory held the churches of Kirkcudbright, Dunrod, and St Mary's Isle (*New Statistical Account*, IV, pp. 22-3).

¹⁰⁵⁷ In addition, all three churches were vicarages by 1280 (A.I. Dunlop, 'Bagimond's Roll: Statement of the Tenths of the Kingdom of Scotland', in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society* (Edinburgh, 1939), VI, pp. 3-77 (pp. 74-5)).

¹⁰⁵⁸ This was written by D.E. Easson in a personal communication with R.C. Reid in August 1956. The substance of that letter was printed by Reid in 1959 (Reid, 9-26 (pp. 13-4, fn. 14a)).

¹⁰⁵⁹ *DPE*, pp. 75-7, 125.

were, at least in the late middle ages, rotated on an annual basis.¹⁰⁶⁰ Yet, while the house was clearly constitutionally dependent, it operated with significant economic autonomy for a dependent house.¹⁰⁶¹ For one thing, the priory received charters in its own name.¹⁰⁶² Moreover, when Alan, son of Roland, confirmed to the abbey of Holyrood the properties it had received from Fergus, Uhtred, and his father Roland in 1201 × 1218, the priory of St Mary's Isle and its assets were not included.¹⁰⁶³ These items appear to be excluded precisely because the dependency was considered to be an independent unit. This evidence suggests that the house was given more autonomy than a number of other dependencies, such as Loch Leven. Distance from the mother house was probably a factor, but so too was the involvement of active patrons.

Once the dependent priory was re-established after 1185, the relationship between the house and the lords of Galloway becomes more evident. In 1186 × c. 1193, Roland, lord of Galloway (1186-1200), gave the church of Eggerness, which lay in western Galloway, to the priory. It seems that the priory benefitted from the conquest of the territory formerly held by Gille Brígte. The priory also received from the lord of Galloway the tithes of his principal residence at Kirkcudbright, which included food, drink, wax, and tallow.¹⁰⁶⁴ A portion of the resources from a particular residence were often set aside in this manner by patrons, for example, by the bishops of Dunkeld for Inchcolm, by the bishops of St Andrews for Loch Leven, and by the earls of Strathearn for Inchaffray.¹⁰⁶⁵ Patronage of this type clearly indicates that the lords of Galloway considered themselves to be the patrons of the house.

During the career of the next lord of Galloway, Alan, son of Roland (1200-34), there is another glimpse of the relationship which St Mary's Isle had with the lords of Galloway. In this instance, William, the prior of St Mary's Isle, served the lord of Galloway in a professional capacity as clerk and as a trusted advisor (*dilectus et familiaris clericus noster*).¹⁰⁶⁶ Thus, it would seem that one of the most important functions of the dependent priory, particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was to cultivate a relationship with the lords of Galloway which would help provide security for the properties held by the mother house in the region. The location of the house near the *caput* of the lords of Galloway at Kirkcudbright positioned it well for such a task.¹⁰⁶⁷ This relationship also left the canons of Holyrood and St Mary's Isle well-positioned for advancement in Galloway. In the late middle ages, the priors of St Mary's Isle frequently became abbot of Holyrood, and it seems probable that this was a traditional career

¹⁰⁶⁰ Reid, pp.13-4, 17. For the known priors of St Mary's Isle, see *HRHS*, pp. 193-7.

¹⁰⁶¹ For a discussion of the relative autonomy of dependent houses, see *DPE*, pp. 83-90.

¹⁰⁶² *RRS*, II, no. 293.

¹⁰⁶³ *Holyrood Liber*, no. 73. See also, Stringer, 'Acts', pp. 203-34 (no. 31).

¹⁰⁶⁴ *RRS*, II, no. 293. See also, Stringer, 'Acts', pp. 203-34 (no. 22).

¹⁰⁶⁵ *Inchcolm Charter*, no. 1; *St Andrews Liber*, p. 43; *Inchaffray Charters*, no. 1. This was also a common practice of the kings of Scotland with their religious foundations. See for example, *DC*, no. 147.

¹⁰⁶⁶ *NAK*, C47/22/9/1. See also, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, I, no. 754; Reid, p. 14.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Oram, *Galloway*, pp. 56, 87-92, 221.

path.¹⁰⁶⁸ Given the strong ties of the abbey of Holyrood to Galloway and its lords, it is no wonder that two of its abbots received royal support for their candidacy to the bishopric of Whithorn in 1253 and again in 1326.¹⁰⁶⁹ The priors of St Mary's Isle maintained a relationship with their patron, the leading authority in Galloway, which ultimately provided the best insurance that the interests of both the mother house and the daughter house in the region would be protected.

Chapter Conclusion:

The foregoing discussion has demonstrated not only the importance of dependencies to the histories of their mother houses, but the significance which these minor houses had upon the overall ecclesiastical landscape of the kingdom of Scotland. The twelfth century witnessed the establishment of five legally dependent and directly subordinate communities of Augustinian canons. Owing to the takeover of existing religious institutions and their patrimonies, two of these dependencies were significant religious institutions in their own rights, namely Loch Leven and Restenneth. In both cases, there was a considerable degree of functional continuity between the earlier institutions and their Augustinian successors. The evidence suggests that the ancient monastery of Loch Leven functioned as a hermitage, while the Augustinian priory served as a retreat and house of contemplation. Likewise, the church of St Peter at Restenneth was the historic *matrix ecclesia* of Forfarshire, a role which was unchanged by the Augustinian priory. Thus, like the independent houses, the takeover of pre-existing religious sites, and also the geographical settings of the house, played a major role in determining the function of Augustinian institutions in the kingdom.

The three dependent houses founded on a smaller scale, namely Loch Tay, Canonbie, and St. Mary's Isle, were established in three different settings and with different objectives in mind. The cell of Loch Tay was established on a remote island and was intended to offer continual prayer for the co-founders of Scone. The cell of Canonbie was founded in the barony of Liddel as a result of border politics. However, its establishment in a parish church, which, as will be seen, was likely served by a canon, indicates that the provisioning of pastoral care within the lordship was also anticipated. The cell of St Mary's Isle was established on an island near Kirkcudbright, acting as a liaison between its mother house of Holyrood and its patron, the lords of Galloway. The canons who resided on the island do not appear to have engaged in parochial activities, but were nonetheless active. These dependencies, therefore, offered a range of different religious experiences.

A better understanding of the function of Augustinian dependencies, particularly in relation to their mother houses, helps to clarify the religious life of the collective community. In some cases, it

¹⁰⁶⁸ HRHS, pp. 94-5.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 93; *Fasti*, pp. 169-71. See also, Oram, *Galloway*, p. 184.

appears that mother and daughter houses had complementary roles. For example, the priory of Loch Leven, which was isolated, non-parochial, and for centuries uninvolved in temporal affairs, seems to have provided the opportunity for canons of St Andrews to live peacefully removed from the world, while at the cathedral priory the canons could experience an active life of pastoral and hospitaller work. Thus, the mother/daughter dynamic could broaden the religious experience of canons, allowing for a mixed life of action and contemplation.

Plate 2.1: Scone



Plate 2.1: The early fourteenth-century common seal of Scone Abbey (obverse) depicting the inauguration of Alexander III at Scone in 1249; the legend reads: S[IGILLUM] ECC[LESIE] S[AN]C[T]E TRIN[ITAT]IS ET S[AN]C[T]I [MI]CHAELIS DE SCONA (NAK, SC13/H32).

Plate 2.2: Holyrood



Plate 2.2: The twelfth-century common seal of Holyrood Abbey depicting an artistic representation of the first abbey church; the legend reads: SIGILLUM S[AN]C[T]I CRUCIS EDENESBURCHGENSIS ECCL[ES]IE (NAS, GD40/1/3).

Plate 2.3: Jedburgh



Plate 2.3: The thirteenth-century common seal of Jedburgh Abbey depicting the coronation of the Virgin; the legend reads: S[IGILLUM] COMMUNITATIS DE JEDDEWURTHE (NAK, SC13/F 15A).

Plate 2.4: St Andrews



Plate 2.4: The seal of John de Haddington, prior of St Andrews (1264-1304), depicting the figure of St Andrew (with nimbus), and on each side are angels holding candlesticks with the prior kneeling in prayer at foot; the legend reads: S[IGILLUM] JOH[ANN]IS S[AN]C[T]I ANDREE AP[OSTO]LI IN SCOCIA (NAK, SC13/E43).

Plate 2.5: Cambuskenneth



Plate 2.5: The seal of John, abbot of Cambuskenneth (1287-92), depicting the half-length figure of the Virgin with Child set in a Gothic niche with the abbot kneeling in prayer at foot; the legend reads: S[IGILLUM] JOHANNIS AB[BATIS] [D]E KAMBISKINEL (NAK, SC13/B46).

Plate 2.6: Inchcolm



Plate 2.6: The thirteenth-century abbatial seal of Inchcolm Abbey depicting a small boat at sea with its sail furled in which two figures are seated at prayer, one appears to be St Columba wearing a mitre, the other the abbot of Inchcolm; the legend reads: S[IGILLUM] ABBATIS DE INSULA SANCTI COLUMBI (NAK, SC13/D53).

Part II

Chapter 3: Colonisation and Customs

Houses of Augustinian canons were sometimes established through colonisation, in which a group of experienced canons were sent to establish religious life elsewhere. However, the flexibility of the Rule of St Augustine made it a popular choice for a number of different forms of religious life, and thus colonisation was only one of the ways in which the regular canonical movement spread. For example, houses were established through the conversion of existing religious communities, such as hermitages, which chose to adopt the Rule as a framework for communal life.¹⁰⁷⁰ Similarly, groups of secular clergy living together in communities, such as collegiate churches, might convert to the regular life in part or *en masse*.¹⁰⁷¹ When colonisation did take place, it was not subject to regulation like other contemporary religious movements, particularly the Order of Cîteaux.

According to Cistercian statutes, each new foundation would be settled by twelve monks and an abbot, a form of propagation which Constance Berman has termed ‘apostolic gestation’.¹⁰⁷² This type of colonisation has coloured scholarly opinion of canonico-monastic settlement patterns, leading to the notion that the Cistercian model was typical of other religious movements.¹⁰⁷³ Although the regular canonical movement lacked uniformity, in many instances colonisation accounted for the critical mass, a group or an individual with a working knowledge of the Rule, customs, and usages travelled to a site and helped establish religious life there. As a result, the numbers involved in colonisation varied considerably and were often quite small.¹⁰⁷⁴

The spread of the movement was unregulated, characterised by individuality and resourcefulness. In some cases, a single canon was sent from an established house to assume the prelateship of a new foundation and recruit a community around him. In others, a community interested in adopting the regular life sent representatives to an established canonical house in order to receive instruction and return to their own house prepared for implementation. Similarly, a group of experienced canons were sometimes sent to instruct a community wishing to adopt the regular life. In still other cases, the observances of a particular house spread textually.¹⁰⁷⁵ For example, Mael Maedóc Úa Morgair, bishop of Connor and Down (d.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Herbert, 131-45 (pp. 131-5).

¹⁰⁷¹ Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 45.

¹⁰⁷² C.H. Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia, 2000), p. 103.

¹⁰⁷³ Hill, p. 50. It appears that, even among Cistercians, this was more an ideal than a reality, and ‘apostolic gestation’ probably did not account for as large a proportion of foundations as once thought (Berman, pp. 103-106).

¹⁰⁷⁴ AC, pp. 134-7. See also, GAS, II, app. 20.

¹⁰⁷⁵ See below.

1148), visited the abbey of Arrouaise and obtained a copy of the Arrouaisian customs and liturgical practices, which he then caused to be adopted by religious communities in Ireland.¹⁰⁷⁶

The introduction of customs and liturgical practices by canonical houses also involved considerable individualism. The lack of central organisation meant that the observances instituted at Augustinian houses were governed by preference. For this reason, non-congregational regular canons, like traditional Benedictines, developed a variety of different observances, and it was common for Augustinian houses to modify and combine observances to form their own unique textual models.¹⁰⁷⁷ For example, Waltheof, prior of Kirkham (c. 1139-47), combined elements of different customs into a single set of observances for his priory.¹⁰⁷⁸ Despite this penchant for individuality, as Ludo Milis observed, it was still the ‘best-sellers’, and the houses which produced them, that had the greatest influence on the regular canonical movement; and this was true of both the *ordo antiquus* and *ordo novus*.¹⁰⁷⁹

On the continent, the survival of customaries from Augustinian institutions has aided scholars in understanding the different interpretations of canonical life and in tracing both their spread and evolution.¹⁰⁸⁰ In the British Isles, however, this methodology is unfeasible. In England and Wales, for example, of the over 250 Augustinian foundations there are only two extant manuscripts, namely the Barnwell customal and a putative Llanthony customal.¹⁰⁸¹ In Scotland, none survive. Thus, insular scholars must approach the question differently, but it cannot be abandoned altogether, for these texts stood at the centre of the day-to-day religious life of canonical communities and reflect different philosophical tendencies.

German scholars have begun to think in terms of reform circles (*Reformkreise*) or observance circles (*Observanzkreise*), confronting the tendency among non-congregational houses to build associations and to share observances within a network of houses. At the centre of these reform circles was a mother house which acted as the wellspring of a particular interpretation of canonical life, and often the source of a textual model.¹⁰⁸² Clarifying such relationships has enabled continental scholars to determine whether a house was connected to a rigorous or moderate interpretation of canonical life. While the lack of surviving customs in the British Isles greatly inhibits this line of research, indentifying reform circles can provide valuable insight into the interpretation of canonical life to which a given house was

¹⁰⁷⁶ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, 15:2 (Hanover, 1888), pp. 1117-25 (pp. 1121-2); Flanagan, ‘Arrouaisian Observances’, 223-34.

¹⁰⁷⁷ R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1953), pp. 156-7.

¹⁰⁷⁸ *AC*, pp. 171-2. At Kirkham, the observances appear to have been influenced by Cistercian practice (J.E. Burton, *Kirkham Priory from Foundation to Dissolution* (York, 1995), pp. 4-11).

¹⁰⁷⁹ Milis, ‘Hermits and Regular Canons’, pp. 181-246 (pp. 220-2).

¹⁰⁸⁰ See for example, Dereine, ‘Saint-Quentin de Beauvais et de Springiersbach’, 411-42.

¹⁰⁸¹ *The Observances in use at the Augustinian Priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire*, ed. J.W. Clark (Cambridge, 1897), p. xi; *AC*, pp. 172-3. See also, *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, eds. T. Webber and A.G. Watson (London, 1998), p. 6.

¹⁰⁸² Weinfurter, ‘Regularanonikern’, 379-97 (pp. 383-4, 389-91). See also, *GAS*, I, p. 9.

associated. Therefore, this chapter will consider the spread of the regular canonical movement into, and within, the kingdom of Scotland, and the reform circles and textual models which influenced it.

A. Scone

The priory of Scone was founded in c. 1120. According to Walter Bower, the priory was colonised by a group of six regular canons from Nostell Priory in Yorkshire, a number which included the first prior, Robert.¹⁰⁸³ The inaugural community at Scone therefore originated in the classical manner, that is, through colonisation. As a result, it can be assumed that canons of Scone obtained both an interpretation of canonical life and textual model from their mother house in the north of England. Indeed, C.N.L. Brooke has argued that Scone Priory was established in the contemplative mould on the basis of its affiliation with Nostell Priory, a house with eremitical antecedents.¹⁰⁸⁴ However, as will be seen, this conclusion does not necessarily follow from the evidence.

The priory of Nostell was founded in c. 1114 and by c. 1120 was capable of sending six canons to establish a new house in Perthshire.¹⁰⁸⁵ Rapid propagation, as exemplified in this case, was typical of the Augustinian movement.¹⁰⁸⁶ Also typical was its establishment as an independent entity. The foundation charter of Scone Priory specifically notes that the house would be ‘free from any profession and subjection’ to its mother house.¹⁰⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the two houses maintained a close relationship after colonisation. This is attested by the preservation in the Nostell cartulary of a charter of Alexander I to Scone Priory.¹⁰⁸⁸ While it was established as a non-congregational house, Scone remained connected to its mother house.

The eremitical background of the priory of Nostell has often been emphasised.¹⁰⁸⁹ However, it is not clear that this house, or by extension Scone Priory, adopted an austere ideology. Although its existence is shadowy, a hermitage seems to have developed in the forest of St Oswald before 1100. In 1109 × 1114, this hermitage was transformed into a formal religious institution, obtaining both ecclesiastical sanction and secular patronage.¹⁰⁹⁰ The contemporary evidence shows that at the time of its institutionalisation the community consisted of regular canons, alternatively referred to as *clerici*, and

¹⁰⁸³ *Scotichronicon*, III, pp. 108-9.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Brooke, ‘David I’, pp. 319-34 (p. 327).

¹⁰⁸⁵ See Appendix 1.

¹⁰⁸⁶ For example, in Ireland, the priory of Kells (co. Kilkenny) was founded by four canons and within two years it was capable of sending out two canons to found a new house (Preston, pp. 23-40 (p. 34)).

¹⁰⁸⁷ *Scone Liber*, no. 1. See also, AC, p. 158.

¹⁰⁸⁸ *RRS*, I, no. 4.

¹⁰⁸⁹ AC, pp. 142-3, 150-1.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Frost, *Nostell Priory*, pp. 7-12.

their servants, who were provided the church of St Oswald and its cemetery for their use.¹⁰⁹¹ By this stage, the character of the community was evidently clerical; there is no mention of hermits or laymen. Moreover, the existence of servants does not invoke the eremitical ideal for which manual labour was fundamental.¹⁰⁹² At Nostell, it appears that the clerical element within the hermitage had gained ascendancy, as was often the case, and were responsible for its transition into a formal religious institution and the adoption of the Rule of St Augustine.¹⁰⁹³ Despite its eremitical antecedents, the first canons of Nostell were clerical in background, and seemingly clerical in outlook.

In contrast to most English houses with eremitical antecedents, which were typically poor and founded by the lesser nobility, the priory of Nostell became extremely wealthy through royal and archiepiscopal attention, largely on the basis of parish churches and glebe land.¹⁰⁹⁴ Indeed, for this reason, it has been argued that the priory was founded with pastoral objectives in mind.¹⁰⁹⁵ In short, there is no reason to believe that the first generation of canons at Nostell adopted a particularly austere or strict interpretation of canonical life.¹⁰⁹⁶ Instead, their lifestyle, and the institution they established, appears to be typical of regular canons from the clerical class.

While there is little evidence of eremitism at Nostell or Scone, the dependent cells established by both houses shortly after their foundations are indicative of such a lifestyle. As discussed, dependent cells were set up at Hirst and Loch Tay in the 1120s, both of which appear to have provided outlets for canons to live an eremitical lifestyle.¹⁰⁹⁷ Yet, this seems to be the only clear remnant of the eremitical ideal. Pastoral objectives are suggested elsewhere; for instance, the priory of Nostell also established a cell at Breedon in Leicestershire in 1119 × 1123. In this case, the cell was founded in a parish church, which it continued to share with parishioners, and until the later middle ages the cure seems to have been served by a canon.¹⁰⁹⁸ Thus, during the same period, Nostell established dependent cells with contemplative and pastoral objectives in mind. It would seem that while the priories of Nostell and Scone adopted a moderate and relatively active interpretation of canonical life, they did not entirely forget their eremitical antecedents.

There is no direct evidence of the nature of the observances followed at Nostell or Scone. The Rule of St Augustine was adopted at Nostell in 1109 × 1114 and followed at Scone from its foundation in

¹⁰⁹¹ Frost, 'Nostell Priory Cartulary', II, no. 737.

¹⁰⁹² Milis, 'Hermits and Regular Canons', pp. 181-246 (pp. 202-4).

¹⁰⁹³ Ibid., pp. 181-246 (pp. 191-4, 210-4, 229-30).

¹⁰⁹⁴ Herbert, 131-45 (p. 144); Frost, *Nostell Priory*, pp. 24-36.

¹⁰⁹⁵ A.H. Thompson, 'The Priory of St. Mary of Newstead in Sherwood Forest with some notes on houses of Regular Canons', *Transactions of Thoroton Society*, 23 (1919), 112-41.

¹⁰⁹⁶ The strongest evidence for the eremitical antecedents of Nostell, and the contemplative lifestyle of its canons, comes from the fifteenth-century foundation narrative of the priory (Frost, *Nostell Priory*, pp. 12-5; Milis, 'Hermits and Regular Canons', pp. 181-246 (pp. 185-7)).

¹⁰⁹⁷ See Appendix 1.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Frost, 'Nostell Priory Cartulary', I, pp. 145-6; *DPE*, p. 38.

c. 1120.¹⁰⁹⁹ Nonetheless, a few things are known about the observances installed at Nostell and Scone. The foundation of both Nostell and Scone predate the adoption of the stricter *ordo monasterii* of the Rule of St Augustine, and the customs produced by the houses of the *ordo novus*. For instance, the customaries of houses such as Prémontré, Arrouaise, and Rolduc, and probably also St Victor and Oigny, were not written until 1125 × 1140.¹¹⁰⁰ Before 1121, communities that wished to adopt the Rule of St Augustine, even eremitical ones, had to follow the *ordo antiquus* out of necessity (e.g. Saint-Laurent-au-Bois).¹¹⁰¹ While this was no guarantee of a moderate interpretation of canonical life (e.g. Llanthony Prima), there is no indication at Nostell or Scone of a particular inclination towards austerity. The foundation of Nostell and Scone also predate the entrance of the Cistercians into the British Isles in 1128, which had a profound influence on interpretations of canonical life. Therefore, it seems likely that the community at Nostell, despite its eremitical antecedents, adopted a moderate interpretation of canonical life, and it certainly used the *ordo antiquus* as its textual basis. It appears that canons of Nostell and Scone probably occupied a middle ground between the moderate and austere interpretations of canonical life, and as their dependent cells indicate both ends of the vocational spectrum were encouraged. As will be seen, the interpretation of canonical life and customs adopted at Scone are of particular significance because this house played an important role in domestic colonisation in the kingdom of Scotland.

B. Holyrood

Holyrood Abbey belonged to the Merton reform circle. In 1128, a group of canons of unknown size was brought to Edinburgh from Merton Priory outside London by the Scottish king and was placed under the leadership of Ælfwine, himself a former canon of Merton.¹¹⁰² Merton Priory was described by J.C. Dickinson as ‘perhaps the most influential of all the English houses of regular canons, certainly one of the very few which could vie in importance with the noblest continental houses of the order’.¹¹⁰³ The origin of Merton Priory, its relationship to its daughter houses, and the source of its observances are essential considerations for understanding the interpretation of canonical life that arrived in Edinburgh in 1128.

The priory of Merton was founded in 1114 with the support of the priory of St Mary’s, Huntingdon (f. 1087 × 1092), which supplied the house with its first prior.¹¹⁰⁴ Huntingdon Priory was one

¹⁰⁹⁹ Frost, ‘Nostell Priory Cartulary’, II, no. 737; *Scone Liber*, no. 1.

¹¹⁰⁰ Milis, ‘Hermits and Regular Canons’, pp. 181-246 (p. 189).

¹¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 181-246 (pp. 231-2, 245).

¹¹⁰² *Holyrood Ordinale*, p. 64; Colker, ‘Gilbert, Founder of Merton’, 241-70 (p. 263).

¹¹⁰³ *AC*, pp. 116-7.

¹¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-8. Unfortunately, only a fraction of the records of Huntingdon Priory survive, leaving much of its history obscure (W.M. Noble, ‘The cartulary of the priory of St Mary, Huntingdon’, *Transactions of the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society*, 4 (1930), pp. 89-280).

of the earliest houses of regular canons established in England and played an important role in the early spread of the regular canonical movement, helping to found the houses of Cambridge (later Barnwell) (1092), Hexham (1113), Merton (1114), Worksop (c. 1119), and Emsay (later Bolton) (1120/1).¹¹⁰⁵ Of its daughter houses, Merton became the most important. Robert, the first prior of Merton (1114-50), and former subprior of Huntingdon, did not bring a colony with him from Huntingdon, but instead attracted individuals from across England and the continent who wished to adopt the regular life.¹¹⁰⁶ The house grew rapidly in wealth, numbers (in 1117 there were fifteen canons, by 1125 there were thirty six), and fame.¹¹⁰⁷

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Merton Priory became the mother house of a large reform circle, which included the houses at Taunton (1120), Plympton (1121), Bodmin (1123), St Gregory, Canterbury (1123), Holyrood (1128), Cirencester (1131), St. Lô, Normandy (1132), Dover (1135), Buckenham (c. 1146), Christchurch (1150), Bedford (1163), Bilsington (1253), and Tregony (1267).¹¹⁰⁸ As can be seen, the Merton reform circle spread throughout Britain, but also into Normandy, where Algar, bishop of Coutances (1132-51), formerly the prior of Bodmin, introduced canons of Merton into the abbey of St. Lô.¹¹⁰⁹ Moreover, if one considers its extended family, the network of institutions affiliated with Merton would expand significantly. For example, the priory of Kells in Ireland was colonised by four canons from Bodmin in 1193.¹¹¹⁰ The daughter houses of Merton frequently received colonies, but the relationship also implied the installation of its customs and liturgical observances. This is confirmed by the foundation charter of Buckenham Priory (Norfolk) which states that the canons would *secundum ordinem beati Augustini et institutionem ecclesiae sanctae Mariae de Meretune*.¹¹¹¹ While each house was administratively independent from the mother house, the houses in the Merton reform circle shared a common set of customs and liturgical practices.¹¹¹² Unfortunately, the customs of Merton, despite their significance, are no longer extant. Nonetheless, it is possible to ascertain the nature of these observances and seemingly also their origin.

The foundation of two of the earliest Augustinian houses in England, namely St Botolph's, Colchester (f. 1104), and Holy Trinity, Aldgate (f. 1107), were related ventures, and had a significant impact on the interpretation of canonical life which was first disseminated in Britain. The secular canons

¹¹⁰⁵ AC, pp. 103-4, 116 (fns. 1, 6).

¹¹⁰⁶ Colker, 'Gilbert, Founder of Merton', 241-71 (pp. 248-9). Master Guy, a famous teacher from Italy, joined the community at its foundation (Colker, 'Guy of Merton', 250-61 (p. 255)).

¹¹⁰⁷ Colker, 'Gilbert, Founder of Merton', 241-71 (pp. 250-1, 261). The reputation of Merton Priory had reached the abbey of St Ruf in Avignon before 1154 (John of Salisbury, *The Letters of John of Salisbury: The Early Letters (1153-1161)*, eds. C.N.L. Brooke, H.E. Butler, and W. J. Millor, 2 vols (Oxford, 1955-79), I, no. 50).

¹¹⁰⁸ AC, pp. 117-9; Green, *Merton Priory*, pp. 3-25.

¹¹⁰⁹ Green, *Merton Priory*, pp. 22-3.

¹¹¹⁰ Empey, 'Kells', 131-51 (p. 138).

¹¹¹¹ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, VI, p. 419.

¹¹¹² AC, p. 159.

of Colchester were persuaded to adopt the regular life and the Rule of St Augustine by Norman, a fellow canon, in the 1090s. It was decided that Norman and his brother, Bernard, should go to the continent to observe an Augustinian community. The brothers were instructed to go to the abbey of Mont-Saint-Éloi (f. 1068), known for its strict interpretation of canonical life; however, for reasons unknown, they chose instead to study the regular life at the priory of St Quentin of Beauvais (f. 1067 × 78), and its daughter house of St Jean-en-Vallée (f. 1099), or St André (f. 1100), in Chartres, which, as will be discussed, had moderate observances.¹¹¹³ For several years the brothers observed the mode of religious life at St Quentin, after which they returned to England, installing the Rule of St Augustine and customs of Beauvais at Colchester in c. 1104.¹¹¹⁴ In 1107, Norman became the first prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, founded by the English queen Matilda II; and, as noted, he served as her confessor.¹¹¹⁵ At Holy Trinity, Norman installed the customs of Beauvais, although he made his own modifications to them.¹¹¹⁶ The customs of St Quentin of Beauvais, therefore, became the textual base for two of the earliest houses of regular canons in England. Of the two houses, Holy Trinity, Aldgate, developed into a particularly important centre for the propagation of the movement in England. As discussed, the priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, was the centre of its own reform circle which included Plympton (1121), St Osyth (1121) St Frideswide, Oxford (1122), Launceston (1127), and Dunstable (1131/2).¹¹¹⁷

The Holy Trinity reform circle was closely related to the Merton reform circle, and their networks sometimes overlapped. In fact, the priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, later claimed Merton as a daughter house.¹¹¹⁸ Although this is inaccurate, the two houses did have an almost familial relationship, operating in conjunction on a number of occasions.¹¹¹⁹ The priory of Merton, along with houses of Colchester and Holy Trinity, Aldgate, sent canons to instruct the brothers of Llanthony Prima on living according to the Rule of St Augustine.¹¹²⁰ Later, Llanthony Secunda was in possession of texts related to Merton and Beauvais. In the fourteenth century, Llanthony Secunda was in possession of copy of the customs of Merton.¹¹²¹ Furthermore, the customs of the leprosarium of Dudston, dependent upon Llanthony Secunda,

¹¹¹³ *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity, Aldgate*, ed. G.A.J. Hodgett (London, 1971), app. 1 (pp. 223-8); J.C. Dickinson, 'First Regular Canons', pp. 541-6 (pp. 542-4); S. Luscombe, 'Aldgate Priory and the regular canons in XIIth century England', in *La vita commune del clero nei secoli XI e XII: atti della settimana di studio, Mendola, settembre 1959*, eds. C. Violante and C. D. Fonseca, 2 vols (Milan, 1962), II, pp. 86-9; Barker, 'Ivo of Chartres', pp. 212-3; Constable, *Reformation*, p. 110.

¹¹¹⁴ *Cartulary of Holy Trinity*, app. 1 (p. 227); Dickinson, 'First Regular Canons', pp. 541-6 (p. 544).

¹¹¹⁵ *Cartulary of Holy Trinity*, app. 1 (pp. 223-30).

¹¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, app. 1 (p. 232).

¹¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, app. 1 (p. 228). See also, *AC*, pp. 111-5.

¹¹¹⁸ *Cartulary of Holy Trinity*, app. 1 (p. 228).

¹¹¹⁹ *AC*, p. 115.

¹¹²⁰ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, VI, pp. 128-34 (p. 130).

¹¹²¹ In c. 1355, the priory was in possession of a number of different customaries and liturgical practices, including the customs of St Victor, Cluny, Merton, Chartreuse, and Llanthony Prima. The house also appears to have had a copy of the Rule of Aix-la-Chapelle (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, pp. 36-8, 88, 94).

were attributed to Ivo of Chartres, the former prior of Beauvais.¹¹²² The priories of Merton and Holy Trinity collaborated on another occasion. The priory of Plympton (f. 1121) was colonised by canons from Merton and Holy Trinity.¹¹²³ Its first prior, Ralph (1121-27/8), was a former canon of Holy Trinity, while the second prior, Geoffrey (1128-60), seems to have been a canon of Merton.¹¹²⁴ Thus, the evidence indicates that the houses of Merton, Colchester, and Holy Trinity had fundamentally compatible interpretations of canonical life. This would seem to indicate that these houses shared a common set of customs and liturgical observances derived from St Quentin of Beauvais. However, the evidence suggests that while their interpretations were compatible, and perhaps borrowed from the customs of Beauvais, the primary source of the customs of Merton was a different, and even more famous, continental house.

The liturgical practices of the Merton reform circle, like its customs, were obtained from the mother house. In contrast to their monastic counterparts, regular canons followed a secular form of liturgy, which was typically shorter and less complex.¹¹²⁵ The usage of canonical houses was often based upon those employed in their secular diocese. However, this was not always the case: filiation played a significant role in the transmission of liturgical texts. The liturgical practices of two daughter houses of Merton survive, namely Holyrood and Cirencester. Due to their common source, i.e. Merton Priory, these liturgies are closely related. Yet, the ultimate source for these liturgies is the Lietbert Ordinal, an influential set of liturgical practices compiled by Lietbert, abbot of St Ruf (1100-10).¹¹²⁶ The abbey of St Ruf in Avignon (f. 1039) was one of the earliest and most influential houses of regular canons in Western Europe. As discussed, St Ruf was a leading house of the *ordo antiquus*, and its customs, also written by Abbot Lietbert, reflect the house's moderate interpretation; for instance, allowing its canons to drink wine, wear linen, and eat meat.¹¹²⁷ Indeed, the customs and liturgical practices were designed by Abbot Lietbert to work in tandem. It seems reasonable, then, to conclude that the liturgical practices and customs used by the Merton reform circle were influenced by the abbey of St Ruf. In possible support of this conclusion is a thirteenth-century manuscript held at Corpus Christi College, Oxford.¹¹²⁸ This custumal has been identified as belonging to the priory of Llanthony, and it contains identical passages to

¹¹²² E.J. Kealey, *Medieval Medicus: A Social History of Anglo-Norman Medicine* (Baltimore and London, 1981), pp. 107-16, 200-1. Ivo of Chartres produced an influential set of hospital customs for the leprosarium of Grand Beaulieu in Chartres (S.C. Mesmin, 'Waleran, count of Meulan and the Leper Hospital of S. Gilles de Pont-Audemer', *Annales de Normandie*, 32:1 (1982), 3-19 (pp. 8-11)).

¹¹²³ *Cartulary of Holy Trinity*, app. 1 (p. 228); AC, p. 117, fn. 10.

¹¹²⁴ *HRHEW*, I, p. 181; Colker, 'Guy of Merton', 250-61 (pp. 254, 260).

¹¹²⁵ J.M. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 29-30, 73-108.

¹¹²⁶ A.F. Parsons, 'The Use of Guisborough: The Liturgy and Chant of the Augustinian Canons of the York Province in the Later Middle Ages', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Exeter, 2004), I, pp. 51-2, 116-7.

¹¹²⁷ Dereine, 'Saint-Ruf', 161-82 (pp. 164-7).

¹¹²⁸ Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 38, 1^f-22^f. I have not had the opportunity to consult this manuscript, nor am I aware of any detailed studies on this potentially significant text.

the customs of St Ruf.¹¹²⁹ It is clear that the early priors of Llanthony constructed their own set of customs based on a fusion of different observances.¹¹³⁰ As discussed, the canons of Merton instructed the early canons of Llanthony Prima, and in the fourteenth century Llanthony Secunda possessed a copy of the Merton customs. The textual relationship between the customs of Llanthony and St Ruf is perhaps due to contact not with the customs of St Ruf directly, but rather indirectly via the Merton customal.

Thus, the customs and liturgical practices of Merton Priory, which made their way to Edinburgh in 1128, seem to have borrowed heavily from those in use at the abbey of St Ruf. Furthermore, it is clear that the customs of Merton were compatible with those in use at Colchester and Holy Trinity, which would be expected since the houses of St Quentin of Beauvais and St Ruf in Avignon were the two most prominent houses of the *ordo antiquus* in Europe.

C. Jedburgh

The priory of Jedburgh was founded under the direction of David I and John, bishop of Glasgow. As discussed, it appears that during his self-imposed exile at the abbey of Tiron the bishop came into contact with the priory of St Quentin of Beauvais and its customs. Upon his return to the diocese of Glasgow in 1138/9, the bishop, in conjunction with the king, seems to have installed canons and customs from Beauvais in the minster church of Jedburgh. However, the evidence connecting Jedburgh to the priory of St Quentin of Beauvais and its famous customs is slim. Therefore, the evidence of this relationship must be examined due to its implications for the interpretation of canonical life established in Teviotdale.

