

A Study of the Fourteenth Century Cartulary of Scone Abbey
and its Context

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A thesis submitted to the University of Stirling for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Division of History and Politics

School of Arts and Humanities

July 2019

Abstract

This thesis is a study of the fourteenth-century recension of Scone Abbey's cartulary and its context. No monastic cartulary in Scotland has been analysed and edited since 1947. Since then both the scholarship and techniques used by historians have evolved and progressed to provide a wider and deeper understanding of cartularies as texts in their own right, rather than just extensions of an archive. These monastic cartularies were constructed with a particular purpose, in a particular way, and tied to a specific period in a monastery's history. This thesis analyses Scone's fourteenth-century cartulary using these techniques and edits a number of its texts using modern critical apparatus.

Chapter 1 examines the historiography of Scottish monastic cartularies and the methodology used by their editors, while placing it in a wider European context. It also examines the two previous transcriptions of Scone's fourteenth-century cartulary, one dated to 1738 and the other to sometime before 1745, and its publication as part of *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* in 1843. All these previous transcriptions have issues associated with them. This thesis also provides a history of the monastery from its foundation c.1115-20 until the estimated creation of the fourteenth-century cartulary. Chapter 2 is a summary analysis of the cartulary. It details the critical information contained in the cartulary, such as deeds, dates, locations, scribes, manuscript dating and binding. It also compares this recension to the later recension of the cartulary, dated to the fifteenth/sixteenth century. Chapter 3 presents the codicology of the current cartulary and reconstructs it, arranging the misplaced folios into the correct order. This chapter analyses the deeds in each quire and discusses the content and context of the transcriptions. Chapter 4 is an enhanced syllabus of the fourteenth-century cartulary using modern critical apparatus including an indexing system, a synopsis of the Latin transcription in English, and details of where else the deed may exist. Where a transcription has been omitted from *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, it has been fully transcribed. Chapter 5 concludes the thesis and discusses possible directions future research could take.

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Acknowledgements

During the years to take this thesis from conception to completion, numerous debts have been accumulated at the University of Stirling. First, the debt of gratitude I owe to Professor Richard Oram, can probably never be repaid. His guidance and support throughout this endeavour has been unwavering. It was he who first suggested Scone Abbey as thesis topic many years ago. What he had in mind when he first suggested it as a topic is markedly different than the final form of this thesis and it would have been much poorer if it had not been for his guidance. My thanks must also be extended to Dr Michael Penman for his tips and ideas. He was my undergraduate dissertation supervisor many years ago, I hope he has seen some improvement in my arguments and conclusions. During the writing of this thesis, Dr Alasdair Ross died prematurely. He taught me palaeography and engaged me in discussion during the early years of this thesis. There is no doubt that with his passing, Scottish History has lost a true scholar.

This thesis has been the product of part-time study; a lonely endeavour that meant I was rarely on campus with my peers. However, through the various seminars and conferences, I have benefitted from some informative conversations and good laughs with peers at Stirling and beyond: Dr Lucy Dean, Dr Katie Buchanan, Dr Andrew Smith, Dr Kimm Curran, and Dr Garrett Ratcliffe. Thanks also to the staff of the National Records of Scotland and the National Library of Scotland. I am grateful to Professor Dauvit Broun for providing the codicology of the cartulary as well as helping obtain the first chapter of Joanna Tucker's thesis, and my gratitude to her for sharing it.

A final word of appreciation must go to my family who have allowed me the time and space to undertake this research. They understood the requirements placed on me as part of this and displayed faithful patience. I hope they are proud. This work benefits from those who have gone before me but the mistakes within remain mine.

List of Abbreviations

Adv. MS.	Advocates Manuscript
<i>Chartulary of Lindores</i>	J. Dowden, ed., <i>Chartulary of The Abbey of Lindores 1195-1479, Edited from the Original Manuscript at Caprington Castle Kilmarnock, with Translation and Abstracts of the Charters, Illustrative Notes, and Appendices</i> (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1903)
ER	J. Stuart, G. Burnett, Ae.J.G. Mackay, and G.P. M'Neill, eds., <i>The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland: Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum</i> , 23 vols (Edinburgh, H.M General Register House, 1878–1908)
<i>Inchaff. Chrs.</i>	W.A. Lindsay, J. Dowden, and J.M. Thomson, eds., <i>Charters, Bulls, and other Documents relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray, Chiefly from the Originals in the Charter Chest of the Earl of Kinnoull</i> (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1908)
<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>	C. Innes, ed., <i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon, Munimenta Vetustiora Monasterii Sancte Trinitatis et Sancti Michaelis de Scon</i> (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1843)
<i>Liber Insule Missarum</i>	C. Innes, ed., <i>Liber Insule Missarum. Abbacie canonicorum regularium B. Virginis et S. Johannie de Inchaffery registrum vetus. Premissis quibusdam comitatus antique de Stratherne reliquiis</i> (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1847)

NLS	National Library of Scotland
NRS	National Records of Scotland
Potthast	A. Potthast, ed., <i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, Inde Ab A. Post Christum Natum MCXCVIII Ad A. MCCCIV</i> , vol. i (Berlin: Decker, 1874)
PoMS	A. Beam, J. Bradley, D. Broun, J. Reuben Davies, M. Hammond, N. Jakeman, M. Pasin, and A Taylor (with others), eds., <i>People of Medieval Scotland: 1093–1371</i> (Glasgow and London, 2019), www.poms.ac.uk
	<i>Registrum de Dunfermelyn</i> C. Innes, ed., <i>Registrum de Dunfermelyn, Liber Cartarum Abbatie Benedictine S.S. Trinitatis et B. Margarete Regine de Dunfermelyn</i> (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1842)
RMS	J.M. Thomson, J.B. Paul, J.H. Stevenson, and W.K. Dickson, eds., <i>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scottorum</i> , 11 vols. (Edinburgh: H.M General Register House, 1882-1914)
RPS	K. Brown, G. MacIntosh, A. Mann, P.E. Ritchie, and R.J. Tanner, eds., <i>The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707</i> (St Andrews and Edinburgh: University of St Andrews/National Records of Scotland), www.rps.ac.uk
RRS, i	G.W.S. Barrow, ed., <i>Regesta Regum Scottorum Vol. I: The Acts of Malcolm IV, 1153–1165</i> , (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960)

- RRS, ii G.W.S. Barrow, ed., *Regesta Regum Scottorum Vol. II: The Acts of William I, 1165–1214*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971)
- RRS, iii J.M. Scouler, ed., *Regesta Regum Scottorum. Handlist of the Acts of Alexander II, 1214–1249*, (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1959)
- RRS, iv C.J. Neville and G. Simpson, eds., *Regesta Regum Scottorum Vol. IV, Part I: The Acts of Alexander III, 1249-1286*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011)
- RRS, v A.A.M. Duncan, ed., *Regesta Regum Scottorum Vol. V: The Acts of Robert I, 1306–1329*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988)
- RRS, vi B. Webster, ed., *Regesta Regum Scottorum Vol. VI: The Acts of David II, 1329–1371*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982)
- Regist. Cambuskenneth* W. Fraser, ed., *Registrum Monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth, A.D. 1147–1535*, (Edinburgh, Grampian Club, 1872)
- SEA, i N.F. Shead, ed., *Scottish Episcopal Acta. Volume I, the Twelfth Century*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015)
- TA T. Dickson and J. Balfour, eds., *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, 12 vols, (Edinburgh: H.M General Register House, 1877-1916)

Chapter 1 Introduction

Monasteries were integral to the religious, economic, and social life of medieval Europe. Open any book on European history of the period 1000 - 1300 and monasteries and their role will no doubt be referenced in some capacity; such was the impact of these institutions. They attracted patronage from kings and queens down through the social strata to townsfolk and substantial free peasants. They accumulated vast temporal estates and spiritual holdings that brought them wealth and status, all in pursuit of the glory of God. These institutions were not only religious and economic sites but also seats of learning and record keeping. They were a central part of the religious fabric of medieval life.

These institutions relied on both ecclesiastics and laymen to ensure they could perform their religious ceremonies and obligations, as well as manage their estates. These holy men and women helped develop a tradition of parchment-based record keeping. The records that survive are one of the richest sources of primary source material available to historians. These monastic records were often voluminous and took different forms. Some of the most common are cartularies, charters, rentals, hagiographies, annals, and chronicles. Not only are these monastic records integral to understanding these organisations and how they functioned but they are fundamental to modern perceptions of medieval Europe. The records that survive vary between each monastery due to each institution's portfolio of lands, churches, and rights, as well as their own history and penchant for record keeping. It is in the charter collections of these Scottish monasteries that the majority of documents relating to Scottish society across the period 1093 – 1314 survive.¹

With such a rich and important body of evidence, it was, and is inevitable, that these sources would be analysed, reproduced, criticised, and published. The bulk of these cartularies and monastic muniments in Scotland were collated, edited, and published by historical societies and clubs throughout

¹ J. Tucker, *A new approach to medieval cartularies: understanding manuscript growth in AUL SCA MS JB 1/3 (Glasgow Cathedral's Registrum Vetus) and the Cartulary of Lindores Abbey in Caprington Castle* (University of Glasgow, unpublished PhD thesis, 2017), 1.

the nineteenth and twentieth century. These publications have formed the bedrock of twentieth and twenty-first century medieval Scottish historiography.

However, research has begun to compare some of these publications to the originals and found a number of different issues. Alasdair Ross compared *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* (published 1837) against the original source material. Ross found documents appeared in the originals but not the published editions; selective inclusion of source material and an assumption by the editor that one manuscript was an exact copy of another; and the creation of inaccurate witness lists.² Ross recognised the great contribution to historiography and availability of source material that these publications made but concluded that these publications should be recognised as having “limited value as sources of primary evidence.”³ In addition to this, a recent thesis has discovered a confected charter in *Liber Sancte Marie de Calchou*, with the editor having selected two separate deeds and mistakenly spliced them together.⁴

These particular findings are relatively recent, and there is a dearth of wider research and comparative analyses of these published editions against the original source material. Due to this, the full extent of inaccuracies is not yet known but this is not the first time that the accuracy and completeness of these published editions has been impugned.⁵ It is unlikely that an error in these published editions would be so great as to force a major revision of political and royal historiography. However, medieval Scottish historiography does not solely focus on monarchs or how medieval government functioned but also on medieval society, rural and urban life and lives, especially through prosopography;⁶ landholding patterns, estate management and responses to medieval climate change; as well as ecclesiastical and religious institutional history. These areas of research rely heavily on the extant documentation of monasteries. Errors with, and omissions from, these published editions

² A. Ross, “The Bannatyne Club and the Publication of Scottish Ecclesiastical Cartularies,” *The Scottish Historical Review*, volume LXXXV, 2, No. 220 (2006), 220-223.

³ *Ibid*, 223.

⁴ A. Smith, *The Kelso Abbey Cartulary: Context, Production, and Forgery* (University of Glasgow, unpublished PhD thesis, 2011), 39-44.

⁵ See discussion below on p.20.

⁶ Prosopography is the study and analysis of individuals and relationships within a specific historical or social context.

continue to be uncovered and historians, while recognising the contribution these publications have made, must cease treating them as faithful reproductions of primary source material.

Since the publication of these monastic muniments and cartularies in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, scholarship on written evidence and source criticism has evolved. Scholars of European monasticism have begun to view cartularies as documents in their own right often produced for specific purposes and contexts, not simply as literal transcriptions of originals or simply extensions of a monastic or secular archive.⁷ It is an approach that has yet to take root firmly in Scotland. Focussing on cartularies themselves, with a reference to the wider documentary framework, such as the extraneous material that may exist for a monastery, would have different objectives and conclusions than the work previously undertaken by the Antiquarian societies. Editing and publishing the cartularies alone was not always the primary objective of these historical societies. Many of their publications were more focussed on collating the available monastic muniments of a house in a single publication.

One such example of this is *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*. Edited by Cosmo Innes and presented to the Bannatyne Club and Maitland Club in 1843. While it is widely accepted that Innes edited the volume, the actual evidence for his editorial work is sparse. The author of *Memoir of Cosmo Innes* (Edinburgh, 1874), who was a daughter of Innes, lists *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, as one of her father's works.⁸ The publication contains deeds from both surviving recensions of the monastic cartulary from 1164 to 1457, as well as host of extraneous material; a valuation of the abbey, taken from an act of Parliament in 1561; an extract from the Book of Assignation of the Surplus of the Third of Benefices; and finally, a list of lands held in feu from the abbot or commendator of Scone 1584-1586. It is a comprehensive effort that pulls together material that stretches from Scone's foundation c.1115-20 until 20 years before Scone was erected as a temporal lordship for Sir David Murray as Lord Scone in 1606. However, no detailed work has been previously undertaken to examine one or

⁷ See discussion below on pp.22-25.

⁸ Ross, "Bannatyne Club", 210, n.38.

both of the cartularies upon which Innes based so much of his work for *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, until now.

These published editions did not wholly focus on the reasons for the creation of these cartularies, the order of the material, the growth of the manuscript, the scribes, and more often than not, the material itself was not analysed or contextualised. The Scottish History Society volumes on Lindores, Inchaffray, Inchcolm, and Coupar Angus do offer some analysis of the content of the material and identify some key personnel. Likewise, some of the Bannatyne volumes do provide a critical discussion in their introductions, for example *Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc*, but, none of these volumes really focus on the questions or tools that modern researchers are asking and using. This is not a criticism but there is a need to recognise the consequences of contemporary editing practice on our understanding of the published corpus and acknowledge that the focus of their interests differed from current academic objectives. Indeed, cartulary scholarship has often simply been part of a much wider section of historiography: charter and archival scholarship, where little or no attention has been paid to the form and content of the cartulary.