The tradition that the first canons of Jedburgh came from the priory of St Quentin of Beauvais and were installed there by John, bishop of Glasgow, is longstanding. Yet, the source of this tradition, oft repeated by nineteenth-century antiquarians, is obscure.¹¹³¹ It was first considered in detail by G.W.S. Barrow, who cited a reference made by Ailred of Rievaulx to canons of Beauvais in the kingdom of Scotland, which supports the tradition. In his eulogy for David I, Ailred notes that the king ‘founded monasteries neither few, nor small, filled with brothers of the Cluniac, Cistercian, Tironensian, Arrouaisian, Premonstratensian, and Beauvaisian (*Belvacensis*) orders’.¹¹³² Through a process of

¹¹²⁹ AC, p. 173.

¹¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 172.

¹¹³¹ The earliest appearance of this tradition is found in the work of John Spottiswoode (1667-1728), former keeper of the Advocate’s Library in Edinburgh (R. Keith, *An Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops down to the year 1688* (Edinburgh, 1824), p. 392). See also, J. Morton, *The Monastic Annals of Teviotdale: or, the History and Antiquities of the Abbeys of Jedburgh, Kelso, Melros, and Dryburgh* (Edinburgh, 1832), p. 3; *Origines Parochiales Scotiae: The Antiquities Ecclesiastical and Territorial of the Parishes of Scotland*, ed. C.N. Innes (Edinburgh, 1850-5), I, pp. 368-7.

¹¹³² PL, CXCIV, cols. 713-6 (col. 714).

elimination, Barrow reasonably concluded that Jedburgh was the house affiliated with St. Quentin of Beauvais.¹¹³³

A theological treatise by Adam of Dryburgh (d. 1213), a Premonstratensian canon of Dryburgh in 1180s, further substantiates the existence of a Scottish house belonging to the reform circle of Beauvais. While a canon of Dryburgh, Adam produced a number of theological works which he dedicated to the prelates of other Scottish houses, one for Walter, prior of St Andrews (1160-99), and two for John, abbot of Kelso (1160-80).¹¹³⁴ One of these works, *De tripartito tabernaculo*, written for John, abbot of Kelso, between 1181 and 1183, lists the different canonical and monastic families.¹¹³⁵ According to Adam of Dryburgh, the family of ‘holy monks’ included the Carthusians, Cistercians, Cluniacs, and Tironensians, while the family of ‘regular clerics’ consisted of the Limogensians (*Lemovicensium*), Premonstratensians, Arrouaisians, and Beauvaisians (*Bellovacensium*).¹¹³⁶ Apparently, Adam drew from personal experience. With the exception of the Carthusians, Limogensians, and the Beauvaisians, the religious groups cited have clear representatives in the kingdom of Scotland. The author’s familiarity with the Carthusians is explained by the resignation of Roger, the first abbot of Dryburgh (1152-77), in order to join a house of Carthusians. In c. 1189, Adam of Dryburgh also left the Order of Prémontré to become a Carthusian.¹¹³⁷ The reference to canons of Limoges is obscure, but it may indicate our ignorance of the important reform circles in the British Isles.¹¹³⁸ That leaves only the Beauvaisian order. Adam of Dryburgh would have been well aware of the abbey of Jedburgh. First, it was the closest canonical institution to Dryburgh Abbey at only sixteen kilometres. Second, as will be discussed, Jedburgh and Dryburgh established a confederation agreement in 1177.¹¹³⁹ Not only was Jedburgh nearby, but it had become closely associated with Jedburgh during the author’s career as a canon of Dryburgh.¹¹⁴⁰ Thus, it appears that Adam of Dryburgh referenced monastic and canonical groups with which he had personal knowledge. Due to its proximity and its relationship with Dryburgh, Jedburgh would certainly have fallen into that category.

The most interesting aspect of the references made by Ailred of Rievaulx and Adam of Dryburgh is that they both spoke of the reform circle of Beauvais, as if it were a formal religious order, alongside

¹¹³³ *KS*, p. 180.

¹¹³⁴ Colvin, pp. 324-6.

¹¹³⁵ E.M. Thompson, ‘A Fragment of a Witham Charterhouse Chronicle and Adam of Dryburgh, Premonstratensian, and Carthusian of Witham’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 16 (1932), 482-506 (p. 488).

¹¹³⁶ *PL*, CXC VIII, cols. 609-792 (col. 740).

¹¹³⁷ Thompson, ‘Adam of Dryburgh’, 482-506 (pp. 484-5, 489-90).

¹¹³⁸ This appears to be a reference to the Augustinian abbey of St Leonard of Noblat, outside Limoges (J. Becquet, ‘Chanoines réguliers en Limousin au XIIe siècle: sanctuaires régularisés et dépendances étrangères’, *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Histoire du Limousin*, 101 (1974), 67-111 (pp. 76-86)). The English priory of Bricett (Suffolk) was founded as a dependency of St Leonard of Noblat (*AC*, p. 121).

¹¹³⁹ *Dryburgh Liber*, no. 63.

¹¹⁴⁰ For the career of Adam of Dryburgh, see J. Bulloch, *Adam of Dryburgh* (London, 1958), pp. 10-25; Thompson, ‘Adam of Dryburgh’, 482-506; *HRHS*, p. 58.

other established monastic and canonical orders. It confirms the significance of the reform circle of Beauvais in the eyes of contemporaries, who considered it to be as influential as the canonical congregations, such as the Arrouaisians or the Premonstratensians, despite its lack of central organisation.

Turning now to the nature of the influential customs of Beauvais and the interpretation of canonical life imported to Jedburgh. The priory of St Quentin of Beauvais (f. 1067 × 78) was one of the most influential houses of regular canons in Western Europe. Its reputation was largely based on the fame of its first prior, Ivo of Chartres, later bishop of Chartres (1090-1115). Its customs also became renowned, as seen in the case of St Botolph's, Colchester, and Holy Trinity, Aldgate. Interestingly, the custumal of Beauvais was itself actually based upon the customs of another canonical institution, namely St Martin-des-Champs in Paris (f. 1059/60).¹¹⁴¹ These were modified by Ivo of Chartres and installed at Beauvais in c. 1078.¹¹⁴² The resulting customs embody the moderate interpretation of canonical life, or the *ordo antiquus*; for example allowing the canons to eat meat and wear linens.¹¹⁴³ Indeed, the author responsible for the earliest surviving version of the custumal, dating to c. 1140, included a prologue defending the righteousness of moderation.¹¹⁴⁴ The text reflects the attitudes of Ivo of Chartres, who viewed regular canons as fundamentally clerical and staunchly defended their right to minister the cure of souls.¹¹⁴⁵

D. Carlisle, St Andrews, and Cambuskenneth

During the period from 1125 to 1150, the *ordo novus* and its stricter interpretation of canonical life became increasingly popular. Among these new groups of regular canons was the Order of Arrouaise, which after the production of its observances in 1133 × 1139, quickly spread to the British Isles.¹¹⁴⁶ During the period from 1138 to c. 1140, there appear to have been unsuccessful attempts to institute the observances of Arrouaise at the cathedral priories of Carlisle and St Andrews, followed by the successful foundation of the Arrouaisian abbey of Cambuskenneth at Stirling. Indeed, as will be seen, it seems that the foundation of Cambuskenneth was actually a by-product of the earlier failures.

The first of these houses to adopt the customs of Arrouaise was the cathedral priory of Carlisle. As discussed, David I and Æthelwold, bishop of Carlisle, were reconciled at a council held by the papal legate Alberic at Carlisle in September 1138. A short time later, Bishop Æthelwold and Alberic set out to attend the Second Lateran Council, held in April 1139. During their travels, Æthelwold came into contact with Alvisse, bishop of Arras (1131-48), and Milon I, bishop of Théroutan (1130-58/9), who seem to

¹¹⁴¹ Milis, 'Saint-Quentin de Beauvais', 435-81 (pp. 436, 447-8).

¹¹⁴² Barker, 'Ivo of Chartres', pp. 204-14.

¹¹⁴³ Milis, 'Saint-Quentin de Beauvais', 435-81 (pp. 463, 466).

¹¹⁴⁴ AC, pp. 175-6.

¹¹⁴⁵ Barker, 'Ivo of Chartres', pp. 204-14, 218-59. See also, AC, pp. 216-7.

¹¹⁴⁶ See Chapter 1.

have introduced him to the Order of Arrouaise and its strict interpretation of canonical life.¹¹⁴⁷ At this time, Bishop Æthelwold decided to institute the customs of Arrouaise in his cathedral priory, and a document confirming its membership in the Order of Arrouaise was produced in December 1138.¹¹⁴⁸ However, this plan failed to take hold.¹¹⁴⁹ It may be that the canons of Carlisle rejected the customs as too severe. Even at Springiersbach in the Holy Roman Empire, a house noted for its austerity and early commitment to the *ordo novus*, the first canons conflicted with their zealous prelate over the implementation of such rigorous customs.¹¹⁵⁰ While Arrouaisian customs were not adopted at Carlisle, and its membership in the order lapsed, the bishop of Carlisle became involved in the foundation of another cathedral priory, where a second attempt appears to have been made to install Arrouaisians observances.

Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century entries made in the obituary of the Flemish abbey of Eckhout indicate that the cathedral priory of St Andrews was considered to be a fellow Arrouaisian house. On the basis of this evidence, Ludo Milis argued that the cathedral priory of St Andrews had belonged to the Order of Arrouaise from its foundation, and suggested that the individual who was responsible for the introduction of Arrouaisian customs at St Andrews, like Carlisle, was Æthelwold, bishop of Carlisle.¹¹⁵¹ Although dismissed by Geoffrey Barrow for lack of evidence, it appears that an attempt was made to institute the customs of Arrouaise at St Andrews.¹¹⁵²

During the period from September 1138 to c. 1140, Robert, bishop of St Andrews, and David I requested that the bishop of Carlisle send a canon of Nostell to serve as the first prior of St Andrews. The bishop acquiesced and sent Robert, a canon of Nostell, to serve as the first prior of St Andrews. It appears that Robert brought an interest in the austere customs of Arrouaise with him. The *Augustinian's Account* relates that Prior Robert sought a community 'who might not ask for too much' and relied on God to 'send him men who were prepared to live in the way in which he himself was minded to live'.¹¹⁵³ These appear to be subtle references to the spirit of asceticism which underpinned the *ordo novus*, and could indicate that the prior wished to implement the observances of Arrouaise at St Andrews. As discussed, the bishop and prior of St Andrews appear to have disagreed on the composition of the first cathedral community. However, another aspect of their disagreement may have been philosophical. As will be seen,

¹¹⁴⁷ *Chanoines Reguliers D'Arrouaise*, I, pp. 324-7. The Order of Arrouaise was particularly influential in the dioceses of Thérouanne and Arras (B. Meijns, 'Les chanoines réguliers dans l'espace flamand', in *Les Chanoines réguliers: Émergence et expansion (XIe-XIIIe siècles)*, ed. M. Parisse (Saint-Étienne, 2009), pp. 455-76 (p. 462)).

¹¹⁴⁸ *Chanoines Reguliers D'Arrouaise*, I, app. 4 (pp. 600-1). See also, *English Episcopal Acta 30: Carlisle, 1133-1292*, ed. D.M. Smith (Oxford, 2005), no. 2.

¹¹⁴⁹ *AC*, p. 250.

¹¹⁵⁰ Mois, 'Kanoniker-Reform', 52-9. See also, *AC*, pp. 269-70.

¹¹⁵¹ *Chanoines Reguliers D'Arrouaise*, I, pp. 327-30.

¹¹⁵² *KS*, p. 184, fn. 93. See also, Smith and Ratcliff, pp. 115-44 (pp. 116-21).

¹¹⁵³ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 604-5, 612-3).

while Prior Robert was unsuccessful in installing the customs of Arrouaise at St Andrews, his desire and those of his mentor, Æthelwold, to establish an Arrouaisian community did come to fruition.

Concurrent to the foundation of the cathedral priory of St Andrews was the foundation of Cambuskenneth Abbey, which, as discussed, was founded in *c.* 1140 as a house of Arrouaisian canons. The circumstances surrounding its foundation, and the unusual interest shown by the prior of St Andrews in its success, suggest that Cambuskenneth became the focal point of those interested in the Order of Arrouaise. For one, Robert, prior of St Andrews, attests the foundation charter of Cambuskenneth in 1147.¹¹⁵⁴ In the same year, Prior Robert travelled to France for an audience with the pope. At Auxerre, he secured two bulls from Pope Eugenius III (1145-53), one for his own house, and another for the abbey of Cambuskenneth. On 30 August 1147, the prior obtained a bull for his cathedral priory. It confirms that the canons of St Andrews followed the Rule of St Augustine, making no mention of the customs of Arrouaise (*ordo canonicus secundum beati augustini regulam*).¹¹⁵⁵ On the same day, Prior Robert obtained a bull for the abbey of Cambuskenneth, confirming that the canons of Cambuskenneth had adopted the customs of Arrouaise (*ordo canonicus de Arrosia*).¹¹⁵⁶ These documents indicate that by this point any plans of instituting the customs of Arrouaise at St Andrews had been abandoned, and that the focus had shifted to Cambuskenneth.

It seems that the *ordo novus* had influenced Bishop Æthelwold and through him, Robert, the first prior of St Andrews. Prior Robert seems to have attempted to institute the customs of Arrouaise at St Andrews, but found Robert, bishop of St Andrews, unreceptive to the prospect of an Arrouaisian cathedral community. This may have been due to conservatism on the bishop's part, whose own experience as a canon of Nostell and as prior of Scone, were with the *ordo antiquus*. David I may have also been sceptical of affiliating the cathedral church of St Andrews with the Order of Arrouaise.¹¹⁵⁷ In the end, the form of canonical life established at St Andrews seems to have been dictated by the bishop, not the prior. It appears likely that the observances installed at St Andrews were brought from Scone, with a nucleus of canons, and that these were representative of the *ordo antiquus*.¹¹⁵⁸ While unsuccessful at instituting Arrouaisian customs at St. Andrews due to outside pressure, Prior Robert worked to establish an Arrouaisian house at Cambuskenneth, a project which was favoured by both the king and the bishop.¹¹⁵⁹

¹¹⁵⁴ *DC*, no. 159.

¹¹⁵⁵ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 48-50. See also, *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 28.

¹¹⁵⁶ *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 27.

¹¹⁵⁷ The king was acutely aware of the potential for problems with foreign mother houses (*RRS*, I, no. 8).

¹¹⁵⁸ Prior Robert may have brought observances with him from Nostell Priory, which would have been similar, if not identical, to those in use at Scone.

¹¹⁵⁹ See Chapter 1.

The failure to implement Arrouaisian customs at the cathedral priories at Carlisle and St Andrews seems to have led to the establishment of the Arrouaisian abbey of Cambuskenneth. This may have also meant the movement of personnel, namely those individuals from both cathedral priories who had sought to adopt a stricter interpretation of canonical life. Ludo Milis argued that the abbey of Warter, which adopted the customs of Arrouaise in 1141, with the support of Æthelwold, may have been the landing place for the canons of Carlisle who wished to live according to Arrouaisian observances.¹¹⁶⁰ This is certainly a possibility, but it would seem that Cambuskenneth is just as likely, perhaps more so. It must be kept in mind that at this time all three institutions, namely Carlisle, St Andrews, and Cambuskenneth, were under Scots rule, and the bishop of Carlisle was a frequent visitor to the north.¹¹⁶¹

E. Inchcolm

The priory of Inchcolm owed its endowment to Alexander I. However, the community of regular canons was not organised until the reign of David I, and conventual life was not established on the island until after his death in 1153. As discussed, the practical foundation was carried out under the supervision of Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld. As will be seen, the inaugural community of Inchcolm seems to have combined domestic colonisation and the recruitment of secular clergy. Its observances, like the nucleus of the first community, appear to have come from the abbey of Scone.

The names of the first prior and the two earliest known canons of Inchcolm suggest that the first convent was composed of a nucleus of experienced canons and converted native clergy, probably associated with Dunkeld. In the 1160s, when the priory of Inchcolm became operative, there were two individuals, the first prior, Brice (*Bricio*), and a canon of Inchcolm, Maurice (*Mauricio*), whose names suggest Anglo-French origin, while the name of a third individual, Gille Muire (*Gillemur*), a second canon of Inchcolm, indicates native ancestry.¹¹⁶² This evidence, although inconclusive, suggests that the first community was formed through colonisation and local recruitment. As discussed, it appears that the canons of Inchcolm spent time at Dunkeld while the conventual facilities were under construction on the island and during this period native clergy associated with the church of Dunkeld seem to have been recruited.¹¹⁶³

There are shreds of evidence suggesting that some of the original community of Inchcolm, including probably Brice and Maurice, had been canons of Scone. First, Robert, abbot of Scone (1162-86), was the only Augustinian prelate to witness the quitclaim made by Geoffrey, bishop of Dunkeld,

¹¹⁶⁰ *Chanoines Reguliers D'Arrouaise*, I, pp. 281-3.

¹¹⁶¹ For example, Æthelwold attested acts of Earl Henry at Edinburgh in 1138 × 1147 and at Bamburgh in 1139 × 1140 (*DC*, nos. 70, 79).

¹¹⁶² *Dunfermline Registrum*, no. 124. See also, *HRHS*, p. 105.

¹¹⁶³ The possibility exists that monastic personnel at Dunkeld (i.e. *céli Dé*) joined the convent of Inchcolm.

which due to the house's unusual foundation process served as its foundation charter.¹¹⁶⁴ Second, the foundation of the houses of Scone and Inchcolm were linked in the mind of Walter Bower, the fifteenth-century abbot of Inchcolm. In the *Scotichronicon*, Bower places chapters on the foundation of Scone and Inchcolm successively and emphasises their histories over all other Augustinian houses in his chronicle.¹¹⁶⁵ At first glance, the link between the houses would appear to be related to their shared founder, Alexander I. However, Alexander I founded three houses, Scone, Inchcolm, and St Andrews. Abbot Bower, himself professed at St Andrews, did not link these three foundations together, only Scone and Inchcolm. While Bower never makes a definitive statement as to the origin of the first canons of Inchcolm, his emphasis on Scone and Inchcolm may suggest a link. Third, as discussed, canons of Scone and Inchcolm belonged to the episcopal *familia* of the bishops of Dunkeld in the early thirteenth century.¹¹⁶⁶ This shows a relationship between Scone and the bishops of Dunkeld, which would have been a prerequisite for colonisation to have occurred. Lastly, Scone was the senior house of regular canons in the kingdom of Scotland, and engaged in domestic colonisation at St Andrews in 1140s, and would later send a group of canons to form part of the inaugural community of the priory of Inchaffray founded in 1200.¹¹⁶⁷

The evidence is far from conclusive, but suggests that a prelate and nucleus of canons were brought from Scone to Dunkeld, where they awaited the completion of conventual facilities on the island, during which time clergy associated with the church of Dunkeld were recruited to the regular life. In this scenario, the observances in use at Scone would have been installed at Inchcolm, and, as discussed, these would have been reflective of the *ordo antiquus*.

Chapter Conclusion:

The regular canonical movement reached the kingdom of Scotland in the twelfth century, establishing houses which belonged to both centralised orders and decentralised reform circles. Through colonisation and the transmission of observances, a variety of different interpretations of canonical life were imported into the kingdom from houses in Surrey and Yorkshire in England and Artois and Picardy in northern France. Once established, however, the movement also spread domestically (See Map 2).

The non-congregational houses of regular canons, for which this study pertains, were connected to some of the most important centres for the propagation of the movement. Holyrood belonged to the Merton reform circle, one of the most influential centres for the moderate interpretation of canonical life

¹¹⁶⁴ *Inchcolm Charters*, no. 1.

¹¹⁶⁵ *Scotichronicon*, III, pp. 108-11.

¹¹⁶⁶ See Chapter 1.

¹¹⁶⁷ *Scotichronicon*, V, p. 459; *MRHS*, II, p. 91. See also, Veitch, 'Augustinian Rule', 1-22 (pp. 5-11).

in the British Isles, while Jedburgh belonged to the Beauvais reform circle, one of the most influential in all of Europe. Scone, however, belonged to the Nostell reform circle which seems to have occupied a middle ground. Although adopting traditional observances out of necessity, the Nostell reform circle seems to have embraced different interpretations of canonical life, including both eremitism and pastoralism. Unlike Merton or Beauvais, it is perhaps fair to characterise the Nostell reform circle as centrists. Due to its seniority and status, Scone took a leading role in the spread of the movement within the kingdom and was involved in domestic colonisation at St Andrews (c. 1140), Inchcolm (c. 1163), and later at Inchaffray (1200). On the continent, senior canonical institutions created ‘zones of affiliation’, or regions in which other canonical houses looked to them for direction.¹¹⁶⁸ It would appear that in the twelfth century, Scone took on such a role in the kingdom of Scotland.

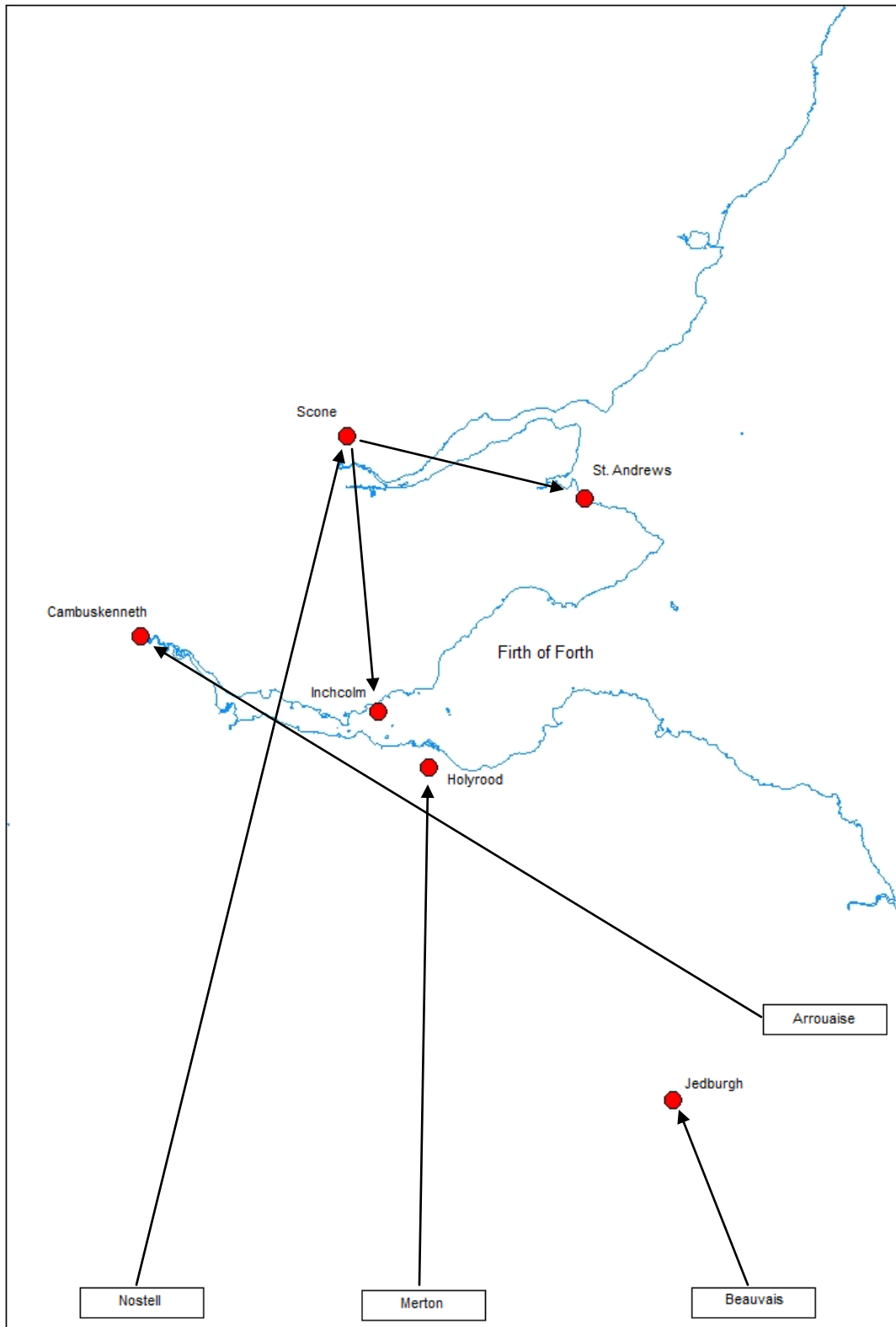
While there were attempts to establish the *ordo novus* in the kingdom of Scotland, and some successes, it failed to take hold, and the majority of Scottish canonical institutions were affiliated with the *ordo antiquus*. The earliest manifestation of the stricter interpretation of canonical life in the kingdom was the abbey of Cambuskenneth in c. 1140, which seems to have been a by-product of failed attempts to introduce Arrouaisian observances at Carlisle and St Andrews. Had Arrouaisian observances been successfully installed at the cathedral priory of St Andrews, the influence of the *ordo novus* in the kingdom would have undoubtedly been greater. Moreover, the membership of Cambuskenneth in the Order of Arrouaise, and its adherence to the *ordo novus*, did not outlast the twelfth century. As it turned out, the Premonstratensians, not the Arrouaisians, became the standard bearer for the *ordo novus*, and their influence became concentrated in the southwest. The only Premonstratensian house established in a Scottish diocese in the twelfth century was the abbey of Dryburgh (f. 1150), founded not by a bishop or the king, but by Hugh de Moreville (d. 1162), royal constable and lord of Lauderdale.¹¹⁶⁹ The Order of Prémontré, and therefore the *ordo novus*, was the strongest in Galloway, which was solidified by the establishment of a Premonstratensian cathedral priory at Whithorn in c. 1175.¹¹⁷⁰ Yet, Galloway was politically and ecclesiastically distinct from the rest of the kingdom. For example, the diocese of Whithorn belonged to the archdiocese of York.¹¹⁷¹ Therefore, the Scottish dioceses, and the core of the kingdom, were left to the non-congregational Augustinian canons, who, as will be seen, built strong associations with one another, leading to homogenisation and to the ascendancy of the moderate interpretation.

¹¹⁶⁸ GAS, I, p. 9.

¹¹⁶⁹ *Dryburgh Liber*, no. 8; RRS, I, p. 35. Near the end of his life, Hugh de Moreville entered Dryburgh as a canon (RRS, I, p. 29, fn. 7).

¹¹⁷⁰ MRHS, II, pp. 100-4.

¹¹⁷¹ *Fasti*, p. 168.



Map 2: Probable Transmission of Observances

Chapter 4: 'Scottish' Augustinians

J.C. Dickinson once wrote that 'in the early years we look in vain for any signs of a distinct regular canonical organization'.¹¹⁷² This viewpoint has been widely accepted by British scholars.¹¹⁷³ Several factors account for the adoption of this view, the most common of which appears to be the tendency of monastic historians in England, Scotland, and elsewhere to use 'centralised' orders, like the Cistercians, as points of innate comparison for all other religious movements. Unlike the Cistercians, early houses of regular canons lacked a universal customal, a filiation-based government, centralised leadership, a complex bureaucracy, and official general chapter meetings. As a result, they have been regarded as being disunified and lacking 'order-like' characteristics. Though houses of Augustinian canons lacked the structural eloquence of the Order of Cîteaux, it would be inaccurate, at least in the kingdom of Scotland, to characterise them, as David Knowles once did, as 'even less linked together than the black monks'.¹¹⁷⁴ Moreover, we do not 'look in vain for any signs' of an early Augustinian organisation. Rather, there is a substantial amount of charter and chronicle material which suggests that Scottish Augustinians behaved as a congregation before the reforms of the Fourth Lateran Council, and that in this respect developed along very different lines than their southern brethren.

A. Conflict and Cooperation

Close relations are suggested by what is known, or rather what is not known, about the way Augustinian houses interacted with one another in the medieval Scottish economy. During the central middle ages, Scotland was plagued by property disputes involving two or more religious institutions. However, there is no evidence that Augustinian institutions ever fought or quarrelled with one another over temporal or spiritual rights before 1215. This suggests that these institutions either did not come into conflict or were able to work out their problems amicably without resorting to legal remedies. As will be seen, there is also evidence of a level of cooperation and, indeed, fraternity among Scottish Augustinian institutions, typically only found among houses belonging to centralised religious movements.

Relevant material survives for most of the major Augustinian foundations, and it appears that these institutions were keen to hold onto records of property disputes, especially if they were the victors or if a *conventio* was reached. Even if one Augustinian institution discarded a charter, or did not copy it into a cartulary, because it lost a particular dispute with another Augustinian institution, the charter would

¹¹⁷² AC, p. 79.

¹¹⁷³ Ibid., pp. 72-73, 79, 81-82, 90; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 943-1216* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 140-41; D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1948-59), I, p. 28; GAS, I, pp. 9-10.

¹¹⁷⁴ Knowles, *Religious Orders*, I, p. 28.

survive in the victor's archive. The only house without a substantial amount of surviving material is Jedburgh. Thus, if this house were the victor in a standoff with one of its Augustinian brethren, then a charter dedicated to that dispute has been lost. There is no question about the litigiousness of the canons of Jedburgh. Despite the limitations of the evidence, this house was clearly involved its fair share of property disputes.¹¹⁷⁵ Yet, there is no evidence of Jedburgh or any other non-congregational houses of regular canons coming into open conflict with one another in the kingdom of Scotland before 1215.

Between c. 1120 and 1215, independent houses of regular canons entered into inter-institutional disputes on at least twelve occasions (See Table 2). The only house to avoid open conflict with another religious house was Inchcolm, despite being involved in a number of property disputes with secular adversaries.¹¹⁷⁶ Yet, as can be seen, while Augustinian houses entered into disputes with both male and female religious houses – including Benedictines, Cistercians, Tironensians, Hospitallers, Premonstratensians, and *céli Dé* – non-congregational Augustinians managed to avoid conflict with one another. The lack of litigation between Augustinian houses cannot be ascribed to a lack of opportunity. Instead, there is evidence that suggests cooperation and, in at least one instance, the sharing of resources.

Table 2: Extra-Augustinian Disputes before 1215¹¹⁷⁷

Year	Litigants	Subject
1128 × 1151	Holyrood v. Kelso	Land
1165 × 1171	St Andrews v. Dunfermline	Land
1173 × 1178	St Andrews v. Torphichen	Parochial Rights
1175 × 1178	St Andrews v. Haddington	Parochial Rights
1177	Jedburgh v. Dryburgh	Parochial Rights
1189 × 1195	Scone v. Dunfermline	Serfs
1195	St Andrews v. Newbattle	Parochial Rights
1195 × 1198	Holyrood v. Newbattle	Land
1198 × 1199	St Andrews v. <i>céli Dé</i> of St Andrews	Parochial Rights
c. 1203	Cambuskenneth v. Dunfermline	Parochial Rights
1211 × c. 1213	St Andrews/Holyrood v. Torphichen	Parochial Rights
1214 × 1230	Scone v. Coupar Angus	Land

Augustinians frequently engaged in litigation with other religious over parochial rights. Of the twelve legal disputes involving an Augustinian house and another religious institution before 1215, parochial rights were the cause of discord in seven (See Table 2). The majority of these disputes concerned the payment of tithe. Conflict over tithe payment was a frequent source of inter-institutional conflict, perhaps the most common in the central middle ages.¹¹⁷⁸ However, Scottish canons did not come into conflict over tithes, despite considerable opportunity. For instance, St. Andrews and Scone were

¹¹⁷⁵ E.g., *Dryburgh Liber*, nos. 62, 63; *Melrose Liber*, I, no. 274.

¹¹⁷⁶ *Inchcolm Charters*, nos. 9, 15, 19, 21.

¹¹⁷⁷ *RRS*, II, nos. 35, 63, 353, 401; *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 318-20, 323, 334; *Dryburgh Liber*, nos. 62, 63; *Scone Liber*, no. 57; *Cambuskenneth Registrum*, no. 118; *Dunfermline Registrum*, nos. 4, 215; *Holyrood Liber*, no. 46.

¹¹⁷⁸ Constable, *Tithes*, pp. 270-306.

given overlapping rights to tithes in Longforganshire in the mid-twelfth century; the canons of St Andrews received the tithes of all royal demesne and demesne tenants, and the canons of Scone received the tithe of the rent owed to the king from his demesne.¹¹⁷⁹ While Scone and St Andrews managed to avoid conflict, a similarly intertwined set of rights to tithes in Stirlingshire led to centuries of conflict between the abbeys of Cambuskenneth and Dunfermline.¹¹⁸⁰ Augustinian institutions also obtained lands which lay in parishes held by other Augustinian houses, a situation often leading to conflict between religious houses, but here too the Augustinians remained dispute-free.¹¹⁸¹ For example, the abbey of Holyrood received perambulated lands near the gate of Linlithgow in 1165 × 1214, which stood in the parish of Linlithgow held by St Andrews, and in 1189 × 1193 received a ploughgate of land in Kinnaird in the parish of St Ninians, held by the abbey of Cambuskenneth.¹¹⁸² Holyrood Abbey, consequently, held lands which owed tithes to churches belonging to St Andrews and Cambuskenneth, and avoided conflict with both. In the case of Carriden, however, the shoe was on the other foot. In 1152 × 1159, the abbey of Holyrood received the church of Carriden as a gift of Robert, bishop of St. Andrews.¹¹⁸³ Shortly thereafter, the abbey of Jedburgh received a ploughgate of land in Carriden from William I de Vieuxpont.¹¹⁸⁴ Yet, there is no evidence that Holyrood and Jedburgh ever came into conflict over Carriden. Thus, the abbey of Holyrood held rights which created the potential for a legal dispute with St Andrews, Cambuskenneth, and Jedburgh, but there is no evidence of conflict.

The most impressive instance of two Augustinian institutions remaining free from conflict pertained to the tithes of Ogilface in western Lothian. Both St. Andrews and Holyrood entered into disputes with the Knights Hospitallers of Torphichen over tithes in this territory, but did not come into conflict with each other. In fact, the dispute resolution charter preserved in the St Andrews Cartulary shows that the canons of Holyrood and St Andrews actually brought joint-suit against Torphichen over their individual grievances.¹¹⁸⁵ Thus, in this case, two Augustinian houses, both holding rights in the same area, joined together to contest the rights of another religious institution, but remained free from conflict themselves.

One potential explanation for conflict avoidance by Augustinian houses was the use of preventative measures. For example, the chapel of Binny, a pendicle of the church of Linlithgow, received a half a ploughgate of land from William II de Lindsey in 1172 × 1192. The charter is attested

¹¹⁷⁹ *DC*, no. 173; *RRS*, I, no. 248.

¹¹⁸⁰ *Dunfermline Registrum*, nos. 4, 118, 215; *Cambuskenneth Registrum*, nos. 199-201; *MPRS*, app. 1 (no. 20).

¹¹⁸¹ This was common source of conflict, particularly between Augustinian and Cistercian houses. For example, Holyrood Abbey was frequently at odds with the Cistercian abbey of Newbattle due its possession of lands within the parish of Tranent (*RRS*, II, no. 401; *Holyrood Liber*, no. 61; *Newbattle Registrum*, nos. 127, 128).

¹¹⁸² *Holyrood Liber*, no. 40; *DC*, no. 93; *RRS*, II, no. 292; *Cambuskenneth Registrum*, no. 109.

¹¹⁸³ *Holyrood Liber*, no. 9.

¹¹⁸⁴ *RRS*, II, nos. 5, 62.