Recent research focussing on monasteries in France and the Low Countries has brought cartulary scholarship into its own field by focussing on the cartulary itself, how, why, and when it was constructed, and by whom; the arrangement and selection of the deeds; and the growth of the cartulary over time.⁹ Moreover, these recent works, often revising these Antiquarian publications, are using techniques such as codicology to provide greater insight into the cartulary's creation and management. This approach has yet to be fully deployed on Scottish cartularies and to date, only two theses have used these techniques and attempted to answer these types of questions. One thesis

⁹ See C. B. Bouchard, "Monastic Cartularies: Organizing Eternity", in *Charters, Cartularies, and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*, eds. A. J. Kostov and A. Winroth, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2002), 22-32; G. V. Synghel, "Observations on the Entry and Copying in the Cartularies with Charters of the Province of North Brabant", in *Secretum Scriptorum Liber Alumnorum Walter Prevenier*, eds. W. Blockmans, M. Boone, T. de Hemptinne (Antwerp: Garant, 1999), 77-92; M. Parisse, 'Les Cartulaires: Copies ou Sources Originales', in *Les Cartulaires: Actes de la Table ronde organisée par l'École nationale de chartes et le G.D.R. 121 du C.N.R.S (Paris, 5-7 décembre 1991)*, eds. O. Guyotjeannin, L. Morelle, M. Parisse (Paris: École Nationale des chartes 39 1993), 503-511.

focussed on the context and creation of Kelso Abbey's cartulary as a response to the loss of documentation and lands as a result of war between Scotland and England.¹⁰ The other thesis focusses on the manuscript growth of the cartularies of Glasgow Cathedral and Lindores Abbey, which contain material from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, and considers how these manuscripts changed in form and function through scribal interactions.¹¹ This thesis is the third to examine a monastic cartulary.

Thesis Objective

The overarching objective of this thesis is to produce a study of the fourteenth-century cartulary of Scone and its context. For the purposes of this thesis, this cartulary will be referred to as Cartulary A. This is currently held in the National Library of Scotland, catalogued as Advocates Manuscript 34.3.29. To achieve this aim, several specific tasks have been undertaken. The first is an examination of the historiography on monastic cartularies and *libers*, through the wave of nineteenth and twentieth century published editions to the recent research that has uncovered further errors in these published editions, and how modern research treats cartularies as texts in their own right. The second is to provide the historical context of Scone Priory's foundation c.1115-20, its elevation to the status of an abbey in 1164, and the growth of its temporal and spiritual portfolio from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. This context is important because the creation and purpose of Cartulary A are tied to a specific period in the history of the monastery. The third is to present the current codicology of Cartulary A, which has folios which have been bound in the wrong order meaning that in areas the text does not flow correctly, and present a correct codicology for the purposes of producing an enhanced syllabus of the transcriptions contained in the extant cartulary in the correct order.

Cartulary A is damaged and folios have been lost from the gatherings. The extent of the losses cannot be fully quantified. However, an overview of material that *could* have originally been included in Cartulary A, that is to say

¹⁰ The first was A. Smith, *The Kelso Abbey Cartulary: Context, Production, and Forgery* (University of Glasgow, unpublished PhD thesis, 2011).

¹¹ J. Tucker *A new approach to medieval cartularies: understanding manuscript growth in AUL SCA MS JB 1/3 (Glasgow Cathedral's Registrum Vetus) and the Cartulary of Lindores Abbey in Caprington Castle* (University of Glasgow, unpublished PhD thesis, 2017).

material that is dated c.1115-1120, when the monastery was founded, down to c.1371, which is the latest datable deed in Cartulary A, will be presented and analysed. To do this, the fifteenth/sixteenth century recension of the cartulary, Cartulary B, also held in the National Library of Scotland, and catalogued as Advocates Manuscript 34.3.28, and other related documentation, such as stand-alone charters and transcriptions of deeds related to Scone Abbey in other monastic cartularies, will be considered and analysed. This approach will result in a comprehensive analysis of Cartulary A, with an enhanced syllabus of the deeds contained in the recension. This enhanced syllabus will compare the manuscript to the published version in *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, noting if there are differences. Further to this, it will have six transcribed entries from the cartulary that have been omitted from *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*.

Historiographical Overview

Scholarship on, and using primary sources, has been a central strand of Scottish historiography since the eighteenth century. In 1776, David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes published the first volume of his *Annals of Scotland*. It covered the period from Malcolm III to the accession of Robert I. It was a marked departure from previous histories because Hailes was covering a period of history that had not been written about with the care and attention that Hailes was paying it. He also based his work on official records and chronicles, a methodology that was radical for the eighteenth century.¹² He also used this volume to critique arguments and factoids that had become common place. These included arguing that it was not Walter, earl of Menteith who was taken at Dunbar by Edward I but in fact it was Walter's son Alexander and critiquing translations by John Skene on statutes of William the Lion and offering his own.¹³ Indeed such was the impact of Hailes's work that Sir Herbert Maxwell, writing in 1908 , argued that all history written in Scotland between Wyntoun in the fourteenth century and Hailes in the eighteenth century was worthless.¹⁴

¹² R.H. Carnie, *A Biographical and Critical Study of the Life and Writings of Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes* (University of St Andrews, unpublished PhD thesis, 1954), 207-208.

¹³ D. Dalrymple, *Annals of Scotland, from the accession of Malcolm III surnamed Canmore to the accession of Robert I* (Edinburgh: Balfour and Smellie, 1776), 330-350.

¹⁴ H. Maxwell, *Robert the Bruce and The Struggle for Scottish Independence*, 2nd ed. (London: G. Putnam, 1908), 12.

Since Hailes work, scholarship has developed and the study and editing of primary sources has evolved to become its own area of historiography. An overview of this topic will demonstrate the changing approaches to editing methodology. No examination of monastic deeds in Scotland can be undertaken without reference to this wider field. As History has matured as an academic discipline so too has the quality of critical examination of the sources.

The first major wave of editions and publications came in the nineteenth century. Between 1801 and 1837 six Record Commissions were established by Parliament to

*“Inquire into the state of the Public Records of this kingdom, and of such other Public Instruments, Rolls, Books and Papers as they think proper; and to report to the House the Nature and Condition thereof; together with what they shall judge fit to be done for the better Arrangement, Preservation and more convenient Use of the same.”*¹⁵

In the first half of the nineteenth century numerous publications were forthcoming because of the commissions.¹⁶ This resulted in a significant advance in the accessibility of this material and its ease of use. In Scotland, Thomas Thomson took the lead for the Records Commission after the death of William and Alexander Robertson. From 1800 they had led the effort to collate and transcribe material.¹⁷ By 1804 a volume of transcriptions on the parliamentary records of Scotland was ready for publication but the Records Commission were searching for someone new to lead the effort. Thomas Thomson was selected.

Thomson wrote a report that criticised the Robertsons' volume for failing to distinguish between the legislative and judicial functions of the Scottish Parliament. Thomson was appointed Deputy Clerk Register in 1806 and set out

¹⁵ P. Walne, “The Records Commissions, 1800-37” in *Prisca Munimenta, Studies in Archival and Administrative History*, ed. F. Ranger (London: University of London Press, 1973), 9.

¹⁶ <http://royalhistsoc.org/publications/national-history-and-record-societies/> date accessed 24/05/2016.

¹⁷ P. Goulesbrough, “The Records Commissions and Scotland” in *Prisca Munimenta, Studies in Archival and Administrative History*, ed F. Ranger (London: University of London Press, 1973), 20.

to produce his own volumes.¹⁸ Thomson produced four distinct publications, *Inquisitionum ad capellam domini Regis retornatarum quae in publicis archivis Scotiae adhuc servantur*, (1811-16); *The Acts of the Lords Auditors of Causes and Complaints, A.D. 1466 - A.D. 1494*, (1839); *The Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes, A.D. 1478 - A.D. 1495*, (1839) and, in conjunction with Cosmo Innes,¹⁹ *The Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, (1814-75). These publications were coupled with similar types of material relating to England and Wales that were a direct result of the Records Commissions between 1800 and 1848. As a result of the Records Commissions, there were over fifty publications on UK material, some of which, like Thomson and Innes' *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ran to several volumes.

Outside the immediate direction of state-sponsored publications in nineteenth century Britain was a cluster of antiquarian societies and individuals who, driven by their antiquarian passion, began to publish multiple volumes of historical documents.²⁰ In Scotland, the principal of these clubs were the Bannatyne Club (f.1823), Maitland Club (f.1828), Abbotsford Club (f.1833), Spalding Club (f.1839), Spottiswoode Society (f.1844), and the Grampian Club

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 20-22.

¹⁹ For a detailed insight into Cosmo Innes see R. Marsden, *Cosmo Innes and the Defence of Scotland's Past c.1825-1875* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

²⁰ The Surtees Society (founded 1834, published archival material concerning Durham and Northumberland); the Chetham Society (founded 1843 published texts relating to Lancashire and Cheshire); Early English Text Society (founded 1864); the Scottish Text Society (founded 1882); the Oxford Historical Society (founded 1884); the Scottish History Society (founded 1886); the British Record Society (founded 1889); Scottish Record Society (founded 1897); the Irish Texts Society (founded 1898); the Somerset Record Society (founded 1886); the Worcestershire Historical Society (founded 1893); Welsh Manuscripts Society (founded in 1837); the English Historical Society (founded c.1838); the Ælfric Society (founded 1842, published editions of Old English texts); the Harleian Society (founded 1869 publishes the heraldic visitations of counties, parish registers, and manuscripts relating to genealogy, family history and heraldry); the Ray Society (founded 1844 publishes works of natural history); the Hakluyt Society (founded 1846 publishes scholarly editions of primary records of voyages, travels, and other geographic material); the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society (founded as an archaeological society in 1866: it began publishing texts 1877); the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society (founded as an archaeological society in 1866, it began publishing texts 1877); the Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (founded 1878); the Staffordshire Record Society (founded 1879 as the William Salt Archaeological Society; took its present name 1936); the Middlesex County Record Society (founded c.1886); the Scottish Burgh Records Society (founded c.1868); the Lincolnshire Record Society (founded 1889); the Hampshire Record Society (founded c.1889), London Topographical Society (founded 1880); the Pali Text Society (founded 1881 publishes editions and translations of Buddhist scriptures in the Pāli language); the Pipe Roll Society (founded 1883 by the Public Record Office).

(f.1869).²¹ A major output of these clubs, societies, and individuals were ecclesiastical cartularies and *libers*, numbering approximately thirty-five, published between 1841 and 1893. It has been suggested that these publications can be divided into two groups. The first group have been labelled 'true cartularies', that is to say the source is either a single manuscript or cartulary or a synthesis from multiple recensions of what is believed to be the same manuscript. The second group should be called artificial cartularies because they have been compiled from individual manuscripts that had not been gathered into a single cartulary by the religious institution to which they related.²² However, recent research has highlighted that only a small number of these publications, three, were given the title of chartulary or *cartulariam*.²³ *Registrum* was used in the title of 11 publications, *Liber* in three, and *Register* in two. Producing an edition of a monastic cartulary was not the primary objective for most of these clubs and societies. The *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* was not intended to be a reproduction of the cartularies, though Innes relied heavily on both texts for material. The full title of the publication makes clear that its purpose was to gather the old muniments together: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon Munimenta Vetustiora Monasterii Sancte Trinitatis et Sancti Michaelis de Scon*.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a change in editing methodology – a break from what had become Victorian convention. The editorial style of nineteenth-century antiquarians gave primacy to royal material and a chronological arrangement of documents.²⁴ A chronological arrangement of material, or a degree of it, was still editorial practice in the twentieth century and the four publications discussed below present at least some of their material in this way. These twentieth-century publications contained an introductory narrative often explaining the history of the institutions. The documents were supported by an introductory summary sentence followed by the text; this was usually all in Latin and often reproduced in abbreviated formats. Selection of a deed for the publication would often come from a

²¹ An overview of these clubs can be found in M. Ash, *The Strange Death of Scottish History* (Edinburgh: Ramsay Head Press, 1980).

²² Ross, "Bannatyne Club", 207-210.

²³ J. Tucker, "Understanding Scotland's medieval cartularies," *The Innes Review*, 70.2, (2019), 144.

²⁴ Ross, "Bannatyne Club", 208.

cartulary because that is where the bulk of material existed for the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. Editors often favoured originals over these cartulary transcriptions and, in the case of *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, presented these with the abbreviated Latin and 'orig' in the contents or tabula at the outset. This is problematic because there was often more than one copy of a deed or even of a transcription.

In 1903 *The Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores, 1195-1479*, edited by John Dowden, was published by the Scottish History Society. The Scottish History Society was founded in 1886 and its first president defined its purpose as,

"...the humble and unobtrusive task of letting everyman know in so far as in us lies, and so far as documentary evidence exists, how our forebears lived and worked and carried on the business of their country in their separate spheres."

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Its differences from earlier publications were small but significant. They set a new standard that was broadly followed for fifty years. As with the Victorian publications, there was a narrative at the beginning that explained the history of the abbey and its founder's family as well as a brief discussion of the manuscript printed in the volume. In addition to this, supplementary information concerning the abbots of the monastery, as well as other historical notices, were removed from the introductory narrative and placed at the end of the publication in appendices. A key difference was the production of extensive notes which offered information on places named in the text, on the identification of individuals named in the document or in witness lists, and information relating to practices described in the text.²⁶ The main body of this publication also differed from the nineteenth century versions. In the margin was the folio number of the original, allowing for an easier comparison with, and identification of, the original material. Accompanying the Latin transcription is either partial or full English translation of the original text. There is, however, no

²⁵ <https://scottishhistorysociety.wordpress.com/history/> date accessed: 1/7/17.