¹¹⁸⁵ *Holyrood Liber*, no. 46; *St. Andrews Liber*, p. 320.

by the abbot of Cambuskenneth and canons from both St Andrews and Cambuskenneth.¹¹⁸⁶ The witness list, therefore, included representatives of two institutions affected by the grant. The church of Linlithgow belonged to the cathedral priory of St Andrews, while the abbey of Cambuskenneth held a ploughgate of land in the vill of Binny.¹¹⁸⁷ Representatives of both houses came together at the time of the conveyance to ensure the rights of their respective religious corporations, and their attestation of the charter was designed to prevent future conflict. The witness lists of private charters typically included representatives from institutions with proprietary interests which might be affected.¹¹⁸⁸ Yet, this legal mechanism was not always effective in preventing inter-institutional legal disputes, and cannot explain the absence of legal disputes between Scottish Augustinian houses. Instead, the answer seems to lie in the cohesiveness of the Scottish regular canons, which fostered cooperation, rather than conflict.

An important factor in building a group identity among Scottish Augustinians was their treatment by the Scottish kings. The kings treated the houses of regular canons in their kingdom as single group in terms of the resources allocated to them. At its foundation, David I gave 100s per annum to the abbey of Holyrood from the *cáin* of Perth.¹¹⁸⁹ In 1165, Mael Coluim IV gave to the abbey of Cambuskenneth 50s per annum from the *cáin* of Perth, specifying that it was the same revenue which had belonged to the canons of Holyrood (*canonici de Edeneb' de cano de Perth annuatim de me habere solebant*).¹¹⁹⁰ It is possible that this was always intended as a temporary source of revenue for Holyrood, but nonetheless this is a unique example of a revenue transfer from one institution for the support of another. It suggests that these houses were considered to be affiliated, and the seamless transfer suggests camaraderie. It should be recalled that in 1165 the abbey of Cambuskenneth was at least ostensibly part of the Order of Arrouaise. Nonetheless, it is unlikely that a transfer of this type could be accomplished so amicably between houses belonging to different religious movements. This harmonious relationship can perhaps be understood by examining the nature of a dispute settlement between Dryburgh and Jedburgh, which seems to get to the heart of the conflict avoidance and cooperation demonstrated by mainstream Augustinian houses in Scotland.

As discussed, there are no recorded disputes between non-congregational houses of Augustinian canons in the kingdom of Scotland before 1215. However, during this period, a non-congregational house did enter into dispute with a house belonging to a centralised canonical order, namely the Premonstratensian abbey of Dryburgh. The two parties were entreated to make an amicable arrangement

¹¹⁸⁶ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 180.

¹¹⁸⁷ *Cambuskenneth Registrum*, no. 25; *St Andrews Liber*, p. 169.

¹¹⁸⁸ Smith and Ratcliff, pp. 115-44 (pp. 137-9).

¹¹⁸⁹ *DC*, no. 147.

¹¹⁹⁰ *RRS*, I, no. 260. That this revenue was switched from one house to the other is confirmed by a general confirmation of William I to Holyrood in 1165 × 1170 which no longer acknowledges the 100s from the *cáin* of Perth (*RRS*, II, no. 39).

through royal and episcopal intervention. The precise manner in which this conflict was resolved suggests that their common bond as regular canons, despite differing in observances and affiliation, was brought to the fore. The abbeys of Jedburgh and Dryburgh had become embroiled in a dispute over the churches of Lessudden and Longnewton, which stood between the two houses in Roxburghshire.¹¹⁹¹ In 1177, the dispute became the occasion not only for the establishment of an agreement concerning the two churches, but for the establishment of confederation between the canons of Dryburgh and Jedburgh intended to prevent such disputes in the future. The document first establishes confederation between the canons of both house, then goes on to outline the equal division of the disputed churches with Dryburgh receiving the church of Lessudden and Jedburgh the church of Longnewton. The dual role of the document as both a *confederatio* and *conventio* is unique in Scotland.¹¹⁹² It is doubtful if this form of conflict resolution could be accomplished were it not for their common adherence to the Rule of St Augustine. The confederation between these houses, located in close proximity to one another, proved to be effective for there is no evidence of any further litigation between the two houses.¹¹⁹³ The type of bond outlined in this agreement, which included mutual guarantees to avoid conflict and to offer counsel and assistance to the other house, if the need should arise, seems to be a contractual statement of the type of brotherhood and mutual support which was implied among the mainstream regular canons in the kingdom.¹¹⁹⁴ Thus, an implied confederation seems to have existed among Scottish Augustinians before 1215, which prevented conflict and encouraged cooperation.

Open conflicts between Augustinian institutions were by no means rare in the other contexts. In England, Jane Sayers noted that in the province of Canterbury the ‘religious houses, especially the Benedictines and Augustinians, were probably the most frequent litigants before papal tribunals’.¹¹⁹⁵ Similarly, Sarah Preston found that litigation between houses of Augustinian canons was relatively common in Ireland.¹¹⁹⁶ There is certainly no practical reason that the same disputes which plagued Augustinian institutions in England and Ireland should not have plagued Scottish houses. Moreover, while the Scottish Augustinians remained free from conflict with one another, this did not extend to Augustinian houses elsewhere. In 1182 × 1183, the abbey of Jedburgh became embroiled in a dispute with the English Augustinian house of Warter (Yorks.), which was in the process of disaffiliating itself

¹¹⁹¹ For the churches of Lessudden and Longnewton, see *Parishes*, pp. 130-1, 139.

¹¹⁹² *Dryburgh Liber*, no. 63. A separate document providing a detailed enumeration of the terms of the agreement was also produced (*Ibid.*, no. 62).

¹¹⁹³ Dryburgh Abbey did conflict with other Augustinian houses, however. For example, Dryburgh and St Andrews entered into a dispute over parochial rights in 1222 × 1223 (*St Andrews Liber*, pp. 323-4).

¹¹⁹⁴ *Dryburgh Liber*, no. 63.

¹¹⁹⁵ J.E. Sayers, *Papal Judges Delegate in the Province of Canterbury, 1198-1254* (London, 1971), p. 212. For inter-Augustinian disputes in Canterbury, see *Ibid.*, pp. 280-356.

¹¹⁹⁶ Preston, pp. 23-40 (p. 40).

with the Order of Arrouaise.¹¹⁹⁷ Although a unique situation, in which an English house seems to have asserted rights over the church of Liddel, i.e. the dependent priory of Canonbie, on the basis of a fabricated document, this incident indicates that Scottish Augustinians were not immune to disputes with other houses of regular canons, only those in the kingdom of Scotland.¹¹⁹⁸

In Scotland, there were only two well-defined groups of religious institutions which generally remained free from conflict with one another in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, namely the Cistercians and Tironensians. The Order of Cîteaux had internal mechanisms for resolving disputes, and the Order of Tiron probably did as well.¹¹⁹⁹ However, even the Order of Cîteaux, with its built-in machinery for avoiding disputes, was unable to avoid acrimonious incidents between their houses altogether. For example, the Cistercian abbeys of Holmcultram and Dundrennan came into open conflict in 1170s over their adjoining properties in eastern Galloway.¹²⁰⁰ Thus, the absence of conflict between the Scottish Augustinians is all the more remarkable. While the mainstream regular canons did not have central organisation, there are several factors which allowed them, at least in the kingdom of Scotland, to take on order-like characteristics, including diocesan leadership and interchange of personnel.

B. Diocesan Councils

With the notable exception of D.E.R. Watt, there has been little work on early diocesan councils in the kingdom of Scotland.¹²⁰¹ In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council (Canon 6) decreed that diocesan bishops should hold annual councils to correct abuses and enforce canonical enactments.¹²⁰² However, there is evidence that diocesan councils were held regularly within Scotland well before 1215.¹²⁰³ These councils were used, among other things, to resolve ecclesiastical disputes. For example, the bishop of Glasgow held a council at Peebles in the late twelfth century at which an accord was reached between two priests.¹²⁰⁴ However, due to the close association of the regular canonical movement with the episcopacy, diocesan councils also became an opportunity for regular canons from across the kingdom to gather together, and, in fact, became a setting where canonical interests were promoted.

The earliest diocesan council on record was convoked by Robert, bishop of St Andrews, at Berwick in 1150. Among the issues considered at the council was the possession of the church of Edrom

¹¹⁹⁷ *Chanoines Reguliers D'Arrouaise*, I, pp. 281-2.

¹¹⁹⁸ *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 120.

¹¹⁹⁹ Sayers, p. 213.

¹²⁰⁰ Stringer, 'Reform monasticism', pp. 127-65 (p. 150).

¹²⁰¹ Watt, *Medieval Church Councils*, pp. 1-8, 43-53. See also, Smith and Ratcliff, pp. 115-44 (pp. 135-6).

¹²⁰² *Ecumenical Councils*, pp. 230-71.

¹²⁰³ For example, there were diocesan councils held at Berwick in 1150 and 1166, at Edinburgh in the 1170s, and at Peebles in 1180 × 1192 (*The History and Antiquities of North Durham*, ed. J. Raine (London, 1852), nos. 449, 455, 456, 460, 461; *Glasgow Registrum*, I, no. 83).

¹²⁰⁴ *Glasgow Registrum*, I, no. 83.

by the priory of Coldingham, which the bishop confirmed by the ‘request and counsel’ of the priors of Holyrood, Jedburgh, Scone, and St. Andrews.¹²⁰⁵ The prelates in attendance were all Augustinian; in fact, in 1150, this group constituted all non-congregational houses in the kingdom. While most hailed from the diocese of St Andrews, Osbert, prior of Jedburgh (1147-74), came from a house in the diocese of Glasgow. Unlike the other three prelates, who may have been required to attend the council, the prior of Jedburgh was undoubtedly there of his own volition.¹²⁰⁶ Moreover, his attendance was not related to his house’s involvement in the ecclesiastical affairs of the diocese of St Andrews, for the house acquired its first, and only, church in the diocese after 1165.¹²⁰⁷ It appears that this group of prelates was assembled by Robert, the bishop of St Andrews, at least in part, to discuss Augustinian business, gathering together Augustinians not only from his own diocese, but from across the kingdom. Meetings such as this could promote cohesion and prevent conflict between houses, and in this respect served the same function as the annual general chapters held by centralised religious orders.

Diocesan councils were not only frequently attended by Augustinian prelates, but on at least two occasions were the setting for episcopal benefaction. In 1152 × 1159, the church of Carriden in western Lothian was given to Holyrood by Robert, bishop of St Andrews, at a diocesan council. Although the location is not stated, the council was attended by a group of regional churchmen and officials, including the prelates of Dunfermline, St Andrews, Cambuskenneth, and presumably also Holyrood.¹²⁰⁸ In 1164, the church of Falkirk was confirmed as a possession of Holyrood by Pope Alexander III.¹²⁰⁹ However, for unknown reasons the conveyance was ineffective. This problem was overcome at a diocesan council held at Berwick in 1166, where Richard, bishop of St Andrews, gave the church of Falkirk to the abbey by the assent of the council. The meeting was attended by the abbots of Dunfermline, Kelso, and Jedburgh, and presumably also the abbot of Holyrood.¹²¹⁰ Here again, the prelate of Jedburgh was in attendance at a diocesan council held outside his own diocese. These examples illustrate the close association regular canons had with their diocesan bishops and the episcopacy in general, but also the importance of diocesan councils as a setting in which the Augustinians flourished.

While mainstream Augustinian canons did not come together at annual general chapter meetings of the type made famous by the Order of Cîteaux, at least in Scotland, they regularly attended diocesan councils, which appear to have taken on a similar function. These events provided a setting for

¹²⁰⁵ *North Durham Charters*, no. 449.

¹²⁰⁶ For example, from at least 1220 the abbots of Jedburgh were required to attend diocesan councils held by the bishops of Glasgow (*Glasgow Registrum*, I, no. 114).

¹²⁰⁷ The abbey of Jedburgh obtained its only church in the diocese of St Andrews, namely the church of Dalmeny, from Waltheof, son of Cospatrick, in 1165 × 1200 (NAS, RH6/34).

¹²⁰⁸ *Holyrood Liber*, no. 9. See also, *RRS*, II, no. 39.

¹²⁰⁹ *Holyrood Liber*, app. 1 (no. 1B).

¹²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, app. 2 (no. 4).

Augustinian prelates to air grievances, seek advice from their peers, and to build cohesiveness. This probably contributed to the lack of open conflict between Scottish Augustinians before 1215. It is clear that the twelfth-century bishops of St Andrews, specifically Robert and Richard, supported the regular canons as a group, and in some respects their councils catered to an Augustinian agenda. An important factor in establishing the diocesan councils of St Andrews as a meeting place for Scottish regular canons must have been the existence of an Augustinian cathedral chapter at St Andrews, which served as a rallying point. In short, diocesan councils seem to have provided many of the same benefits to the Scottish regular canons as annual general chapters did for the centralised orders.

C. Personnel Exchanges, Royal Influence, and Homogenisation

According to David Knowles, the regular canons ‘had little of that solidarity which interchange of superiors and common interests and culture gave to the black monks’.¹²¹¹ This statement seems to hold true for England. Before 1215, there were at least 170 independent Augustinian houses founded in England.¹²¹² Of these, scholars have only been able to identify fourteen instances in which a canon left an independent institution to become the head of another.¹²¹³ The situation in Scotland, however, is quite different. On at least five occasions before 1215, personnel exchanges took place involving five of the six subject institutions, namely Scone, Holyrood, Jedburgh, Cambuskenneth, and Inchcolm (See Map 3). As Knowles argued for English Benedictines, the interchange of superiors encouraged solidarity among Scottish Augustinians, but it also encouraged the homogenisation of regular canonical life in the kingdom.

Exactly why Scotland had a comparatively large number of these types of appointments when compared to England is not entirely clear. However, a key factor was a common patron, namely the king of Scots. In England, though Henry I founded a number of Augustinian houses, the vast majority of independent institutions were founded by provincial lords, and thus were under the patronage of many different aristocratic families.¹²¹⁴ As discussed, the opposite was true in Scotland. Before 1200, the majority of independent Augustinian houses were under the direct patronage of the kings of Scotland. The kings were unquestionably the patrons of Scone, Holyrood, Jedburgh, and Cambuskenneth; in only two cases were the kings of Scotland not the clear patrons. The first was the cathedral priory of St Andrews, where the bishops of St Andrews assumed this role. Nevertheless, the kings exerted considerable influence over the bishops and chapter of St Andrews, particularly with respect to elections. The second

¹²¹¹ D. Knowles, ‘The Origins and Development of the Religious Life in Britain’, in *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2nd edn (London, 1971), pp. 8-47 (pp. 20-1).

¹²¹² *AC*, p. 153.

¹²¹³ *HRHEW*, I, pp. 157-160, 163, 167-68, 174, 180, 184, 188.

¹²¹⁴ *AC*, pp. 119, 161.

was Inchcolm, which was a royal foundation, but where the bishops of Dunkeld were its *de facto* patrons. The kings of Scotland had considerable influence over elections and, as will be seen, were at least partially responsible for extensive personnel exchanges in their kingdom.

Royal influence in personnel exchanges is best exemplified in the case of Scone. As patron of the house, the king had considerable influence in appointments, especially in times of a vacancy.¹²¹⁵ In 1162, the *Holyrood Chronicle* records that ‘Isaac, prior of Scone, died and Robert, a canon of Jedburgh, was appointed (*constituere*) as the first abbot in that church’.¹²¹⁶ Mael Coluim IV therefore exercised his patronal right during vacancy and installed a canon of Jedburgh at Scone. Abbot Robert was succeeded by a canon of Scone in 1186.¹²¹⁷ However, a canon from another Augustinian house was again appointed abbot of Scone by the king in 1198 and the circumstances are revealing. According to Walter Bower,

Robert abbot of Scone, being incapable of managing his own affairs or those of his monks, resigned his charge. In accord with the wishes of the king’s courtiers (i.e. William I’s) he was succeeded by Reimbald cellarer of Holyrood, who was elected at Forfar on the same day.¹²¹⁸

The rationale of the king in selecting the cellarer of Holyrood as abbot of Scone is not entirely clear. Reimbald was appointed by William I at the *curia regis* at Forfar. Walter Bower suggests that William I was acting under the influence of his advisors, rather than the desire of the community. The controversial nature of the appointment of Reimbald, as reported by Walter Bower, is supported by a charter issued by the king in the same year. Although the first house of regular canons founded in Scotland, it was the last house to receive the right to free elections. In 1198, William I issued a brieve allowing the canons of Scone to elect one of their own brethren as abbot, with the counsel and consent of the king, provided that a suitable person could be found among them.¹²¹⁹ The issuance of this brieve was undoubtedly connected to the election of Reimbald, cellarer of Holyrood, as abbot of Scone, under royal pressure, in the same year. Before 1215, the canons of Scone, Holyrood, and Jedburgh were evidently viewed, at least by the king and his advisors, as belonging to the same religious group and interchangeable. Thus, an unintended consequence of royal appointments was the promotion of interconnectivity between the Augustinian houses in the kingdom, whether the communities desired it or not.

¹²¹⁵ For a detailed discussion of patronal influence in monastic elections, see S. Wood, *English Monasteries and Their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1955), pp. 40-74.

¹²¹⁶ *Chron. Holyrood*, s.a. 1162 (pp. 139-40). See also, *HRHS*, p. 198.

¹²¹⁷ *HRHS*, p. 198.

¹²¹⁸ *Scotichronicon*, III, p. 421.

¹²¹⁹ *RRS*, II, no. 398. Papal confirmations reflect the late acquisition of this right. The first bull to include freedom of election dates to 1226 (*Scone Liber*, nos. 18, 103).

Royal influence in the other three cases of personnel exchange is less clear. In 1207, William, a canon of Scone, was elected abbot of Cambuskenneth.¹²²⁰ In 1210, Walter, prior of Inchcolm, was elected abbot of Holyrood.¹²²¹ His replacement as prior of Inchcolm was Michael, a canon of Scone.¹²²² By this time all six houses had obtained freedom of election. The abbey of Holyrood was the first house of regular canons in the kingdom to obtain the right to free election; the canons of Holyrood received the right from David I between 1128 and 1153.¹²²³ The canons seem to have exercised this right for the first time in 1152, when they elected William as abbot.¹²²⁴ The cathedral priory of St Andrews received the right to free elections from Robert, bishop of St Andrews, in 1153 × 1159.¹²²⁵ Cambuskenneth had obtained the freedom by 1164, Inchcolm by 1179, and Jedburgh by at least 1209.¹²²⁶

It is difficult to gauge the level of true freedom afforded the Scottish houses in elections. As Scone demonstrates, even after freedom of election was secured, patronal influence in elections did not cease. Even in free elections, the candidates may have been nominated by the patron. It seems likely that canonical communities, if left to their own devices, would seek to elect one of their own brothers as prelate.¹²²⁷ In the kingdom of Scotland, however, they were not always given this option, and royal influence, whether through appointment or nomination, probably accounted for most, if not all, inter-institutional leadership exchanges. Through these exchanges, the Scottish Augustinians became better networked than their counterparts elsewhere, notably in England. Moreover, since regulars were appointed from their home dioceses to head religious houses in other dioceses, these exchanges crossed diocesan boundaries from Dunkeld to St Andrews, from Glasgow to St Andrews, and from St Andrews to Dunkeld. Like the diocesan councils, these exchanges served to tie together all the houses of the kingdom, rather than only those houses within a single diocese.

It is impossible to appreciate fully the impact that these inter-institutional exchanges had on the development of the regular canonical movement in Scotland. Yet, when a canon left one house to become head of another, he brought with him notions of religious life inculcated at his mother house, and this must have had an effect on the direction of community placed under his charge. At Scone, for example, Robert, a former canon of Jedburgh, was prelate from 1162 to 1186, and Reimbald, a former canon of

¹²²⁰ *HRHS*, p. 25.

¹²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

¹²²² *Ibid.*, p. 105.

¹²²³ *Holyrood Liber*, app. 1 (no. 1B).

¹²²⁴ *Chron. Holyrood*, p. 122.

¹²²⁵ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 126.

¹²²⁶ *Scotia Pontificia*, nos. 55, 85. In the case of Jedburgh, the earliest surviving papal bull dates to 1209 and confirms the right to free election. It also shows that the house had papal confirmations from Eugenius III, Hadrian IV, Alexander III, and Lucius III, which are no longer extant. It is therefore likely that the canons of Jedburgh had received the right to free elections long before 1209 (*PL*, CCXVI, bk. XII, no. 22).

¹²²⁷ When possible, the desire of the preceding prelate was taken into account, and often given precedence in elections (John of Salisbury, *Early Letters*, I, no. 119).

Holyrood, was prelate from 1198 to 1206. For much of the period between c. 1120 and 1215, Scone was under the leadership of prelates trained at Holyrood and Jedburgh, where the moderate observances of Merton and Beauvais were followed. Later, canons from Scone became the heads of Cambuskenneth and Inchcolm, but by this time their house had been under the leadership of canons of Holyrood and Jedburgh for over thirty years. Therefore, a knock-on effect of this practice was the homogenisation of Scottish Augustinianism. However, certain houses inevitably became more influential than others.

The exchange of personnel did not slow after 1215. This phenomenon continued throughout the middle ages and involved nearly every independent house in Scotland, with two notable exceptions.¹²²⁸ The cathedral priory of St Andrews never had a canon from another house assume leadership, and the abbey of Jedburgh did not until the late fifteenth century, by which time prelateship and the election process had taken on a very different character.¹²²⁹ This is not due to lack of evidence. Indeed, these two houses are the best documented in terms of their leadership. In the case of St Andrews, thorough internal records kept by the cathedral priory have survived.¹²³⁰ In the case of Jedburgh, the monks of nearby Melrose Abbey kept a detailed record of the leadership at neighbouring houses (viz. Dryburgh and Jedburgh) in their chronicle.¹²³¹ One explanation for this seems to have been these houses internal mechanism for developing leaders. The houses with the two most substantial daughter houses were St Andrews and Jedburgh, namely Loch Leven and Restenneth. As discussed, Jedburgh in particular seems to have utilised its dependencies as a training grounds for prelateship, and therefore did not need to seek out experienced leadership from other communities. On the other hand, the canons of Jedburgh were sent to lead other Scottish houses, perhaps due to their experience in governing Restenneth, Canonbie, and later Blantyre. At St Andrews, its status as a cathedral priory may have contributed to this phenomenon. Whatever the explanation, the houses of St Andrews and Jedburgh were a one way street, for they influenced the movement by providing superiors to other Scottish houses, but were not similarly influenced.

Chapter Conclusion:

The Scottish regular canons displayed characteristics of a religious order long before the artificial creation of the Order of St Augustine in 1215. Although given ample opportunity, there is no evidence of litigation between Augustinian houses. On the contrary, not only were non-congregational houses viewed as a cohesive religious group, which could exchange personnel, but evidence of shared resources and joint-

¹²²⁸ *HRHS*, pp. 24-8, 92-6, 101-11, 165-7, 198-202.

¹²²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-20, 187-91.

¹²³⁰ *St Andrews Liber*, p. xxx; *Scotichronicon*, III, pp. 416-21; J. Durken, 'St Andrews in the John Law Chronicle', in *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, ed. D. McRoberts (Glasgow, 1976), pp. 137-50 (pp. 140-4).

¹²³¹ *HRHS*, pp. 116-20. See for example, *Chron. Melrose*, s.a. 1192 (p. 100).

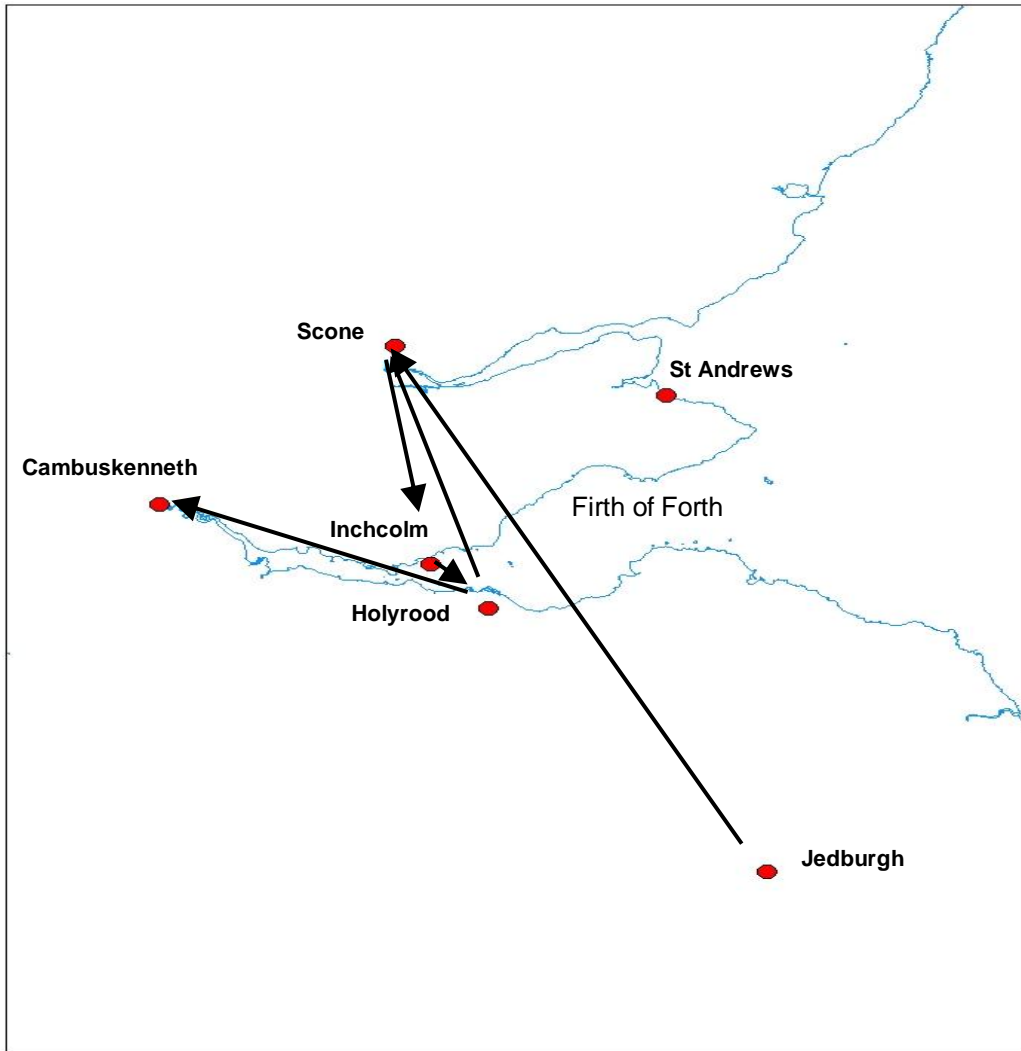
suits suggests that they also behaved as one. The Scottish regular canons had established methods for preventing open disputes and building solidarity. Moreover, their group identity seems to have promoted an *esprit de corps*. Like centralised religious orders, the prelates of Scottish houses seem to have gathered together as a group on a regular basis, which built solidarity and prevented conflict.

The exchange of superiors was the most important unifying factor. It also contributed to homogenisation of the interpretation of canonical life among Scottish Augustinians, resulting in the ascendancy of the moderate interpretation. The interpretations found at Jedburgh, St Andrews, and Holyrood exerted a greater influence on the development of the Augustinian movement in Scotland, than the centrist or rigorists. Perhaps the clearest example of the homogenisation process can be seen in the case of Cambuskenneth. The abbey was founded as a house of Arrouaisian canons and it was the first house of the *ordo novus* established in Scotland. Before 1215, however, the abbey had seceded from the Order of Arrouaise and become non-congregational, joining the majority of Augustinian houses in Scotland. In 1207, a canon of Scone was elected as abbot of Cambuskenneth. By this time, if not before, whatever vestiges of the austere interpretation of canonical life that had been in place were likely dropped as the abbey became integrated into the mainstream Augustinian community.

In England, the regular canonical movement lacked cohesion, which is reflected in the architecture of its houses. In contrast to the Cistercians, for example, there was no Augustinian architectural style.¹²³² However, recent scholarship suggests that the opposite was true for Scottish Augustinian houses, reflecting a very different relationship. D.B. Gallagher has recently argued that, unlike England, Augustinian houses in Scotland were uniform in design. This, he argues, was due to the smaller size of the kingdom and the close association of its houses through the common patronage of the Scottish kings.¹²³³ Thus, the historical and architectural record both point to the cohesiveness of the regular canonical movement in the kingdom of Scotland, which set it on a different course than its English counterpart.

¹²³² Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 62.

¹²³³ D.B. Gallagher, 'The Planning of Augustinian Monasteries in Scotland', in *Meaningful Architecture: Social Interpretations of Buildings*, ed. M. Locock (Avebury, 1994), pp. 167-87 (pp. 184-5).



Map 3: Personnel Exchanges before 1215

Chapter 5: Regular Canons and the Cure of Souls

The performance of sacerdotal duties by regular canons, specifically the right to minister the sacraments of baptism, penance, Eucharist, marriage, and extreme unction, known as the *cura animarum* or cure of souls, has been the subject of debate from the emergence of the regular canonical movement in the eleventh century to the present day. Some contemporaries viewed this function as an essential characteristic of the canonical vocation. For instance, Ivo, bishop of Chartres, wrote that it would be better to impose the common life on all clergy, than to deny pastoral work to regular canons.¹²³⁴ However, others considered pastoral work to be at best non-essential, and at worst inappropriate.¹²³⁵ While there was some opposition in the eleventh century, regular canons claimed, and vehemently defended, this right.¹²³⁶ By the twelfth century, opposition had subsided, and there was official sanction for the practice. At the Council of Poitiers in 1100 (Canon 10), regular canons were authorised, with the permission of their diocesan, to ‘baptise, preach, give penance and bury the dead’.¹²³⁷ Although the claim of regular canons was sometimes challenged or restricted, as J.C. Dickinson noted, the ‘right of regular canons to undertake pastoral duties was not only admitted, it was generally assumed’.¹²³⁸ It was, and is, accepted that regular canons held the right to engage in pastoral work; yet, a major point of contention in Augustinian historiography is whether or not regular canons served the many churches which came into their possession.

This phenomenon was subject to considerable regional variation, and diversity among different congregations and reform circles, and sometimes both. For instance, in France, it seems that while regular canons had the opportunity to serve churches directly, the cure of souls was not characteristic of the movement as a whole.¹²³⁹ Nevertheless, there is evidence of pastoral work being undertaken by certain groups of houses, such as those belonging to the reform circle of St Quentin of Beauvais.¹²⁴⁰ Conversely, in the Holy Roman Empire, regular canons were frequently engaged in pastoral ministry, especially in sparsely populated areas, although there were also groups of houses that were uninterested in pastoral work.¹²⁴¹ Thus, the practice varied from region to region, due in part to local conditions, but also due to different attitudes towards the practice among non-congregational houses. Even among congregational houses, there were regional variations. With the notable exception of houses in the Holy Roman Empire,

¹²³⁴ Epistle 69 (*PL*, CLXII, cols. 88-9). A similar argument was put forward by the Premonstratensian Anselm, bishop of Havelberg (1129-59) (*Ibid.*, CLXXXVIII, cols. 122-40).

¹²³⁵ Constable, *Tithes*, pp. 136-97.

¹²³⁶ *AC*, pp. 214-23; Constable, ‘Monastic Possession of Churches’, pp. 304-31 (pp. 324-31).

¹²³⁷ *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J.D. Mansi, 31 vols (Florence and Venice, 1758-98), XX, cols. 1123-4.

¹²³⁸ *AC*, p. 221.

¹²³⁹ Dereine, ‘Chanoines’, cols. 353-405 (cols. 391-95).

¹²⁴⁰ Dereine, ‘Saint-Quentin de Beauvais et de Springiersbach’, 411-42 (p. 429). See also, *AC*, p. 226.

¹²⁴¹ Weinfurter, ‘Regularanonikern’, 379-97 (pp. 393-4). See also, Vauchez, p. 99.

Premonstratensian canons did not tend to serve the cure of souls (before 1215).¹²⁴² Likewise, while there is no evidence of the canons of the mother house of Arrouaise taking up parochial work, its daughter houses in England, and especially in Ireland, seem to have had no qualms about taking on sacerdotal duties.¹²⁴³ On the other hand, the canons of St Victor seem to have generally eschewed pastoral work.¹²⁴⁴

In the British Isles, particularly in England, the debate began in the early twentieth century and continues to this day. As discussed, English scholarship has greatly influenced the understanding of the regular canonical movement in Scotland, and therefore a focus on English historiography is a necessary component of this study. One of the earliest considerations of the subject was made by T. Scott Holmes in 1904, who argued that twelfth-century regular canons were active ministers in their many parish churches.¹²⁴⁵ This contention was disputed by numerous scholars.¹²⁴⁶ Most significant in this regard was the influential work of J.C. Dickinson, who argued that English canons only served a minority of their parish churches, and that this practice faded over time. His argument had essentially two planks- one practical, the other ideological. First, he reasonably suggested that on a practical level commitment to the *opus Dei* limited the ability of regular canons to serve the great number of churches which came into their possession. He further maintained that most canonical communities probably served only those churches that were nearby or exceptionally valuable.¹²⁴⁷ Sarah Preston made a similar argument for Ireland, suggesting that due to the sheer number of churches held by the Augustinians, it would be impractical for canons to serve the majority of them directly and that canons were only installed in nearby churches, or during times of financial difficulty.¹²⁴⁸ For Dickinson, however, it was also something more fundamental. He considered the mainstream Augustinian movement in England to have been essentially contemplative and engaged in a 'monastic labour', which, he argued, only grew stronger over time. Thus, to Dickinson, the comparative lack of pastoral work by regular canons in England, when compared to the continent, resulted from this 'monastic' tendency.¹²⁴⁹

The increasingly contemplative and non-parochial outlook of English Augustinian canons has been argued by other monastic scholars, most notably by David Knowles who states the case succinctly:

¹²⁴² Colvin, pp. 7-9, 275-80; Hartridge, pp. 167-75.

¹²⁴³ *Chanoines Reguliers D'Arrouaise*, I, pp. 317-22, 375, 412-3.

¹²⁴⁴ J. Longère, 'La fonction pastorale de Saint-Victor à la fin du XIIe et au début du XIIIe siècle', in *L'abbaye parisienne de Saint-Victor au moyen âge: communications présentées au XIIIe Colloque d'Humanisme médiéval de Paris (1986-1988)*, ed. J. Longère (Turnhout, 1991), pp. 291-313 (pp. 312-3).

¹²⁴⁵ T.S. Holmes, 'The Austin Canons in England in the Twelfth Century', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 5 (1904), 343-56.

¹²⁴⁶ E. Beck, 'Regulars and the parochial system in medieval England', *Dublin Review*, 172 (1923), 235-51; B.R. Kemp, 'Monastic possessions of parish churches in England in the twelfth century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31:2 (1980), 133-60.

¹²⁴⁷ AC, pp. 229, 232, 241. The service of nearby churches may have been common among the English Premonstratensians (Colvin, p. 277).

¹²⁴⁸ Preston, pp. 23-40 (p. 36).

¹²⁴⁹ AC, pp. 231-2, 239-41.

In the event, however, the tide of apostolic purpose receded, partly from a genuine desire on the part of many Austin Canons and Premonstratensians for a strict and remote monastic life, partly from a wish to be free of ties and obligations, and in course of time the parochial duties in the churches of the canons were often carried out by stipendiary vicars. By the beginning of the thirteenth century it was again normal for all churches with a cure of souls to be administered by secular priests.¹²⁵⁰

Thus, J.C. Dickinson and David Knowles contended that a steady decrease in pastoral work by regular canons in England, which by the thirteenth century had become a rarity, was due to the contemplative vocational interpretation of the majority of English Augustinian houses.