²⁶ These practices had started to appear with Charles Rogers' contributions to the Grampian Club but became established convention with the Lindores publication.

explanation given for why a translation accompanies the originals or why some have full translations and others partial translations.

The Scottish History Society volumes on Lindores and Inchaffray also included sections on the codicology of the texts, though the term codicology was not used. J.M. Thomson provided a description of the manuscript in the Lindores volume. He noted how many gatherings formed the manuscript and through his analysis determined that one particular section ought to precede the other and so this is how it was arranged in print.²⁷ He employed a similar approach for the Inchaffray volume and placed this analysis into a wider discussion on the sources of the publication.²⁸ This represented a far more forensic inspection of the physical characteristics of the manuscripts than hitherto had been used.

Although Dowden's work was based on a different manuscript than the earlier Abbotsford Club publication of the Lindores records, one that was not discovered until the 1880s,²⁹ he included a critique of that earlier publication. He noted that the earlier publication was based on a transcript from the time of James IV and that whoever had created the transcription was primarily focussed on the monastery's holdings close to the monastic site. Holdings, such as the abbey's churches in Lincoln, England, were completely ignored.³⁰ Dowden's edition of the cartulary of Lindores was the first of three works that enhanced the works of the nineteenth-century antiquarian clubs.³¹ In the prefaces to the other two works the authenticity of the original published editions is called into question. For example, the preface to the Inchaffray publication notes that many of the surviving deeds were not included in the Bannatyne Club edition and that of the ones that had been, few, if any, were accurate transcriptions.³² Like the Dowden publication on Lindores, the source material for this volume on Inchaffray was different. The Bannatyne edition was

²⁷ *Chartulary of Lindores*, 286-287.

²⁸ *Inchaff. Chrs.*, 331-336.

²⁹ *Chartulary of Lindores*, xc.

³⁰ *Ibid*, xciii-xciv.

³¹ The other two are W.A. Lindsay, J. Dowden, and J.M. Thomson, eds., *Charters, Bulls and Other Documents Relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray, Chiefly from the Originals in the Charter Chest of the Earl of Kinnoul* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1908) and D.E. Easson ed., *Charters of the Abbey of Coupar Angus*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1947).

³² *Inchaff. Chrs.*, v.

of the cartulary, whereas the Scottish History Society edition was of the original single sheets.³³ Finally, the 1947 two-volume edition of Coupar Angus was driven more by the re-discovery of additional deeds than by deficiencies in the 1879 Grampian publication.

These three publications in the first half of the twentieth century constitute academic recognition of the deficiencies in the earlier editions and impugned the quality and accuracy of the earlier works. They demonstrated that there was value in re-visiting and re-assessing the records of these religious establishments and also examining previous publications of these records. By doing so, the editors were able to produce much more accurate representation of the documentation and therefore of the evolution of the monastery itself.

Also published in the first half of the twentieth century was *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm* (1938). This was the first time that these charters were published and the editors make clear in the preface that while there is a brief sixteenth century reference to a register they could find no trace of it.³⁴ The main source for the publication came from a collection of charters belonging to the earl of Moray, with other extraneous material included.³⁵ While this edition was not a revisiting or reassessment of a previous publication, it demonstrated that there was still new work to be undertaken in this discipline.

After 1947, scholarship on monastic cartularies in Scotland waned, possibly as a result of the voluminous output of the preceding 100 years. This may have led many academics to conclude that there was no further need to analyse this material or, perhaps, that there was more value in using or presenting it in a different way. Changes in charter scholarship and the drive to provide the materials to illustrate the development of the medieval Scottish state are amongst factors that underlay, for example, the inception of the *Regesta Regum Scottorum* series. Cartularies, however, continued to be the subject of historical research and several studies were published in the second half of the twentieth century; none of these, however, were of Scottish monastic cartularies.

³³ *Inchaff. Chrs.*, v.

³⁴ D.E. Easson and A. MacDonald, eds., *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1938), v-vi.

³⁵ *Ibid*, vi-vii.

In 1991, *Les Cartulaires* conference was held in Paris. As a consequence of the papers presented at this conference, cartulary scholarship started to be seen as its own area of historiography, which focuses on the production and construction of cartularies as entities in their own right rather than just simply extensions of the archive from which they are transcribed, with documents being carefully selected and transcribed to suit a particular purpose. This process has been termed ‘cartularisation’.³⁶ With attention being paid to cartularies as texts in their own right rather than verbatim transcriptions, this changed perspective has allowed researchers to answer the where, when, why, who questions associated with these manuscripts, as well as looking at their growth over time and also comparing what is in the source material against a previously published version of the cartulary.

A cartulary at its most basic, fundamental level is usually a transcription of documents recording privileges or legal rights written into gathered quires or rolls. These collections are not unique to ecclesiastical institutions, secular cartularies also exist. The variation in these collections has led to an attempt to categorise and demark different types of cartularies. Patrick Geary draws a distinction between “cartularies”, consisting of documents in which patron X gives the lands of Y to the person/institution Z, and a *Traditionsbuch*, which contains summary notices in the third person but may contain some first-person transactions. Geary also highlights that some charters were copied into narrative texts.³⁷ This distinction was not meant as an exhaustive list or explanation of cartularies but it helps demonstrate that the codification of different types of assembled and transcribed materials is possible.

Another such source for this codification is the *CartulR* database, which is a collection of copies of medieval or modern charters in the form of a codex. *CartulR* contains copies of acts, some of which are no longer extant.³⁸ It is focussed on France and Belgium from the 9th to the 18th centuries. Part of the aim of this work has been to provide a typology of cartularies, which further builds on Henri Stein’s 1907 work, *Bibliographie Générale des Cartulaires*

³⁶ P. Chastang, “Cartulaires, cartularisation et scripturalité médiévale: la structuration d’un nouveau champ de recherche”, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 49 (2006) 21–31.

³⁷ P. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 81-114.

³⁸ <http://www.cn-telma.fr/cartulR/index/> date accessed 10/1/19.

Français ou Relatifs à l'histoire de France, and *Un Vocabulaire International de la Diplomatie*, published in 1994.

The typology of cartularies listed is a work in progress and those who are working on this project admit that it will change as knowledge evolves. The list includes but is not limited to:

Type/Name	Description ³⁹
Cartulary	A collection of copies of documents (charters) received by a person or entity that is transcribed in full or sometimes in extracts relating to his assets and his rights titles and documents regarding its history or its administration, for conservation and ease of reference.
Cartulary - Bulls	A collection of Papal bulls
Cartulary - <i>Censier</i>	A hybrid cartulary containing acts and associated rents
Cartulary – Chronicle	A cartulary that is primarily in chronological order, by bishop or abbot, and often linked with historical narrative, creating a <i>Gesta Episcoporum</i> or <i>Gesta Abbatum</i>
Cartulary – Dossier	A collection composed of acts or documents prepared for a (legal) case
Cartulary – Obituary	A cartulary associated with an obituary.
Cartulary - Register	A collection of both the copies of securities and copies of the titles or charters issued by the sponsor
Cartulary – Roll	A cartulary in the form of a roll

Although there is a cross-over between some of these definitions, there is clearly a distinction between these types of cartularies. The need to classify the cartularies into different types is important because it is saying something about

³⁹ <http://www.cn-telma.fr//cartulR/glossaire/> date accessed 10/1/2019.

that particular collection. It is an indication of what that particular institution's preference was when it came to transcribing and arranging these collections into cartulary format.

This excellent source goes beyond just codifying cartularies. It also incorporates other information about the collections such as dates, types of parchment, where it is currently located, codicology, copies of originals, and published editions. It is a useful resource and those working with it have expressed a desire to see it used beyond the borders of France. This opens the door for the inclusion of cartularies of British Isles monasteries. Yet, the types of information required for the classification and codification of these British cartularies may not be readily at hand to add to this resource.

Since 1991 there have been four monographs published on continental cartularies⁴⁰ and nine on English cartularies.⁴¹ Much of this English work has taken the same methodological approach as its European counterparts, in particular codicology, foliation, dating, scribes, and arrangement, in their introductory sections. For example, work on the cartulary of Mont Saint Michel assigns just over four pages to the palaeography and codicology of the manuscript and a page to the dating of the manuscript.⁴² The recently published analysis of the cartulary of Binham Priory has two pages on codicology, five on dating and arrangement, and one on the scribe.⁴³ It is the analysis of this information that can inform us of the creation, context, production, and purpose

⁴⁰ C.B. Bouchard, *The Cartulary of Flavigny, 717-1113* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1991); C.B. Bouchard, *The Cartulary of St Marcel-les-Chalon, 779-1126* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1998); K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, *The Cartulary of the Abbey of Mont Saint Michel* (Donington: Shaun Tyus, 2006); and T. Evergates, *The Cartulary of Countess Blanche of Champagne* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

⁴¹ C. Harper-Bill, *The Cartulary of the Augustinian Friars of Clare* (Woodbridge: Suffolk Records Society, 1991); M. Gervers, *The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England, Pt. 2, Prima Camera* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); U. Rees, *The Cartulary of Lilleshall Abbey* (Shropshire: Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society, 1997); C. Breay, *The Cartulary of Chatteris Abbey* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999); C.R. Fronge, *The Cartulary of St Mary's Collegiate Church, Warwick* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2004); J. Burton, *The Cartulary of Byland Abbey* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006); D.X. Carpenter, *The Cartulary of St Leonard's Hospital, York: Rawlinson Volume* (2 volume set) (Woodbridge: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2015); J. Margerum, *The Cartulary of Binham Priory* (Norwich: Norfolk Record Society 2016); and J. Redford, *The Cartulary of Alvingham Priory* (Lincoln: The Lincoln Record Society, 2018).

⁴² K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, *The Cartulary of the Abbey of Mont Saint Michel* (Donington: Shaun Tyus 2006), 4-9.

⁴³ J. Margerum, *The Cartulary of Binham Priory* (Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, 2016), li-lix.

of the cartulary. This type of analysis is now an important part element of cartulary studies.

This approach to cartulary scholarship has yet to take root firmly in Scotland. Cartulary scholarship is often entwined within larger, wide-ranging discussions on charter scholarship or primary sources rather than a specific focus on cartularies in general or specific cartularies.⁴⁴ It is important to place analysis and discussion of cartularies into a wider documentary framework because doing so provides the necessary context for written records. Indeed, most of these studies focussing on the growth of the written record through the lens of evolving medieval kingship and government. However, some initial groundwork on cartulary scholarship has been undertaken.

A 2006 article by Alasdair Ross, 'The Bannatyne Club and the Publication of Scottish Ecclesiastical Cartularies', provides a concise history of the Bannatyne Club from 1823 to 1867,⁴⁵ an overview of the ecclesiastical cartularies published in the nineteenth century, an analysis of the philosophy and practicalities of editing one of these publications, and finally a comparative analysis of the original manuscripts versus the published edition of the *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*. The genesis of this article may have been in his PhD thesis, *The Province of Moray, c.1000-1230*. In it, he identified an issue with one of Cosmo Innes's transcriptions in *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*.⁴⁶

In his article, Ross states that the editor's philosophy was driven by his enthusiasm for antiquarianism, especially from a legal perspective.⁴⁷ For documents that he did not believe to be grammatically correct Innes would often collate different versions of the same document to try to correct what he saw as the imperfections. If this did not work then he would discard those

⁴⁴ For example, M.T. Flanagan and J. Green, eds., *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); B. Webster, *Scotland from the Eleventh Century to 1603* (London: London Sources of History, 1975); and G. Donaldson *Scottish Historical Documents* (Glasgow: Neil Wilson Publishing, 1997), and also the *Regesta Regum Scottorum series*.

⁴⁵ A much more comprehensive overview of the Bannatyne Club and the other historical clubs of this period can be found in M. Ash, *The Strange Death of Scottish History* (Loanhead: Ramsay Head Press, 1980).

⁴⁶ A. Ross, *The Province of Moray, c.1000-1230* (University of Aberdeen, unpublished PhD thesis, 2003), 75.

⁴⁷ Ross, "Bannatyne Club", 211.

sections and replace them with comparable passages that he felt were grammatically correct.⁴⁸ From an editing perspective the reader could accept such a methodology if they had been informed that this was how the publication was constructed. However, Innes only published one volume, the *Registrum Monasterii de Passalet* (1832), where his corrections were listed.⁴⁹

Ross also discussed the fact that the sequence of documents in the published editions, such as in the *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, has little correlation to the original material and that the majority of post-1400 documents in most of the publications were abridged, sometimes quite radically.⁵⁰ Moreover, the research, transcription, and editing of the publications that were 'edited' by Cosmo Innes was often contracted out to clerks and then sub-contracted out again. Alasdair Ross's essay explains that the historical clubs and societies' records, especially the Bannatyne Club, demonstrate that the treasurer often issued payment to clerks for work they undertook. These services included collation, transcription, indexing, proof-reading, or translation and Innes never once acknowledged their contribution in any of the cartularies he edited. Innes employed four clerks when compiling the material for *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*.⁵¹ This was published in 1843, the same year as *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*. How much direct involvement Innes had with many of his publications remains unclear and, Ross concludes, an "unknown percentage" of the documents that appear in the published editions have been altered in some way.⁵²

When the comparative analysis between the published *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* and the three original manuscripts on which the publication is based was undertaken, Alasdair Ross found the following: the material from the first two manuscripts was re-arranged chronologically and thematically resulting in an artificial arrangement; there were documents in the originals that did not appear in the published edition; assumptions were made

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 212.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 212.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 209-210. Ross also makes a distinction between those publications that were created from medieval manuscript collections and those that were 'artificial cartularies', that is to say those that have been compiled from various sources.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 214.