These conclusions have been echoed in recent studies. Allison Fizzard argues that the priory of Plympton demonstrates the 'largely monastic nature of most Augustinian houses'.¹²⁵¹ She contends that at Plympton Priory whatever the canons' involvement in pastoral work had been in the twelfth century, for which she found little evidence, by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, secular clergy were responsible for the cure of souls in its parish churches.¹²⁵² Similarly, Terrie Colk has recently posited that the Augustinian canons of East Anglia progressively turned away from their original pastoral objectives and adopted 'a full monastic life'.¹²⁵³ Thus, a number of scholars have argued that the regular canonical movement in England underwent an ideological sea change, in which the contemplative replaced the active interpretation, and as a result pastoral work became relegated.

Other scholars, particularly R.A.R. Hartridge, focused on the emergence of the vicarage system as the catalyst for reducing the practice in England. Hartridge asserted that Canon 32 of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 brought an end to the direct service of parish churches by regular canons, at least in the thirteenth century.¹²⁵⁴ The council established perpetual vicars, to be instituted by the diocesan bishop and removable only by judicial action, rather than at the will of the rector. Significantly, it also called for the perpetual vicar to receive a 'sufficient portion' of the revenues belonging to the church for their support.¹²⁵⁵ This legislation was quickly enacted in the British Isles, and the 'sufficient portion' was established in monetary terms. The Council of Oxford (1222) established the minimum wage for vicars at five marks, unless the parish was especially poor. A Scottish Provincial Council (1224) established the minimum wage at ten marks, if the church could sustain it.¹²⁵⁶ According to this theory, the advent of the vicarage system in general, and this conciliar legislation in particular, had the effect of halting or greatly

¹²⁵⁰ Knowles, *Religious Orders*, II, p. 289.

¹²⁵¹ Fizzard, 'Plympton Priory', p. 9.

¹²⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 179-84.

¹²⁵³ Colk, pp. 209-24.

¹²⁵⁴ Hartridge, pp. 21, 162, 176.

¹²⁵⁵ *Ecumenical Councils*, I, pp. 230-71.

¹²⁵⁶ Hartridge, pp. 40-1, 92-3. See also, Watt, *Medieval Church Councils*, pp. 55-78.

reducing the cure of souls by English regular canons in the thirteenth century.¹²⁵⁷ In England, the practice only picked up again in the fourteenth century, which Dickinson attributed to the Black Death (1346-53) and Hartridge to the Great Schism (1378-1415).¹²⁵⁸ Whether through the ascendancy of the contemplative interpretation, or the vicarage system, pastoral work by English regular canons became progressively less common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. However, this paradigm cannot be extended to the kingdom of Scotland.

In Scotland, the most detailed consideration of pastoral work by regular canons was produced by Ian Cowan in 1963.¹²⁵⁹ Cowan argued that the phenomenon followed a different developmental pattern in the kingdom of Scotland than in England; in fact, the inverse. He proposed that prior to 1215 Augustinian houses predominantly used secular clergy, rather than their own canons, to serve its churches, not only because it was cheaper and easier, but also because 'religious devotion would make it likely that a canon regular would wish to serve God by prayer in his monastery, rather than by serving a parochial cure'.¹²⁶⁰ Instead of halting the practice, as in England, he posited that Canon 32 of the Fourth Lateran Council led to a steady increase in the practice in Scotland, suggesting that the vicarage system actually encouraged the regular canons to serve churches themselves. This, he maintained, was due to its guarantees of a minimum wage and tenure to clergy, which provided Augustinian houses with a powerful financial incentive to install their own brethren in parish churches, and this 'loophole' resulted in a growth in the practice in Scotland after 1215.¹²⁶¹ Moreover, he suggested that the practice received a further boost in the aftermath of the Anglo-Scottish wars (1296-1357) and the Great Schism (1378-1415).¹²⁶²

The argument that canons became more contemplative as the middle ages unfolded, which seems to have been the case in England, does not hold true for Scotland; for, as will be seen, the evidence speaks loudly for the opposite conclusion. This chapter examines the cure of souls by Scottish houses of regular canons both before and after 1215, including the service of conventual churches. Moreover, it reassesses the underlying causes for the apparent increase in the practice and considers what this means for the vocational interpretation of the Scottish regular canons.

¹²⁵⁷ A.H. Thompson, *English Monasteries* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 28-9; *GAS*, I, pp. 176-84.

¹²⁵⁸ *AC*, p. 227; Hartridge, p. 176.

¹²⁵⁹ I.B. Cowan, 'The religious and the cure of the souls in medieval Scotland', *RSCHS*, 14 (1963), 215-30. This essay was included in a posthumous collection of the author's work (I.B. Cowan, *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, ed. J. Kirk (Edinburgh, 1995), pp. 62-73).

¹²⁶⁰ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, p. 64.

¹²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-76.

¹²⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

I. Conventual Churches

The service of parochial altars in conventual churches is considered to be the most common context in which regular canons exercised their right to the *cura animarum* in both England and Scotland.¹²⁶³

Recently, Martin Heale has examined the evidence for England and Wales and found that as many as 284 religious houses shared their conventual church with parishioners. Among male religious, he found that Benedictines houses – including independent, dependent, and alien houses – shared their conventual churches in 143 instances, Augustinians in 75, Cluniacs in nine, Gilbertines in four, Premonstratensians in two, and Cistercians in only one instance.¹²⁶⁴ Thus, the traditional Benedictines and mainstream Augustinians represent the vast majority of cases in England and Wales in which parochial and conventual life took place side by side. With respect to the Augustinians, of the approximately 250 houses established in England and Wales, roughly thirty percent contained a parochial altar. Of the 75 Augustinian houses engaged in parochial activity, there is evidence of the regular canons providing the cure of souls in a number of instances, including Bruton, Buckenham, Butley, Canons Ashby, Cartmel, Colchester, Dunmow, Kirkham, Lanercost, Owston, Repton, Worksop, and possibly at Breedon and Weybourne.¹²⁶⁵ Perhaps the best studied of these is the priory of Kirkham, founded c. 1122 in a pre-existing church. The nave of the priory church acted as a parish church, and it appears that the canons served the parochial altar until the middle of the fifteenth century, when the practice ceased.¹²⁶⁶

Before 1215, there were a total of 22 male religious houses containing a parochial altar in the kingdom of Scotland: seven Augustinian, four Tironensian, four Benedictine, four Cistercian, two Premonstratensian, and one Cluniac.¹²⁶⁷ The majority of Augustinian houses established during this period shared their conventual church with parishioners, including the independent houses of Scone, Holyrood, Jedburgh, St Andrews, and Cambuskenneth, and the dependencies of Restenneth and Canonbie. This section will explore this phenomenon, considering in detail the service of parochial altars in both independent and dependent houses of regular canons, and seeking to better understand the practice among both canonical and monastic institutions.

¹²⁶³ AC, pp. 233-4; Cowan, *Medieval Church*, p. 67.

¹²⁶⁴ M. Heale, 'Monastic-Parochial Churches in England and Wales, 1066-1540', *Monastic Research Bulletin*, 9 (2003), 1-19.

¹²⁶⁵ AC, p. 233; DPE, p. 216, fn. 93.

¹²⁶⁶ Burton, *Kirkham*, pp. 24-6; J. Burton, 'Priory and Parish: Kirkham and its Parishioners 1496-7', in *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain: Proceedings of the 1994 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. B. Thompson (Stamford, 1999), pp. 329-47.

¹²⁶⁷ This figure includes the Tironensian houses of Kelso, Lindores, Lesmahagow, and Kilwinning, the Benedictine houses of Dunfermline, Coldingham, Iona, and Urquhart, the Cistercian houses of Melrose, Coupar Angus, Glenluce, and Newbattle, the Premonstratensian houses of Souleseat and Whithorn, and the Cluniac house of Paisley (*Parishes*, pp. 1, 33, 36, 52, 76, 90, 93, 110, 130, 146, 155, 185, 205, 209).

A. Independent Houses

Scone:

At its foundation, there is no evidence that the priory of Scone made use of the pre-existing church of the Holy Trinity, beyond its service as a place of residence. As discussed, this church seems to have been an important regional church, perhaps resembling an Anglo-Saxon minster or Welsh *clas* church.¹²⁶⁸ However, with David I as its patron, the priory of Scone underwent a shift in which the status of the church of Scone as a *matrix ecclesia* was asserted and its parochial authority accentuated. Precisely dating the progress of these innovations at Scone is impossible, but at some point between 1124 and 1153 the latent parochial authority of the church of Scone was re-established and modernised. The king gave to the church the tithes of the whole parish of Scone in grain, cheeses, catches of fish, and all else titheable.¹²⁶⁹ As a result, the conventual church of Scone was transformed into a baptismal church with a large territorial parish, one of the earliest erected in Perthshire.¹²⁷⁰ Before 1153, the conventual church of Scone was functioning as an important regional church with pendicle chapels at Kinfauns, Rait, and Craig.

The conventual church of Scone became an importance focal point for religious life in Gowrie through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and its importance as a parochial centre received episcopal recognition from an early date. The earliest surviving episcopal act in favour of Scone was made by Richard, bishop of St Andrews, in 1172 × 1178. The charter confirmed all the churches and chapels held by the abbey up to that point. It also confirmed to the house parochial authority unmatched by any other religious house in the kingdom.¹²⁷¹ The abbey held the unique right to install, restrain, and remove its chaplains at will in all of its churches in the diocese of St Andrews including the conventual church of Scone with its chapels of Kinfauns, Craig, and Rait, and also the churches of Liff, Invergowrie, Cambusmichael, Borthwick, Carrington, and later Lochee.¹²⁷² The absolute right to install and remove was unique amongst Scottish religious houses. These rights appear to date to the episcopacy of Robert, bishop of St Andrews, the former prior of Scone.¹²⁷³ In addition, the conventual church of Scone and its chapels were exempt from all episcopal exactions and customs.¹²⁷⁴ This extensive parochial authority was

¹²⁶⁸ See Chapter 1.

¹²⁶⁹ *RRS*, I, no. 243; *Scone Liber*, no. 47. See also, Smith and Ratcliff, pp. 115-44 (pp. 128-30).

¹²⁷⁰ Rogers, 68-96 (pp. 74-5).

¹²⁷¹ *Scone Liber*, no. 48. Scone suffered losses to its muniment collection in c. 1163 due to fire. This is responsible for a gap in the charter evidence from 1124 to c. 1163 (*RRS*, I, no. 243).

¹²⁷² The freedom from presentation was confirmed by William Malveisin, bishop of St Andrews, in 1203 × 1209, including the church of Lochee (*Scone Liber*, nos. 53, 54).

¹²⁷³ Ash, 'St Andrews', pp. 179, 182. The abbey of Arbroath received a similar, but more limited, right from Roger, bishop of St Andrews (1189-1202) (*Arbroath Registrum*, I, no. 147).

¹²⁷⁴ *Scone Liber*, nos. 48, 53, 54.

likely rooted in the pre-existing status of Scone as a significant regional church, re-established through the combined efforts of David I and Robert, bishop of St Andrews. As a point of comparison, William Warelwast, bishop of Exeter (1107-37), who founded the priory of Plympton in 1124, exempted the conventual church of Plympton and its chapels from episcopal dues, specifically synodals. Plympton Priory was founded at the site of a minster church, and the exemption seems to be linked to the regional parochial authority inherited from the earlier institution.¹²⁷⁵ Similarly, the exemption of the conventual church of Scone and its pendicles, and the power the house exercised over its churches, indicates that regional parochial administration was anticipated, and, like Plympton, inherited from an earlier institution.

By the middle of the thirteenth century, the significance of the conventual church as a parochial centre is unmistakable. The abbey received an indulgence from Innocent IV (1243-54) in 1253, which provided forty days pardon to all penitents who visited the church of Scone on the anniversary of its dedication each year.¹²⁷⁶ The abbey church of Scone was thereby encouraging visitors to attend a special event on its liturgical calendar, and not only was this open to public, but it was evidently targeting visitors and pilgrims, rather than its own parishioners.

The abbey of Scone developed a rather enigmatic significance as a reliquary church and pilgrimage centre. In 1306, Pope Clement V (1305-14) wrote to the archbishop of York and bishop of Ely ordering them to investigate the relics of saints said to be housed at Scone Abbey and to report their findings to him.¹²⁷⁷ The only relic known to be associated with the abbey of Scone was the head of St Fergus, an eighth-century saint involved in the conversion of northern Scotland, particularly Caithness, whose body was buried at Glamis. The saint's head was brought from Glamis to the abbey of Scone by an unnamed abbot. Thus, the abbey of Scone at an unknown date became the centre of the cult of St Fergus. The cult remained popular into the sixteenth century, when James IV, king of Scotland, made offerings at Scone to the head of St Fergus in 1504 and again in 1506.¹²⁷⁸ M.A. Hall suggested that the canons of Scone acquired this relic of a local saint due to the lack of any relics associated with their own dedicatory saints, namely the Holy Trinity and St Michael.¹²⁷⁹ Thus, the possession of this relic, which at least Pope Clement V seems to have considered important, made the conventual church the focus of regional and extra-regional pilgrimage.

¹²⁷⁵ A.D. Fizzard, *Plympton Priory: A House of Augustinian Canons in South-Western England in the Late Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 45-6.

¹²⁷⁶ *Scone Liber*, no. 114.

¹²⁷⁷ NAK, SC7/10/32.

¹²⁷⁸ J.M. Mackinlay, 'Traces of the Cult of St Fergus in Scotland', *PSAS*, 37 (1903-4), 445-53.

¹²⁷⁹ M.A. Hall, 'Of holy men and heroes: the cult of saints in medieval Perthshire', *IR*, 56 (2005), 61-88 (pp. 85-6).

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the service of the parochial altar in the conventual church is not entirely clear. In the later middle ages, the cure was certainly served by a canon of Scone.¹²⁸⁰ However, there is some indication that a secular cleric performed the duty at an earlier date. Nicholas, chaplain of Scone, appears as a witness to an episcopal charter in 1182 × 1203.¹²⁸¹ A secular cleric was therefore attached to the conventual church of Scone, and was possibly responsible for the cure of souls in the parish of Scone. Conversely, the chaplain may have served in conjunction with, or subordinate to, a canon of Scone. The evidence is unclear on this point. Nevertheless, the right held by the abbey to install and remove chaplains without episcopal approval would certainly have made the institution of a canon a simple matter, not only in the conventual church, but in all of its churches in the diocese of St Andrews. The most that can be said concerning the conventual church of Scone is that the parochial dynamic played an increasingly important role in the history of the religious house, and became a focal point for the religious life of Gowrie; rather than seeking to limit its contact with the outside world the abbey actively pursued greater numbers of worshippers to enter its nave.

Holyrood:

The conventual church of the abbey of Holyrood served as a baptismal church. As noted, the burgh of Canongate, which was established in the 1140s, constituted its own urban parish, served by the parochial altar within the abbey church.¹²⁸² Its parochial status is mentioned on several occasions in the thirteenth century.¹²⁸³ Unfortunately, there is little evidence concerning the relationship between the abbey church and its burgh and burgesses. The surviving evidence suggests that the convent and burghal community were close, not just in proximity. For instance, by the late middle ages, the canons administered a grammar school in the burgh of Canongate and several of the trade guilds (viz. smiths, bakers, and shoemakers) had their own altars in the conventual church.¹²⁸⁴ Moreover, archaeological evidence indicates that the inhabitants of the burgh were buried in the abbey's cemetery.¹²⁸⁵ The parochial altar of the abbey church was served by a canon of Holyrood throughout its history.¹²⁸⁶ Thus, the canons of Holyrood provided pastoral care for their burghal community and shared their conventual church with urban parishioners.

¹²⁸⁰ *Parishes*, p. 181.

¹²⁸¹ *Charters of the Abbey of Cupar Angus Charters*, ed. D.E. Easson (Edinburgh, 1947), no. 6.

¹²⁸² *Holyrood Liber*, pp. cxxx-cxxxii, nos. 39-40.

¹²⁸³ *Ibid.*, nos. 76, 77.

¹²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, app. 2 (no. 26); M. Wood, *Book of the Records of the Ancient Privileges of the Canongate* (Edinburgh, 1956), pp. 27, 36.

¹²⁸⁵ S. Bain and others, 'Excavations of a medieval cemetery at Holyrood Abbey, Edinburgh', *PSAS*, 128 (1998), 1047-77(p. 1054).

¹²⁸⁶ *Parishes*, p. 26.

Jedburgh:

At its foundation Jedburgh was confirmed as the baptismal church of an extensive territorial parish, which included the pendicle chapels of Crailing, Scraesburgh, and Nisbet. The conventual church of Jedburgh was corporate heir to the minster church of Jedburgh, and, for this reason, it seems to have inherited considerable parochial independence. However, in 1220, this was challenged by Walter, bishop of Glasgow (1207-32). A commission of five men was assembled to judge the case between the bishop of Glasgow, and the abbot and convent of Jedburgh. Having inspected the privileges and indulgences held by the abbey, the commission found in favour of the bishop and ruled that, according to canon law, the abbey of Jedburgh must fully submit to episcopal authority. On this occasion, a document was drafted outlining the specific measures to be taken to bring Jedburgh into conformance and, at the same time, providing a vicarage assessment for all the churches held by the abbey in the diocese of Glasgow. The judgement established that the chaplain who served the abbey church, referred to as the *parochiali ecclesia de Jeddewrde*, must be presented to the diocesan bishop for institution, and receive his sacred oil and other sacraments from the bishop. The abbots of Jedburgh were also required to attend the annual dedication feast at the cathedral church of Glasgow, or send a representative in their stead, and also attend all diocesan councils in person. Moreover, according to the judgment, the church of Magna Hutton, belonging to the abbey, would be converted into a prebend of the cathedral church of Glasgow.¹²⁸⁷ Thus, the bishop of Glasgow asserted his authority over the conventual church, establishing that as a parish church it was subject to episcopal authority in the same way as all other churches in his diocese. The judgment also checked the independence of the abbot of Jedburgh and exacted a penalty on the house.

The episcopal claim to legal control over the presentation, institution, and induction of clergy in all churches within the diocese was an important aspect of the reforms of the thirteenth century.¹²⁸⁸ Often conflicting with longstanding custom, these diocesan reforms were viewed negatively by religious houses.¹²⁸⁹ In essence, the bishop of Glasgow was concerned with eliminating irregularities, and establishing diocesan oversight over all churches, even conventual ones. The customs, or irregularities (depending on one's perspective), that had developed at Jedburgh probably resulted from the foundation of the house during the formation of the territorial diocese of Glasgow, but also from the takeover of a minster church with pre-existing rights. In Ireland, for example, many religious institutions founded before the establishment of territorial dioceses, and through the conversion of earlier ecclesiastical sites,

¹²⁸⁷ *Glasgow Registrum*, I, no. 114.

¹²⁸⁸ Addleshaw, *Rectors*, pp. 19-23.

¹²⁸⁹ Hartridge, pp. 39-40.

retained wide-ranging parochial power.¹²⁹⁰ Apparently, the abbot and convent of Jedburgh refused to accept the judgment, and, in 1221, Pope Honorius III confirmed the sentence of excommunication imposed by Walter, bishop of Glasgow, upon the community.¹²⁹¹ The assertion of parochial authority by diocesans, and the defence of historic rights by religious houses, was typical of the thirteenth century, but the particular ways in which the bishop sought to restrict the rights of the abbey provide important insight into the service of the conventual church before 1220.

It is clear from the judgment that the abbot of Jedburgh was installing and removing the chaplain who served the parochial altar of the conventual church at will, and, as will be discussed, this was also the case at the priory of Canonbie. Ian Cowan considered this removable chaplain to have undoubtedly been a canon of Jedburgh.¹²⁹² Seemingly, the abbot enjoyed the freedom to rotate the canons who served the parochial altar. This conclusion is supported by the vicarage assessment made as part of the judgment in 1220. J.C. Dickinson noted that in cases where vicarages were not established, the cure was often served by a canon.¹²⁹³ The only two churches held by the abbey of Jedburgh in the diocese of Glasgow in which vicarages were not established were the conventual churches of Jedburgh and Canonbie.¹²⁹⁴ Indeed, the stubborn refusal of Jedburgh to accept the terms of the judgement perhaps stemmed from the alteration of a longstanding custom, now requiring the canon-chaplain to be presented to the diocesan for institution.¹²⁹⁵ As will be seen, the bishop of St Andrews asserted his right to the institution of canon-chaplains in the church of Restenneth and chapel of Forfar in a similar fashion. The parochial altar of Jedburgh appears, although inconclusively, to have been served by a canon of Jedburgh from its foundation and much of the parochial authority enjoyed by the abbot and convent, which was restricted in 1220, seems to have been a holdover from the earlier minster church.¹²⁹⁶

St Andrews:

St Andrews presents a unique situation since the cathedral served as the conventual church.¹²⁹⁷ By the 1160s, the canons of St Andrews had full control over the high altar, its revenue, and the cult of St Andrew the Apostle. As the cathedral community, the regular canons served the high altar of St Andrews

¹²⁹⁰ Empey, 'Kells', 131-51.

¹²⁹¹ *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum*, no. 43.

¹²⁹² *Parishes*, p. 91.

¹²⁹³ *AC*, p. 233.

¹²⁹⁴ *Glasgow Registrum*, I, no. 114.

¹²⁹⁵ The divestment of the church of Hutton Magna undoubtedly contributed to the acrimony.

¹²⁹⁶ This does not appear to have extended to the dependent chapels of Jedburgh, at least in the twelfth century. For example, the chapel of Crailing was served by a secular chaplain in 1165 × 1170 (*RRS*, II, no. 62).

¹²⁹⁷ For consideration of the variety of different parochial arrangements made at cathedral churches, see M. Franklin, 'The cathedral as parish church: the case of southern England', in *Church and City, 1000-1500: Essays in honour of Christopher Brooke*, eds. D. Abulafia, M. Franklin, M. Rubin (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 173-98.

in public services, and, as discussed, the ministrations of the altar was used as justification for the canons' acquisition of the offerings made to it.¹²⁹⁸ Besides its use for conventual Mass and the *opus Dei*, Mass was performed in the cathedral church for important dignitaries who came to St Andrews, such as the king.¹²⁹⁹ However, unlike the nave of Carlisle cathedral, for example, which acted as a parish church and was served by the canons of Carlisle, parochial life in St Andrews was the responsibility of the church of the Holy Trinity.¹³⁰⁰ While the cathedral church was not the focal point of the day-to-day religious life of parishioners, the nave served pilgrims and other visitors to the shrine of St Andrew, and it appears likely that the local population attended Mass in the nave on major feasts and holidays, such as Christmas and Easter. The cathedral and its canons were at the centre of liturgical life in the diocese of St Andrews. For example, the cathedral priory received from Richard, bishop of St Andrews, all the offerings made during the Pentecost processions throughout the whole diocese of St Andrews in 1165 × 1168.¹³⁰¹ Therefore, the pastoral responsibilities of the canons were connected to the high altar and the shrine of St Andrew, both of which they served themselves.

Cambuskenneth:

The evidence for the conventual church of Cambuskenneth Abbey is scant. The abbey was established in a minor church or chapel with limited parochial rights. At its foundation, the right to all the oblations made to the altar of the church was confirmed to the abbey. A short time later, the conventual church was elevated to parochial status, becoming the baptismal church of the small parish of Cambuskenneth.¹³⁰² Thus, the abbey church contained a parochial altar to serve its parishioners. Although it seems likely that the parochial altar was served by a canon of Cambuskenneth, there is no clear evidence of its service.

B. Dependent Houses

In England and Wales, Martin Heale found that pastoral care was frequently provided by regular canons in instances where a dependent priory doubled as a parish church, which accounted for just under half of Augustinian dependencies there.¹³⁰³ Of the five dependent houses considered in this study, only the daughter houses of Jedburgh were clearly parochial. The priories of Restenneth and Canonbie

¹²⁹⁸ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 129.

¹²⁹⁹ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 605, 613-4).

¹³⁰⁰ Summerson, I, p. 37.

¹³⁰¹ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 133; *RRS*, II, no. 37. Pentecost, Palm Sunday, Ascension Day, and Corpus Christi were the four major procession days on the Christian calendar (Harper, p. 128).

¹³⁰² See Chapter 1.

¹³⁰³ *DPE*, pp. 34-9, 208-18. In England and Wales, fourteen out of a total of thirty Augustinian dependencies shared a parish church (*Ibid.*, app. 4.2).

contained parochial altars, and in both cases it appears that canons served the cure. As discussed, the priory of St Mary's Isle does not appear to have had a parochial altar until the late middle ages, while the cells of Loch Tay and Loch Leven were certainly non-parochial.

Restenneth:

The pre-Augustinian church of Restenneth was an important regional church. As the *matrix ecclesia* of Forfarshire, with a *paruchia* which included the chapels of Forfar, Dunninald, and perhaps Aberlemno, the church of Restenneth seems to have resembled an Anglo-Saxon minster or Welsh *clas* church, and been served by a community of secular clergy.¹³⁰⁴ If this was the case, then there was considerable continuity between the function of the earlier church and the Augustinian priory of Restenneth. The priory of Restenneth provides one of the clearest examples of regular canons participating in the cure of the souls in Scotland. While the evidence for the parochial activity dates to the middle of the thirteenth century, it reveals longstanding involvement in pastoral care. From 1240 to 1249, David de Bernham, bishop of St Andrews (1239-53), travelled throughout his diocese to dedicate its churches, and also took the opportunity to correct irregularities.¹³⁰⁵ On a parish visitation, the bishop dedicated the priory church of Restenneth and its chapel of Forfar.¹³⁰⁶ He also addressed the customs that had developed there, which by the thirteenth century were deemed irregular. A charter was produced at the dedication of the chapel of Forfar in 1242. It confirmed to Restenneth its historic role in the provisioning of pastoral care in Forfar and the surrounding area, but it also made modifications.¹³⁰⁷

The charter confirmed the church of Restenneth and its chapel of Forfar with all tithes, oblations, lands, and rights pertaining to them to the abbey of Jedburgh, which in effect reiterated the dependent status of the house. However, the document clarified the parochial rights of the priory vis-à-vis its diocesan bishop:

Thus, because the abbot of Jedburgh from early times could install and withdraw the prior and brothers [of Restenneth] as he saw fit and just as hitherto the custom had arisen that the prior of the same place administered the cure of the whole parish of Restenneth and of Forfar, the priory will answer to the abbot [of Jedburgh] for the temporalities and will answer to [the bishop] and his successors for the spiritualities in order to ensure that

¹³⁰⁴ *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourteenth Report*, pp. 187-8 (no. 18).

¹³⁰⁵ *Pontificale Ecclesiae S. Andreae: The Pontifical Offices used by David de Bernham, bishop of St Andrews*, ed. C. Wordsworth (Edinburgh, 1885), pp. x-xx. For an in-depth discussion of the career of David de Bernham, see Ash, 'St Andrews', pp. 28-51.

¹³⁰⁶ The chapel of Forfar was dedicated on 23 August 1242 and the church of Restenneth on 30 August 1243 (*Pontificale Ecclesiae S. Andreae*, pp. xiii, xvi).

¹³⁰⁷ This document survives in the form of a transcript made in 1474 at the bequest of Robert Turnbull, abbot of Jedburgh (1468-78) (*Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourteenth Report*, no. 20).

the mother church and its chapel are suitably served by canons or by qualified chaplains.¹³⁰⁸

The charter, therefore, establishes the diocesan right to oversee the installation of the clergy serving the priory church of Restenneth and its chapel of Forfar in conformance with canon law.

In some cases, religious houses were administering their churches with little or no episcopal supervision.¹³⁰⁹ As discussed, Scone had wide-ranging parochial powers from an early date, and until their right was challenged by the bishop of Glasgow in 1220, the abbots of Jedburgh were installing and removing chaplains in their conventual church at will. At Restenneth, a similar custom had evidently developed in which the prior was responsible for the cure of souls over his priory church and its chapel of Forfar without any recourse to the bishop of St Andrews. As at Jedburgh, the establishment of diocesan authority over the conventual church of Restenneth was part of a wider effort towards parochial regularisation in Scotland. However, in this case, the bishop was careful to respect the historic rights of the priory. To do so, the bishop confirmed a rather unusual situation whereby two separate parishes, namely Forfar and Restenneth, were both made subordinate to the *matrix ecclesia* of Restenneth. The bishop noted that the chapel (or church) and parish of Forfar would be subordinate to the mother church of Restenneth.¹³¹⁰ As a result of this arrangement, the priory church of Restenneth would, for instance, hold burial rights over the combined parishes of Forfar and Restenneth. The bishop also respected the exemptions of the priory church and chapel of Forfar from synodals and other ecclesiastical burdens. These privileges were confirmed on the basis of precedent, revealing that the priory of Restenneth had traditionally operated with a significant degree of parochial autonomy.

The latitude enjoyed by the priory of Restenneth is indicative of a *prioratus curatus*.¹³¹¹ Until 1242, the urban parishes of Restenneth and Forfar were administered by the prior of Restenneth, free from episcopal interference, and the cure of souls in these parishes were the responsibility of the prior and canons since the foundation of the priory in c. 1153.¹³¹² In 1242, the bishop claimed the diocesan right to approve all clergy holding the cure of souls in his diocese, which in the case of Restenneth and Forfar had remained outside of diocesan control up to that point. These parishes seem to have been under the episcopal radar because regular canons, rather than secular clergy, served the cure, and were subject to the oversight of their own prelates. Despite the interjection of diocesan authority, the role of the prior and canons of Restenneth in providing pastoral care for the people of Forfar changed very little. There appears

¹³⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁰⁹ Hartridge, pp. 39-40.

¹³¹⁰ The bishop dedicated the church (*ecclesia*) of Forfar in 1242 (*Pontificale Ecclesiae S. Andreae*, p. xiii). However, it is referred to as a chapel (*capella*) in the confirmation charter produced by the bishop in 1242 (*Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourteenth Report*, no. 20).

¹³¹¹ Hartridge, pp. 39-40.

¹³¹² *Parishes*, p. 171.

to have been a large degree of functional continuity at Restenneth since the priory was the successor not only of the rights and assets of the church of Restenneth, but also of its pastoral function. The priory of Restenneth, therefore, continued its historic function as the *matrix ecclesia* of Forfarshire.

Canonbie:

There is no question that the priory of Canonbie, founded in 1157 × 1165, served as the baptismal church of the parish of Liddel.¹³¹³ It seems likely, given its establishment in a parish church, and what we know about the parochial work performed by the canons of Restenneth, that the canons who resided at Canonbie served its parochial altar. The evidence, although limited, supports this inference. The earliest evidence comes from the 1220 judgment between abbey of Jedburgh and bishop of Glasgow, discussed above. The document also sought to limit the parochial authority of the prior of Canonbie, who like the abbot of Jedburgh, was installing and removing the chaplain serving the parochial altar of his conventual church at will.¹³¹⁴ It seems that the prior was freely rotating the canon-chaplain ministering the cure, and the diocesan bishop wished to interject his authority over institution. Thus, at Jedburgh, Restenneth, and Canonbie, the bishops of Glasgow and St Andrews asserted their right to institution in conventual churches, even when it was a member of the canonical community who traditionally held the cure. As will be discussed, the records of a papal tax levied between 1274 and 1280, known as *Bagimond's Roll*, provide an important source concerning the service of parish churches held by Jedburgh Abbey in the archdeanery of Teviotdale. It also provides evidence that in the late thirteenth century the parish church of Liddel, i.e. the priory of Canonbie, was served by the canons themselves. The tax assessment describes the church as *Lydel canonicorum*. This is significant because the description for each church indicated who was responsible for payment of the tax, for instance the *Vicarius de Rokesburg* or the *Rectoria de Makestoun*.¹³¹⁵ This suggests that in the late thirteenth century the canons served the cure of their conventual church. Although the house was seemingly founded for political reasons, the priory of Canonbie, like Restenneth, appears to have acted as a *prioratus curatus*, with the canons performing sacerdotal duties at the parochial altar throughout its history.

¹³¹³ Contrary to the statement of Ian Cowan, the parish church of Liddel and the priory were one and the same (*Parishes*, p. 26; *Glasgow Registrum*, I, no. 114).

¹³¹⁴ *Glasgow Registrum*, I, no. 114.

¹³¹⁵ A.I. Cameron, 'Bagimond's Roll for the Archdeaconry of Teviotdale from a Thirteenth-Century Transcript in the Vatican Archives', in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society* (Edinburgh, 1933), V, pp. 79-106 (pp. 92-3, 95).

Conclusion:

The frequency with which conventual churches took on a dual function as a place of worship for both parishioners and religious is not always fully appreciated by scholars. As the preceding discussion makes clear, the naves of Scottish Augustinian houses were familiar to local populations, but also to visitors and pilgrims. While their clerical background may have made sharing conventual facilities with the laity less problematic, regular canons were not alone in this practice. The Benedictine abbey of Dunfermline and the Cistercian abbey of Melrose provide important points of comparison within the kingdom of Scotland.

Dunfermline Abbey provides the earliest example of a parochial altar in a conventual church, and the monastic response to pastoral work. The Black Monks had a complicated relationship with pastoral work. Their conventual churches often contained parochial altars, which were typically served by secular clergy. However, monks were sometimes directly involved in providing pastoral care in this context.¹³¹⁶ The author of the *Libellus de diversis ordinibus* describes how the laity entered the conventual churches of those Benedictine houses established near population centres, ‘whether they desire it or not’, and under such circumstances monks took up parochial duties in response to demand.¹³¹⁷ The Benedictine monastery of Dunfermline was founded in c. 1070, and was elevated to abbatial status in 1128 by David I.¹³¹⁸ By at least 1127 × 1131, the conventual church of the monastery had a parochial altar.¹³¹⁹ By the late middle ages, this altar was served by a secular priest, but in its early years it may have been served by the monks themselves.¹³²⁰

The rural context of the kingdom of Scotland perhaps encouraged the monks of Dunfermline to install a parochial altar and take on pastoral work. Matthew Donald has argued that in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries the secular clergy, particularly the rural priests of Britain, lacked both the education and sufficient numbers to provide a high standard of parochial ministry; thus, the religious, specifically monks, engaged in parochial work out of necessity. However, once the secular clergy had been reformed, the bishops of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries considered pastoral care by religious to be outmoded.¹³²¹ Similarly, in certain areas of the Holy Roman Empire, regular canons, particularly Premonstratensians, performed pastoral duties out of necessity, due to the lack of qualified priests.¹³²² While the monks of Dunfermline may have been responding to necessity or demand, it appears that the Cistercians of Melrose were subject to the expectations of the institution they succeeded.

¹³¹⁶ Clark, pp. 177-81. See also, Constable, *Tithes*, pp. 172-82.

¹³¹⁷ *Libellus de diversis ordinibus*, pp. 26-7.

¹³¹⁸ *MRHS*, II, pp. 58-9.

¹³¹⁹ *DC*, nos. 33, 172; Cowan, *Medieval Church*, p. 164.

¹³²⁰ *Parishes*, p. 52.

¹³²¹ Matthew, pp. 51-65.

¹³²² Constable, *Tithes*, p. 154; Colvin, pp. 8-9.

The Order of Cîteaux was part of an influential strain of reformed monasticism which adopted a literalist interpretation of the Rule of St Benedict, seeking to live only by their labour and also rejecting tithes and other *spiritualia*, viewed as the produce of others. This was a central component of the Cistercian ideal and had obvious practical implications.¹³²³ In the early twelfth century, at least, the Cistercians generally adhered to this principle.¹³²⁴ Yet, in the kingdom of Scotland, the Cistercian ideal was subject to its environment from the outset. The earliest Cistercian house in the kingdom, Melrose Abbey, was founded in 1136 as the corporate successor of the ancient monastery of Melrose.¹³²⁵ From its foundation, the abbey church of Melrose contained a parochial altar, serving as a parish church, and apparently receiving tithes from its parishioners.¹³²⁶ In the twelfth century, the conventual church was served by a secular priest. In 1234, however, the abbey secured a papal indulgence allowing one of its monks to serve the cure of souls, which thereafter became the status quo.¹³²⁷ It appears that the Cistercians of Melrose conformed to the expectations of their corporate heritage and surroundings. The ancient monastery of Melrose had been involved in pastoral care, and, thus, a parochial role seems to have been expected for its successor. The Cistercians of Melrose avoided the general possession of churches and *spiritualia* until 1193 × 1195, but were unable to avoid the expectation that their conventual church would be shared with parishioners.¹³²⁸

When considered alongside the evidence presented for the Augustinian houses, the examples of the parochial altars in the conventual churches of Dunfermline and Melrose may suggest some of the underlying causes of the phenomenon in the kingdom of Scotland. A factor which may have encouraged this practice, especially in the early years, was the lack of qualified parish priests, necessitating both canons and monks to take on pastoral work in their home parishes. Also, the desire by the local populace to participate in the religious life within conventual facilities cannot be discounted. Moreover, like the monasteries of Dunfermline and Melrose, it was common for Augustinian houses to take over historic parochial centres. With the exception of Holyrood, all of the houses with parochial altars were continuing the function of an earlier institution, sometimes minor churches, such as at Cambuskenneth or Canonbie, but more often important regional churches, such as Scone, Jedburgh, and Restenneth. Indeed, the parochial status and relative independence enjoyed by Scone, Jedburgh, and Restenneth seem to be connected to functional continuity.

Regular canons seem to have served the parochial altars of Holyrood, St Andrews, Jedburgh, Restenneth, and Canonbie, and likely also served the cure at Scone and Cambuskenneth. The direct

¹³²³ Constable, *Tithes*, pp. 136-42.

¹³²⁴ Hill, pp. 109-14.

¹³²⁵ *MRHS*, II, pp. 51, 76.

¹³²⁶ *Parishes*, p. 146; R. Fawcett and R. Oram, *Melrose Abbey* (Stroud, 2004), pp. 209-71.

¹³²⁷ *Melrose Liber*, II, no. 496.

¹³²⁸ *RRS*, II, no. 365. The abbey of Melrose would eventually possess eleven churches (*Parishes*, p. 222).

service of parochial altars would appear to offer an important point of contrast between regular canons and their monastic counterparts. Yet, while it was certainly more common for regular canons to serve parochial altars, this was not a distinctive feature of canonical life in the kingdom for, as discussed, monks also took on this role, even Cistercians. The cure of souls in parish churches, to which we now turn, was far more common among Scottish regular canons, than monks. Nonetheless, this too was not an entirely distinctive aspect of the canonical vocation.

II. Pastoral Care and Parish Churches

Before 1215, the evidence for the direct service of parish churches by Scottish regular canons is limited. For this reason, Ian Cowan argued that the Augustinians preferred to install secular clergy in their churches.¹³²⁹ Yet, this conclusion rests on similarly meagre evidence. Nonetheless, what little evidence there is tends to support Cowan's paradigm that regular canons served only a small number of churches in the twelfth century, but that there was a discernible growth in the practice after 1215.

Before proceeding, a point must be made concerning the types of evidence available and how this changed over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹³³⁰ In the twelfth century, the main source of information concerning parish churches comes in the form of dispositive charters. These documents are principally concerned with conveyance and do not typically record the arrangements made for the service of the altar.¹³³¹ Even early episcopal confirmations do not usually take a special interest in outlining the particulars of parochial service.¹³³² In general, twelfth-century charters deal with the parish church as an asset, rather than the relationship between the bishop, patron, rector, and priest. Thus, evidence of the service of parish churches, whether by secular clergy or regular canons, is sporadic, often incidental, and rarely the focus of an instrument. For example, in 1130 × 1134, David I gave the church of Tottenham (Middlesex) to the priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, founded by his sister Matilda II, queen of England. The charter includes a clause which makes clear the intention of the donor, namely that the church would be served by canons of Holy Trinity, Aldgate: *ut canonici benefaciant servire ecclesie*.¹³³³ The inclusion of such a direct statement is rare in the twelfth century.

In the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, diocesan bishops became increasingly interested in regulating the service of parish churches. As a result, a new class of administrative documents,

¹³²⁹ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, p. 67.

¹³³⁰ This problem was considered by Dickinson (*AC*, pp. 225-7, 241).

¹³³¹ Addleshaw, *Rectors*, p. 8.

¹³³² E.g., *Cambuskenneth Registrum*, no. 12; *Holyrood Liber*, no. 2; *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 298-9.

¹³³³ *DC*, no. 46.

concerned with the procedures of presentation, institution, and induction, emerged.¹³³⁴ An early example of this new class of documents is a Letter of Institution by William Malveisin, bishop of St Andrews, one of the architects of the new procedure in Scotland. In 1202 × 1211, Reginald, the chaplain, was presented to the chapels of Binny and Tartraven by Thomas, prior of St Andrews, and his convent, and duly instituted by the bishop.¹³³⁵ The assertions by diocesan bishops that all clergy must be presented to them and receive episcopal consent before they could be installed into a church also began to appear in episcopal confirmations during this period.¹³³⁶ Only in a small number of cases, often due to a dispute, were the particulars of the parochial service of a parish church belonging to one of the subject institutions described in writing in the twelfth century.¹³³⁷ Thus, contemporary evidence for the service of parish churches is limited, and at best inconsistent. For this reason, later evidence must be used to reconstruct earlier practice, when the service of parish churches became the focus of written instruments.

As J.C. Dickinson warned, 'it is in the highest degree unwise to assume that fourteenth- or fifteenth- century practice is a safe guide to that which prevailed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries'.¹³³⁸ Like England, the service of parish churches by regular canons grew stronger in the late middle ages as a result of the Anglo-Scottish wars (1296-1357) and the Great Schism (1378-1415), and reached its height in the fifteenth century.¹³³⁹ Thus, any reconstruction must be tempered by the understanding that what was true in one century is not necessarily indicative of another. This section will, therefore, focus on the thirteenth century evidence, when service of parish churches in Scotland begins to come to light, particularly when it serves to substantiate earlier evidence of the practice.

The use of evidence from the thirteenth century and later to cast light on the twelfth century is necessitated by the almost total absence of contemporary evidence of the practice. The earliest potential reference to Scottish regular canons serving a parish church appears in the foundation charter of Holyrood Abbey. The charter confirms to the canons the church of Airth in Stirlingshire with its lands and easements, a saltpan with twenty-six acres of land, and the right to erect a mill. Due to the composite construction of the charter, it also includes the substance of a brieve of protection concerning the abbey's rights in Airth:

I will that the canons of Holyrood shall hold and possess freely and peaceably forever,
and I strictly prohibit any one from unjustly oppressing or disturbing the canons or their

¹³³⁴ For the evolution of episcopal administration in the dioceses of St Andrews and Glasgow, see Ash, 'St Andrews', pp. 176-99; Shead, 'Glasgow', pp. 99-118.

¹³³⁵ NAS, RH6/22.

¹³³⁶ E.g., *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 155-6, 160.

¹³³⁷ E.g., *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 319, 321-2; *Glasgow Registrum*, I, no. 81; *Holyrood Liber*, no. 55.

¹³³⁸ AC, pp. 226-7.

¹³³⁹ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, p. 71.

men who dwell on the said lands, or unjustly exacting from them any works, or aids, or secular customs.¹³⁴⁰

The king's protection, therefore, anticipates that canons might take up residence in the vill of Airth, with the implication being that a canon of Holyrood would serve its church. As can be seen, the possibility that a canon of Holyrood might reside in Airth is secondary to the purpose of the document, which pertained to proprietary rights. Although inconclusive, this suggests that a canon of Holyrood may have served the church of Airth during the middle of the twelfth century. Unfortunately, this is the extent of the twelfth-century evidence for the practice. As will be seen, however, the later evidence sometimes reveals twelfth-century practice.

A. Scone

The parochial altar of the abbey of Scone was served by a canon of Scone in the later middle ages, and may have been served by a canon in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. However, evidence for the parochial service of the majority of churches held by Scone is not forthcoming. In this case, the evidence is limited due to the exemption of all its churches in the diocese of St Andrews, which made episcopal documentation concerning parochial service unnecessary. As discussed, Scone held the right to install, restrain, and remove throughout the diocese of St Andrews, including the conventual church of Scone with its chapels of Kinfauns, Craig, and Rait, and the churches of Borthwick, Cambusmichael, Carrington, Invergowrie, Liff, and Lochee. This exemption from presentation would make the institution of canons into its parish churches a simple matter, free from diocesan approval. However, it also left the parochial service of these churches undocumented until the later middle ages. There is evidence indicating that the conventual church of Scone and the churches of Invergowrie, Liff, Lochee, and probably also Cambusmichael were at least occasionally served by canons in the fourteenth century and beyond.¹³⁴¹ At Lochee, for example, it was reported in 1451 by the parishioners that the church had from 'time immemorial' been assigned to secular clergy, but for sixteen years had been detained by a regular canon. The abbey claimed the opposite, stating that the institution of canons in the church was customary.¹³⁴² Due to its special exemption, the service of the churches held by Scone in the diocese of St Andrews is difficult to evaluate, but it seems likely that canons were regularly appointed to serve in its churches.

Outside of the diocese of St Andrews, episcopal documentation shows that canons of Scone served, or at least had the right to serve, two churches held by the abbey. In the mid thirteenth century, the

¹³⁴⁰ DC, no. 147. See also, *Ibid.*, no. 115.

¹³⁴¹ *Parishes*, pp. 25, 88, 132, 137, 181.

¹³⁴² Cowan, *Medieval Church*, p. 71.

abbey obtained the right to present a chaplain or one of its canons in two churches in the diocese of Dunkeld from Geoffrey, bishop of Dunkeld (1236-49), namely Logierait and Redgorton.¹³⁴³ From later evidence it appears that the canons exercised this right in only one of the churches. At nearby Redgorton (4km) the abbey took advantage of the option to install a canon, while at Logierait, which was further afield (35km), the cure was typically served by a vicar pensioner.¹³⁴⁴

The abbey of Scone anticipated pastoral work as a potential function of its canons from at least the early thirteenth century. Due to the limitations of the evidence, it is impossible to ascertain the exact number of churches served at a given time by canons of Scone, or trace the ebb and flow of this practice. Yet, of the eleven churches held by the abbey, there is evidence that canons at one time served, or at least held the right to serve, a total of seven churches.¹³⁴⁵ Furthermore, it is probable that the abbey rotated its canons in and out of all of its churches in the diocese of St Andrews according to need. The frequent rotation of canons in parish churches is seen in other contexts. For instance, during a visitation in 1280 the canons of Thurgarton were required by William Wickwane, archbishop of York (1279-85), to take turns serving their parish churches.¹³⁴⁶

B. Holyrood

As discussed, the church of Airth may have been served by canons of Holyrood, which provides the only indication of the practice in the twelfth century. In the thirteenth century, however, evidence for the cure of souls by the canons of Holyrood begins to pick up. During this period, the abbey received confirmation of their right to present canons to its churches in the diocese of Glasgow and Whithorn. The evidence from the diocese of Glasgow presents the clearest example of the exploitation of a ‘loophole’. In 1229, the abbey of Holyrood purposely underestimated the value of its churches in the diocese of Glasgow to avoid making full payment to the vicars serving them. The abbey was unsuccessful in this scheme, and a legitimate vicarage valuation was produced.¹³⁴⁷ However, at around the same time, the abbey secured from Walter, bishop of Glasgow (1207-32), the right to present either chaplains or canons to its churches in the diocese, namely Urr, Crawford-Douglas, Dalgarnock, and Blaiket.¹³⁴⁸ Later evidence indicates that canons served at least the churches of Urr and Blaiket.¹³⁴⁹ In this case, the abbey seems to have obtained the right to present its own brethren in order to avoid making the full payments required by

¹³⁴³ *Scone Liber*, no. 100.

¹³⁴⁴ *Parishes*, pp. 138, 170.

¹³⁴⁵ Ian Cowan notes that the canons of Scone served five churches (Cambusmichael, Lochee, Logierait, Redgorton, and Scone); however, he omits Liff and Invergowrie (Cowan, *Medieval Church*, p. 70; *Parishes*, pp. 88, 132, 224).

¹³⁴⁶ *The Register of William Wickwane, Lord Archbishop of York, 1279-85*, ed. W. Brown (London, 1904), pp. 145-7.

¹³⁴⁷ *Glasgow Registrum*, I, nos. 144, 145; *Holyrood Liber*, no. 69. See also, Shead, ‘Glasgow’, p. 114.

¹³⁴⁸ *Holyrood Liber*, no. 69. See also, *Ibid.*, no. 80.

¹³⁴⁹ *Parishes*, pp. 118, 205-6.

the legitimate vicarage valuation. This manoeuvre is precisely the type of exploitation described by Cowan, and, as will be seen, the abbey of Holyrood was not the only house to seek financial advantage in this fashion.

At an earlier date, the abbey had received the right to present canons to its churches in the diocese of Whithorn. Here, however, the acquisition of the right predates the minimum wage requirements for vicars. In 1200 × 1209, John, bishop of Whithorn (1189-1209), confirmed the full appropriation of all the churches in his diocese held by the abbey, which included the churches of Dunrod, Galtway, Kirkcudbright, Tongland, Twynholm, Balmaghie, Kelton, Kirkcormack with the chapel of Barncrosh, and Anwoth with the chapel of Cardoness. The bishop confirmed the right to present chaplains, or if they wished, their own brethren.¹³⁵⁰ From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, there is evidence that the abbey took advantage of this right in at least the churches of Balmaghie, Galtway, Tongland, and Kirkcudbright.¹³⁵¹ For example, the church of Balmaghie appears to have been consistently served by a canon of Holyrood from 1287.¹³⁵² In 1496/7, this church was still being served by a canon. At that time, George Hume, a canon of Holyrood, resigned his charge because he felt the post jeopardised his religious life, and was subsequently readmitted into the convent.¹³⁵³

The church of Megginch in the diocese of Dunkeld provides the most detailed information concerning the institution of a regular canon into a parish church in the thirteenth century. As will be discussed below, William, son of Nicholas, a canon and sacristan of Holyrood, was instituted into the church of Megginch in 1228 × 1229, by the authority of the bishop of Dunkeld, and inducted by the rural dean.¹³⁵⁴ This case provides a rare window into the circumstances which precipitated a canon taking up the cure of souls in a distant church, and suggests that the abbey sent the canon to serve the church in order to defend its proprietary rights in the church. A similar motivation is suggested by the abbey's acquisition in 1217 of an indulgence allowing it to present two canons to its church of Great Paxton in Huntingdonshire.¹³⁵⁵

In the diocese of St Andrews, the canons did not receive special permission to present canons to their parish churches. However, this by no means prevented their exercising this right in their home diocese. As discussed, the parochial altar of the conventual church of Holyrood was presided over by a canon from the 1140s.¹³⁵⁶ The canons of Holyrood also served the nearby church of St Cuthbert, and its

¹³⁵⁰ *Holyrood Liber*, no. 49.

¹³⁵¹ *Parishes*, pp. 72, 119, 198.

¹³⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹³⁵³ *Protocol Book of James Young, 1485-1515*, ed. G. Donaldson (Edinburgh, 1953), no. 859.

¹³⁵⁴ *Holyrood Liber*, app. 2 (no. 13). See also, *Parishes*, p. 145.

¹³⁵⁵ See below.

¹³⁵⁶ *Parishes*, p. 26.

chapels of Liberton and Corstorphine, from an early date.¹³⁵⁷ This church not only stood in close proximity to the abbey, but it became the most valuable church held by the canons.¹³⁵⁸ Evidence from the later middle ages indicates that the churches of Whitekirk, Kinneil, Falkirk, Kinghorn Easter, Tranent, and Barra (acquired in c. 1327) were at one time served by canons.¹³⁵⁹ For example, Walter Bower recorded that English pirates attacked the Lothian coast in 1356. During their raid, the pirates abducted two canons of Holyrood who were serving the church of Whitekirk.¹³⁶⁰ It seems likely that canons were often sent to serve parish churches in pairs.

In 1470, the abbey of Holyrood claimed that the churches of Falkirk, Tranent, St Cuthbert's, Kinghorn Easter, Barra, Kinneil, Urr, Balmaghie and Kirkcudbright had been served by canons from 'time immemorial'.¹³⁶¹ While certain of these churches, such as Barra, were obviously later developments, others like Urr, Balmaghie, and St Cuthbert's (Edinburgh) probably date to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This record also demonstrates that canons rarely served a church continuously. For example, there is definitive evidence that a canon was installed in the church of Megginch in the thirteenth century, yet there is no subsequent record of the church being served by a canon.

The abbey of Holyrood acquired a total of twenty-seven parish churches in Scotland before 1215, and later added two more (i.e. Barra, Mount Lothian).¹³⁶² The abbey gained the right to serve, or did serve at one time, a total of twenty-three of these churches. In addition, the abbey also obtained two churches in England, namely Torpenhow in the diocese of Carlisle, and Great Paxton in the diocese of Lincoln, obtaining papal permission to serve the latter church in the early thirteenth century. Although all of these churches were never served by the canons of Holyrood at any one time, the evidence, nevertheless, indicates that the service of parish churches by members of the community was a consistent feature of canonical life from the twelfth century to the Reformation, becoming increasingly more prevalent after 1215. Moreover, the canons of Holyrood seem to have taken up the cure of souls more often than other Scottish canons.

C. Jedburgh

The lack of charter evidence for Jedburgh makes it difficult to evaluate its level of involvement in pastoral work. As discussed, it seems reasonably clear that canons were serving the parochial altars in the conventual church of Jedburgh, and in the dependencies of Restenneth, Canonbie, and later Blantyre. Yet,

¹³⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 35-6, 132, 177.

¹³⁵⁸ *Thirds of Benefices*, p. 91.

¹³⁵⁹ *Parishes*, pp. 14, 64, 69, 112, 114, 200, 209; Cowan, *Medieval Church*, p. 69 (fn. 44).

¹³⁶⁰ *Scotichronicon*, VII, pp. 290-5; *Parishes*, p. 209.

¹³⁶¹ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, p. 70.

¹³⁶² *Parishes*, pp. 14, 153, 219.

the vicarage assessment included in the judgement of 1220 indicates that secular clergy were serving the other ten churches held by the abbey in the diocese of Glasgow, namely Hownam, Hobkirk, Wauchope, Kirkandrews-on-Esk, Sibbaldie, Abbotrule, Longnewton, Oxnam, Eckford, and Castleton.¹³⁶³ As noted, while not a hard and fast rule, the establishment of vicarage valuations, that is, the wage owed to the vicar for the service of the church and the payment owed by the vicar to the rector, suggests that secular clergy were serving the cure as perpetual vicars.¹³⁶⁴ Thus, in 1220, it appears that canons of Jedburgh were serving only the parochial altars of the mother house and its dependencies. However, roughly fifty years later, there is evidence that the canons had appropriated the vicarage and installed canon-vicars in several of the churches in the diocese of Glasgow.

As mentioned, a detailed tax assessment was produced over a six year period between 1274 and 1280 for the archdeanery of Teviotdale which took place as part of the effort to raise money for the relief of the Holy Land.¹³⁶⁵ This document, known as *Bagimond's Roll*, although damaged, contains tax records for eighty-six identifiable churches within the archdeanery of Teviotdale, of which twenty-nine belonged to a canonico-monastic institution, including Holyrood, Guisborough, Melrose, and Kelso. Out of these eighty-six churches, special arrangements are noted for only six, three belonging to Jedburgh and three to the Premonstratensian abbey of Holywood.¹³⁶⁶ The churches belonging to the abbey of Jedburgh were taxed in conjunction with the house, namely Canonbie, Hobkirk, and Kirkandrews-on-Esk.¹³⁶⁷ However, not all of the abbey's churches were similarly accounted. For example, the vicarage of Longnewton was assessed on its own.¹³⁶⁸ The parochial altar of Canonbie has already been discussed. However, that the vicarages of Hobkirk and Kirkandrews-on-Esk were assessed along with the abbey represents a change from 1220, and suggests that vicarages had been appropriated in the interim and canon-vicars instituted in these churches.¹³⁶⁹ This conclusion is also supported by the three churches held by the Premonstratensians of Holywood. Like the churches of Jedburgh, their churches of Dunscore, Tynron, and Kirkconnel, were assessed with the abbey.¹³⁷⁰ There is independent evidence that canons of Holywood served the cure in all three churches.¹³⁷¹ Thus, by the late thirteenth century, it appears that the abbey of Jedburgh had successfully installed canons in the vicarages of Hobkirk and Kirkandrews-on-Esk. Later in the middle

¹³⁶³ According to the terms of the settlement, the church of Magna Hutton was to be converted to a prebend of the cathedral church of Glasgow. This church was served by a priest in 1220 (*Glasgow Registrum*, I, no. 114).

¹³⁶⁴ *AC*, p. 233; *Parishes*, p. 177.

¹³⁶⁵ The taxation of Scotland was carried out by Baiamundus de Vitia, canon of Asti, known in Scotland as Bagimond (Cameron, 'Teviotdale', pp. 79-106). See also, Dunlop, 'Bagimond's Roll', pp. 3-77.

¹³⁶⁶ For the abbey of Holywood, see *MRHS*, II, p. 102.

¹³⁶⁷ Cameron, 'Teviotdale', pp. 79-106 (pp. 88, 95).

¹³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-106 (p. 92).

¹³⁶⁹ For the appropriation of vicarages, see Colvin, pp. 282-3.

¹³⁷⁰ Cameron, 'Teviotdale', pp. 79-106 (p. 100).

¹³⁷¹ *Parishes*, pp. 55, 119, 203.

ages, the vicarage of Hownam was usually served by a canon.¹³⁷² Before 1220, canons appear to have only served the cure at the conventual churches of Jedburgh and Canonbie in the diocese of Glasgow; however, by 1280, canons seem to have served the churches of Hobkirk and Kirkandrews-on-Esk. The evidence for Jedburgh, slight as it is, seems to support the argument put forward by Cowan, namely that the regular canons took advantage of their right to the *cura animarum* in response to the vicarage system.

Only in the Glasgow Diocese is there enough surviving evidence to make an assessment of the practice. Luckily, the majority of the churches held by the abbey of Jedburgh were within its home diocese. Before 1220, Jedburgh held eleven churches in the diocese of Glasgow, and one in the diocese of St Andrews. In England, the house had two churches in the diocese of Carlisle (Arthuret, Bassenthwaite), and four in the diocese of Lincoln (Great Doddington, Earls Barton, Grendon, Abbotsley).¹³⁷³ Based upon the limited evidence, it appears that before 1215 the canons of Jedburgh primarily exercised their right to the cure of souls at the parochial altars of the conventual churches of Jedburgh, Restenneth, and Canonbie; afterwards, however, it seems the abbey began to expand the practice, apparently motivated by the financial benefits of circumventing the vicarage system.

D. St Andrews

The canons of St Andrews served the high altar of the cathedral church. However, as discussed, the cathedral church was not responsible for pastoral care in St Andrews. Nevertheless, the canons took a direct role in the parochial life of their home parish. The canons of St Andrews obtained the parish church of Holy Trinity from Richard, bishop of St Andrews, in 1163.¹³⁷⁴ The territorial parish of Holy Trinity corresponded to the shire of Kilrymont, and embraced all of St Andrews, both within and without the burgh.¹³⁷⁵ Until it was moved in the fifteenth century, the parish church stood immediately adjacent to the cathedral church.¹³⁷⁶ This church had full parochial rights, including marriages, baptisms, offerings, purifications, and burials.¹³⁷⁷ As seen with conventual churches, the most detailed evidence concerning parochial service often appears in connection to diocesan attempts to alter an existing arrangement.

In the case of Holy Trinity, the alteration sheds light on the earlier service of church. An act of Gamelin, bishop of St Andrews (1255-71), in 1255 × 1271, in which the parsonage and vicarage revenues of the church were consolidated, reveals that a canon of St Andrews had served the cure from the

¹³⁷² Ibid., p. 83.

¹³⁷³ *Parishes*, p. 220.

¹³⁷⁴ *RRS*, I, no. 239; *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 53-6, 132-3.

¹³⁷⁵ *St Andrews Liber*, 132-3; *RRS*, I, no. 239. See also, *PNF*, III, p. 404.

¹³⁷⁶ W.E.K. Rankin, *The Parish Church of the Holy Trinity, St Andrews: Pre-Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1955), pp. 14-9.

¹³⁷⁷ The *céli Dé* of St Andrews, however, had the right to be buried wherever they wished (*St Andrews Liber*, pp. 56-62, 318-9).

1160s.¹³⁷⁸ In common with other thirteenth century bishops, Gamelin sought to clarify his diocesan right over the service of the church. The charter established that the cure would be served by a qualified canon, who would be presented to the bishop for institution, answering to the bishop in spiritual matters and to the prior of St Andrews in temporal. The prior of St Andrews received episcopal licence to remove the canon from the cure, with the consent of the bishop, if their religious discipline suffered or for another legitimate reason. This vicar-canon would be assisted by secular chaplains.¹³⁷⁹ The canon serving the church of Holy Trinity would remain part of the community, likely taking his meals in the refectory.¹³⁸⁰

The cathedral priory of St Andrews is unquestionably the best documented house of regular canons in Scotland. Nevertheless, there is surprisingly little evidence for pastoral work by the canons of St Andrews, and, thus, it appears that the canons served only a small number of their churches. In fact, of the twenty-seven churches held by the cathedral priory there is evidence that the canons served, or obtained the right to serve, only the churches of Dull, Fowlis Easter, Kilgour, Leuchars, Longforgan, and Holy Trinity in St Andrews.¹³⁸¹ With the exception of Kilgour, the evidence dates to before 1300. The cathedral priory, more than any other house, seems to have used the right to serve parish churches as a defensive strategy. As will be discussed, the majority of parish churches for which there is evidence of pastoral work by the canons of St Andrews were the subject of lengthy disputes, with histories of secular and ecclesiastical intrusions.

E. Cambuskenneth

The abbey of Cambuskenneth contained a parochial altar which served its small home parish. Yet, of far greater importance to the house was the church of St Ninian, the *matrix ecclesia* of Stirlingshire. This important regional church was at the centre of a large territorial parish with pendicle chapels at Dunipace, Larbert, Gargunnoch, and Kirk of Muir. Not only was it nearby, but the church of St Ninians was by far the most valuable church held by the abbey, and, in fact, seems to have been its most valuable asset.¹³⁸² However, there is no evidence that the canons ever provided pastoral care in the church

¹³⁷⁸ According to Marinell Ash, this act was part of a reorganisation of the diocese by Bishop Gamelin which took place in 1258-1260 (Ash, 'St Andrews', p. 64).

¹³⁷⁹ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 171-2; *Parishes*, p. 176. W.E.K. Rankin argued that this act brought an end to the minor interest which the *céli Dé* of St Andrews had in the church of Holy Trinity, namely the lesser tithes. In this supposition, he was followed by Ian Cowan. While this is possible, there is no evidence that the *céli Dé* ever had a stake in this church (Rankin, pp. 14-9; *Parishes*, p. 176). See also, Cowan, *Medieval Church*, p. 75.

¹³⁸⁰ Colvin, p. 284.

¹³⁸¹ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, p. 70; *Parishes*, p. 224. The priory held twenty-five churches in Scotland. It also received the churches of Carlingford and Ruskath in Ireland (co. Louth) in 1227 × 1237 (*St Andrews Liber*, pp. 118, 119).

¹³⁸² *Thirds of Benefices*, pp. 543-56.

of St Ninians, or any of its pendicle chapels.¹³⁸³ In the twelfth century, the canons of Cambuskenneth may have only served the parochial altar of their conventual church, although this is by no means certain.

In the thirteenth century, however, the abbey of Cambuskenneth received the option of presenting canons in several of its churches. The explanation for the right reveals another important facet in the direct service of parish churches by regular canons, namely financial difficulties. In 1226 × 1231, Osbert, bishop of Dunblane (1226/7-31), citing the poverty of the canons, gave to the house the right to present chaplains, clerics, or if they preferred their own brethren, in all its churches in the diocese, which included the churches of Kincardine, Tullibody and Tillicoultry.¹³⁸⁴

The poverty of the abbey was cited on numerous occasions both before and after the Anglo-Scottish Wars.¹³⁸⁵ The institution of canons was not the only solution or even the most common solution, but it seems to have been the most advantageous to the house. For example, Hugh de Sigillo, bishop of Dunkeld (1214-29/30), also citing poverty, gave the abbey the right to present a chaplain to its church of Alva in 1214 × 1225.¹³⁸⁶ Similarly, Richard of Inverkeithing, bishop of Dunkeld (1250-72), confirmed the right to the church of Alva, adding that the canons could present a chaplain, rather than a vicar, due to the smallness of the church and poverty of the community.¹³⁸⁷ The right to institute removable chaplains, instead of vicars, was also sought after by canons, but only seems to have been granted in instances where true hardship could be demonstrated, or the value of the church was unable to support a vicar. Thus, from the perspective of the religious, the institution of removable chaplains was the next best thing to the institution of their own brethren.

Cambuskenneth was the only mainstream Augustinian house to receive the right to present its canons to benefices due to poverty. However, in 1242, David de Bernham, bishop of St Andrews (1239-53), authorised the Premonstratensian abbey of Dryburgh to present canons to all their churches in the diocese of St Andrews due to financial troubles, which it was said resulted from the canons' generous hospitality to poor pilgrims and guests, and debts accrued in the construction of their conventual facilities.¹³⁸⁸ Financial relief was also frequently cited in connection to the practice in both England and Ireland.¹³⁸⁹ Thus, it was common for canons to leave their convent to serve a benefice in order to alleviate financial pressure. It seems to have been beneficial to the house on two levels. First, the canon leaving the convent would no longer be supported by the community, essentially one less mouth to feed. Second, the canon could ensure that all the revenues from the church found their way to the mother house.

¹³⁸³ *Parishes*, pp. 52, 72, 123-4, 127.

¹³⁸⁴ *Cambuskenneth Registrum*, no. 124.

¹³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, nos. 1, 13, 15, 58, 67, 124, 151.

¹³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 15.

¹³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 13.

¹³⁸⁸ *Dryburgh Liber*, nos. 38-9.

¹³⁸⁹ *AC*, p. 227; Preston, pp. 23-40 (p. 36).

The abbey held ten churches before 1215, afterwards gaining four more.¹³⁹⁰ Later evidence indicates that canons served or held the right to serve the churches of Kincardine, Tullibody, Tillicoultry, Kirkintilloch, and Clackmannan.¹³⁹¹ Thus, if the conventual church of Cambuskenneth is included, there is evidence for the cure of souls in six of the fourteen churches held by the house.

F. Inchcolm

Although located on an island in the Firth of Forth, Inchcolm's development appears to have paralleled its fellow Augustinian houses. The conventual church did not have a parochial altar. However, the house was considered to be the *matrix ecclesia* with respect to the church of Aberdour. Inchcolm stood within the parish of Aberdour, and it seems that canons may have served the church from an early date, yet this is far from certain.¹³⁹²

All of the churches held by Inchcolm were in the diocese of Dunkeld. In the thirteenth century, the abbey of Inchcolm gained the right to present canons in several of its churches in the diocese. The priory of Inchcolm obtained the right to present either a suitable chaplain or canon to its churches of Auchtertool, Dalgety, and Aberdour from Richard de Inverkeithing, bishop of Dunkeld (1250-72).¹³⁹³ In the later middle ages, there is evidence of canons serving the cure in two of these churches. In 1420, during a dispute with the bishop of Dunkeld over his intrusion of a secular cleric into the church of Dalgety, the canons claimed that 'they have had the said vicarage governed by one of their canons at the pleasure of the Abbot from time immemorial'.¹³⁹⁴ In 1474, John Scot, a canon of Inchcolm, was serving as vicar of Aberdour.¹³⁹⁵ Two other churches held by Inchcolm, both acquired in the late thirteenth century, seem to have occasionally been served by canons, namely Dollar and Leslie.¹³⁹⁶ Thus, out of the six churches belonging to Inchcolm, the canons served, or held the right to serve, five.

Conclusion:

While there is evidence that Scottish regular canons served parochial altars and parish churches to a limited degree in the twelfth century, there was a marked increase in the practice in the thirteenth century. This increase, which runs counter to England and Wales, can be attributed to three main factors. The first, which was advanced by Ian Cowan, was the recognition by canonical institutions that the new

¹³⁹⁰ *Parishes*, pp. 9, 38, 104, 115-7, 129, 215.

¹³⁹¹ *Cambuskenneth Registrum*, no. 21; *Parishes*, pp. 31, 121.

¹³⁹² See below.

¹³⁹³ *Inchcolm Charters*, no. 22. See also, *Parishes*, pp. 10-1.

¹³⁹⁴ *Inchcolm Charters*, p. 169. See also, *Parishes*, p. 43.

¹³⁹⁵ *Registrum Honoris de Morton*, ed. C.N. Innes, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1853), II, no. 231. See also, *Parishes*, p. 2.

¹³⁹⁶ *Parishes*, pp. 46-7, 130, 220.

minimum wage requirements for vicars would reduce their profit margin, and so their right as regular canons was used in order to avoid payment. Although not emphasised by Cowan, it is possible that the significant difference in minimum wage requirements between Scotland (ten marks) and England (five marks) may help to explain the higher rate of direct service by regular canons witnessed in thirteenth-century Scotland. The second factor was the use of the practice to alleviate financial pressure. The installation of canons into parish churches was viewed by diocesans as an effective way of providing relief to canonical institutions. The third factor, to be discussed below, was the use of the practice as a defensive measure. These three factors combined to promote an increase in the cure of souls by Scottish regular canons in the thirteenth century.

III. Papal Privileges and the Defence of Benefices

Another indication that Augustinian houses sent their brethren to serve parish churches in the twelfth century comes in the form of papal privileges confirming this right. Of the six major houses under consideration in this study, two held the privilege. The priories of Inchcolm and St Andrews received the right in 1179 and 1183 respectively.¹³⁹⁷ The privilege obtained by the two houses, with slight variations, reads as follows:

Additionally, you are permitted to place four, or at least three, of your canons in your churches, one of whom shall be presented to the diocesan bishop so that he can commit the cure of souls to him; indeed he ought to answer to him [the bishop] for spiritual matters and to you [the prior] for temporal matters and the observances of the order.¹³⁹⁸

After 1179, the above version of the privilege was commonly acquired by both congregational and non-congregational houses of regular canons. In fact, the whole Order of Prémontré obtained the privilege in 1188.¹³⁹⁹ Earlier, however, similar privileges had been issued by the papacy, which did not set a minimum for the number of canons to serve in each church.¹⁴⁰⁰ In 1179, the Third Lateran Council (Canon 10) decreed that monks and other religious should not be stationed alone in cities, towns, or parish churches.¹⁴⁰¹ Thus, the stipulation that regular canons serve churches in groups of three or four reflects a concern for the perils which the secular world could present for regulars. Taken together, the papal privilege and conciliar decree indicate that canonical institutions were being encouraged to have their canons serve only those churches in close proximity to the house, which could be served without a change

¹³⁹⁷ *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 85; *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 56-62.

¹³⁹⁸ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 56-62.

¹³⁹⁹ Colvin, p. 23.

¹⁴⁰⁰ *AC*, pp. 234-6.

¹⁴⁰¹ *Ecumenical Councils*, I, pp. 211-225.

of residence, or to staff those churches at greater distances with groups of canons, who would live as a community.¹⁴⁰² In practice, the new stipulation seems to have had different results in different regions.