⁵² *Ibid*, 217.

that one of the three manuscripts was an exact copy of the other, which was not true;⁵³ the three manuscripts chosen by Innes were not the totality of the source material available at the time relating to the bishopric of Moray and that Innes knew this;⁵⁴ he used copies of records from other sources when he felt the original in the manuscript was unsatisfactory but did not explain any differences in content; there was omission of duplicated documents from the same manuscript, with Innes, or his clerks, choosing the one they believed was best preserved;⁵⁵ and finally, when multiple copies of the same charter were available but had nuances, such as additional places names in them or slightly different witnesses or spellings of names, either one would be selected without commentary as to why or there would be a degree of collation, picking and choosing witnesses and spellings from different charters to create an artificial list.⁵⁶ The conclusion to this analysis was that, while historians owe a debt to these societies and clubs for their efforts, these publications cannot be used and treated as 'primary sources in their own right.'⁵⁷

The key theme in Ross's essay is the editorial practices of the Antiquarians and the impact this has had on the understanding of the source material. They were not concerned about the copying of a cartulary or any deed verbatim or arranging the deeds as they appear in the original. Moreover, there was little or no codicological analysis of the manuscripts. It was not contemporary editorial practice to do so and criticism of this approach cannot be laboured. In rearranging the material and not copying verbatim, these publications have 'de-cartularised' the cartularies on which so much of these publications are based because the deeds were written and arranged with a specific purpose in mind. While it was not always the intention to present these publications as a true representation of a cartulary, there must be some degree of recognition that the artificial arrangement of material has resulted in a degree of 'de-cartularisation'. This does not automatically render these publications

⁵³ *Ibid*, 218.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 220.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 221.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 222-223.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 224.

useless, rather, given the modern approach to cartulary studies, it means accepting these published editions have limitations in this field.

The medieval editor(s) of a cartulary were making their choices deliberately. For example, it was not unusual to have a topographical arrangement of deeds in a cartulary to make information easier to find and manage.⁵⁸ If a modern editor chooses to re-arrange deeds chronologically, an element of the cartulary's construction and the understanding of the cartulary's purpose is weakened, lost, and further separates a published edition from the source material. Moreover, it is not just arrangement that causes such issues. For example, Emilia Jamroziak notes that in the 1889 edition of the cartulary of Rievaulx, the editor inserted deeds into the cartulary without explanation, though he did explain their provenance. Moreover, the editor cut out formal clauses as was the convention of the time but in doing so leaves out parts of the deeds that the scribe clearly felt were important.⁵⁹ These examples highlight that the antiquarian editing methodology and its incompatibility with modern academic rigour is not just confined to Scotland.

With these examples in mind, should Alasdair Ross's assertion about cessation of acceptance and use of these publications as "primary sources in their own right" be accepted? To answer that question, far more comparative research is required between the published editions of sources and the original material. Moreover, as stated above, the majority of these publications were not trying to present an edition of a cartulary but rather bring the muniments together for publication. However, it is impossible to study a cartulary without reference to a previously published edition of it or publication that uses monastic cartularies as the bulk of its main source.

Andrew Smith's 2011 University of Glasgow PhD thesis, *The Kelso Abbey Cartulary: Context, Production, and Forgery* is one of two recently completed Scottish theses that examines a monastic cartulary. In setting out his thesis, he examined the Bannatyne Cub edition of the cartulary, published in 1846. Smith found that one document in the published collection, a charter of

⁵⁸ Margerum, *Binham Priory*, liv.

⁵⁹ E. Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context, 1132-1300: Memory, Locality, and Networks* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 7.

Robert Burneville that renewed the grant of a tenement in Broxmouth to Kelso Abbey, was a completely artificial creation.⁶⁰ Smith provided evidence to demonstrate that the editor had used two unrelated charter fragments and catchword to create this grant. Moreover, Smith relied on codicology to prove that there is a missing folio in the manuscript and that these two fragmentary charters are not parts of the same deed.⁶¹ Such conclusions provide further evidence in support of Ross's assertion.

Smith's thesis draws on the recent British and European work and applies it to Kelso, examining the history of the abbey before the production of the cartulary, the composition of the cartulary, and the authenticity of the charters therein. Smith concludes that the production of the cartulary was tied to a specific period in the abbey's history and that it was produced because of the destruction of the monk's charters, home, and property after the outbreak of war in 1296.⁶² Smith concluded that the cartulary was not a completely accurate reflection of the monastery's archive, particularly before 1296, and that "tampering may have been far more pronounced than the available material allows us to surmise".⁶³

The second recent thesis is Joanna Tucker's, *A new approach to medieval cartularies: understanding manuscript growth in AUL SCA MS JB 1/3 (Glasgow Cathedral's Registrum Vetus) and the Cartulary of Lindores Abbey in Caprington Castle*. This thesis, again drawing on the European approach, focuses on manuscript growth and scribal interactions and offers a new methodology for examining cartularies written by multiple scribes.⁶⁴ Tucker traces the development of these manuscripts through scribal contributions, focussing on texts added to the cartulary, foliations, marginalia, as well as the scribes' palaeography, and the gatherings of deeds themselves.⁶⁵

These two theses have focussed on specific elements of monastic cartularies and have begun to bring new focus, and potentially even a new methodology, to examining Scottish cartularies. Far more research is required

⁶⁰ Smith, *Kelso Abbey Cartulary*, 39-44.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, 39-44.

⁶² *Ibid*, 2.

⁶³ *Ibid*, 201.

⁶⁴ My thanks to Professor Dauvit Broun for obtaining a copy of the first chapter from Dr Tucker's (then embargoed) thesis and also my thanks to her for sharing it.

⁶⁵ Tucker, *A new approach to medieval cartularies*, 1-4.

into Scottish cartularies to fully analyse these important manuscripts to explain their creation, growth, management, and authenticity. Furthermore, what comparisons or contrasts could be drawn between different cartularies? Did different orders arrange and manage their cartularies in a similar way? Was there a concerted effort between houses to re-establish their muniments after destruction by the English in the late thirteenth and fourteenth century? Monastic cartularies are the richest source of written information for the twelfth to the early fourteenth century in Scotland. Of the deeds datable between 1093 and 1314, about 70% survive as transcripts rather than originals. The majority of these are found in medieval cartularies⁶⁶ and these collections are just as important to the understanding of the monastery itself as they are to Scottish history in general. This argument is not put forward lightly. Where research has been conducted into the published editions of monastic cartularies and *libers*, it has been demonstrated that they contain flaws, errors, and inaccuracies. Moreover, since these collections were published, the scholarship and methodology on monastic cartularies has advanced. Far richer information is coming to the fore as a result of the analysis of these sources in their historical context as well as the construction, order, and management of the cartulary.

Historians should no longer treat these published editions as faithful reproductions of primary sources in their own right. That does not mean disregarding them completely but recognising that they are a product of their contemporary conventions in editing and methodology. Practices employed by the editors of the published editions of the nineteenth and early twentieth century do not meet modern academic rigour or convention. Alasdair Ross's and Andrew Smith's research, as well as Dowden's critiques, demonstrate that these published editions contain flaws, inaccuracies, and errors: the artificial creation of a deed, confected witness lists and charters, inaccurate transcriptions, and omission of material.⁶⁷ Since Alasdair Ross's essay, the use of these published editions as primary source material leaves such database projects as The People of Medieval Scotland, especially the network analysis of witness lists, and also The Database of Dedications to Saints in Medieval

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 1.

⁶⁷ See above pp.19-21, 25-29, for specific examples.

Scotland open to challenge because these projects relied, and continue to rely, on this printed material.⁶⁸ These are only a small number of findings against a large corpus of work but it is likely that these types of discoveries will continue to be made if these published deeds are compared to the originals. It is worth noting that these findings tie in with the analysis and conclusions of the team working on *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707* project. They concluded that the nineteenth-century Thomas Thomson edition excluded a host of material that led to gaps in the record, invented phrases, alter the original terminology, and re-arrange the material.⁶⁹ Far greater comparative analyses are required between the source material and the published editions because the editors were, at times, drawing on documents that survive in more than one copy, which has no doubt led to some of the conclusions mentioned, especially in Alasdair Ross's article. Without further research, those who use these editions should be aware that they may not be looking at an accurate transcription.

Previous Transcriptions and Publications of Cartulary A

Cartulary A has been transcribed twice and the cartulary's contents, along with the later recension, have been used to form part of Cosmo Innes's *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* edition and volumes of the *Regesta Regum Scottorum* series.⁷⁰ The cartulary is a key source for understanding medieval Gowrie, Perth and Perthshire, the Augustinians, and Scottish monarchs generally, as well as their relationship with a monastery that was adjacent to their inauguration site. With this in mind, it is little wonder that this cartulary has attracted the attention that it has.

The two transcriptions of Cartulary A are from the eighteenth century. The first is by Walter MacFarlane and is dated 1738. It is housed in the National Library of Scotland and catalogued as Advocates Manuscript 35.2.5. The

⁶⁸ As stated on their websites, both of these projects welcome corrections.

⁶⁹ RPS, editorial introduction (www.rps.ac.uk; date accessed 21/05/2020).

⁷⁰ Volume IV, part 1 of the *Regesta* series seemingly relied on *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* rather than the cartularies themselves. As a result, the partial charter of King Alexander III to the monastery, which is omitted in Innes's edition, is also omitted from the *Regesta* volume.

second is by a Mr Hay of Delgaty. It is also located in the National Library of Scotland, catalogued as Advocates Manuscript, 9a.1.13. The transcription itself is not dated but the date of Hay's death is recorded as 1745. Neither of these transcriptions contain any specific information about why they were transcribing the cartulary. Both of their transcriptions are alongside transcriptions of other cartularies. Presumably, a general interest in the source material and Scottish, and monastic, history was the driving force behind the transcription efforts. What both MacFarlane and Hay did was transcribed the manuscript and papal rotas, as well as adding some of their own notations in the margins of their transcriptions.

MacFarlane's Transcription

MacFarlane's transcription of Cartulary A is in the same collection as his transcription of the fifteenth/sixteenth century cartulary of Scone and the cartulary of Inchcolm Abbey. MacFarlane's work can be both commended and criticised. On the positive side, almost all Latin contractions are expanded. He has written the calendar year of the opening deed next to the first line. He has identified and written where the manuscript is deficient. MacFarlane has also copied in the Papal rotas⁷¹ into the main body of his transcription, just as they are in the original manuscript, and he has also indicated in the margin where the original manuscript changes folio. In addition to this, he has transcribed large parts of the marginalia from the source material, including the additional comments next to the episcopal entries,⁷² and wrote a list of the deeds and folio numbers at the end of the transcription. MacFarlane also added a small number of his own notations. For example, 1226 is written in the margin at the opening of the first transcription,⁷³ date ranges are given in the margin beside three separate testing clauses,⁷⁴ and has also indicated where there is an issue with the order or continuity of the original manuscript or damage to it.⁷⁵

⁷¹ A rota is a symbol consisting of a cross with two concentric circles. The four inner quarters usually contain *Petrus*, *Paulus*, the pope's name, and ordinal number. In between the concentric circles the pope's motto is often written. See appendix for photograph. Chartularies of Inchcolm Abbey and Scone Abbey transcribed by Walter MacFarlane, 1738, Adv. MS. 35.2.5, f.143^r, f.148^r, and f.150^r.

⁷² *Ibid*, f.158^r – f.162^r.

⁷³ *Ibid*, f.141^v.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, f.166^r, f.167^v, and f.168^v.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, f.144^v, f.147^v, f.150^r, f.153^r, f.163^v, f.170^v, and f.177^r.

The inclusion of the folio numbers beside the deeds in MacFarlane's work provides an insight into the structure of the cartulary manuscript in 1738. The deed of John Ylbaren of Perth was transcribed as one complete document by MacFarlane, who has marked up the two folios in the margin as to where the information is located in the manuscript, f.26^v and f.28^r. However, f.31, which is currently in the cartulary the wrong way around, must have been in the correct place at the time of MacFarlane's transcription because his work flows and has f.31^r in the margin, whereas f.31^r is technically positioned in f.31^v in the current cartulary.

MacFarlane's transcription, however, contains transgressions and contemporary practices that have resulted in an incomplete presentation of the manuscript. Each deed is preceded by an introductory sentence in Latin regarding the deed's content. This may have been common practice at the time he was working but could suggest that each of these was a rubric contained in the manuscript, which it is not. Throughout MacFarlane's work there are some omissions and rearranging of words in the transcription,⁷⁶ a very easy mistake to make when undertaking such an exercise. The absence, or inclusion, or rearrangement of these words does not fundamentally change the overall meaning or content of the deeds but it does not present an exact copy of the manuscript.

There are, however, bigger omissions that do have an impact on the overall completeness of the manuscript transcription and potentially have wider implications. In his transcription of the first deed in the cartulary, a charter of Papal privilege issued by Honorius III in 1226, that details the rights, liberties, lands, and churches of Scone, MacFarlane failed to transcribe the churches of Invergowrie and Liff, as well as the village of Innerbuist with six carucates.⁷⁷ This exclusion is obviously not deliberate because there is no reason for it to be omitted. A glance from one line to the next and it is easy to miss the detail. However, if any researcher was using MacFarlane's manuscript as their sole

⁷⁶ For example, *bona* is omitted from a papal deed. See Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th century, Adv. MS. 34.3.29, NLS, f.i^r - ii^v (no.1) and MacFarlane's transcription, NLS, f.141^v – 143^r. One deed has *volumus esse* in the cartulary, Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xvii^v - xviii^r (no.39) and MacFarlane has *esse volumus*, MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.159^{r-v}.