In 1930, R.A.R. Hartridge argued that the establishment of small dependent cells in parish churches, or a 'priory-with-cure', by Augustinian houses was a direct result of the new papal privilege.¹⁴⁰³ On the continent, at least, this seems to have been the case. A recent study has shown that dependent priories were frequently established in parish churches in order to provide pastoral care. Mathieu Arnoux has argued that the appearance of cells of this type (*prieurés-cures*) in the archdiocese of Rouen in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries can be linked to the new papal privilege.¹⁴⁰⁴ In England, however, J.C. Dickinson argued that the papal privilege did not promote the foundation of small dependent cells of this type. Rather, he suggested that the stipulation concerning three or four canons was generally ignored in England, and that the service of parish churches was typically carried out by one or two canons, both before and after the appearance of the new papal privilege.¹⁴⁰⁵

In Scotland, Ian Cowan contended that the papal privilege had a minimal impact on the foundation of dependent cells, although he suggested that the priory of Canonbie may have come into existence in this manner.¹⁴⁰⁶ In the case of Canonbie, however, the papal privilege could not have encouraged its foundation since the abbey of Jedburgh had still not obtained the papal privilege in 1209.¹⁴⁰⁷ Moreover, not only did the abbey not obtain the privilege in the twelfth century, but the foundation of Canonbie in 1157 × 1170 predates the privilege itself, which first appears in the 1170s, and only gained momentum after the Third Lateran Council in 1179.¹⁴⁰⁸ Therefore, the dependent priory, although parochial, was not a by-product of this papal privilege. Only two houses, Inchcolm and St Andrews, obtained the privilege and neither house established a dependency of this type. In Scotland, like England and Wales, it does not appear that the papal privilege, or at least its stipulation concerning service by three or four canons, had the same effect as on the continent.

Both Dickinson and Cowan emphasised the restrictive quality of the papal privilege, that is, the practical problem of sending three or four canons to serve a parish church.¹⁴⁰⁹ Dickinson suggested that the stipulation was unpopular with English canons, and, accordingly, was 'waived both officially and unofficially'.¹⁴¹⁰ While this may be true, it does not explain why canonical institutions would seek out such a restrictive privilege in the first place. Rather than a restriction, it seems that the new privilege was

¹⁴⁰² Burton, *Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, pp. 238-40.

¹⁴⁰³ Hartridge, pp. 165-7.

¹⁴⁰⁴ *Des clercs au service de la réforme*, pp. 330-44, nos. 1-11.

¹⁴⁰⁵ *AC*, pp. 221, 234-6, 240.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, p. 67.

¹⁴⁰⁷ *PL*, CCXVI, bk. XII, no. 22.

¹⁴⁰⁸ *AC*, pp. 221, 234-7, 240; Hartridge, pp. 165-6; Burton, *Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, p. 240.

¹⁴⁰⁹ *AC*, pp. 235-6; Cowan, *Medieval Church*, pp. 65-6.

¹⁴¹⁰ *AC*, p. 235.

viewed by canonical institutions as an extension and reinforcement of their intrinsic right to serve parish churches. As will be seen, the context in which the priories of Inchcolm and St Andrews acquired this new privilege in 1170s suggests that these houses, and indeed the papacy, viewed the installation of canons into benefices as a potential solution to the problem of retaining corporate control of parish churches when threatened by intrusion.

In c. 1178, a secular cleric was dramatically intruded into the church of Aberdour, which belonged to the priory of Inchcolm. The intrusion was carried out by William de Mortimer, lord of Aberdour. However, he soon recanted his actions and produced a charter quitclaiming the church to the priory.¹⁴¹¹ This document, which dates to 1179 × 1182, includes an unusually detailed account of what took place:

Let it be known that the concession which I made by request and arrangement of my lord David, brother of the king of Scotland, to his clerk, Robert, of the church of Aberdour, was contrary to God and to all forms of law and justice. For on the evidence of religious men, clerics, and laymen, of the kingdom of Scotland, I have understood and learned that in the times of kings Alexander, David and Mael Coluim [IV], the aforesaid church of Aberdour belonged to the canons of Inchcolm and they held it as their own and adjacent to the *matrix ecclesia* of the Isle. When, however, I was about to give the said Robert possession and investiture of the aforesaid church by our messengers and men and clerics of the king, the aforementioned canons stood before the door of the church with their cross and many relics, and with counter-claims and protests placed themselves under the protection of the lord Pope and appealed his presence. When the canons, at length, had been shamefully beaten, dragged away and put to flight, they intruded Robert.¹⁴¹²

Thus, William de Mortimer, prompted by his lord David, brother of William I, had installed a secular clerk into the church, without consulting the diocesan and against the wishes of the canons of Inchcolm. This event must have occurred shortly after the deaths of Richard, bishop of Dunkeld, and his successor Walter de Bidun, bishop-elect, both in 1178, when for all intents and purposes a vacancy began at Dunkeld which lasted until 1188.¹⁴¹³ As a result, the canons appealed to the pope, rather than their diocesan bishop. On 6 March 1179, the priory obtained a papal bull confirming its rights, properties, and privileges, which included the church of Aberdour. It also included the new papal privilege allowing the canons to serve their churches in groups of three or four.¹⁴¹⁴ Apparently, the canons of Inchcolm sent representatives to the papacy shortly after the intrusion, who returned with a confirmation of the church of Aberdour and the new privilege.

¹⁴¹¹ *Inchcolm Charters*, no. 5. William de Mortimer also gave to the priory a half ploughgate of land and half the rents of his mill in Aberdour, and also the island of Cramond (*Inchcolm Charters*, no. 6). For William de Mortimer, see Lawrie, *Annals*, pp. 181, 195; W. Ross, *Aberdour and Inchcolme* (Edinburgh, 1885), p. 9.

¹⁴¹² *Inchcolm Charters*, no. 5.

¹⁴¹³ *Fasti*, p. 123.

¹⁴¹⁴ *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 85.

It does not appear that the church of Aberdour was served by a canon at the time of the intrusion. Instead, it appears that the canons were protesting the installation of the cleric because it circumvented their own right to present to the benefice and threatened their financial relationship with the church. In the aftermath of the intrusion, it seems that the priory began to consider the installation of its own canons into their parish churches as a viable option to prevent future intrusions. From this time forward, it is likely that a canon of Inchcolm served the parish church of Aberdour, its close proximity to the mother house rendering the papal stipulation concerning three or four canons moot. As discussed above, later evidence shows that the canons of Inchcolm regularly served the church of Aberdour. As will be seen, during the same period and under similar circumstances, the canons of St Andrews seem to have reached the same conclusion.

In 1178, the Augustinian canons of St Andrews elected John 'the Scot' as bishop without the consent of William I. The king took exception to the cathedral priory's actions and responded by having his chaplain Hugh consecrated as bishop of St Andrews. John appealed to the papacy, and a decade long dispute transpired, involving five different popes, excommunications, an interdict on the kingdom, the expulsion of John's supporters from Scotland, a golden rose, numerous trips to the papal curia, and ironically the involvement of Henry II, king of England, as a mediator. The controversy was ultimately resolved in 1188 when John 'the Scot' laid down his claim to St Andrews and accepted instead the see of Dunkeld. Bishop Hugh, who had gone to Rome to clear up his troubled relationship with the papacy, never returned to Scotland, dying from disease while abroad. In 1189, William I secured the election of his cousin Roger, son of the earl of Leicester, to the see of St Andrews.¹⁴¹⁵ Throughout the long controversy, the priory of St Andrews suffered for its decision to elect a bishop without consulting the king.

During this period, Walter, prior of St Andrews, and his convent were naturally unpopular with both the king and Hugh, the sitting bishop of St Andrews.¹⁴¹⁶ The priory's property became bargaining chips in the struggle, and a number of their officers and tenants were expelled from the kingdom by the king. Those expelled for supporting John 'the Scot' included the priory's steward, Odo of Kinninmonth, and a tenant of the priory, Roger de Feddinch.¹⁴¹⁷ Between 1178 and 1180, the cathedral priory was also stripped of its church of Dairsie by Hugh, bishop of St Andrews. The bishop gave the church to Jocelin, archdeacon of Dunkeld, an influential royal official, in an attempt to gain political capital with the king. In 1180, Alexius, a papal legate sent to Scotland to consider the election controversy, excommunicated both Bishop Hugh and Archdeacon Jocelin, and ordered that the church of Dairsie be restored to the

¹⁴¹⁵ See Appendix 2.

¹⁴¹⁶ Walter was prior of St Andrews from 1160 to 1195 and again in 1198 × 1199 (*HRHS*, p. 187).

¹⁴¹⁷ *RRS*, II, pp. 9-10.

cathedral priory.¹⁴¹⁸ On 30 March 1183, the cathedral priory of St Andrews received a bull from Lucius III. It included a new prohibition and new privilege, directly related to the problems faced by the house during the ongoing schism. It prohibited anyone, whether secular or clerical, including bishops and their officials, to make unjust claims on the churches held by the house. It also included for the first time the aforementioned privilege of installing groups of three or four canons into their churches.¹⁴¹⁹ This was not the only time that this prohibition and privilege, which follow one another in the bull, are linked together and seem to provide a blueprint for the defence of benefices.

The canons of St Andrews received numerous papal bulls prohibiting anyone, whether secular or ecclesiastical, from making unlawful claims against its churches. This first occurs in a bull of 1183, and was repeated in 1187, 1188, 1206, and 1216. In each case, the prohibition was followed by the privilege giving the canons of St Andrews the right to serve their churches in groups of three or four.¹⁴²⁰ On 28 March 1219, the cathedral priory of St Andrews received a bull from Honorius III, which concerned two topics. It prohibited bishops, archdeacons, and their officials from, among other things, casting out the clerks serving their churches and otherwise circumventing canon law. This was followed by a recitation of the papal privilege allowing for canons to serve the cure of souls in their churches with three or four canons. Thus, the bull seems to link together a problem with a solution.¹⁴²¹ As will be seen, the linking of the prohibition and privilege was not a coincidence.

Secular and ecclesiastical intrusions into canonico-monastic benefices, which had always been an issue, worsened in the thirteenth century, not only in Scotland, but also in England and elsewhere.¹⁴²² This problem seems to have intensified at this time due to two key factors, namely population growth and a moneyed economy. The population of Scotland grew steadily from 1100 and with this came a rise in prices and an increase in trade.¹⁴²³ The late twelfth century appears to have been a time of particular population growth in Scotland.¹⁴²⁴ This led to a corresponding rise in the value of parish churches as a commodity, due to higher yields from tithes and other *spiritualia*. Moreover, the steady growth of a

¹⁴¹⁸ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 82-3.

¹⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-62; *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 119.

¹⁴²⁰ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 56-62, 62-7, 67-71, 71-6, 76-81. In the early thirteenth century, the abbeys of Cambuskenneth, Jedburgh, and Scone each received similar papal protections concerning their churches (*Cambuskenneth Registrum*, nos. 27, 31; *PL*, CCXVI, bk. XII, no. 22; *Scone Liber*, no. 103).

¹⁴²¹ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 86-7. See also, *Ibid.*, pp. 87-8.

¹⁴²² John of Salisbury, *Early Letters*, I, no. 50. This issue was considered at the Third Lateran Council in 1179 (Canon 14) (*Ecumenical Councils*, I, pp. 211-225).

¹⁴²³ The best estimates for population levels of medieval Scotland are 275, 000 in 1086 and 550, 000 by 1349 (J.C. Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, 1948), pp. 319-362, esp. 360-2). See also, *The Oxford companion to Scottish History*, ed. M. Lynch (Oxford, 2001), pp. 487-98.

¹⁴²⁴ For example, Jocelin, bishop of Glasgow (1174-99), requested the right to erect new churches in his diocese in 1186 on the grounds that the current number of churches were insufficient for the demands of the population there (*Glasgow Registrum*, I, no. 67). In 1199, Roger, bishop of St Andrews (1189-1202), obtained the right to build a new church from Innocent III in order to meet the increase of the population in St Andrews (*Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. W.H. Bliss (London, 1893), I, p. 5).

moneyed economy in Scotland meant that instead of payments in kind, parish churches were more likely to yield cash.¹⁴²⁵ As a cash-rendering commodity, it was possible for a clerk to receive cash payments *in absentia*, which simplified the use of churches to provide salaries for bureaucrats.¹⁴²⁶ The growth in royal, episcopal, and aristocratic bureaucracy and the accompanying need to find salaries for this large group of clerks and professional servants, which had become part of the thirteenth-century household, seems to have led to a corresponding rise in intrusions. While the growth in the direct service of parish churches by regular canons in the kingdom of Scotland in the thirteenth century can be attributed to a number of factors, including the poverty of a house or the exploitation of a loophole in the vicarage system, this practice was frequently used as a defensive measure.

The cathedral priory of St Andrews used this strategy most extensively, which is not surprising given its rocky relationship with the bishops of St Andrews following the death of Richard, bishop of St Andrews, in 1178. Beginning in the late twelfth century, there was a perceptible change in the relationship between the bishops and religious houses of Scotland. This was particularly acute at St Andrews, where an adversarial relationship can be traced to the schism from 1178 to 1188. The bishops of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries had secular backgrounds and, unlike their predecessors, were not especially disposed to regulars. The relationship between the cathedral priory and the bishops of St Andrews continued to deteriorate following the schism. The height of this dysfunction came during the long episcopacy of William Malveisin (1202-38). One facet of their conflict was the intrusion of episcopal clerks and *familia* into churches held by the cathedral priory. For example, the bishop installed Master William de Greenlaw, a member of his *familia*, into the church of Rossie in 1202 × 1214, and his clerks, Richard de Thouny and Gervase de Néauflé, into the church of Forgan and chapel of Naughton in 1209 × 1212.¹⁴²⁷ The cathedral priory was not alone. The bishop also intruded a clerk into the church of Aberlemno in 1202 × 1214, belonging to the abbey of Jedburgh.¹⁴²⁸ He was also accused of seizing the churches of Kinglassie and Hailes from Dunfermline Abbey because, it was said, the monks did not provide him with enough wine during his visit.¹⁴²⁹ While William Malveisin was perhaps the most egregious offender, the intrusion of clerics into benefices was a wider problem, and it certainly did not end with his death in 1238.¹⁴³⁰ Intrusion was also a problem in other dioceses. For example, Richard,

¹⁴²⁵ Scott, 'Money in Scotland', 105-31.

¹⁴²⁶ For instance, in 1202 × 1214, the church of Forgan was used to provide an annual income of twenty marks to an episcopal clerk who did not serve the church himself (*St Andrews Liber*, p. 107).

¹⁴²⁷ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 107, 107-8, 174, 310-1; *MPRS*, app. 1 (no. 75), app. 4 (no. 3); Ash, 'St Andrews', pp. 137-8, 261-2.

¹⁴²⁸ *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourteenth Report*, no. 18; *MPRS*, app. 4 (no. 9).

¹⁴²⁹ Durken, 'John Law Chronicle', pp. 137-50 (p. 146). See also, *Parishes*, pp. 79, 112.

¹⁴³⁰ For example, his successor David de Bernham, bishop of St Andrews (1239-53), seized the church of Inchture from the cathedral priory and intruded his clerk, Gilbert, into the church of Dalmeny, held by the abbey of Jedburgh in 1240s (Durken, 'John Law Chronicle', pp. 137-50 (p. 146); *NAS*, CH2/86/19, no. 1). See also, *Parishes*, p. 86.

bishop of Dunkeld (1203-10), was accused by the cathedral priory of intruding ‘a certain boy’ into their church of Meigle in 1205.¹⁴³¹ Thus, bishops used churches held by religious houses to provide livings for their personal clerics and *familia*. This presented a problem for religious houses in and of itself, but this type of dysfunction, particularly in the case of the cathedral priory of St Andrews, made it unlikely that religious houses would receive episcopal support in their conflicts with secular lords over benefices, which was perhaps an even greater problem.¹⁴³²

As noted, there is comparatively little evidence that the canons of St Andrews served the cure of souls in their parish churches. Indeed, of the twenty-five churches held by the cathedral priory, there is evidence that canons took up the cure in only six, including their home parish of Holy Trinity. Yet, the instances in which the canons did serve the cure of souls suggest that it was a reactive policy, for there is evidence of intrusions or other problems in four of the six churches, namely Dull, Fowlis Easter, Leuchars, and Longforgan; and, as will be seen, once legal right was re-established canons were sent to establish control over the benefice.

The church of Fowlis Easter was first conveyed to the cathedral priory by Arnold, bishop of St Andrews, in 1160 × 1162. This was confirmed by the king, later bishops, and multiple popes.¹⁴³³ Nevertheless, William Maule, lord of Fowlis, claimed the patronage of the church. In 1165 × 1170, it appears that Richard, bishop of St Andrews, convinced the lord of Fowlis to give the church to the cathedral priory in return for an obit and burial rights.¹⁴³⁴ However, William Maule had already promised the church to his nephew, Thomas the clerk, and so the cathedral priory would only receive an annual pension of one mark from the clerk during his lifetime, with the implication that the church would pass to the priory upon his death.¹⁴³⁵ The aforementioned, Roger de Mortimer, lord of Aberdour, and after his marriage to William Maule’s daughter, also the lord of Fowlis, renewed the terms of the possession of the church by Thomas the clerk.¹⁴³⁶ Finally in c. 1225 × 1235, Hugh de Mortimer, the grandson of William Maule, confirmed the language of the original *dare* charter to the cathedral priory, which was then appropriated to the house by the bishop of St Andrews and a vicarage erected.¹⁴³⁷ A canon of St Andrews later served as vicar of the church.¹⁴³⁸ In this instance, it appears that the cathedral priory sought to solidify the possession of the church of Fowlis Easter, which due to an incumbent had remained outside its control for over sixty years, by installing a canon in the newly erected vicarage.

¹⁴³¹ *MPRS*, app. 1 (no. 23), app. 4 (no. 2). See also, *Parishes*, p. 145.

¹⁴³² For example, William Malveisin excommunicated the entire community of St Andrews in c. 1216 (*Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum*, no. 6). See also, *MPRS*, pp. 154-6, app. 1 (nos. 18, 41).

¹⁴³³ *RRS*, II, no. 28; *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 53-6, 56-62, 62-7, 67-71, 71-6, 76-81, 126-7, 130-2, 141-4, 149-52.

¹⁴³⁴ *St Andrews Liber*, 264-5.

¹⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-1.

¹⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-2. See also, *RRS*, II, no. 302.

¹⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 157, 265-6.

¹⁴³⁸ *Parishes*, pp. 70-1.

The church of Longforgan presents a clearer example of this practice. The cathedral priory received the church from David I in 1141 × 1150. This was confirmed by his successors, and multiple bishops and popes.¹⁴³⁹ However, in 1178 × 1182, David, brother of William I, received the manor of Longforgan from the king as part of a group of estates, which including Dundee and Lindores, and also the earldom of Lennox.¹⁴⁴⁰ David, who was implicated in the intrusion at Aberdour during the same period, appears to have intruded his clerk, Alexander, into the church of Longforgan.¹⁴⁴¹ The cathedral priory reasserted its rights in the church, which were confirmed by King Alexander II in 1228 and confirmed in *proprios usus* by David de Bernham, bishop of St Andrews, in 1240.¹⁴⁴² From this point forward, it appears that the cure was served by a canon of St Andrews.¹⁴⁴³

The cathedral priory first received the church of Dull in the diocese of Dunkeld from Mael Coluim, earl of Atholl, in c. 1170 × 1178. This was subsequently confirmed by his heir, the king, diocesan bishops, and the pope.¹⁴⁴⁴ In the early thirteenth century, however, William Comyn, earl of Buchan (d. 1233), and his heirs, claimed the church of Dull. After a legal battle, the priory secured its right to the church in 1245, and a vicarage was erected.¹⁴⁴⁵ From 1260 until the Reformation, the vicars were consistently canons of St Andrews.¹⁴⁴⁶ Again, the problems experienced by the priory seem to have led to the direct service of the church of Dull.

The church of Leuchars provides the best documented case of an intrusion and the response of the canons of St Andrews to it. The cathedral priory received the church of Leuchars from Ness, son of William, lord of Leuchars in 1183 × 1188, who in return sought burial in the canons' cemetery.¹⁴⁴⁷ The gift of the church was confirmed by Orabilis, daughter and heir of Ness, and also by the king, earl of Fife, the bishops of St Andrews and Aberdeen, and the papacy.¹⁴⁴⁸ Before 1205, the canons of St Andrews were in possession of no fewer than ten documents confirming their possession of the church of Leuchars. However, Saer de Quincy the grandson of Ness, son of William, had other plans. The lordship of

¹⁴³⁹ *DC*, nos. 126, 173; *RRS*, I, no. 174; *RRS*, II, nos. 28, 110; *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 51-3, 53-6, 56-62, 62-7, 67-71, 71-6, 76-81, 130-2, 141-4, 147-9, 149-52.

¹⁴⁴⁰ *RRS*, II, no. 205.

¹⁴⁴¹ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 237.

¹⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 161-2, 232-6.

¹⁴⁴³ *Parishes*, pp. 138-9.

¹⁴⁴⁴ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 71-6, 245-6, 294-5; *RRS*, II, no. 333.

¹⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 297, 307-8.

¹⁴⁴⁶ *Parishes*, pp. 49-50.

¹⁴⁴⁷ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 287.

¹⁴⁴⁸ *RRS*, II, nos. 271, 333; *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 62-7, 67-71, 149-52, 287-8, 288, 288-9, 289-90. For the eventful career and marriages of Orabilis, see R.L.G. Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1954), pp. 284-6. See also, M.H. Hammond, 'Women and the adoption of charters in Scotland north of Forth, c. 1150-1286', *IR*, 62:1 (2011), 5-46 (pp. 13-6).

Leuchars had passed to Saer de Quincy, the son of Robert de Quincy and Orabilis, daughter of Ness.¹⁴⁴⁹ In 1205, Pope Innocent III appointed the abbots of Arbroath, Lindores, and Cupar Angus as judges-delegate in the dispute which had arisen between the cathedral priory and Saer de Quincy concerning the church of Leuchars. The bull notes that the priory had received the church from Ness, son of William, and the act had been approved and confirmed by charters of the diocesan bishop, the Scottish king, and the Holy See. Nevertheless, the bull states that Saer de Quincy had intruded Simon de Quincy, a clerk, into the church of Leuchars against the will of the priory.¹⁴⁵⁰ The precise relationship between Simon de Quincy and Saer de Quincy is unclear. Nevertheless, through his family connections he was obviously a well-connected cleric who had served as clerk to William Malveisin, both as bishop of Glasgow (1199-1202) and as bishop of St Andrews (1202-38), as well as the king, William I.¹⁴⁵¹ The next year, the pope wrote again to chastise the judges-delegate, who according to the prior and canons of St Andrews had not pursued the case against the lord of Leuchars.¹⁴⁵² However, the case had actually been heard in 1205/6, but not by papal judges-delegate. In 1206, Innocent III wrote to abbots of Melrose, Dryburgh, and Jedburgh, in order to convene a second panel of judges-delegate to hear the matter. The bull outlines the complaints made by the priory against Saer de Quincy, and it also relates that the dispute was brought before the *curia regis* of William I, which was 'contrary to the customs of the Scottish Church', and there settled unjustly.¹⁴⁵³

In 1207, the pope confirmed to the cathedral priory the tithes of wheat belonging to their parish church of Leuchars, specifically from the villis of Ardit, Dron, Lucklaw, Balmullo, *Kethethin*, Pitcullo, Bruckley, Seggie, Pusk, and *Salechoc*.¹⁴⁵⁴ These ten villis seem to have constituted the southern half of the parish of Leuchars.¹⁴⁵⁵ Evidently, the cathedral priory also claimed the right to garbal tithes in the parish, which were being withheld. In the same year, the pope wrote to the bishop of Brechin, the abbot of Scone, and the prior of Arbroath to convene a third panel of judges-delegate to decide the dispute over the church of Leuchars. In this bull the claims against Saer de Quincy, apparently based on letters from the abbot of Arbroath and the first panel of judges-delegate, are described in more detail as 'the usurpation of the advowson of the church by violence'.¹⁴⁵⁶ It further explained that the king had compelled the prior and

¹⁴⁴⁹ For consideration of the de Quincy family, see S. Painter, 'The house of Quincy, 1136-1264', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 11 (1957), 3-9; G.G. Simpson, 'The Familia of Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester and constable of Scotland', in *Essays on the nobility of Medieval Scotland*, ed. K.J. Stringer (Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 102-30.

¹⁴⁵⁰ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 350.

¹⁴⁵¹ *Glasgow Registrum*, I, no. 93; *Arbroath Registrum*, I, nos. 150, 169; *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 106-7, 155; *Dunfermline Registrum*, no. 110.

¹⁴⁵² *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 350-1.

¹⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

¹⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-6.

¹⁴⁵⁵ *PNF*, IV, pp. 477, 481-3.

¹⁴⁵⁶ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 352.

canons of St Andrews to appear in the *curia regis*, where they were forced by the king's 'threats and terrors' to accept an agreement with Saer de Quincy which was detrimental to the house.¹⁴⁵⁷

In 1209 × 1211, William I announced the settlement of the dispute between Prior Thomas and the convent of St Andrews and Saer de Quincy concerning the right to the advowson of the church of Leuchars. The exact terms of the settlement, which was attested by William Malveisin, bishop of St Andrew, are unclear.¹⁴⁵⁸ This is because the charter, which only survives in the cartulary of St Andrews, was purposely damaged with an obliterating agent, apparently by an indignant scribe.¹⁴⁵⁹ Nevertheless, some idea of the settlement can be reconstructed. In 1207 × 1219, Saer de Quincy gave three marks annually from the mill of Leuchars to the priory. This gift appears to have been part of the settlement, since the charter was attested by Simon de Quincy, parson of Leuchars.¹⁴⁶⁰ A general confirmation of Alexander II in 1228 is quite telling concerning the outcome of the dispute. It confirms to the cathedral priory the gifts made by Ness, son of William, but the church of Leuchars was no longer included among his gifts. However, the 'gift' of three marks annually from the mill of Leuchars made by Saer de Quincy was confirmed.¹⁴⁶¹ The canons also seem to have retained the right to the garbal tithes of the southern portion of the parish of Leuchars as part of the settlement, which were confirmed by David de Bernham, bishop of St Andrews, in 1240 and by Pope Innocent IV in 1248.¹⁴⁶² Thus, it appears that the cathedral priory received an annual payment of three marks and retained possession of roughly half of the garbal tithes of the church as compensation for the loss of the advowson and all other rights in the church. Understandably, the canons of St Andrews were displeased by this pittance, and continued to pursue their right to the church of Leuchars. Roughly one hundred years after the church was originally given to the cathedral priory by Ness, son of William, the canons finally gained full possession of the church. In 1280 × 1295, William de Ferrers, the grandson of Roger de Quincy (d. 1264), gave to the cathedral priory the advowson of the church of Leuchars.¹⁴⁶³ In 1295, William Fraser, bishop of St Andrews (1279-97), confirmed the church of Leuchars to the priory *in proprios usus*, stipulating that the priory could present a canon to serve the cure of the church.¹⁴⁶⁴ The ability to install a canon in the church of Leuchars was finally acquired by the priory as a safeguard against further intrusions and to help solidify its control over a long contested benefice.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 352.

¹⁴⁵⁸ *RRS*, II, no. 491.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 448.

¹⁴⁶⁰ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 255-6. Roger de Quincy, son and heir of Saer de Quincy, confirmed his father's gift on the same occasion (Ibid., pp. 256-7).

¹⁴⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 232-6.

¹⁴⁶² Ibid., pp. 103-6, 164-5.

¹⁴⁶³ Ibid., pp. 397-8.

¹⁴⁶⁴ This document occurs within an inspection made in 1317 by William Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews (Ibid., pp. 400-2). See also, *Parishes*, p. 131.

The cathedral priory was not the only house to pursue this policy in the thirteenth century. Indeed, the most detailed evidence of the installation of a canon into a benefice comes from the church of Megginch in the diocese of Dunkeld. The abbey of Holyrood received the church of Megginch from John, bishop of Dunkeld (1182/3-1203), before 1195.¹⁴⁶⁵ However, a dispute over the church quickly arose between the abbey and a local lord, David Eviot. In 1211 × 1214, the abbey secured a quitclaim from the lord.¹⁴⁶⁶ By 1225, the abbey had received confirmation of the church's appropriation from Hugh, bishop of Dunkeld.¹⁴⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the abbey still had difficulty maintaining control. In 1226, Pope Honorius III issued a subject-specific bull protecting the abbey's rights in the church of Megginch.¹⁴⁶⁸ Not long after, a canon of Holyrood was instituted in the church of Megginch. In this case, the evidence comes from a rare document recording the induction of the canon into the church by the rural dean.¹⁴⁶⁹ In 1228 × 1229, Matthew, dean of Dunkeld, acting as a representative of Hugh, bishop of Dunkeld, forced Walet, parson of Megginch, to resign. It appears that Walet had been intruded into the benefice, probably by Stephen, lord of Megginch (also a party to the document). Following Walet's resignation, the dean, with episcopal authority, 'released the church into the hands of Dominus William, son of Nicholas, canon and sacristan of Holyrood, by key, lock and chalice of the church'.¹⁴⁷⁰ In 1233 × 1234, the abbey received another subject-specific bull confirming the church of Megginch to the abbey.¹⁴⁷¹ Thus, like St Andrews, the abbey of Holyrood used the canonical right to serve the cure of souls in order to secure possession of a parish church. Interestingly, there is no further evidence that this church was served by a canon of Holyrood, which serves to illustrate the often reactive nature of this policy.

Holyrood Abbey also considered using this approach in its church of Great Paxton in Huntingdonshire. The abbey received a subject-specific bull from Alexander III in 1171 × 1172 (poss. 1182) prohibiting archbishops, bishops, or archdeacons from attempting to intrude anyone into the benefice.¹⁴⁷² In 1217, the abbey obtained another subject-specific bull, this time from Honorius III, permitting the house to send two canons to serve the church of Great Paxton, one of whom would hold the cure.¹⁴⁷³ Distance was evidently the key factor in this case, which left the church particularly vulnerable to intrusion. One strategy for dealing with this vulnerability, which the abbey obtained, but

¹⁴⁶⁵ *RRS*, II, no. 297.

¹⁴⁶⁶ *Holyrood Liber*, no. 66 (1).

¹⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 66 (2).

¹⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, app. 1 (no. 4).

¹⁴⁶⁹ Addleshaw, *Rectors*, pp. 21-2.

¹⁴⁷⁰ *Holyrood Liber*, app. 2 (no. 13).

¹⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, app. 1 (no. 5). The church received further papal confirmations from Innocent IX in 1236 and Innocent IV in 1243 (*Holyrood Liber*, no. 66 (3-4)). See also, *Parishes*, p. 145.

¹⁴⁷² *Registrum Antiquissimum of Lincoln*, III, no. 810.

¹⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*, III, no. 820.

apparently never used, was the privilege to install their own canons in the church.¹⁴⁷⁴ In this case, there was a direct correlation between the potential for intrusion and securing the privilege to the cure of souls.

Conclusion:

The policy pursued by Scottish regular canons in the thirteenth century parallels the strategy employed by Premonstratensian canons in the diocese of Lincoln during the same period. There, successive thirteenth-century bishops, Hugh de Welles (1209-35) and Robert Grosseteste (1235-53), sought not only to establish diocesan authority over institution, and ensure that vicarages were established in conformance with the Fourth Lateran Council, but also to free as many churches from canonico-monastic control as possible. The Premonstratensian houses of the diocese responded by presenting their own canons to their churches.¹⁴⁷⁵

An important factor in the increase in the direct service of parish churches by regular canons in the thirteenth century was secular and episcopal intrusions into benefices and the general problem of securing control of often distant churches over a long period of time. Due to changing economic conditions, this became a more serious problem in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Thus, while there is evidence linking the increase in this practice in the thirteenth century to attempts to circumvent the vicarage system and diocesan efforts to relieve the poverty of certain houses, there is also considerable evidence that canonical institutions sought to protect their interests in parish churches by sending brethren to take up the cure of souls. Indeed, the regular canons were not the only religious to employ this strategy. For example, a Cistercian monk of Holm Cultram served the church of Kirgunzeon in the fourteenth century because possession of the church was being contested.¹⁴⁷⁶ Thus, Scottish regular canons sought to combat the erosion of their parochial rights by exercising their right to the cure of souls more frequently in the thirteenth century than they had in the twelfth.

Chapter Conclusion:

To date, the argument against the performance of the *cura animarum* by regular canons in both England and Scotland, which is based largely on the work of J.C. Dickinson and Ian Cowan, has rested on a logical fallacy. These scholars proposed that for a number of reasons it was impractical and virtually impossible for most canonical institutions to send canons to serve the majority of their churches, yet, at the same time, established the service of the ‘greater part of their churches’ or ‘wholesale’ parochial

¹⁴⁷⁴ There is no evidence that the canons ever took advantage of this privilege. In the 1230s, the church was served by a secular priest (Ibid., III, nos. 826-7).

¹⁴⁷⁵ Colvin, pp. 275-9.

¹⁴⁷⁶ *Parishes*, p. 120.

service as the measure of a community's commitment to pastoral care. Because it is doubtful if very many houses of regular canons in any region at any time had the capacity to provide the cure of souls in the majority their churches, using this as the measure of an active apostolate is an artificial threshold, and all but a few houses would inevitably be found wanting. Furthermore, the inability to exceed this threshold cannot, as has been done in the past, then be used as evidence of a contemplative interpretation of canonical life.¹⁴⁷⁷

The debate, as David Robinson pointed out, is a matter of degree: 'differences of opinion arise over the degree to which the Augustinians exercised this cure themselves, and how far they went in appointing others to undertake the task for them'.¹⁴⁷⁸ If we are interested in determining the impact which this practice had upon parochial life as whole, then the number of churches served directly by regular canons is significant. The impact, for example, of canons serving two or three of their churches out of a total of twenty-five might be considered minimal. On the other hand, if we are interested in the attitudes of regular canons and their understanding of their vocation and societal function, the numbers are less important than the existence of the practice, and its persistence or disappearance. The service of even one parochial altar or parish church by a community of regular canons suggests that at least on some level a mixed life of action and contemplation was envisioned.

In England, the small size of the typical Augustinian community prevented many houses from sending canons into the parishes to perform parochial work, which Dickinson considered to be the chief obstacle to the practice there.¹⁴⁷⁹ Only in cases where a house had very few churches or a very large community might this have been possible. In England and Wales, there is evidence that only seven Augustinian houses ever had thirty or more brothers, namely Barnwell (30), St Bartholomew's, London (35), Merton (36), Cirencester (40), Llanthony Prima (40), Waltham (48), and Osney (50). The majority of houses had less than twelve brothers, with most consisting of between five and ten.¹⁴⁸⁰ For this reason, the service of a high number of parish churches was impractical and in many cases impossible. In East Anglia, for example, Terrie Colk found that many houses had less than six canons –making the service of parish churches virtually impossible.¹⁴⁸¹ Thus, the typical ratio of canons to churches in English Augustinian houses was a hindrance to pastoral work.

The situation in the kingdom of Scotland was quite different. The independent houses under consideration had relatively high numbers of inmates, and in most cases it would have been feasible for canons to serve the majority of their churches if they had so wished. As can be seen, the evidence

¹⁴⁷⁷ AC, pp. 229, 232-4, 239-41; Cowan, *Medieval Church*, pp. 64, 70-1.

¹⁴⁷⁸ GAS, I, p. 175.

¹⁴⁷⁹ AC, p. 240.

¹⁴⁸⁰ GAS, II, app. 20.

¹⁴⁸¹ Colk, pp. 209-24 (p. 213).

indicates that subject communities were larger on average than houses in England and Wales and in most cases had more canons than churches (See Table 3).