⁷⁷ MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.141^v – 143^v and Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. i^r - ii^v (no.1).

source then they would not have an accurate transcription of what is contained in Cartulary A. These omissions do not have a major impact on understanding of when these churches came into the canons' possession because the churches of Invergowrie and Liff are repeatedly confirmed by the bishops of St Andrews throughout Cartulary A. It is another example of an oversight in the transcription, demonstrating that it is incomplete.

The biggest error that MacFarlane made was to exclude the last three deeds in the cartulary from his transcription. Two of these are severely faded, with only a few lines visible. These are, possibly, a duplicate entry of Robert I's grant of the thanage of Scone and David II's confirmation of that grant. The other charter that he fails to include, though the manuscript is not as faded as the other two, is a charter of the abbot of Scone appointing an Augustinian canon to the church of Kildonan. The charter is incomplete due to almost half the folio being missing but a partial transcription is possible. It follows a deed of a visitation by the bishop of St Andrews to the monastery and it is written in the same hand as that document. The reason for exclusion of this deed, and the Robert I and David II thanage transcription, could be their incomplete state in 1738, in itself an important indicator of the condition of the manuscript. If that was the motivating factor, then it was not applied consistently throughout MacFarlane's transcription because the visitation deed of the bishop of St Andrews is also incomplete due to a substantial tear in the final folio, resulting in almost half the folio being lost. The exclusion of these deeds, especially the appointment to Kildonan, means that MacFarlane's transcription, while containing many positives and valuable insight into the state of the manuscript in 1738, cannot be considered a wholly accurate or complete transcription of Scone's fourteenth-century cartulary.

Hay's Transcription

The transcription of Cartulary A by Mr Hay of Delgaty seems to have been an attempt simply to copy the main body of the texts in the order in which they appeared in the cartulary. As with MacFarlane's transcription, this provides an invaluable picture of the order of the manuscript at the time of his transcription, which is slightly different from how it is now and also different from the time of MacFarlane. Hay expanded the Latin contractions and included sketches of the

Papal rotas.⁷⁸ Hay did not include any rubrics or introductory Latin sentencing unless it appears in the manuscript. He identified the deficiencies in the manuscript and not this in his transcription⁷⁹ and did not attempt to correct them, simply transcribing the manuscript as it appears before him. Hay transcribed some partial charters, such as the fragmentary charter of King Malcolm IV before the King Robert I material. This transcription did not include any of the marginalia from the manuscript that was copied by MacFarlane, and, like MacFarlane, Hay chose to exclude some material from his transcription.

Hay also included his own notations in his transcription. He wrote *Insula de Lochtey* in the margin on three separate occasions when it appears in the manuscript.⁸⁰ The partial entry of King Malcolm IV's great confirmation charter is accompanied by *carta Malc. Reg. A.R. 11* beside it.⁸¹ This is followed on the next folio by a similar notation for King Robert I's inspection and confirmation of this deed and again repeating the notation for Malcolm's regnal year.⁸² Other notations include indicating where the gifts of King Alexander I and King David I are listed in one of the papal confirmations. This is written as *Ex Dono [king] I.R.*⁸³ Finally, there are notes from some people, such as Geoffrey, clerk of the Liverance,⁸⁴ and some places, such as Melrose,⁸⁵ and some calendar years.⁸⁶ These no doubt served as quick reference points for the author.

Hay has excluded four deeds, the last four in the cartulary: a visitation of the bishop of St Andrews, the appointment of an Augustinian canon to the church of Kildonan, and a deed of Robert I and one of David II granting the thanage of Scone to the monastery. As mentioned under MacFarlane's transcription, all four deeds are incomplete due to severe fading, torn and stained folios. Hay's refusal to include even the visitation deed, however, seems strange. Although the deed is written by a different scribe than the rest of the manuscript and is stained and missing in parts, there is a substantial

⁷⁸ Saint Andrews Priory Register and Scone Abbey Cartulary [transcript] by Mr Hay of Delgaty, before 1745, Adv. MS. 9a.1.13 f.6^r, f.15^r, and f.18^r.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, f.8^v, f.14^v, f.55^r, f.57^r, f.59^v, f.60^r, and f.64^v.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, f.4^r, f.16^r, and f.20^v.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, f.18^v.

⁸² *Ibid*, f.19^r.

⁸³ *Ibid*, f.16^v.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, f.63^r.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, f.63^v.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, f.15^v and f.41^r.

amount of detail that can be copied. Like the MacFarlane transcription, therefore, Hay's work, while important, cannot be considered a wholly accurate or complete transcription of Scone's fourteenth-century cartulary.

Liber Ecclesie de Scon

The deeds contained in the fourteenth-century cartulary of Scone have been edited for publication in various volumes and collections including the *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, *Scottish Episcopal Acta* vol.1, and *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*. Of these, it is the *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* that attempts to pull together the muniments of Scone Abbey and present them as one collection. *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* was edited by Cosmo Innes, published in 1843, and presented to both the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs.⁸⁷ Like other such publications, it contains a Preface, which outlines a narrative of the monastery's history as well as an overview of the source documents, the actual documents, and finally the appendices. The preface devotes approximately one page to discussing the two monastic cartularies and then explains what forms the appendices take. These comprise of a valuation of the abbey, taken from an act of Parliament in 1561, an extract from the Book of Assignation of the Surplus of the Third of Benefices, and finally a list of lands held in feu from the abbot or commendator of Scone 1584-1586. In addition to this, interspersed between the documents from the cartularies, are charters that Innes identified as 'originals'. Innes explains in the Preface,

*"The charters in this collection, given on the authority of these authentic materials, are distinguished from those taken from either of the Registers, by being printed with the abbreviations of the originals. They are also indicated in the prefixed Table".*⁸⁸

To indicate these 'originals', Innes included '*orig*' in the Tabula. These 'originals', that is a surviving independent charter or breve, can be split into two categories: those that were copied into the cartulary and those that were not. If

⁸⁷ For evidence that Cosmo Innes was the editor of *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* see p.12.

⁸⁸ *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, xviii-xix.

the original brieve or charter existed, Innes chose that over the cartulary transcription. For example, King Malcolm's grant of the teind of bread and other teind north of the Lammermuirs, is transcribed into the later recension of the cartulary and is also catalogued in the National Records of Scotland as RH6/1. Innes also included originals that have not been transcribed into either recension, or if they were, have not survived. For example, the earl of Fife's charter concerning the fourth part of his fishery of 'Stan Inche', appears in the published edition and is catalogued in the National Records of Scotland as GD190/3/63. There is no discussion in the Preface as to whether these originals have been transcribed into one or both of the cartularies. An examination of these fifty-two 'originals', which constitutes just over 20% of the 233 acts in the published edition, excluding the appendix, against both recensions of the cartulary shows that 9 were copied into the fourteenth-century cartulary, forty-three are absent from what survives in the cartulary today, if indeed they were ever copied into it. Sixteen were copied into the later recension, thirty-six were not. Only four were copied into both recensions.⁸⁹

With *Liber Ecclesie de Scone*, Innes was presenting the muniments of Scone rather than an edition of the cartularies of Scone. His arrangement of the material follows nineteenth-century editorial convention, which gave primacy to royal material and a chronological ordering to the deeds,⁹⁰ which is similar to the arrangement of the material in Cartulary B. Innes did not explain his rationale for selecting the text of a given deed from a particular recension, where it exists in both. His preference seems to have been to select a deed from the later recension because the majority of those have witnesses listed. Innes was then seeking to present the most complete version of the deed he could find, similar to his approach for *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*.

Although Innes had a different objective to Hay or MacFarlane, there is a small shortcoming in his published edition. He does not include six of the transcriptions from Cartulary A. These deeds are important and it is not the only

⁸⁹ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xiv^v (no.28), f.xvi^v (no.35), f.xiii^r (no.18), and f.v^v (no.8) and Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th century, Adv. MS. 34.3.28, NLS, f. viii^r - viii^v, f.lxx^v - lxxi^r, f.xv^v - xvi^r, and f.lxii^v - lxiii^r. These were King William's confirmation of Hugh of Calder's grant, an episcopal confirmation of Bishop Hugh of St Andrews, King Alexander II's grant of a net in a fish pond in the thanage of Scone, and a bull of Pope Innocent IV.

⁹⁰ Ross, "Bannatyne Club", 208.

time that omissions have been discovered with Innes's work. Four texts were omitted from the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*,⁹¹ published in the same year as *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, 1843. As with Scone, these texts were available to the editor but were not selected. Of the six omissions from *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, three of these are only partial transcriptions in the cartulary but three are also complete deeds. The partial deeds that are missing are a deed by King Alexander III, possibly his general confirmation charter; the charter of Matthew Crambeth, bishop of Dunkeld (1288–1309); and a grant to the monastery for the sustenance of a priest or canons to say prayers for the donor and his brothers. Their exclusion may be due to their incomplete status but if this is the case, then why did Innes include other incomplete deeds? Both the record of the visitation to the monastery by the bishop of St Andrews and the appointment to the church of Kildonan are incomplete deeds. Innes has represented the gaps in these records by dots in the published edition.⁹² If incompleteness was a criterion for exclusion from the published edition then it was not applied consistently. Yet, this seems an unlikely reason because there are three other deeds, which are complete, which have been excluded.

The first of these is a letter of Pope Clement V (1305-1314),⁹³ which is also recorded in Cartulary B.⁹⁴ The deed itself forbids anyone to trouble the monastery, or to seize, take in pledge or detain in anyway the monastery's goods. The transcription in both recensions are complete. There is no ambiguity over the content of the document or its meaning, yet it did not find its way into the published collection. Following this deed in the earlier recension of the cartulary is another letter of Pope Clement V taking the monastery under papal protection. His clerks may have felt that both deeds were similar enough in meaning to render producing both an unnecessary duplication; as a result, only one was chosen. Both documents are indeed similar in spirit but both have different content and therefore different purposes. One is a deed of general protection, which was included in the edited collection, and one is a prohibition on the seizure or detention of the monastery's goods, which was not. There is

⁹¹ W.W. Scott, "Eight Thirteenth Century Texts," in *Miscellany XIII*, Scottish History Society, 5th series, volume 14, (Edinburgh, Scottish History Society, 2004), 16.

⁹² *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, 137-139.

⁹³ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. iv^r - iv^v (no.3).

⁹⁴ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f. lxi^v - lxiif.

nothing in the Preface or any other part of the publication that discusses the reasons for the omission of this deed.

The two other deeds that are omitted seem to be related. One is a charter of Bishop Gamelin of St Andrews, dated 1266, in which he concedes and confirms the grants of churches and lands made to Scone Abbey by his predecessors.⁹⁵ The other is a charter of a Bishop William of St Andrews, probably William Malveisin (1202-1238).⁹⁶ The purpose of each charter is the same but in Cartulary A the Bishop Gamelin document is dated and the Bishop William charter is not. In *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, the Bishop Gamelin charter is omitted completely and the Bishop William charter is included⁹⁷ but has the date and location of the Bishop Gamelin charter. Gamelin was bishop of St Andrews between 1255 and 1271. How Innes managed to produce a charter for the publication with a bishop of St Andrews named William in 1266 is simply an error. The main body of both charters is identical. It is the only charter of Bishop Gamelin in both cartularies and its omission from the published volume would lead a researcher who used only the edited collection to conclude that no charters had been issued to the abbey by that important and active diocesan.⁹⁸ It is one of the few episcopal charters in the earlier recension that is dated and it provides evidence that Scone's canons were still seeking and receiving episcopal confirmations in the mid-thirteenth century.

Cartulary A has received the attention of antiquarians but as has been explained MacFarlane's and Hay's transcriptions are incomplete. *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* is a collection of muniments rather than an edition of the cartulary. All of these three have failed to include material located in Cartulary A. This thesis is the first, and to date, only, complete analysis of the fourteenth century cartulary of Scone.

⁹⁵ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xviii^r - xviii^v (no.42).

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, f.xvii^r - xvii^v (no.38).

⁹⁷ *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, 79-80.

⁹⁸ See discussion on pp.73-74 for more information.

From Scone's Foundation to the Early Fourteenth Century

When King Alexander I settled Augustinian canons at Scone c.1115-20 from Nostell Priory in Yorkshire he was not just emulating contemporary monarchs, magnates, and prelates by founding a monastery but continuing and cementing his own family's commitment to reform the religious life of Scotland. Scone was the first Augustinian plantation in Scotland. This order would grow in Scotland to have approximately twenty institutions of canons and canonesses. The exact number of Augustinian religious institutions cannot be determined because, in some cases, there is a lack of evidence to give certainty about a foundation.⁹⁹ These purported twenty institutions mean that the Augustinians had a presence in Scotland as substantial as the most prominent of the reformed Benedictine monastic orders established in medieval Scotland, the Cistercians.¹⁰⁰ The influence and presence of the Augustinians were far-reaching; their monasteries were widespread throughout the British Isles. By the time King Alexander I founded Scone Priory c.1115-20 there were already approximately twenty Augustinian institutions in England and Wales. Although Scone was the first Augustinian settlement in Scotland, it was not the first continental religious order to be settled there. King Alexander's father and mother, King Malcolm III and Queen Margaret, had settled Benedictine monks from Canterbury at Dunfermline c.1080 and Alexander's brother, David, later King David I, settled monks from Thiron in France at Selkirk c.1114. So, with two continental monastic foundations and a whole host of Celtic monasteries scattered throughout the country, King Alexander's foundation at Scone was part of his strategy to reform the religious life of Scotland, a strategy that included making Turgot, the prior of Durham, bishop of St. Andrews.¹⁰¹

King Alexander's rationale for choosing Scone as a foundation site might seem like an obvious one. By 1115, Scone was already a centuries old royal inauguration site and, in the words of King Malcolm IV, *principali sede regni nostri* - the principal seat of our kingdom. Scone was one of the four royal

⁹⁹ For example, the first reference to a priory on Loch Tay is 1612. See I.B. Cowan and D.E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland* (2nd edition) (London: Longman, 1976), 98-99.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 72-82.

¹⁰¹ See K. Veitch, "Replanting Paradise": Alexander I and the Reform of the Religious Life in Scotland," *The Innes Review*, volume 52, issue 2 (2001), 136-166.

manors of Gowrie and was not, therefore, controlled by an abbot or bishop who could exert lordship over it. This gave Alexander greater freedom to try to exploit Scone's spiritual, organizational, and administrative potential to strengthen his hold on the Scottish throne.¹⁰²

Scone continued to be the inauguration site for Scottish monarchs until the fifteenth century when James II, or at least his guardians, broke with tradition and carried out the coronation ceremony at Holyrood Abbey in 1437. James III was crowned at Kelso Abbey in 1460 following the death of his father during the nearby siege of Roxburgh. Scone was used again as the royal inauguration site by James IV in 1488 but James V (1513), Mary (1543), and James VI (1567) were all crowned in the Chapel Royal or the church of the Holy Rude in Stirling, and Charles I's delayed coronation took place in Edinburgh in 1633. Scone was last the location of a royal coronation in January 1651 by King Charles II but by this time the monastery was no longer in existence and its estate had been erected into a temporal lordship in 1606 for Sir David Murray as Lord Scone.

Between the monastery's foundation and the reign of James II the abbey was used thirty-four times as a location for Scottish parliaments, colloquiums, or general councils, putting it in almost equal par with Perth and Edinburgh in these years. Half of these were during the reigns of King Robert I and his son King David II.¹⁰³ Following David's release from English captivity in 1357, he held nine gatherings at Scone in an 11-year period. In addition to this, there is a direct correlation between parliaments and coronations, coinciding with the coronations of David II (1331), Robert II (1371), and Robert III (1390). Outwith parliaments, Robert I was often present at Scone. He issued thirty-nine charters from Scone. This was the third highest number of all his charters; the highest was Berwick, from where sixty-nine charters were issued, followed by Arbroath, where sixty-six were issued.¹⁰⁴ The parallels between Scone and Westminster have not passed without comment. Robert I's development of Scone along the lines of Westminster and his centralisation of government there were done with

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 142.

¹⁰³ <https://www.rps.ac.uk/static/locationmaps.htm> date accessed: 25/05/19.

¹⁰⁴ *RRS*, v, map at end of publication.

the aim of making it the "physical nexus of royalty, government, and religious symbolism" juxtaposed to the major political and economic centre of Perth.¹⁰⁵

The foundation charter of Scone Abbey has not survived in its original form. It has been transcribed into Cartulary B. As was customary at the time, no date is given in the charter and as a result of this the actual foundation date of Scone is disputed, either c.1115 or c.1120. Those who suggest the earlier date do so because of an entry in the Melrose Chronicle, a thirteenth century source, containing embedded twelfth-century material, that states in 1115 the church of Scone was given over to canons,¹⁰⁶ and *Scotichronicon*, a fifteenth-century source that gives 1114 as the date of the foundation. The differing calendar forms used in the two chronicles has led A.A.M. Duncan to date the monastery's foundation to between Christmas 1114 and 24 March 1115.¹⁰⁷

Duncan's reasoning is sound and his theory is plausible. He goes further than the two sources to bring weight to his argument by suggesting that when, in 1114, Alexander was returning to Scotland after giving military service in Wales to King Henry I, he may have visited St Oswald's church at Nostell as he was passing by Pontefract.¹⁰⁸ Without further critical examination this suggestion could be dismissed as over-reaching. It is a suggestion based on circumstantial evidence but Alexander's journey north from Wales via Nostell, then possibly to York, and north to Scotland (a modern distance of approximately 350 - 400 miles depending on where the starting point was in Wales), would have taken him anywhere between one and two weeks subject to the pace of the king and his retinue.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, Alexander had close links to the north of England; he was the only layman present at Durham Cathedral

¹⁰⁵ R. Oram, "Community of the Realm: The Middle Ages" in *The Architecture of Scottish Government From Kingship to Parliamentary Democracy*, ed. M. Glendinning, (Dundee: Dundee University Press, 2004), 74.

¹⁰⁶ This entry in the chronicle is part of the original codex in 1173/4, see D. Broun and J. Harrison, eds., *The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey A Stratigraphic Edition, I. Introduction and Facsimile* (Woodbridge: Scottish History Society, 2007), 77 and 102.

¹⁰⁷ A.A.M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842-1292: Succession and Independence* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), 85.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 85.

¹⁰⁹ This is based on the ability of the medieval English court to travel anywhere between 35 and 50 miles a day. See R. Steane *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy* (London: Routledge, 1993), 123.

when St Cuthbert's body was translated to a new shrine there in 1104¹¹⁰ and he had appointed Turgot, prior of Durham, to the bishopric of St Andrews in 1107. Durham Cathedral also had a head relic of Saint Oswald, the former king of Northumbria. This may have been another motivating factor in Alexander's selection of Nostell Priory, which was dedicated to St Oswald. His attendance at the translation, while an act of devotion, would also have allowed Alexander to exploit any political value from his attendance at a time when he was brother of the king of Scots and probably heir apparent.¹¹¹

As stated, Alexander stopping at Nostell in 1114 is circumstantial and the temptation to try to establish a link where no solid evidence exists must be treated with caution. Scone, however, was colonised by canons from Nostell Priory and the timing of Alexander's journey north and his connection to the north of England, and links to a religious order that was vigorously supported by his sister Matilda and her husband, Henry I, provide context for a visit to a church dedicated to a Northumbrian saint, from whence Scone was founded.

However, for some, such as Geoffrey Barrow and Janet Burton, a foundation date of c.1115 is far too early. Their argument rests on the date of conversion of the clergy at St. Oswald's church to the Augustinian rule. It has been argued that Henry I and Archbishop Thurstan were the primary movers in the conversion of Nostell. Indeed, the first prior of Nostell, Adelulf, was Henry I's confessor.¹¹² Henry may have initiated this transition on one of his journeys to the north of England, possibly in 1109, and Thurstan then officially founded it in 1114 when an agreement was reached in his presence between the church of Featherstone and the church of St Oswald, to which Nostell was dedicated. The outcome of this agreement was that the church of Featherstone acknowledged that the church of St Oswald was free from the customs that were being claimed by Featherstone so that canons there might serve God according to a rule.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ J. Hodgson-Hinde, ed., *Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea, vol I* (Durham: The Surtees Society, 1868), 195.

¹¹¹ R. Oram, *David I King of Scots, 1124-1153* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2020), 41-42.

¹¹² J. Frost, *An Edition of the Nostell Priory Cartulary, London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian EXIX*, 2 Volumes (University of York, unpublished PhD thesis, 2005), 25.

¹¹³ T. Burrows, "The Foundation of Nostell Priory", *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol.53 (1981), 31-5.

Janet Burton, who suggests that between his election in August 1114 and his return to northern England in 1121 Thurstan was a virtual stranger to the north, has cast doubt on this. In those circumstances, she raises the question as to when he had the time to instigate such a change.¹¹⁴ Instead, she offers an alternative view of the priory's transition, claiming that Henry I was the main driving force behind Nostell's conversion but she does not offer a date as to when this happened. She does, however, claim that Nostell's 'formal foundation' after receiving a papal confirmation in 1120 came at the request of Archbishop Thurstan.¹¹⁵ She then proceeds to tell how in 1120 or 1121 canons from Nostell were sent to convert the Culdees (*Céli Dé*) at Scone. This is the date that Geoffrey Barrow ascribes to Scone's foundation.¹¹⁶

In the absence of an actual foundation date, another possible indicator of a foundation is the year(s) in which grants or confirmations were issued to the monastery. The anniversary of a monastery's foundation and dedication to religious figures would often be accompanied by gifts or confirmations. For Scone, dedicated to Michael the Archangel,¹¹⁷ the Holy Trinity,¹¹⁸ and the Blessed Virgin Mary,¹¹⁹ there are a small number of grants and confirmations which could be an indicator of a c.1120 foundation. An episcopal confirmation of William Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews, which was given sometime between 1319 and 1323,¹²⁰ could possibly have been one such confirmation. The church of Kildonan, granted to the monastery possibly between 1222 and 1225 may also be another example.¹²¹ The evidence may seem circumstantial but when combined with the Burton and Barrow arguments, it does further strengthen a c.1120 foundation date.

Even though much has been written regarding the foundation date of Scone, it is, quite literally, all academic. A five-year date range window of c.1115 to c.1120 was still during the reign of King Alexander I, so there is no

¹¹⁴ J. Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069-1215* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 75.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, 76-77.

¹¹⁶ G.W.S. Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 155.

¹¹⁷ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.ix^r-xi^v (no.14).

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, f. ix^r-xi^v (no.14).

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, f. xiv^v – xv^r (no.29).

¹²⁰ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxxiii^r.

¹²¹ See discussion on pp.126-127.

argument to be had about which monarch founded the monastery. The next Augustinian monastery to be founded in Scotland was at Holyrood in 1128 by David I,¹²² so there is no question about Scone being the first Augustinian settlement in Scotland. So, whether it is c.1115 or c.1120, it is so close together, given the other circumstances explained, to be of little consequence, whatever the true date. It is entirely possible that the process was started c.1115 but took years to secure the ecclesiastical and secular legal agreements to enable the foundation to be made.

Apart from the foundation date, the next element of Scone's foundation that requires clarity is: was it a new foundation or a conversion of *Céli Dé* to the Augustinian rule? In the preface to *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, Innes wrote that Scone was a foundation of unknown antiquity, of the Culdees, and was reformed by King Alexander I.¹²³ Nothing in the two cartularies or any other documentation relating to the monastery indicates the presence of any *Céli Dé*. The conversion of *Céli Dé* to Augustinian or indeed, as was the case at St Andrews, parallel religious observance, is documented for other religious settlements in Scotland but there is nothing for Scone.¹²⁴ There is mention of a royal monastery at Scone in the tenth century in the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba*.¹²⁵ However, whether this monastery was still in existence at the beginning of the twelfth century or if this institution contained *Céli Dé* remains unclear. Not every monastery in Scotland was *Céli Dé* and care must be employed before using *Céli Dé* as an all-encompassing term for every non-Benedictine or Augustinian religious settlement in Scotland. It is possible that documentary evidence existed for *Céli Dé* conversion at Scone and has been lost but with so much evidence of conversion remaining for other sites either in charters or chronicles it seem unlikely. The evidence, or lack thereof, suggests that pre-Augustinian Scone was primarily a secular royal settlement.

¹²² Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland*, 88.

¹²³ *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, ix.

¹²⁴ See K. Veitch, "The Conversion of Native Religious Communities to the Augustinian Rule in Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Alba", *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* vol. XXIX, (1999), 1-22.

¹²⁵ B.T. Hudson, "The Scottish Chronicle", *The Scottish Historical Review*, vol. LXXVII, 2, No. 203 (1998), 156.

If there was a religious presence there, it may have evolved into a secular church similar to the mother churches in early medieval Ireland. Place-name evidence close to Scone suggests that a church there had superiority over other churches within the *parochia*.¹²⁶ An episcopal confirmation of Bishop Richard of St Andrews, issued sometime between 1172 and 1178, confirmed the church of Scone with its chapels of Rait, Kinfauns, and *Crag*.¹²⁷ Although the charter was issued just over 50 years after Scone's foundation, the language suggests a superior-dependent relationship that may have existed before Augustinians came to Scone. When the canons arrived from Nostell, it seems likely that there was some religious organisation of churches in existence but there is no evidence it was a *Céli Dé* settlement.

In 1164 Malcolm IV elevated Scone Priory to an abbey. His charter states that it was done for the honour of god and the restoration of the church of Scone, which was destroyed by fire.¹²⁸ This alone is unlikely to be the reason for its promotion to an abbacy. By appointing an abbot, Malcolm was bringing parity between Scone and many of the monasteries founded by his ancestors, including Dunfermline, Melrose, Kelso, Holyrood, Newbattle, Kinloss, Jedburgh, and Cambuskenneth. Two years prior to Scone's elevation, Malcolm had founded Coupar Angus Abbey. Malcolm's promotion of Scone to an abbacy was a recognition of the importance of Scone and the status of the house.

Scone's location and royal patronage allowed the canons to grow their holdings in Gowrie and southern Perthshire. Scone's main holdings were east of the Tay. As a royal foundation, the monastery relied heavily on royal patronage. King Alexander I founded the monastery within his royal demesne and the canons continued to expand their portfolio of possessions in this area. In the twelfth century, to the west of the monastery, were the religious settlements of Madderty, an *apdaine*,¹²⁹ and Inchaffray, a holy site with

¹²⁶ K. Veitch, "Replanting Paradise", 139 and T.O. Clancy, "Annat and the Origins of the Parish," *The Innes Review*, vol. XLVI, no.2 (1995), 106.