House	Community Size (Year)	Total Churches
Scone	18 (1560)	11
Holyrood	c. 25 (1488)	31
Jedburgh	11 (1312/3)	18
St Andrews	c. 39 (1560)	27
Cambuskenneth	c. 19 (1560)	14
Inchcolm	15 (1541)	6

Table 3: Inmates to Parish Churches¹⁴⁸²

Because the size of religious communities waned in the later middle ages, these canonical communities had undoubtedly once been larger.¹⁴⁸³ This was particularly true of Jedburgh, whose numbers were adversely affected by the Anglo-Scottish wars. It is likely, therefore, that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries all six houses had over twelve canons, and at least the community of St Andrews could be counted among the largest in the British Isles. While it was impractical for these houses to send canons to serve the majority of their churches, it was not, as was often the case in England and Wales, impossible (except perhaps at Jedburgh). The relatively large size of these six communities made pastoral work a viable option. While Scottish regular canons had the capacity to serve the majority of their churches, it is unlikely that they ever had any intention to do so.

That any canonical institution aspired to serve the majority of its parish churches with its own brethren as an end in itself, or that in doing so, such a house would ignore its contemplative duties, misrepresents the regular canonical ideal. The service of parish churches was never the central mission of the regular canonical movement. It was never envisioned, even by the greatest advocates of the active interpretation of canonical life, that pastoral work would supplant or relegate communal devotion. For example, Ivo of Chartres, who defended the rights of regular canons to hold the cure of souls, argued that due to the temptations of the secular world this responsibility should only be given to prudent and mature canons, not assigned indiscriminately.¹⁴⁸⁴ Similarly, the author of the *Libellus de diversis ordinibus* explained that some canons were ‘retained in the mother church’ while others were ‘sent away to teach and govern the people, so that they may live from the rents and tithes of the faithful, and may bring back what is left over to their brothers in the church’.¹⁴⁸⁵ Regular canons did not seek to minimise the contemplative aspect of their vocation in order to emphasise the pastoral or active.¹⁴⁸⁶ Most regular

¹⁴⁸² MRHS, II, pp. 89-98; *Thirds of Benefices*, p. lxi.

¹⁴⁸³ GAS, I, pp. 163-7.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Barker, ‘Ivo of Chartres’, p. 234.

¹⁴⁸⁵ *Libellus de diversis ordinibus*, pp. 82-5.

¹⁴⁸⁶ The author of a twelfth-century text produced at Bridlington Priory (Yorks.), known as the ‘Bridlington Dialogue’, wrote that while his primary responsibility was contemplative, ‘whenever by the same arrangement or

canons spent the bulk of their careers engaged in what has been characterised as a ‘monastic labour’, namely prayer and the *opus Dei*. Yet, this also misrepresents the unique religious life led by regular canons, who followed a Secular Use and placed the conventual Mass at the centre of their liturgical schedule, in contrast to the Monastic Use, which was longer and more complex, and focused on the round of offices.¹⁴⁸⁷ The performance of sacerdotal duties was, therefore, part of the canonical vocation, and in some cases an important one, but it was always secondary to the central mission of the regular canon, which was to live a communal life in imitation of the apostles and in accordance with the Rule of St Augustine.

In England, there was a steady decrease in parochial work by regular canons from 1100 to 1300, particularly after 1215, which has been used as evidence that the regular canonical movement became progressively more contemplative or ‘monastic’ in its interpretation. In Scotland, however, the opposite is the case, with the evidence indicating that regular canons performed parochial work more frequently from c. 1120 to 1300, particularly after 1215. If the same logic is applied, then it appears that Scottish canons became progressively more active in their interpretation. Although the imbalance of the evidence for parochial service between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries may skew the picture, the evidence, as it stands, indicates that regular canons only served the parochial altars of their conventual churches, and nearby parish churches, prior to 1215. The Scottish regular canons seem to have consistently exercised their right to the cure of souls, but owing to the conditions of the thirteenth century, began to send canons into the parishes on a more regular basis after 1215. Due to the homogenisation of the interpretation of canonical life in Scotland before 1215, and the greater influence of houses following moderate observances, it appears that an active interpretation of canonical life gradually gained ascendancy, resulting in a higher propensity among Scottish regular canons as whole to take on pastoral work in the thirteenth century, than had existed in the twelfth.

At the Council of Poitiers in 1100, the same council that had confirmed the right of the regular canons to exercise the *cura animarum*, monks were banned from engaging in pastoral work (Canon 11).¹⁴⁸⁸ Yet, this did not bring an end to the practice. In Scotland, there is sporadic evidence of monks serving parish churches and the parochial altars of conventual churches. For example, the abbey of Dunfermline received permission for a monk to serve the cure of souls in the parish church of Holy

dispensation of my superior it is ordained for me to spend a long time or a short one in any of the places that are united to the aforesaid church as limbs subject to a head, and like handmaids supply the needs of her, their lady, I do for this reason and certainly believe and therefore state that I can submit obediently to the arrangement that my father has ordained without loss of my profession’ (*Bridlington Dialogue: an Exposition of the Rule of St Augustine for the Life of the Clergy*, ed. and trans. a Religious of CSMV (London, 1960), p. 32). For a detailed consideration, see J.E. Burton, ‘The Regular Canons and Diocesan Reform in Northern England’, in *The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles*, eds. J. Burton and K. Stöber (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 41-57 (pp. 55-6).

¹⁴⁸⁷ Harper, pp. 29-30, 73-108; Vauchez, p. 98; Little, p. 107.

¹⁴⁸⁸ *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, XX, col. 1124.

Trinity, Dunkeld, from Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld (c. 1147-69).¹⁴⁸⁹ Also, as discussed, a monk of Melrose served the parochial altar of its conventual church after 1234. Over the course of the middle ages there are perhaps a dozen examples of monks holding the cure of souls in Scotland.¹⁴⁹⁰ This stands in stark contrast to the Scottish regular canons, for which there is considerable evidence of pastoral work from the twelfth century to the Reformation. Thus, Scottish regular canons undertook parochial duties on a greater scale than their monastic counterparts.

The image of the secluded monastery and the cloistered monk is a powerful one. It is perhaps this image that needs the most revision, for, as the above evidence demonstrates, monks had a nuanced relationship with the outside world. To fully appreciate the distinctive qualities of the canonical vocation, a better understanding of the realities of the monastic vocation is required, because the understanding of one influences the other. It is difficult to maintain that regular canons lived a monastic lifestyle in the face of clear and consistent evidence demonstrating not only that parishioners entered their conventual facilities to hear Mass, baptise their children, and bury loved ones, typically under the direction of a canon, but also that members of canonical communities went into the parishes and took up the *cura animarum*, unless one is willing to redefine what is meant by a monastic lifestyle.

¹⁴⁸⁹ *Dunfermline Registrum*, no. 124.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, pp. 74-5.

Chapter 6: Hospitals and Regular Canons

In the 1150s, John of Salisbury remarked that the canons of Merton Priory served ‘the welfare of their neighbours with all their might’.¹⁴⁹¹ Like the canons of Merton, the Scottish Augustinians also assisted their fellow man. This was done at the religious house itself, but frequently through a dedicated facility: the hospital. Medieval hospitals defy attempts to arrange them neatly according to their services. These were institutions with multiple functions, providing a whole range of social services, including, but not limited to, the accommodation, sustenance, and care of travellers and pilgrims, the sick and diseased, and the elderly and poor. Thus, historians must contend with the problem of how to quantify the social welfare provided by hospitals, and even more difficult, how to understand them as part of the larger pattern of religious life.

The caritative role of the regular canonical movement has received limited consideration. This seems to stem from the general neglect of medieval hospitals by scholars, but also from the emphasis placed on the cure of souls within Augustinian historiography. In recent years, the medieval hospital has begun to receive more scholarly attention.¹⁴⁹² Likewise, the connection of the regular canonical movement to the growth in institutionalised social service has started to receive more focused attention. The influential continental scholars Charles Dereine and Jean Leclercq, although neither considered the subject in detail, differed on whether the establishment of hospitals was particularly canonical.¹⁴⁹³ More recently, Erin Jordan examined the canonical institutions of Flanders and Hainaut, and found that the success of the Victorines canonesses in the region was linked to their hospitaller function.¹⁴⁹⁴ Yet, the most detailed considerations to date come from studies on the military orders which focus on the comparative social consciousness of different canonico-monastic movements.

Two studies in particular, one by Timothy Miller in 1978, and another by James Brodman in 2001, examined canonico-monastic attitudes towards social service and their practical manifestations. Timothy Miller argued that the Benedictines, Cluniacs, and Cistercians, while establishing hospitals

¹⁴⁹¹ John of Salisbury, *Early Letters*, I, no. 50.

¹⁴⁹² D.A. Furniss, ‘The Monastic Contribution to Medieval Medical Care: Aspects of an earlier welfare state’, *Journal of the Royal College of General Practitioners*, 15:4 (1968), 244-50; E.J. Kealey, *Medieval Medicus: A Social History of Anglo-Norman Medicine* (Baltimore and London, 1981); M. Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1987); M. Rubin, ‘Imagining Medieval Hospitals: Considerations on the cultural meaning of institutional change’, in *Medicine and Charity before the Welfare State*, eds. J. Barry and C. Jones (London, 1991), pp. 14-25; C. Rawcliffe, ‘Learning to love the leper: aspects of institutional charity in Anglo-Norman England’, in *Anglo-Norman Studies: Proceedings of the Battle Conference of 2000*, ed. J. Gillingham (Woodbridge, 2001), XXIII, pp. 231-50; S. Watson, ‘The Origins of the English Hospital’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 16 (2006), 75-94.

¹⁴⁹³ C. Dereine and J. Leclercq, ‘Discussionne’, in *La vita commune del clero nei secolo XI e XII: atti della settimana di studio, Mendola, settembre 1959*, eds. C. Violante and C.D. Fonseca, 2 vols (Milan, 1962), I, pp. 136-7.

¹⁴⁹⁴ E. Jordan, ‘The Success of the Order of Saint Victor: A Comparative Study of the Patronage of Canonical Foundations in Thirteenth Century Flanders and Hainaut’, *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique*, 96 (2001), 5-33 (pp. 14-19, 27-8).

attached to their monasteries for guests, travellers, and pilgrims, were not committed to providing specialised public philanthropy, particularly the care of the sick. Their emphasis on contemplation, he argued, restricted their caritative mandate, which contrasted with the regular canons who understood social welfare as a vocational responsibility.¹⁴⁹⁵ Similarly, James Brodman argued that, while there was no absolute distinction, the canonical ideal, more than the monastic ideal, emphasised acts of mercy such as feeding the poor, caring for the sick, sheltering homeless, and ransoming captives; and this difference could be seen in the societal function of those military orders, following the Rule of St Augustine and Rule of St Benedict respectively. Houses following the Rule of St Augustine, he argued, were more service oriented than their monastic counterparts, whose central mission was personal salvation.¹⁴⁹⁶

In light of the arguments made by Miller and Brodman, it will be useful to consider monastic attitudes towards social welfare, and what this meant in practice. The Rule of St Benedict enjoined its adherents to provide care to pilgrims, the poor, and the infirm.¹⁴⁹⁷ With the exception of the ultra-austere Carthusians, who eschewed all distractions from contemplation, monastic institutions generally followed the precepts engendered in the Rule of St Benedict. Certainly, hospitality and charity were fundamental to Benedictine monasticism. While this often meant lodging wealthy guests, it also meant providing relief to the poor.¹⁴⁹⁸ For example, traditional Benedictine monasteries, which had the strongest hospital tradition, set up almonries, hostels, and guesthouses, attached to their conventual facilities, in order to provide poor relief and hospitality to travellers, pilgrims, and guests. However, this did not usually extend to the sick. While Benedictine monasteries had infirmaries, these were usually reserved for sick monks, rather than the general public. Nevertheless, Benedictine monasteries were frequently involved in the administration of secular infirmaries. Moreover, monastic hospitals were rarely, if ever, staffed by monks.¹⁴⁹⁹ One explanation for the limited mandate of monastic hospitals may be found in conciliar decrees. In 1123, the First Lateran Council (Canon 17) forbade abbots and monks from visiting the sick.¹⁵⁰⁰ Thus, hospital work, and especially care for the sick, was not a part of the monastic vocation, but rather an institutional function. Ironically, there were numerous, often famous, monastic physicians. These men served internal monastic infirmaries and sometimes provided care for patrons and benefactors of their houses.¹⁵⁰¹ While it

¹⁴⁹⁵ T.S. Miller, 'The Knights of Saint John and the Hospitals of the Latin West', *Speculum*, 53:4 (1978), 709-733.

¹⁴⁹⁶ J.W. Brodman, 'Rule and Identity: The Case of the Military Orders', *Catholic Historical Review*, 87 (2001), 383-400.

¹⁴⁹⁷ *Benedict's Rule*, pp. 257-9, 419-21, 439-41.

¹⁴⁹⁸ J. Kerr, 'Monastic Hospitality: The Benedictines in England, c. 1070-c.1245', in *Anglo-Norman Studies: Proceedings of the Battle Conference of 2000*, ed. J. Gillingham (Woodbridge, 2001), XXIII, pp. 97-114 (p. 101).

¹⁴⁹⁹ Clark, pp. 182-7.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Canon 17 also forbids abbots and monks from performing public penances, public Mass, or administering extreme unction, and also required them to obtain chrism, holy oil, altar consecrations, and clerical ordinations from their diocesan bishop. Therefore, the restriction of visiting the sick is connected to a wider effort to limit the monastic vocation to contemplation (*Ecumenical Councils*, I, pp. 190-4; Kealey, pp. 25-6).

¹⁵⁰¹ Kealey, pp. 29-56; Clark, pp. 185-6.

appears to have been less common for regular canons to become physicians, at least in the British Isles, canons were frequently engaged in hospital work, including care of the sick.¹⁵⁰²

Hospitals and regular canons both emerged on the British landscape during the same era, and from the outset they were often closely associated. The first recorded hospitals in England were established in c. 1085 by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury (1070-89), namely the hospital of St John at the Northgate in Canterbury and a leprosarium at Harbledown on the outskirts of the same town. A house of regular canons, perhaps the first in England, was also established by Lanfranc across the street from St John, Northgate, which was dedicated to St Gregory, in order to serve the poor, sick, and elderly of the hospital. Later the Rule of St Augustine was introduced at the priory of St Gregory by William de Corbeil, the first Augustinian archbishop of Canterbury (1123-36).¹⁵⁰³ However, perhaps the most famous Augustinian hospital in England was founded just outside London at Smithfield in 1123 by Rahere, a courtier of Henry I. In this case, the religious house and hospital began as a joint-institution principally to serve the poor, but also containing a maternity ward.¹⁵⁰⁴ There was a rapid proliferation of these purpose-built facilities in Medieval England.

During the middle ages, over 700 hospitals were established in England. From 1100 to 1154, there were ninety-two hospitals founded and just under half of these, or forty-two percent, were affiliated with a religious institution (20% monastic, 16% canonical, 6% military orders).¹⁵⁰⁵ Despite having a numerical advantage, the relationship between monastic institutions and their affiliated hospitals was often purely administrative. On the other hand, the close connection between the regular canonical movement and hospitals in England, and the intimate nature of their association, led Edward Kealey to conclude that regular canons were ‘more directly involved in social work than the monks’.¹⁵⁰⁶

In the kingdom of Scotland, there was an explosion of hospital foundations in the twelfth century. At least 178 hospitals were established in medieval Scotland, which were financed by its kings and queens, bishops, greater and lesser lords, and religious institutions.¹⁵⁰⁷ There were approximately twenty-six hospitals founded in the kingdom before 1215, of which half were affiliated with a canonico-monastic

¹⁵⁰² There are numerous examples of monastic physicians in England before 1154, yet there is only one example of a regular canon (Kealey, pp. 31-3). Nevertheless, it is clear that regular canons did become physicians in considerable numbers. In 1139, the Second Lateran Council (Canon 9) banned monks and regular canons from studying either law or medicine for temporal gain (*Ecumenical Councils*, I, pp. 197-203).

¹⁵⁰³ *Cartulary of the Priory of St. Gregory, Canterbury*, ed. A.M. Woodcock (London, 1956), pp. ix-xii, no. 1; AC, pp. 104-5. The archbishop seems to have brought in a group of experienced canons from Merton Priory at this time (Green, *Merton Priory*, pp. 5, 12-3).

¹⁵⁰⁴ Kealey, pp. 98-100. See also, *The Book of the Foundation of St Bartholomew's Smithfield*, ed. E.A. Webb (Oxford, 1923).

¹⁵⁰⁵ Kealey, pp. 83, 95.

¹⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁵⁰⁷ D. Hall, ‘Unto yone hospital at the tounis end’: the Scottish medieval hospital’, *Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal*, 12 (2006), 89-105.

institution (23% monastic, 23% canonical, 4% military orders).¹⁵⁰⁸ While there were a total of ten hospitals affiliated with Augustinian houses of Scone, Holyrood, St Andrews, Jedburgh, and Cambuskenneth, only four of these were in existence before 1215.¹⁵⁰⁹

Like monastic institutions, Augustinian houses also provided hospitality and charity at their conventual facilities. For example, the abbey of Holyrood received lands at Ogilface in 1198 × 1203 from William II de Vieuxpont, who designated half the rents from the land to feed the poor who came to the abbey on Maundy Thursday each year.¹⁵¹⁰ In the early thirteenth century, the priory of Loch Leven was distributing alms to the poor who came to the house.¹⁵¹¹ Yet, dedicated hospitals offered more wide ranging philanthropy. Unfortunately, as will be seen, the evidence for all but one of these hospitals is quite limited.

There is evidence that Holyrood, St Andrews, and Scone each had dependent hospitals before 1215. However, little is known about their function, administration, personnel, or development. The foundation charter of Holyrood Abbey, which dates to 1141 × 1147, confirms to the canons a ‘hospital with one ploughgate of land’.¹⁵¹² The absence of a place-name may indicate that the hospital was on-site, or nearby. Such was the case with Arbroath Abbey, which had a dependent hospital adjacent to its conventual facilities.¹⁵¹³ Yet, this is the only direct reference to the hospital.¹⁵¹⁴ According to Sethina Watson, the medieval hospital had ‘three constitutive ingredients [...] a site with a building, a regular income and a designated use for that income’.¹⁵¹⁵ In this case, it apparently had a site and it certainly had a revenue base, but the function of the hospital is unclear. However, a later reference may provide a clue to its function. In 1224 × 1231, William Malveisin, bishop of St Andrews, gave the church of Kinghorn Easter in *simplex beneficium* to the abbey, designating its revenues for the sustenance of the poor and pilgrims.¹⁵¹⁶ It seems that the enigmatic hospital of Holyrood was probably located near the abbey and

¹⁵⁰⁸ *MRHS*, II, pp. 162-200; *Dryburgh Liber*, app. 1 (pp. 267-9); *DC*, nos. 147, 149; *Melrose Liber*, I, nos. 80, 81; *Scone Liber*, no. 169.

¹⁵⁰⁹ After 1215, there is evidence that Holyrood controlled two hospitals in Edinburgh, St Andrews had a hospital at Linlithgow, Jedburgh had hospitals at Jedburgh and Rutherford, and Cambuskenneth had a hospital in Stirling (*MRHS*, II, pp. 176-7, 182, 185, 190, 193).

¹⁵¹⁰ *Holyrood Liber*, app. 2 (no. 7). For the importance of Maundy Thursday for alms distribution, see Harper, *Western Liturgy*, pp. 142-4.

¹⁵¹¹ *North Berwick Charters*, no. 17.

¹⁵¹² *DC*, no. 147.

¹⁵¹³ *MRHS*, II, p. 169.

¹⁵¹⁴ The ‘hospital with one ploughgate of land’ is listed after the villis of Pittendriech, Ford, and Whitekirk. This led A.C. Lawrie to conclude that the hospital was actually in Whitekirk (*ESC*, p. 385). However, the hospital is clearly a separate item.

¹⁵¹⁵ Watson, 75-94 (p. 89).

¹⁵¹⁶ *Holyrood Liber*, no. 47. The abbey received the patronage of the church from Richard, bishop of St Andrews, in 1165 × 1178 (*RRS*, II, no. 540A). It has been argued that the bishop’s charter signals the foundation of the hospital of St Leonard in Kinghorn. However, this appears highly unlikely for the abbey of Holyrood had no relationship with that hospital, and the charter clearly directs the revenues to the abbey (*PNF*, I, p. 391).

served the poor and pilgrims. The cathedral priory of St Andrews had a hospital in close proximity to its dependent house of Loch Leven. The hospital of St Thomas located at the bridge of Portmoak, which first appears on record in 1178 × 1184, was designed to support the local poor. It was granted to the canons by Richard, bishop of St Andrews (1163-78).¹⁵¹⁷ Its dedication to St Thomas suggests that it was probably a new foundation, established during the same period as Arbroath Abbey, also dedicated to Thomas Becket (d. 1170).¹⁵¹⁸ It appears that by the thirteenth century the hospital of St Thomas had fallen into disuse. In conception, the hospital may have been intended to divert traffic away from the nearby priory of Loch Leven. As noted, however, in the early thirteenth century the priory of Loch Leven was distributing alms to the poor of Kinross-shire, which may have made the nearby hospital redundant. Yet, it did not remain so. William Malveisin, bishop of St Andrews (1202-38), seems to have founded the hospital of St Mary of Loch Leven (later known as Scotlandwell) on the site of the earlier hospital, and his successor, David de Bernham, transferred control of the hospital to Trinitarian Friars in 1251.¹⁵¹⁹ Thus, the hospital of St Thomas appears to have been short-lived, but its function was taken up by the priory of Loch Leven. It seems that the bishop of St Andrews considered its disuse as a concession of rights and founded a new hospital on the site. Even less is known about the hospital of St John the Apostle at Scone. The only reference to the hospital dates to 1206 × 1227. It indicates that the hospital was administered by the abbey of Scone, although its function is unclear.¹⁵²⁰ As seen, the dearth of evidence greatly inhibits the discussion of these dependent hospitals. Fortunately, this is not the case for the hospital of St Andrews.

The hospital of St Andrews, later known as the hospital of St Leonard, is the best recorded hospital affiliated with an Augustinian institution in Scotland.¹⁵²¹ This is due in large part to the emphasis on the hospital and its function by the author of the *Augustinian's Account*, but also to the survival of substantial charter evidence. In the past, the hospital has been identified as originally belonging to the *céli Dé* of St Andrews.¹⁵²² This, however, is inaccurate. Before the hospital was handed over to Augustinian canons in 1140s, it was administered not by the *céli Dé*, but by a group of secular clergy.

As discussed, the pre-Augustinian hospital was designed to accommodate pilgrims and visitors to St Andrews, and was equipped to handle six at a time. However, when the number exceeded capacity, the

¹⁵¹⁷ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 144-7.

¹⁵¹⁸ Hall, 'St Serf's Priory', 379-99 (p. 396).

¹⁵¹⁹ *MRHS*, II, pp. 185, 188-9; *St Andrews Liber*, p. 176; NAS, RH6/23, RH6/48. See also, D. Hall, 'The Medieval Hospitals of Perth and Kinross', *Journal of the Perthshire Society of Natural Science*, 17 (2003), 73-95 (pp. 90-2).

¹⁵²⁰ *Scone Liber*, no. 169.

¹⁵²¹ The earliest reference to the hospital as St Leonard occurs in 1248 (*St Andrews Liber*, p. 103). There were no less than nine hospitals in Scotland dedicated to St Leonard (N.F. Shead, 'Hospitals in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *An Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400-c.1600*, eds. P. McNeill and R. Nicholson (St Andrews, 1975), pp. 47-8).

¹⁵²² Rankin, pp. 14-9; *MRHS*, II, p. 190.

clerics would ‘determine by lot whom or how many each of them was to receive’.¹⁵²³ In other words, a custom developed to accommodate an influx of pilgrims and visitors to the cathedral city, which probably related to seasonal pilgrimage, when the number of visitors to St Andrews would have increased significantly. Facilitating pilgrimage was in the best interest of the clerics for their income was tied to the offerings made at the high altar of St Andrew. The hospital of St Andrews catered to the pilgrims who came to St Andrews, but it was part of a whole network of charitable institutions associated with pilgrimage in Scotland.

St Andrews had long been the premiere pilgrimage centre in the kingdom of Scotland. As early as the tenth century, the shrine of St Andrew the Apostle had gained an international reputation.¹⁵²⁴ By the end of the eleventh century, a free ferry service across the Firth of Forth, and hospitals on either shore, had been established by Queen Margaret, wife of Mael Coluim III (1058-93), for the express purpose of facilitating pilgrimage to St Andrews.¹⁵²⁵ The renown of St Andrews had steadily increased by the twelfth century, as had the facilities designed, at least in part, to support pilgrimage.¹⁵²⁶ For instance, hospitals sprung up along Dere Street, the old Roman road running from York to Edinburgh. On the Scottish section of the road, which ran from Roxburgh to Edinburgh via Lauderdale and Soutra, several hospitals were established to support travellers (e.g. Soutra).¹⁵²⁷ Once in Fife, further hospitals catered to pilgrims.¹⁵²⁸ Thus, an infrastructure was in place in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to support pilgrimage to St Andrews. In fact, the very existence of this infrastructure probably encouraged pilgrimage, for the pilgrim could be assured of assistance *en route* and upon arrival.

The cathedral priory received the hospital ‘for the reception of visitors and pilgrims’ with all its assets from Robert, bishop of St Andrews, in 1144. At that time, the bishop also generously endowed the hospital with substantial food renders from his personal revenue.¹⁵²⁹ Were it not for the *Augustinian’s Account*, the hospital of St Andrews would be understood as a hospital for needy pilgrims and travellers, but its exact relationship to the cathedral priory and its canons would be a mystery. Fortunately, its author was interested in contrasting the function of the hospital of St Andrews, before and after its acquisition by

¹⁵²³ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 602, 608-9).

¹⁵²⁴ Anderson, ‘Kinrimumd’, 67-76 (p. 70).

¹⁵²⁵ *PNF*, III, pp. 408-11. The hospitals at North and South Queensferry were administered by Dunfermline Abbey (*Dunfermline Registrum*, nos. 250, 268; *RRS*, I, no. 290). Similarly, a pair of hospitals, and ferry, were established by Donnchad I, earl of Fife (c. 1133-54), at North Berwick and Ardrross ‘for poor people and pilgrims’, which were later placed under the supervision of the nunnery of North Berwick by his successor, Donnchad II (1154-1204) (*North Berwick Charters*, nos. 3, 4; *RRS*, II, no. 516).

¹⁵²⁶ *PNF*, III, pp. 408-11.

¹⁵²⁷ Barrow, *Neighbours*, pp. 207-8; *Scotchchronicon*, IV, pp. 268-9.

¹⁵²⁸ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 175-6. It appears that the *céli Dé* of St Andrews maintained a pilgrims’ hospital at Ceres in Fife, which was on the main pilgrimage route to St Andrews (*PNF*, II, p. 54). For an in-depth discussion of the pilgrimage routes to St Andrews, see Yeoman, pp. 53-71.

¹⁵²⁹ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 122-3. There are hints in the language of the charter that the secular clergy may have resisted the transfer of the hospital to the regular canons (*PNF*, III, p. 426 (fn. 61)).

the cathedral priory. His aim was to demonstrate the greater social consciousness of the Augustinians when compared to their predecessors.¹⁵³⁰ In doing so, he provides key details concerning the attitude of the canons of St Andrews towards hospitals and philanthropy, and their practical response to it:

Indeed the hospital had continual accommodation for a number not exceeding six; but from the time that, by God's gift, it came into the possession of the canons, till the present it has received all who come to it. The canons have also determined that if anyone should arrive who is sick, or who falls ill there, his care is to be undertaken in all necessities according to the resources of the house, until he recovers his health or dies. But if he has any property, let him do what he wants with it and let him dispose of it as he will since in that house nothing will be demanded of him. Also a chaplain has been appointed by the canons to look after both the sick and dying, and two brothers, who look after the house, receive strangers, and minister to the sick; but who do not eat or drink there, nor do they receive their clothing there. Moreover, the canons have granted for this purpose the tenths of their own labours, and the remains of their food. If there is anything necessary in their cellar for either the healthy or the sick which cannot be had from the hospital, let it be given without objection.¹⁵³¹

In line with the growing importance of St Andrews as a pilgrimage centre, the canons expanded the capacity of the hospital to accommodate all who were in need. Under Augustinian administration, the hospital also expanded its mandate to include the care of the sick and dying. The spiritual needs of the guests were left to a chaplain appointed by the community. However, the canons did take a direct role in the hospital. Two canons were assigned to the hospital and given responsibility for the fabric of the hospital, admission of new guests, and care of the sick. The canons who were involved in the day-to-day operations of the hospital remained part of the cathedral community, taking their food, drink, and clothing, as other canons would. This was a significant point, for it meant that the revenues of the hospital were not spent on hospital personnel, but instead went to support the guests. In the same vein, the canons of St Andrews set aside a tenth of the 'their own labours' for the hospital, along with 'the remains of their food', and gave the hospital access to their cellar for all necessities.¹⁵³² Interestingly, regular canons, particularly on the continent, have been noted for the practice of tithing their personal income in this fashion.¹⁵³³ In effect, the canons of St Andrews assessed the payment of tithe upon themselves as a moral obligation, rather than a legal one, in order to support those in need. The support of the hospital was, therefore, the responsibility of each canon individually, but also of the community as a whole.

¹⁵³⁰ Duncan, 'St Andrews', 1-37 (pp. 10-1).

¹⁵³¹ *PNF*, III, app. 1 (pp. 602, 608-9).

¹⁵³² This practice compares favourably to the relationship between the priory of Barnwell and its almonry, in which the almoner was allowed to take from the cellar and kitchen in order to provide alms, and the almonry received the leftover food from the frater, prior's chamber, infirmary, and guest house (*Barnwell Observances*, pp. 172-9).

¹⁵³³ Constable, *Tithes*, p. 227.

There is no evidence that the hospital ever had a prior, master, or warden, and though it lacked formal leadership of this type the chaplain may have assumed this role.¹⁵³⁴ In fact, it was common for a secular priest to serve as the administrator or master of a hospital.¹⁵³⁵ The supervision of the medical needs of the sick was likely left to professional physicians. Physicians are frequently found in royal and episcopal entourages in twelfth-century Scotland, including several bishops of St Andrews. There were at least ten physicians practicing in the kingdom before 1215.¹⁵³⁶ These *medici* were generally university educated, although this was not a requirement.¹⁵³⁷ Pertinently, on more than one occasion in the twelfth century a physician is found attesting a charter in favour of a hospital, suggesting that these men were providing their services to Scotland's hospitals.¹⁵³⁸ Thus, the hospital of St Andrews may have employed a physician to provide care to the infirm.

The *Augustinian's Account* suggests a close and somewhat informal relationship between the cathedral priory and its hospital. Regardless, the hospital, though dependent, remained both legally and financially a separate entity. In fact, the hospital was given far more leeway in the management of its own affairs than the dependent priory of Loch Leven. Between c. 1140 and 1215, eleven extant charters were given directly to hospital of St Andrews or the *fratres hospitalis*,¹⁵³⁹ and a further four charters in which the cathedral priory and hospital were named as recipients together.¹⁵⁴⁰ One of the earliest benefactions to the hospital was made by David I. The charter states that 'anyone who is their benefactor and, for the love of God and for the salvation of their soul, provides for the sustenance of the poor pilgrims shall receive rewards from God and the king's highest thanks'.¹⁵⁴¹ Thus, the philanthropic work of the regular canons at St Andrews was clearly encouraged by the monarch. As a result of royal and private patronage, the rights and properties of the hospital grew modestly, and by the early 1160s a new hospital complex had been constructed.¹⁵⁴² At this time, the hospital probably acquired its own chapel, which was typical of medieval hospitals.¹⁵⁴³ These new facilities would allow for an increase in the number of personnel and the ability of the hospital to comfortably provide care to its guests, although regrettably there is no evidence indicating the conditions of the old or new hospital.

¹⁵³⁴ For examples of Scottish hospitals under such leadership, see *Dryburgh Liber*, no. 161; *Soutra Registrum*, no. 12.

¹⁵³⁵ Shead, 'Hospitals', pp. 47-8.

¹⁵³⁶ *Dunfermline Registrum*, nos. 96, 145; *RRS*, II, nos. 455, 471, 511, 583, 590; *Inchcolm Charters*, no. 7; *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 140-1; *Newbattle Registrum*, no. 39.

¹⁵³⁷ Watt, *Graduates*, pp. 99, 264, 271, 288, 385, 429, 459, 494, 515, 530. See also, N.G. Siraisi, *Medieval and early Renaissance medicine: an introduction to knowledge and practice* (Chicago, 1990), pp. 48-77.

¹⁵³⁸ Charters to the hospitals of Lauder and Soutra are attested by physicians (*Dryburgh Liber*, app. 1 (pp. 267-9); *Soutra Registrum*, no. 8).

¹⁵³⁹ *DC*, nos. 89, 207; *RRS*, I, nos. 124, 125, 138, 170; *RRS*, II, nos. 24, 76, 77, 169, 490.

¹⁵⁴⁰ *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 208-9, 313; *RRS*, II, no. 170.

¹⁵⁴¹ *DC*, no. 207.

¹⁵⁴² *St Andrews Liber*, p. 127.

¹⁵⁴³ *Parishes*, p. 176.

The regular canons of St Andrews were arguably responsible for the most significant saint's cult and pilgrimage centre of any Augustinian house in the British Isles, which undoubtedly contributed to the prestige of the entire movement in the kingdom of Scotland.¹⁵⁴⁴ Typical of Augustinian settlement in Scotland, the canons of St Andrews took over an existing institution and adapted it to their uses. The canons not only continued its original function of catering to pilgrims and visitors, but expanded the caritative mandate of the hospital to include the sick. In fact, canons were specifically assigned to serve the infirm. The house supplied the hospital with personnel and supported the hospital with its own resources. Moreover, the extent and nature of the contributions made to the hospital by the canons and convent of St Andrews indicate that it was viewed as part of their mission, that is, an active apostolate.

Chapter Conclusion:

The regular canons were not the only religious movement in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to provide care to pilgrims, poor, and the infirm. Yet, while houses following the Rule of St Benedict provided extramural hospitality and charity, this was an institutional function, rather than central to the monastic vocation. Monks did not, in general, serve hospitals, and the public services they provided were limited, particularly with respect to the sick and dying. This appears to be an important point of divergence between monks and regular canons. In the kingdom of Scotland, the provisioning of social services was not restricted to canonical institutions. Indeed, before 1215 canonical and monastic institutions had an equal number of affiliated hospitals. However, that regular canons were engaged in hospitaller work at St Andrews provides a point of contrast between monasteries and their affiliated hospitals. Unfortunately, the evidence does not allow for such considerations for the other Augustinian hospitals. At least at St Andrews, the direct service of regular canons in the hospital provides a clear indication of an active interpretation of canonical life. While the hospital allowed some of the canons to experience the active end of the vocational spectrum, the ways in which the cathedral priory supported its hospital demonstrates that the service of mankind was central to the mission of the whole community.

¹⁵⁴⁴ There is only one Augustinian controlled shrine in the British Isles which potentially rivalled St Andrews, namely St Mary of Walsingham (*GAS*, I, pp. 255-9).

Conclusion:

In her work on Irish Augustinians, Sarah Preston observed that ‘in many ways there is no such thing as a typical Augustinian house’.¹⁵⁴⁵ The truth of this statement was revealed in the first part of this study, which examined the unique manifestations of the regular canonical movement in the kingdom of Scotland. In the second, drawing upon the extant evidence, the vocational interpretation and societal function of the Scottish regular canons were considered. Thus, the eleven subject institutions were considered separately, as well as in unison, in order to present an integrated picture of the movement during the period of its organic development from c. 1120 to 1215.