¹²⁷ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xvi^v – xvii^r (no.36). *Crag* was located on the Tay north-west of the modern Kinfauns parish, see J.M Rogers, *The Formation of the Parish Unit and Community in Perthshire* (University of Edinburgh, unpublished PhD thesis, 1992), 129 and 192.

¹²⁸ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. ix^r-xi^v (no.14).

¹²⁹ *Inchaff. Chrs.*, nos. IV and VII, 176-177.

fratres.¹³⁰ By 1200, this was Inchaffray Priory, an Augustinian monastery, established by the earl of Strathearn.¹³¹ So by the time of Scone's foundation and early expansion, there was already an established religious settlement west of the Tay and Perth, one that was further enhanced by endowments in the early thirteenth century. This may have prevented Scone from expanding in this area.

King Malcolm IV founded the Cistercian monastery of Coupar Angus in 1162, approximately 13 miles north-east of Scone. This meant that Scone was not put in serious competition for resources to its immediate north-east with another religious house until almost 50 years after its foundation. In addition to this, Scone, as an Augustinian foundation, was not encumbered by the strictures of their rule in the same way that orders such as the Cistercians were. The Cistercian rule prohibited them from appropriating parish churches and receiving income from properties or mills that they did not work themselves. These rules were, however, bent and broken but in theory this allowed Scone, in its early and formative years, an advantage over other Cistercian foundations.¹³²

Competition for patronage, and therefore resources, was fierce. As a royal foundation, Scone could always seek to exploit the royal connection as well as being in such close proximity to the royal inauguration site. However, kings, and queens, had their own legacy to secure. Following the foundation of Coupar Angus by Malcolm IV, was the foundation of Arbroath Abbey (Tironensian) by William I in 1178, and then Balmerino Abbey (Cistercian) by Alexander II and his mother Queen Ermengarde c.1228. Alexander II also founded Pluscarden Priory (Valliscaullian, later Benedictine) in 1230. The scale of monastic foundations in Scotland from c.1080 to 1230 is nothing short of spectacular. In this 150-year period over 50 foundations or conversions of existing sites were made,¹³³ though not every foundation survived and thrived. These foundations and conversions were driven by kings, nobles, and

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, II, III, and VI-VIII, 175-177.

¹³¹ Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland*, 91.

¹³² A recent study of Coupar Angus provides context to this. See V. Hodgson, *The Cistercian Abbey of Coupar Angus, c.1164-c.1560* (University of Stirling, unpublished PhD thesis, 2016), especially 31-95.

¹³³ *Ibid*, 55-112.

ecclesiastics. However, after 1230 the “great wave of monastic reform and foundation of monasteries was over”.¹³⁴ Sweetheart Abbey was the last monastic foundation in thirteenth century Scotland. Founded in 1273 by Dervorgilla of Galloway,¹³⁵ it was a Cistercian monastery and daughter house of Dundrennan Abbey (f.1142).¹³⁶ Monasteries were still receiving royal patronage but those gifts were not as frequent or as large as in previous reigns.

All of this should be expected given the vastness and variety of previous endowments, even kings were limited in resources at their disposal but resources alone were not the only reason; other forms of regular religion became popular in thirteenth-century Scotland. By the first half of the thirteenth century Dominican and Franciscans friars, as well as other orders, found favour during the reigns of King Alexander II (1214-1249) and his son, Alexander III (1249-1286). The Dominicans arrived in Scotland in 1230, under the patronage of Alexander II and possibly due to the efforts of Bishop William Malveisin of St Andrews (1202-1238).¹³⁷ The early documentary record for the order is sparse but Alexander II seems to have been responsible for foundations at Aberdeen, Ayr, Berwick, Edinburgh, Elgin, Inverness, Perth, and Stirling.¹³⁸ His patronage towards this order seems to have been based on personal preference for a more austere religious order.¹³⁹ Alexander II’s patronage of the Franciscans was far less than what the Dominicans received: a foundation at Berwick in 1231 and a second house at Roxburgh in 1235, with the bulk of the patronage for the Friars Minor coming from Alexander II’s magnates.¹⁴⁰ By the 1290s there were five different mendicant orders in Scotland, with over twenty foundations, possibly more.¹⁴¹

While newer and different religious orders were finding favour in the thirteenth century, older monasteries and orders could still attract some degree of royal patronage. Alexander II bestowed to Melrose Abbey a vast tract of land

¹³⁴ R. Oram, *Domination and Lordship Scotland 1070-1230* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 359.

¹³⁵ Cowan and Easson *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland*, 78.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, 74-75.

¹³⁷ *Ibid*, 114.

¹³⁸ *Ibid*, 16-121.

¹³⁹ R. Oram, *Alexander II King of Scots, 1214-1249* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2012), 220.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 220.

¹⁴¹ Cowan and Easson *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland*, 114-142.

in Ettrick and in a separate grant freed them from restrictions placed on their lands that were within royal hunting land,¹⁴² both of which were significant endowments. Scone was still attracting patronage from Alexander II post-1230. In 1235, the king exchanged the teinds that the canons of Scone received in bread and other things paid from the kitchens and larders of the king and queen for the lands of Meikle and Little Blair (Blairgowrie). The monks of Coupar Angus received 2.5 carucates of land in Great and Little Blair in return for yielding up their rights in the moor of Blair. The canons were to provide 'forinsec' for five davochs of land.¹⁴³ Then between 1234 and 1241, he granted to Scone his lordships of Rait and Kinfauns in return for 60 chalders of good malted barley, rendered annually.¹⁴⁴ Although neither of these were *pro anima* grants or similar in scale to the gifts to Melrose Abbey, they represented a significant increase in lordship for Scone Abbey.

The extent of Scone's lordship increased again during the fourteenth century, driven primarily by Robert I and to a lesser extent, his son, David II. Robert's gift of the thanage of Scone in 1312,¹⁴⁵ probably represented a significant gain on the part of the monastery. Although the boundaries of the thanage are not known, the grant of the thanage would have also increased Scone's fiscal, jurisdictional, and wider secular powers attached to the office of thane. It was the culmination of many years of effort by the canons to gain superiority over lands and resources in the immediate vicinity of the monastic complex. The grant of the thanage may have also been to help Scone Abbey, which was beginning to suffer financially in the early fourteenth century due to war with England.

Until the turn of the fourteenth century, Scone enjoyed a relatively peaceful existence, other than a fire sometime before 1164, and benefited greatly from its relationship with the monarchy, both as royal foundation and its juxtaposition with the royal inauguration site. Up until 1296, Scone's portfolio had grown substantially and expanded southwards to Lothian, eastward to St Andrews, northwards to Aberdeen, Inverness, and Kildonan, as well as

¹⁴² Oram, *Alexander II*, 221.

¹⁴³ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xiii^r - xiii^v (no.19).

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, f.xiv^r - xiv^v (no.26).

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, f.xiv^v - xv^r (no.29). For a comprehensive overview of thanages see A. Taylor, *The Shape of the State in Medieval Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 25-83.

consolidating its presence in Gowrie and Perth. The monastery that was in the principal seat of the kingdom had managed to sustain itself and grow but that changed at the turn of the fourteenth century and in the succeeding years.

When war broke out with England in 1296, the stability that Scone enjoyed was shattered. As part of this first campaign, Edward I ordered the removal and destruction of monastic documentation at Scone. A 1298 notarial instrument states that chests containing charters of King David I, King Malcolm IV, King William I, King Alexander II, King Alexander III, the bishops of St Andrews, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Caithness, as well as charters of the abbots, priors, earls, barons, knights, and other faithful were destroyed and ruined. These documents related to the conveyances of churches, lands, possessions, feus, alms, grants, transactions, and agreements. The notarial instrument also states that the seals were totally broken, removed, and destroyed and that the English army violently destroyed the monastery.¹⁴⁶ This list sheds light on just how extensive the monastic record at Scone was at the end of the thirteenth century. One name is conspicuously absent from the list: King Alexander I. It is possible that any documentation from his reign, including the foundation charter, was damaged or lost in a fire at the monastery before 1164.¹⁴⁷ If this was the case, then it may have implications for the later recension of Scone's cartulary, which has transcriptions of King Alexander I's charters.

The events in 1296 thus seem to have led to an extensive loss and damage of documentation but there may have been further losses in later years. In June 1306, following Robert I's inauguration in March, Edward I ordered his men to inspect Scone for muniments and relics and seize them. In November that year, Edward also asked the Papacy to move Scone elsewhere because it was in 'the midst of a perverse nation'.¹⁴⁸ Uncertainty over its continued institutional existence at Scone may have compounded any loss of documentation suffered by the monastery. The harrying of the monastery by the English, and events of the preceding ten years, were probably the trigger for the

¹⁴⁶ Damage to Scone's Charters, 1298, Register House Charters, RH 6/66, NRS.

¹⁴⁷ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.ix^r-xi^v (no.14).

¹⁴⁸ G.G. Simpson and J.D. Galbraith, eds., *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland, Preserved in the Public Record Office and the British Library, volume 5 (supplementary) A.D. 1108-1516* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Office, 1986), no.470.

monastery to seek and receive three separate Papal bulls of protection, issued by Pope Clement V in February 1309.¹⁴⁹

The trigger for the creation of Cartulary A probably came in 1323 when King Robert I issued a *briefe* to the chancellor to commission the bishop of Dunblane to examine what charters were in the canons' possession and what charters were removed, presumably by the English army. Once the bishop had established what charters survived, the chancellor was to renew these from the chancery.¹⁵⁰ The commission seems to have taken approximately three years to complete because by December 1325 King Robert I issued a letter confirming that the charters of Scone had been inspected and understood and that the monastery held its possessions freely, fully, and honourably.¹⁵¹ This deed made it clear that the taking of prises or exactions from the abbey or its men was forbidden and is perhaps an indication of the financial trouble Scone Abbey seems to have experienced in the first half of the fourteenth century. A few months later, King Robert I inspected and confirmed King Malcolm IV's important 1164 charter to the monastery that raised its status from a priory to an abbey, explicitly stating the lands, rights, and churches held by the monastery, as well as additional amendments that had been made to the original agreements and donations.¹⁵²

The specific content of each charter lost is not known but the names listed in the 1298 notarial instrument suggests that their subject-matter would have primarily been gifts and confirmations to the monastery. The wording of Robert's letter to his chancellor suggests that the canons were still in possession of some parchment. The canons were able to transcribe King Malcolm IV's 1164 charter to the monastery but only part of it survives in the cartulary due to the loss of folios.¹⁵³ King Robert I was able to inspect this and re-confirm it with some additional amendments, which included Alexander II's exchange of Blair for the rights of the royal household and kitchen (a copy of this is transcribed into the cartulary);¹⁵⁴ as well as the commutation of the rights

¹⁴⁹ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.iv^r – v^r (nos.4, 5, and 6).

¹⁵⁰ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxvi^r.

¹⁵¹ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xi^v – xii^r (no.15).

¹⁵² *Ibid*, f.ix^f-xi^v (no.14).

¹⁵³ See below on pp.147-148.

¹⁵⁴ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xiii^r - xiii^v (no.19).

of Scone, Coupar, Forgrund, and Starthardle for £7 8s. 10d (which is not in the cartulary as a separate transcription).¹⁵⁵ The inclusion of the latter in Robert's confirmation suggests that the original charter was lost between 1296 and 1306 and it was significant enough of an exchange that the canons and the king wanted it recorded in the confirmation charter.

Apart from the commission into Scone's holdings, Robert, in 1322, confirmed the findings of an inquest into the rights of Jedburgh Abbey in Restenneth Priory's holdings.¹⁵⁶ Other than Scone, Robert either granted anew or inspected and confirmed over 50 different grants to various religious houses from 1320 until his death in 1329.¹⁵⁷ Piety alone may not have been the reason for Robert's endeavour. By 1326 the king's finances were severely depleted and his inspections may have been an attempt to discover any disparity between what the monastic houses were supposed to be receiving from the crown versus what they were actually receiving. A parliament at Cambuskenneth in 1326 agreed to a tax of a tenth of all the kingdom's fermes and rents for the lifetime of the king because

*"his crown had become so diminished by various gifts and transfers made because of the war that he did not have appropriate support for his position without intolerable charges and inconveniences to his people. Wherefore he asked of them urgently that because, both in his own person and in his property, he had sustained many adversities, in order to recover and resume the liberty of all, it should please them, out of the gratitude they owed him, to find a manner and way whereby he could be sustained in accordance with what is proper to his position, without any greater burden on his people ensuing."*¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, f.ix'-xi'v (no.14).

¹⁵⁶ *RMS*, I, appendix 1, no.29.

¹⁵⁷ *RRS*, V, nos. 165, 168, 169, 170, 175, 179, 181, 199, 201, 203, 206, 212, 213, 214, 217, 218, 221, 227, 229, 230, 231, 240, 260, 269, 275, 283, 288, 289, 290, 302, 303, 306, 308, 310, 316, 318, 329, 331, 340, 346, 348, 368, 379, 382, 388, 390, 395, 400, 401, 402, 406, 407, 408, 410.

¹⁵⁸ *RPS*, 1328/1 (<http://www.rps.ac.uk/trans/1328/1>; date accessed: 23/05/2020). The transcript for the 1326 Cambuskenneth parliament is dated 1328.

What all of this demonstrates is that Scone's experiences were not unique. Other monasteries suffered at the hands of the English and used this as a trigger to create a new wave of record keeping.