The foundation contexts of six independent –Scone, Holyrood, Jedburgh, St Andrews, Cambuskenneth, and Inchcolm—and five dependent –Loch Tay, Loch Leven, Restenneth, Canonbie, and St Mary’s Isle— institutions were explored in order to emphasise their individual histories. While the Scottish Augustinians benefitted from royal and episcopal support, in most cases the canons received longstanding religious institutions and their patrimonies, rather than ‘fresh’ endowments. In several instances, the pre-existing religious institutions were parochial, such as at Scone, Jedburgh, and Restenneth, while others had been contemplative, such as Loch Leven. These legacies went a long way in dictating the societal function of their Augustinian successors.

The subject institutions were established in a variety of different geographical settings. Yet, most of the independent houses were urban, including Holyrood, Jedburgh, and St Andrews, and also one of the dependencies, namely Restenneth. As it turned out, the urban houses established during the first and second phases of Augustinian settlement were the only such houses to be established in the kingdom. Later Augustinian houses were founded away from population centres. However, by this time, the die had already been cast. Despite their numerical inferiority, in the long term, these urban houses exerted a far greater influence on the direction of the movement in Scotland than those established later. Moreover, the model established by the *Libellus de diversis ordinibus*, in which urban houses were more likely to be engaged in active and pastoral behaviour, seems to have played out in Scotland. Nevertheless, other factors were also at work.

The regular canonical movement spread to Scotland from important centres of both the *ordo antiquus* and *ordo novus*. Yet, the moderate interpretation was preponderant. Two institutions in particular had direct links to the moderate reform circles of Merton and Beauvais, namely Holyrood and Jedburgh. Due to the exchange of leadership between Augustinian houses before 1215, and also a group mentality among Scottish regular canons, a homogenisation of the interpretation of canonical life occurred. The most influential houses in the homogenisation process were both urban and moderate,

¹⁵⁴⁵ Preston, pp. 23-40 (p. 40).

namely Holyrood, Jedburgh, and St Andrews, and so it was their interpretation which gained ascendancy, rather than the more austere interpretation.

The active interpretation of Scottish regular canons is witnessed in their performance of sacerdotal duties and hospital work. As opposed to England, where regular canonical communities became progressively more contemplative over time, in Scotland, the regular canons, as a group, became more active and pastoral. This corresponds to the ascendancy of the moderate interpretation. Yet, the increase in the practice was not ideological *per se*, it was financial: canons were sent to parishes in order to circumvent the vicarage system, to relieve economic stress, and to defend corporate rights in parish churches from intrusion and solidify control. Therefore, it was the changing conditions of the thirteenth century which was the immediate cause of the increase in the cure of souls by Scottish regular canons. Nonetheless, a moderate interpretation had prepared them for such a task. A neglected aspect of the canonical vocation is that of the hospitaller. While the evidence for this practice in Scotland is not pervasive, the relationship between the cathedral priory of St Andrews and its hospital shows the potential for this vocation among Scottish regular canons. At St Andrews, regular canons were involved in social welfare, personally caring for pilgrims, travellers, and the sick.

A predilection for the active interpretation did not mean that the religious experience of Scottish regular canons was entirely or even predominantly active. It was mixed. Regular canons spent the majority of their careers engaged in communal devotion. There is reason to believe that dependencies often provided the opportunity for canons to live a mixed life. A complementary dynamic is suggested between St Andrews and Loch Leven, and Scone and Loch Tay; in both cases the dependency seems to have offered a more contemplative experience than the mother house. The relationship between Jedburgh and its dependencies of Restenneth, Canonbie, and later Blantyre also suggests this dynamic. Here the dependencies offered the opportunity to engage in an active ministry, which the parochial altar of the mother house could provide for only one or two of its canons.

Monks, like regular canons, defy generalisations in terms of their vocation and societal function. In Scotland, monks, who are more often associated with the cloister, were involved in active and pastoral activities. This fact, however, should not prejudice our ability to appreciate the stronger impulse towards action among the regular canons. Although not a distinctive characteristic, Scottish regular canons were far more likely to be engaged in pastoral work than monks, and even more likely to care for the sick and indigent in the setting of a hospital. This thesis has only scratched the surface of the regular canonical movement in the kingdom of Scotland, and will hopefully serve as a starting point for future research by myself and others.

Appendices

Appendix I

Foundation Date: Scone Priory

The first Augustinian house in Scotland was founded at Scone in Gowrie with a colony sent from Nostell Priory in Yorkshire. However, there has long been disagreement as to when this important event occurred; and, indeed, the question has dominated scholarship pertaining to the house. There are essentially two schools of thought on the subject: those who argue for a foundation date of 1114/5,¹⁵⁴⁶ and those who reject this date as too early, arguing instead for a date of *c.* 1120.¹⁵⁴⁷ Due to the significance of this event in the history and historiography of the regular canonical movement in Scotland, the foundation date of the priory of Scone will be reconsidered.

The dating of Scone's foundation to 1114/5 is based upon the Scottish chronicles. Four Scottish chronicles date the foundation of priory to 1114/5. The earliest of these is the *Melrose Chronicle*, which dates the foundation to 1115.¹⁵⁴⁸ It is the only source to place the foundation in this year. The earliest section of the chronicle was produced at Melrose in 1173 × 1174.¹⁵⁴⁹ However, the date of Scone's foundation was introduced into the chronicle at a later date. It was added to the chronicle by a scribe working in *c.* 1208.¹⁵⁵⁰ As a late addition to the chronicle, it must be used with caution.¹⁵⁵¹ The second chronicle to provide a foundation date for the priory is the fifteenth-century chronicle known as the *Scotichronicon*. It dates the foundation to 1114.¹⁵⁵² The *Scotichronicon* was produced by Walter Bower, abbot of Inchcolm, in the 1440s as a continuation of an earlier chronicle by John of Fordun. However, Fordun's chronicle does not provide a date for the foundation of Scone.¹⁵⁵³ The date appears in a chapter

¹⁵⁴⁶ J. Wilson, 'Foundation of the Austin Priors of Nostell and Scone', *SHR*, 8 (1910), 141-59; Veitch, 'Alexander I', 136-66 (pp. 140-1, 144-6); Duncan, *Kingship*, pp. 84-6.

¹⁵⁴⁷ *ESC*, pp. 281-6; W.E. Wightman, 'Henry I and the foundation of Nostell Priory', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 41 (1963-6), 57-60; Nicholl, p. 136; *KS*, p. 171; *MRHS*, II, pp. 89, 97-8; T.N. Burrows, 'The foundation of Nostell Priory', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 53 (1981), 31-5; Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 53; Fawcett, *Scottish Abbeys*, pp. 21-2.

¹⁵⁴⁸ *Chron. Melrose*, s.a. 1115 (p. 65).

¹⁵⁴⁹ J. Harrison, 'The Original Codex', in *The Chronicle of Melrose: A Stratigraphic Edition*, eds. D. Broun and J. Harrison (Woodbridge, 2007), I, 56-67 (pp. 56-7).

¹⁵⁵⁰ D. Broun, 'Scribes', in *The Chronicle of Melrose: A Stratigraphic Edition*, eds. D. Broun and J. Harrison (Woodbridge, 2007), I, pp. 87-124 (p. 102).

¹⁵⁵¹ Two recent discussions of the foundation date recognise this as an interpolation (Veitch, 'Alexander I', 136-66 (fn. 28); Duncan, *Kingship*, p. 85).

¹⁵⁵² *Scotichronicon*, III, pp. 110-1.

¹⁵⁵³ *Chron. Fordun*, I, pp. 227-8.

of the *Scotichronicon* which is an original work of Walter Bower.¹⁵⁵⁴ It is clear that the date provided by Walter Bower was not derived from the *Melrose Chronicle*.¹⁵⁵⁵ Thus, the date found in the *Scotichronicon* appears to have originated from a now lost source or with Walter Bower. The third and fourth chronicles to include a foundation date for Scone seem to take their dates from the *Scotichronicon*. A chronicle known as the ‘Chronicle of the Scots’, written in 1482 × 1500, and a chronicle by John Law, a canon of St Andrews, written in c. 1521, both date the foundation to 1114.¹⁵⁵⁶ These chronicles have hitherto not been part of the dating discussion, likely ignored because they do not represent unique evidence. Instead, it is probable that they derived their dates from the *Scotichronicon*, a text used frequently by later Scottish chroniclers.¹⁵⁵⁷

The chronicle entries provide reasonably strong evidence that the foundation of Scone Priory occurred in 1114/5. The addition made to the *Melrose Chronicle* in c. 1208 is the earliest source to provide a specific date for the foundation of the priory. The date provided by the *Scotichronicon* and its derivatives, which appear to be unrelated to the *Melrose Chronicle*, also support a dating of 1114/5. There was, therefore, a sustained tradition in Scotland which held that the priory was founded within this two year window.¹⁵⁵⁸ However, the records of the institution itself do not substantiate the dates provided by the Scottish chronicles.

Historians have long been wary of the foundation diploma of Scone. The charter has been considered, at best questionable, at worst spurious. As a result, the historical value of this document has been largely passed over. However, the foundation diploma appears to be genuine.¹⁵⁵⁹ The *narratio* of the diploma, which provides a brief account of the priory’s foundation, contains important details which impact the foundation date of the house.¹⁵⁶⁰ The *narratio* explains the foundation of the priory as follows:

Accordingly, to extend and exalt the worship and honour of God, it pleased us to request that Prior Æthelwold send to us some of the regular canons serving God in the church of St. Oswald, the fame of whose religion had become known to us through the honourable testimony of good men. They, having been released to us by the prior himself, free and

¹⁵⁵⁴ *Scotichronicon*, III, pp. 242-3.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Bower used a recension of the *Melrose Chronicle* that did not include the interpolated date (*Scotichronicon*, IX, pp. 251-9).

¹⁵⁵⁶ *Chron. Picts-Scots*, p. lxxiii, 387; *ESC*, p. 286; Durken, ‘John Law Chronicle’, pp. 137-50 (pp. 137, 149).

¹⁵⁵⁷ Watt, ‘Abbot Walter Bower’, 286-304. For a recent study which considers these derivative chronicles, see M.A.L. Tod, ‘The narrative of the Scottish nation and its late medieval readers: non-textual reader scribal activity in the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2005).

¹⁵⁵⁸ A.A.M. Duncan proposed an explanation for the discrepancy in dates. He suggested the possibility that the *Melrose Chronicle* began the year 1115 on 25 December 1114, while the *Scotichronicon* began the year 1115 on 25 March. Based upon this reasoning, Duncan suggested that the foundation of Scone occurred between 25 December 1114 and 24 March 1115 (Duncan, *Kingship*, p. 85).

¹⁵⁵⁹ The authenticity of the charters of Alexander I to Scone Priory will be the subject of a forthcoming article.

¹⁵⁶⁰ For a discussion of the *narratio* as an historical source, see Milis, ‘Hermits and Regular Canons’, pp. 181-246 (p. 187).

unrestrained from all profession and subjection, to them have we committed the care and custody of the said church, so that they might establish there a community of canons for the service of God living according to the Rule of St. Augustine.¹⁵⁶¹

The *narratio* includes two pieces of information which impact the foundation date. First, it indicates that the first canons of Scone followed the Rule of St Augustine. Second, it credits Prior Æthelwold with sending a group of regular canons from Nostell Priory to found Scone. As will be shown, these are key details in determining the date of the foundation.

A long-standing and influential argument against the 1114/5 foundation date concerns the adoption of the Rule of St Augustine at Nostell Priory. J.C. Dickinson compiled information indicating that the religious community at Nostell did not adopt the Rule of St Augustine until 1119 × 1120.¹⁵⁶² Based upon Dickinson's evidence, G.W.S. Barrow regarded 1114/5 as too early for Augustinian canons to be sent from Nostell to Scone, and suggested a date 'nearer 1120'.¹⁵⁶³ Thereafter, a foundation date of c. 1120 has generally been accepted by historians.¹⁵⁶⁴ However, A.A.M. Duncan called this conclusion into question. Duncan argued that by 1114 the canons of Nostell had adopted the Rule of St Augustine and were thus capable of sending a colony of Augustinian canons to Scotland.¹⁵⁶⁵ The early history of the priory of Nostell therefore has important implications for the foundation of Scone.

Like many religious institutions, particularly of Augustinian canons, the priory of Nostell had a nuanced early history. In the early twelfth century an eremitical community took shape in the woods of St Oswald in the honour of Pontefract, Yorkshire. Between 1109 and 1114 the eremitical community developed into a formal institution obtaining both ecclesiastical sanction and secular patronage.¹⁵⁶⁶ The institutionalisation of the community was accomplished with the support of Thomas II, archbishop of York (1109-14). In a charter dating to 1109 × 1114, the archbishop confirmed the church of St Oswald with its cemetery and lands in Nostell to the canons of St Oswald.¹⁵⁶⁷ The charter confirms that the canons of St Oswald were by that time living a life in common and according to a Rule and, although unconfirmed, it appears likely that the canons of St Oswald had adopted the Rule of St Augustine.¹⁵⁶⁸

¹⁵⁶¹ *Scone Liber*, no. 1.

¹⁵⁶² *AC*, pp. 120-1 (fn. 5), 156.

¹⁵⁶³ *KS*, p. 171. Archibald Lawrie was the first to argue against the foundation in 1114/5 on the basis of the Nostell evidence (*ESC*, p. 286).

¹⁵⁶⁴ For example, see *MRHS*, II, p. 97.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Duncan cites no evidence to support his conclusion that 'the secular clergy of Nostell, some or all, had accepted the Augustinian rule before February 1114' (Duncan, *Kingship*, p. 85). Kenneth Veitch has independently argued that 'an Augustinian convent was established there by 1114'. He too provides no supporting evidence (Veitch, 'Alexander I', 136-66 (p. 140)).

¹⁵⁶⁶ Frost, *Nostell Priory*, pp. 7-12.

¹⁵⁶⁷ For an in-depth discussion of this document, see Frost, 'Nostell Priory Cartulary', I, pp. 26-33.

¹⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 36; II, no. 737.

Archbishop Thomas had been involved in instituting the Rule of St Augustine at Hexham in *c.* 1112, and it would appear that he also played a role in its adoption by the canons of St Oswald.¹⁵⁶⁹

Since a community of regular canons, likely following the Rule of St Augustine, were formally established in the church of St Oswald by 1109 × 1114, it would appear that the church of St Oswald was capable of sending a colony of ‘Augustinian’ canons to found the priory of Scone by 1114/5. Thus, the dates supplied by the Scottish chronicles cannot be discounted on the basis of the adoption of the Rule of St Augustine by the canons of St Oswald. Nevertheless, another dimension of the priory’s early history poses considerable problems for dating the foundation to 1114/5.

The support of Archbishop Thomas in securing the church of St Oswald signalled the transition from an informal eremitical community to a mainstream religious institution. Another signal of this shift was the support of the leading secular authority in the honour of Pontefract. Robert I de Lacy, lord of Pontefract, was closely involved in the progress of the canons of St Oswald and acted as their patron and principal benefactor from 1109 to *c.* 1114.¹⁵⁷⁰ Through the patronage of the lord of Pontefract, the canons of St Oswald obtained as many as six bovates of land.¹⁵⁷¹ However, Robert I de Lacy and his sons were banished from England by Henry I in *c.* 1114 for reasons uncertain, after which the king took the honour of Pontefract into his own hands.¹⁵⁷² To make matters worse for the fledgling religious house, Archbishop Thomas died in 1114. The loss of its primary secular and ecclesiastical supporters appears to have halted its development for a number of years.

There is no evidence that Henry I took a direct interest in the initiatives of Archbishop Thomas and Robert I de Lacy to transform the eremitical community at Nostell into a mainstream religious house. Moreover, the escheat of the honour of Pontefract in *c.* 1114 did not immediately bring royal attention to the church of St Oswald. William I Foliot, a knight of Pontefract, seems to have acted as the king’s agent in the honour of Pontefract until *c.* 1116.¹⁵⁷³ In *c.* 1116, the king transferred control of the honour of Pontefract to Hugh de Laval.¹⁵⁷⁴ Between *c.* 1114 and 1118, there is no evidence that Henry I was directly involved with the regular canons of St Oswald.¹⁵⁷⁵ However, both William I Foliot and Hugh de Laval seem to have made benefactions to the house during this period.¹⁵⁷⁶ It was only after *c.* 1119 that the

¹⁵⁶⁹ *AC*, p. 116, fn. 1; Nicholl, pp. 46-8.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Frost, *Nostell Priory*, pp. 7-12. For example, the charter of Thomas II, archbishop of York, was attested by Robert I de Lacy (Frost, ‘Nostell Priory Cartulary’, II, no. 737).

¹⁵⁷¹ Frost, *Nostell Priory*, p. 15.

¹⁵⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 15.

¹⁵⁷³ Frost, *Nostell Priory*, p. 18.

¹⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁵⁷⁵ There are three charters of Henry I that were possibly produced before 1119 (Frost, ‘Nostell Priory Cartulary’, I, nos. 23, 31, 41). However, in all three instances the charters are addressed to the archbishop of York and therefore likely date to after the consecration of Thurstan on 19 October 1119 (Nicholl, *Thurstan*, p. 66).

¹⁵⁷⁶ Frost, ‘Nostell Priory Cartulary’, I, no. 31; II, no. B004.

canons of St Oswald began to reap the benefits of royal patronage and again find support from the archbishops of York.

The second stage of development transformed the community of regular canons serving the church of St Oswald into the priory of Nostell. This was carried out by Henry I and Thurstan, archbishop of York.¹⁵⁷⁷ However, the coordinated effort of the king and archbishop in this project was delayed by years of conflict between the two parties. Thurstan had served as a royal chaplain to both William Rufus and Henry I, and in 1114 was appointed archbishop of York by Henry I.¹⁵⁷⁸ However, Thurstan spent the majority of the years from 1114 to 1121 abroad, and until 1119 as archbishop-elect.¹⁵⁷⁹ His consecration was delayed by the intermittent disputes between York and Canterbury concerning primacy. In 1116, the issue came to a head and caused a rift between Henry I and Thurstan. The king wanted the archbishop-elect to accept the primacy of Canterbury which Thurstan refused.¹⁵⁸⁰ Thereafter, the archbishop-elect remained in the company of the king, travelling with him through Normandy.¹⁵⁸¹ For a short time in 1117 × 1118, the archbishop-elect returned to the north of England. Yet, because he remained unconsecrated, Thurstan was unable to fully perform the duties of archbishop. To correct this, in 1118, he left England to seek consecration directly from the pope without the permission of Henry I.¹⁵⁸² Thurstan was finally consecrated on 19 October 1119 by Pope Calixtus II at Rheims.¹⁵⁸³ The king and newly consecrated archbishop were reconciled in 1120. Nevertheless, the archbishop would remain in the company of the pope and away from England for another fifteen months. Archbishop Thurstan finally returned to England on 31 January 1121.¹⁵⁸⁴

The period of active royal interest in the community of Nostell dates to *c.* 1119 and took place in conjunction with Archbishop Thurstan.¹⁵⁸⁵ The transformation of the small community of regular canons serving the church of St Oswald to the important and wealthy Augustinian priory of Nostell was accomplished rapidly, and this stage of the house's development is marked by four key changes under the direction of the king and archbishop. First was the official recognition of the canons of St Oswald as following the Rule of St Augustine. Thurstan, although absent from England until 1121, was evidently kept abreast of the progress of the church of St Oswald.¹⁵⁸⁶ Archbishop Thurstan, who was at the time travelling in the company of Pope Calixtus II, secured a papal bull in favour of the canons at Tournos in

¹⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., I, p. 73.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Nicholl, pp. iv, 8-15.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. iv, vi, viii.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 52.

¹⁵⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 55-6.

¹⁵⁸² Ibid., pp. 57-9.

¹⁵⁸³ Ibid., p. 66.

¹⁵⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 67-74.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Frost, 'Nostell Priory Cartulary', I, p. 44.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Ibid., I, pp. 38-47.

January 1120.¹⁵⁸⁷ The bull provided papal recognition of the status of the house as Augustinian. Second was the relocation of the canons to a new and permanent location. In 1120 × 1123, the canons moved from the ‘old place’ (i.e. the church of St Oswald) to a new location.¹⁵⁸⁸ The move was given papal sanction by Pope Calixtus II at the request Archbishop Thurstan.¹⁵⁸⁹ The relocation was also approved by Henry I.¹⁵⁹⁰ Third was the significant increase in their financial position, a by-product of royal and archiepiscopal attention. By 1122, the king had organised a substantial endowment for the canons through widespread benefactions from many of the leading nobles of England.¹⁵⁹¹ The gifts of the king and other benefactors were confirmed in a diploma by Henry I dated to 7 January 1122.¹⁵⁹²

The diploma of Henry I served as a foundation charter for the Augustinian priory of Nostell, and through the support of the king and Archbishop Thurstan the small community of regular canons was transformed into one of the most important religious institutions in northern England.¹⁵⁹³ Between c. 1119 and 1122, the canons of St Oswald had been formally recognised as Augustinian by the papacy with the help of Archbishop Thurstan, generously endowed through the auspices of Henry I, and settled at a new location. However, the emergence of the first prior of Nostell is the fourth notable development in the institutional history of the church of St Oswald and this of course has significant implications for the foundation date of Scone Priory.¹⁵⁹⁴

As discussed, the *narratio* of the foundation diploma of Scone names Æthelwold as the prior responsible for sending the original colony of regular canons from Nostell to Scone. In addition, the *Scotichronicon* also credits Prior Æthelwold.¹⁵⁹⁵ Therefore, the appearance of Æthelwold as prior of Nostell is important for dating the foundation of Scone Priory.¹⁵⁹⁶ However, the exact date of his institution as prior is uncertain.¹⁵⁹⁷ Before becoming prior, Æthelwold served as chaplain and confessor to Henry I.¹⁵⁹⁸ The earliest documentary evidence of Æthelwold as prior of Nostell occurs in 19 October 1119 × 1 January 1123. It was Æthelwold, prior of Nostell, who was authorised by Pope Calixtus II to

¹⁵⁸⁷ Frost, *Nostell Priory*, app. B (doc. B1).

¹⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, app. B (doc. B2).

¹⁵⁹⁰ Frost, ‘Nostell Priory Cartulary’, I, no. 21.

¹⁵⁹¹ Frost, *Nostell Priory*, pp. 24-31, 45-9.

¹⁵⁹² Frost, ‘Nostell Priory Cartulary’, II, no. B004. The authenticity of this document has recently been questioned by Richard Sharpe. However, he does not include his rationale for this conclusion (R. Sharpe, ‘The last years of Herbert the Chamberlain: Weaverthorpe church and hall’, *Historical Research*, 83 (2010), 588-601 (p. 593, fn. 23)).

¹⁵⁹³ From this point forward the community considered Henry I to be their founder (Herbert, 131-45 (pp. 140-1)).

¹⁵⁹⁴ Frost, *Nostell Priory*, p. 15.

¹⁵⁹⁵ *Scotichronicon*, III, pp. 108-9. It can be demonstrated that the text of the foundation diploma of Scone was used by Walter Bower to produce chapter 36a of the *Scotichronicon*, and therefore does not represent an independent tradition (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS C, fol. 110).

¹⁵⁹⁶ Frost, *Nostell Priory*, pp. 22-4; Frost, ‘Nostell Priory Cartulary’, I, pp. 25, 35, 38-40, 47-50.

¹⁵⁹⁷ A.C. Lawrie inaccurately stated that Æthelwold was not prior of Nostell ‘until 1128, four years after King Alexander died’ (*ESC*, p. 281).

¹⁵⁹⁸ Hollister, *Henry I*, p. 398, fn. 146.

move the canons of St Oswald to a new location. As noted, the papal bull approving the relocation dates to 19 October 1119 × 14 December 1124.¹⁵⁹⁹ Æthelwold was also named as prior in two charters of Henry I confirming gifts to Nostell Priory dating to 1120 × 1123.¹⁶⁰⁰ This of course does not eliminate the possibility that Æthelwold was involved earlier than 1120; in fact, it may support this idea. The earliest evidence finds Æthelwold already functioning as prior. It would appear that Æthelwold was perhaps appointed in 1119. However, the appointment of Æthelwold as prior of Nostell as early as 1114 × 1115 is doubtful.

According to the foundation narrative of the priory of Nostell, produced in the early fifteenth century, Æthelwold was not the first leader of the church of St Oswald.¹⁶⁰¹ The text credits Ralph Aldave as the first master or ruler (*magister et rector*).¹⁶⁰² It was once thought that Ralph Aldave was actually Æthelwold. However, the narrative clearly differentiates between the two men noting that Ralph Aldave was buried at the 'old place', while Æthelwold was buried at Carlisle.¹⁶⁰³ While Ralph Aldave may be an invention of the author, the idea that the regular canons of St Oswald were initially under the leadership of a master, rather than a prior, accords well with evidence. Judith Frost, the recent editor of the cartularies of Nostell Priory, argues that Ralph Aldave was the master of the early community established in the church of St Oswald in 1109 × 1114 and Æthelwold was the first prior of Nostell.¹⁶⁰⁴

The Nostell evidence indicates that the establishment of regular canons in the church of St Oswald occurred through the support of Thomas II, archbishop of York, and Robert I de Lacy. However, their involvement with the institution ended in 1114. The years 1114 and 1115 in particular would appear to be a low-point for the canons of St Oswald for they lost both their patron and the support of a high-ranking ecclesiastic. However, the church of St Oswald underwent a second stage of development under the direction of Henry I and Thurstan, archbishop of York. During this period, which began in c. 1119, the church of St Oswald was transformed into the priory of Nostell. The institution of a prior at the church of St Oswald seems to date to after 1109 × 1114. It appears that the early community was under the leadership of a master, perhaps Ralph Aldave, rather than a prior. The first prior of Nostell was Æthelwold, the former confessor of Henry I, whose appointment as prior should be viewed as royal preferment. It is therefore highly unlikely that his priorship predates the period of increased royal and

¹⁵⁹⁹ Frost, 'Nostell Priory Cartulary', II, no. B009.

¹⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, I, no. 39; II, no. 932.

¹⁶⁰¹ *De Gestis et Actibus Priorum Sancti Oswaldi de Nostel a prima fundatione usque ad dominum Robertum de Qwyxlay* (Leeds, West Yorkshire Archives Service, NP C1/1/1). The foundation narrative of Nostell Priory was most likely produced under Prior Robert Quixley (1392-1427) (Frost, 'Nostell Priory Cartulary', I, p. 21). See also, Milis, 'Hermits and Regular Canons', pp. 181-246 (p. 186).

¹⁶⁰² Frost, *Nostell Priory*, p. 14.

¹⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-5, 22.

archiepiscopal interest.¹⁶⁰⁵ In fact, the appointment of a royal chaplain as prior can be taken as a sign of the king's newfound interest in the institution.

To conclude, it appears almost certain that Æthelwold was not prior of Nostell as early as 1114 × 1115. As a corollary, it is very unlikely that the foundation of the priory of Scone dates to this period, a date after 1119 is far more likely. Therefore, despite the flaw in his reasoning, G.W.S. Barrow's suggestion that the foundation of Scone Priory must date to 'nearer 1120' appears to be a prudent conclusion. The evidence found in the records of both the mother and daughter house suggest a foundation date of *c.* 1120 for the priory of Scone.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 22.

Appendix II

Timeline: St Andrews Schism, 1178-88

- 1178** Death of Richard, bishop of St Andrews.¹⁶⁰⁶
- The cathedral chapter of St Andrews elects John ‘the Scot’ as bishop of St Andrews, without the consent of the king.¹⁶⁰⁷
- William I has Hugh, his chaplain, consecrated as bishop of St Andrews.¹⁶⁰⁸
- John ‘the Scot’ is exiled.¹⁶⁰⁹
- 1180** A papal legate, Alexius, is sent to investigate the election controversy at St Andrews.¹⁶¹⁰
- John ‘the Scot’ is consecrated by Alexius in the presence of Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen, and others at Holyrood Abbey.¹⁶¹¹
- Pope Alexander III confirms the church of Dairsie as a possession of the cathedral priory, which Hugh had taken from the priory and given to Jocelin, archdeacon of Dunkeld; the archdeacon is excommunicated for contumacy.¹⁶¹²
- Alexius excommunicates Hugh for contumacy, and the sentence is confirmed by the pope.¹⁶¹³
- The pope gives legateships to Roger, archbishop of York, and Hugh, bishop of Durham, to settle the matter.¹⁶¹⁴
- Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen, and John ‘the Scot’ are expelled from Scotland.¹⁶¹⁵
- Archbishop Roger and Bishop Hugh excommunicate William I and place the kingdom of Scotland under papal interdict.¹⁶¹⁶
- 1181** William I meets with Henry II, king of England, in Normandy; on the advice of the English king, John ‘the Scot’ and Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen, are allowed to return from exile.¹⁶¹⁷

¹⁶⁰⁶ *Fasti*, p. 378; *Scotichronicon*, VIII, p. 325; *Chron. Howden*, I, pp. 531-2.

¹⁶⁰⁷ *Scotichronicon*, VI, p. 373; *Chron. Howden*, I, pp. 531-2.

¹⁶⁰⁸ *Scotichronicon*, VI, p. 373; *Chron. Howden*, I, pp. 531-2.

¹⁶⁰⁹ *Scotichronicon*, VI, p. 375.

¹⁶¹⁰ *Chron. Howden*, I, pp. 531-2.

¹⁶¹¹ *Fasti*, pp. 378-9; *Scotichronicon*, VI, p. 377; *Chron. Howden*, I, pp. 531-2; *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 100. See also, Dowden, pp. 9-10.

¹⁶¹² *St Andrews Liber*, pp. 82-3; *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 91.

¹⁶¹³ *Chron. Howden*, I, pp. 531-2; *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 92.

¹⁶¹⁴ *Chron. Howden*, I, pp. 534-5; *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 101.

¹⁶¹⁵ *Chron. Howden*, I, p. 536. In Walter Bower’s version of events, John ‘the Scot’ returns to exile after his consecration at Holyrood. The chronicle also makes no mention of the expulsion of Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen (*Scotichronicon*, VI, p. 377).

¹⁶¹⁶ *Chron. Howden*, I, p. 536.

¹⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 7-8. During this period, John ‘the Scot’ was acting as bishop of St Andrews. His power appears to have been restricted to the archdeanery of Lothian, but the extent to which he exercised the office of bishop in the diocese is unknown. He is clearly acting as diocesan in 1180 × 1181 when he communicates with the pope concerning a point of canon law (*Scotia Pontificia*, no. 102).

John 'the Scot' excommunicates Richard de Moreville, Richard de Prebenda, and others of the king's household.¹⁶¹⁸

The king expels all those who submitted to John 'the Scot' as diocesan.¹⁶¹⁹

Death of Pope Alexander III.¹⁶²⁰

The papal legate Archbishop Roger dies.¹⁶²¹

William I organises an envoy (viz. Jocelin, bishop of Glasgow, Arnold, abbot of Melrose, Osbert, abbot of Kelso and Walter, prior of Inchcolm) to the new pope, Lucius III, seeking an end to his excommunication and the interdict imposed on the kingdom.¹⁶²²

1182 The envoy sent to the papal court successfully obtains an end to excommunication of the king and the interdict placed on Scotland. The pope sends the Golden Rose as a symbol of reconciliation.¹⁶²³

During the period 1182 × 1183, Pope Lucius III orders that the property of the cathedral priory, which had been plundered due to the dispute, be returned.¹⁶²⁴

Roland, bishop-elect of Dol, and Silvanus, abbot of Rievaulx, are named papal legates in order to bring a conclusion to the controversy at St Andrews.¹⁶²⁵

The legates, Roland and Silvanus, negotiate a settlement which is rejected by Hugh on the grounds that the papal documents which John 'the Scot' had produced were forgeries, and the negotiations fail to resolve the controversy.¹⁶²⁶

1183 Hugh and John 'the Scot' go before the papal court at Velletri. The decision is made to award Hugh the bishopric of St Andrews and John the bishopric of Dunkeld.¹⁶²⁷

1184 John 'the Scot' serves as bishop of Dunkeld, acquiring a number of the churches which belonged to the priory of St Andrews as part of the settlement.¹⁶²⁸

1185 The priory of St Andrews receives papal confirmation that the (unnamed) churches held by John 'the Scot', bishop of Dunkeld, would be returned when the bishop died.¹⁶²⁹

William I refused the terms of the settlement, and so John 'the Scot' renewed his claim to the diocese of St Andrews.¹⁶³⁰

Pope Lucius III dies; Urban III succeeds him.¹⁶³¹

¹⁶¹⁸ *Chron. Howden*, II, p. 11.

¹⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, p. 12.

¹⁶²¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶²² *Ibid.*, II, pp. 12, 15.

¹⁶²³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 15; *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 110.

¹⁶²⁴ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 111; *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 118.

¹⁶²⁵ *Chron. Howden*, II, p. 17; *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 117.

¹⁶²⁶ *Chron. Howden*, II, pp. 18-9.

¹⁶²⁷ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 28-9.

¹⁶²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 57-8.

¹⁶²⁹ *St Andrews Liber*, p. 84; *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 124.

¹⁶³⁰ *Chron. Howden*, II, pp. 28-9; *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 121.

¹⁶³¹ *Chron. Howden*, II, p. 52.

- 1186** Hugh and John ‘the Scot’ appear before Pope Urban III; no settlement is finalised, and the pope allows Hugh to return to Scotland with the understanding that he would appear again at a fixed date. If not, he would be suspended by judge-delegates and face excommunication.¹⁶³²
- John ‘the Scot’ is present on the arranged date, Hugh is not. Hugh is first suspended by judge-delegates (Jocelin, bishop of Glasgow, and the abbots of Melrose, Newbattle, and Dunfermline) and later excommunicated by Urban III.¹⁶³³
- 1187** Urban III dies and is succeeded by Gregory VIII, who dies after only three months, and is succeeded by Clement III.
- 1188** John ‘the Scot’ returns to papal court under Clement III. The pope declares Hugh permanently deposed and releases all subjects from fealty to him. The pope calls on the cathedral chapter to elect a new bishop, giving his support to John ‘the Scot’. He also commands that the cathedral priory be returned to its earlier condition (i.e. before the schism). The pope charges the bishops of Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Moray, and the abbots of Melrose, Newbattle, Holyrood, Cambuskenneth, and Scone with carrying out his commands.¹⁶³⁴
- A settlement is reached between John ‘the Scot’ and William I whereby John receives the bishopric of Dunkeld with all the revenues in the diocese of St Andrews that he held before his election, and in return he agrees to drop his claim to St Andrews.¹⁶³⁵
- Hugh, still under excommunication, goes to Rome where he is absolved by the pope. Hugh dies outside of Rome from disease.¹⁶³⁶
- 1189** William I ‘gave’ the bishopric of St Andrews to Roger, son of the Earl of Leicester, his chancellor. John ‘the Scot’ was present and made no objection.¹⁶³⁷

¹⁶³² Ibid., II, pp. 56-8; *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 141.

¹⁶³³ *Chron. Howden*, II, p. 61.

¹⁶³⁴ Ibid., II, pp. 91-7; *Scotia Pontificia*, nos. 150-3.

¹⁶³⁵ *Chron. Howden*, II, pp. 97-8.

¹⁶³⁶ *Scotichronicon*, VI, p. 393; *Chron. Howden*, II, pp. 97-8.

¹⁶³⁷ *Scotichronicon*, VI, p. 393; *Chron. Howden*, II, pp. 97-8.

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