Cartulary A has been labelled "a sorry assortment of four gatherings and some loose leaves"¹⁵⁹ but is that description accurate? The short answer is, it depends. The cartulary is not constructed with ornate lettering, bright colours, or beautiful marginalia. Aesthetically, it pales in comparison to the majesty of the Lindisfarne Gospels. When viewed through that lens, then yes, it is a sorry assortment. However, Cartulary A is a key text in understanding the history and development of Scone Abbey and its temporal and spiritual monastic estate, its relationship with Scottish monarchs, its association with other religious establishments and prelates, and finally how monasteries responded to the loss of documentation following the outbreak of war with England in 1296. It contains one of only two fourteenth-century deeds concerning episcopal visitations to a monastery.¹⁶⁰ Further to this, a transcription of an episcopal confirmation of John, bishop of Dunkeld, includes the first recorded reference to a thanage in medieval Scotland, sometime between 1187 and 1203.¹⁶¹ Viewed through this lens, the fourteenth-century cartulary of Scone is anything but "a sorry assortment of four gatherings and some loose leaves".

¹⁵⁹ 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 (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 171.

¹⁶⁰ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxxi^r - xxxii^r (no.82).

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, f. xix^r - xix^v (no.45), Taylor, *Shape of the State*, 68.

Chapter 2 Summary Analysis of the Cartulary

Manuscript History, Binding, and Dating

Cartulary A has been dated to the fourteenth century.¹⁶² This is due to the handwriting and the content of the cartulary. However, the binding is not medieval. It was bound by James Balfour,¹⁶³ the seventeenth-century antiquarian. Balfour was the son of the laird of Denmilne (Fife), Michael Balfour. He studied at the University of St Andrews and the College of Arms in London. He was appointed Lyon King of Arms in 1630. Before his death in 1657, he acquired a substantial library of printed works and manuscripts. The manuscript collection, which was over 250 volumes, included Scone's Cartulary A. This manuscript along with another 169 were sold to the Faculty of Advocates in 1698.¹⁶⁴ It has been in the Advocates' library ever since.

There is no absolute proof that these deeds were part of a medieval binding. There are no extant quire signatures or catchwords on the folios. These are two things that might provide evidence of a previous binding. Quire signatures are numbers and/or letters written in a quire to aid in the arrangement of the cartulary's folios. Catchwords are a word written at the end of quire that is repeated as the first word on the following folio and these help with the arrangement of the quires during binding. However, as there were several folios lost from the cartulary, as the codicology below highlights, these may have been lost also. The only way to determine if the quires were ever bound before is to dis-bind the current manuscript.

The fourteenth century was a time of record production and manuscript growth at monasteries in Scotland. The monasteries of Arbroath, Balmerino, Dunfermline, Kelso, Lindores, Newbattle all have substantial elements or their extant cartulary material dateable to the fourteenth century.¹⁶⁵ Certainly for

¹⁶² G.R.C. Davis, C. Breay, J. Harrison, and D.M. Smith, eds., *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland* (Revised edition) (London: British Library, 2010), 240.

¹⁶³ I.C. Cunningham, "Sir James Balfour's Manuscript Collection: The 1698 Catalogue and Other Sources", *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* volume VI, Part VI (Sessions 1997-8, 1998-9) (2004), 201.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 192.

¹⁶⁵ Davis, Breay, Harrison, and Smith, *Medieval Cartularies*, 227-242.

Kelso the loss of documentary records at the hands of the English was the driving force behind the creation of its cartulary. There is evidence that Scone suffered great documentary loss¹⁶⁶ and the commission established by Robert I to ascertain the extent of Scone's losses further strengthens the case for the creation of a cartulary. Moreover, the surviving deeds in the cartulary were principally written by the one scribe in a fourteenth-century hand.

The history of the cartulary between its creation and its ownership by James Balfour is not known. Why Balfour had to (re?)-bind the manuscript is also a question that cannot be answered. The creation of a second cartulary by the canons in the later fifteenth/sixteenth century could have been as a result of damage to the fourteenth-century cartulary. It is also possible that the cartulary suffered a degree of destruction when the abbey was sacked by Protestant reformers in 1559.¹⁶⁷ Manuscript dilapidation was a concern for medieval monasteries. In the sixteenth century the abbot of Cambuskenneth, Alexander Mylne, found the muniments of his monastery decaying and obtained a warrant from the king for their transcription.¹⁶⁸ The resulting cartulary is an *inspeximus* issued under the great seal. This meant that the cartulary transcriptions had the same legal standing as the originals.¹⁶⁹ This would not have been the case with Scone's cartulary. The canons would have required to produce originals for disputes or legal cases. All that can be said with certainty is that Cartulary A is a fourteenth-century creation, with an unknown number of folios that have been lost, and that its current binding is seventeenth century.

¹⁶⁶ See discussion above on pp.49-50.

¹⁶⁷ Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland*, 72-82.

¹⁶⁸ *Regist. Cambuskenneth*, v.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, vi.

Scribes

There are three separate scribes responsible for the material in Cartulary A. Nothing is known of them but it would be expected that they were canons of the monastery. The majority of the surviving cartulary was written by one scribe, Scribe A. All but four deeds were written by him. This is the scribe that has been identified as the fourteenth-century hand. It is his use of colouring and lettering that dominates the pages of the cartulary. The latest dated entry in the cartulary by Scribe A is 1326-7 (no.14). The episcopal visitation and the appointment of canon to Kildonan are the only two surviving deeds in the cartulary written by Scribe B. These two entries are 1365 and c.1371, (nos.82 and 83). The final two, partial, deeds, one of King Robert I and one of King David II, were written by Scribe C, though the manuscript is severely faded. If the David II entry is his confirmation of the thanage of Scone, then this was given in 1341 (no.85). If the Scribe B and C were making contemporaneous entries to the cartulary then Scribe C was doing so before Scribe B.

legatus & quecumque honorificatus tenet in possessione. **Acta**
 et confirmatio d[omi]ni Regis Alexandri p[ro]p[ri]e n[ost]re inde facta p[ro]p[ri]e abb[ati] & a
 uonibus testat[ur] & confirmat[ur] **Testibus**
Alex[ander] dei gra[ti]a Rex Scot[ie] omnibus p[ro]p[ri]is h[ab]it[us] vocat[ur] de que t[er]ras
 et t[er]ras salut[em] d[omi]ni present[em] & fut[ur]i nos in es[ta]m[en]t[ur] quorundam
 decimar[um] quas canonici de s[an]c[t]a petra de d[omi]no de for[est]is in g[ra]m
 dedisse concessisse et hac carta n[ost]ra confirmasse deo & beato nichola[us] de
 s[an]c[t]a & d[omi]no canonici ibidem deo sep[ar]mentib[us] et d[omi]nis s[an]c[t]i de
 p[ro]p[ri]etatis n[ost]re in theinagio n[ost]ro de s[an]c[t]a p[ro]p[ri]e s[an]c[t]i quod p[ro]p[ri]etatis h[ab]u
 erunt in p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis n[ost]re q[ui] de eod[em] no[n] remanebit nobis in p[ro]p[ri]etatis
 p[ro]p[ri]etatis nisi s[an]c[t]i deo et ille p[ro]p[ri]etatis q[ui] dicitur factos que t[er]ras h[ab]u
 n[ost]re collat[ur] fuerunt uos[ter] t[er]ras & h[ab]it[us] p[ro]p[ri]etatis canonici in lib[er]am
 p[ro]p[ri]etatis & p[ro]p[ri]etatis d[omi]ni s[an]c[t]am ad eod[em] lib[er]e & quoc[um]q[ue] plenarie & honorifice sicut
 aliqui d[omi]ni s[an]c[t]am in Regno Scot[ie] ab aliquibus corp[or]is religiose lib[er]is quecum
 plenarie et honorificatus tenet & possidet **Testibus**.

Alexander dei gra[ti]a Rex Scot[ie] omnibus p[ro]p[ri]is h[ab]it[us] vocat[ur] de que t[er]ras
 salut[em] d[omi]ni present[em] & fut[ur]i nos in es[ta]m[en]t[ur] decime p[ro]p[ri]etatis ex
 p[ro]p[ri]etatis in hospicio n[ost]ro & hospicio Regine sponse n[ost]re & s[an]c[t]i d[omi]ni om[n]i[n]i q[ui]
 canonici de s[an]c[t]a p[ro]p[ri]e consueverunt in cognun[is] in laudariis n[ost]ris & Regine
 sponse n[ost]re et p[ro]p[ri]etatis quas s[an]c[t]i p[ro]p[ri]e consueverunt in d[omi]no n[ost]ro
 de d[omi]no dedisse concessisse & hac carta n[ost]ra confirmasse deo & beato
 nichola[us] de s[an]c[t]a & canonici ibidem deo sep[ar]mentib[us] et in p[ro]p[ri]etatis sep[ar]mentib[us]
 utaq[ue] d[omi]ni n[ost]ras de magna blay et de pua blay exceptis duabus
 duabus decimis t[er]re et dimidia mensuras in feudo de magna blay quas
 dedim[us] monachis de Cyp[er] in es[ta]m[en]t[ur] conuentionis in re de blay q[ui]
 p[ro]p[ri]etatis consueverunt t[er]ras & h[ab]it[us] eisdem canonici in lib[er]am & p[ro]p[ri]etatis
 am d[omi]ni s[an]c[t]am p[ro]p[ri]etatis d[omi]ni s[an]c[t]as suas et cu[m] omnibus iustis p[ro]p[ri]etatis
 suis in bosco & p[ro]p[ri]etatis in d[omi]no & agnis in p[ro]p[ri]etatis & p[ro]p[ri]etatis in mous & ma
 p[ro]p[ri]etatis in s[an]c[t]is & molendinis cu[m] s[an]c[t]o & s[an]c[t]a cu[m] s[an]c[t]is & fossa cum

Figure 1 – Scribe A

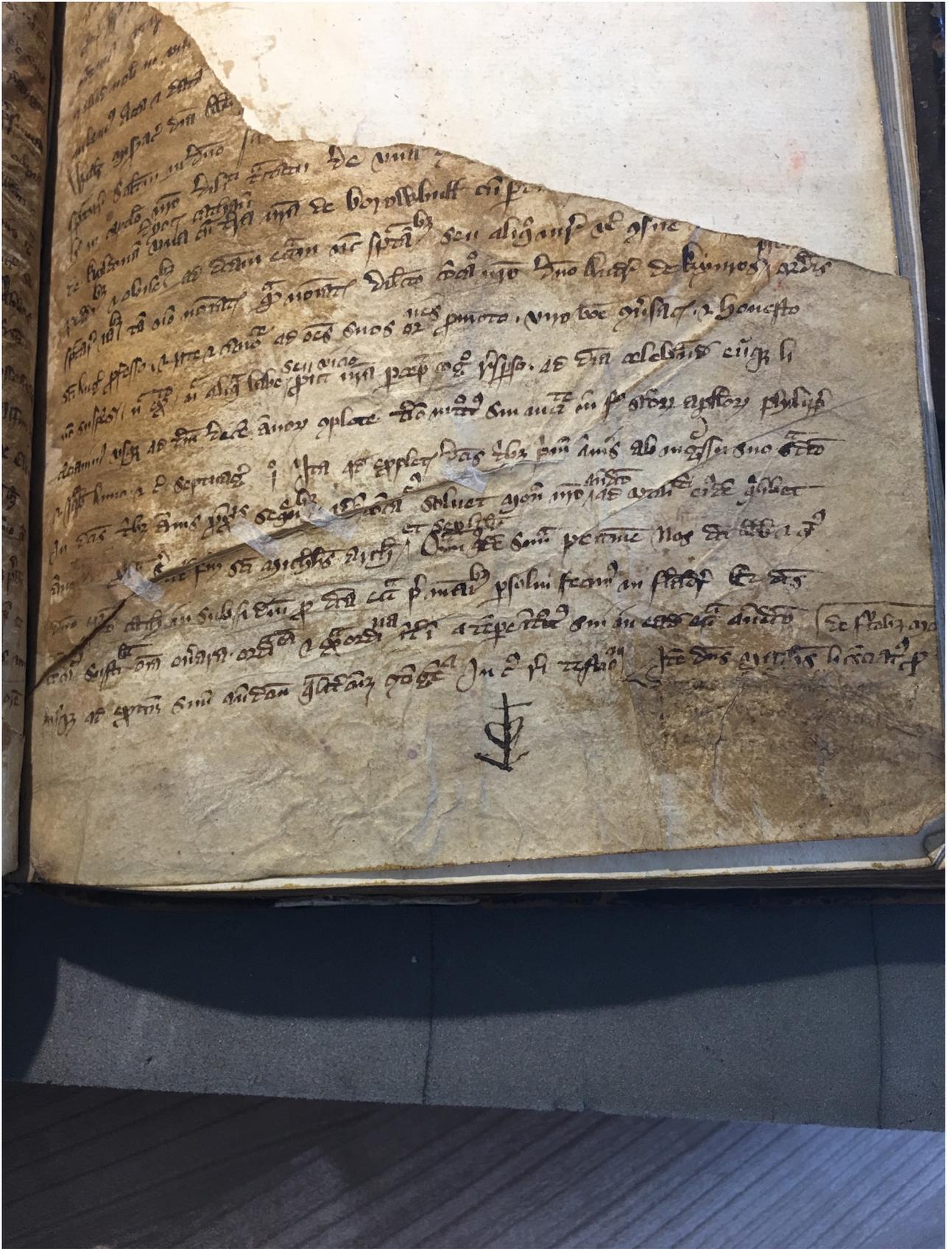


Figure 2 – Scribe B

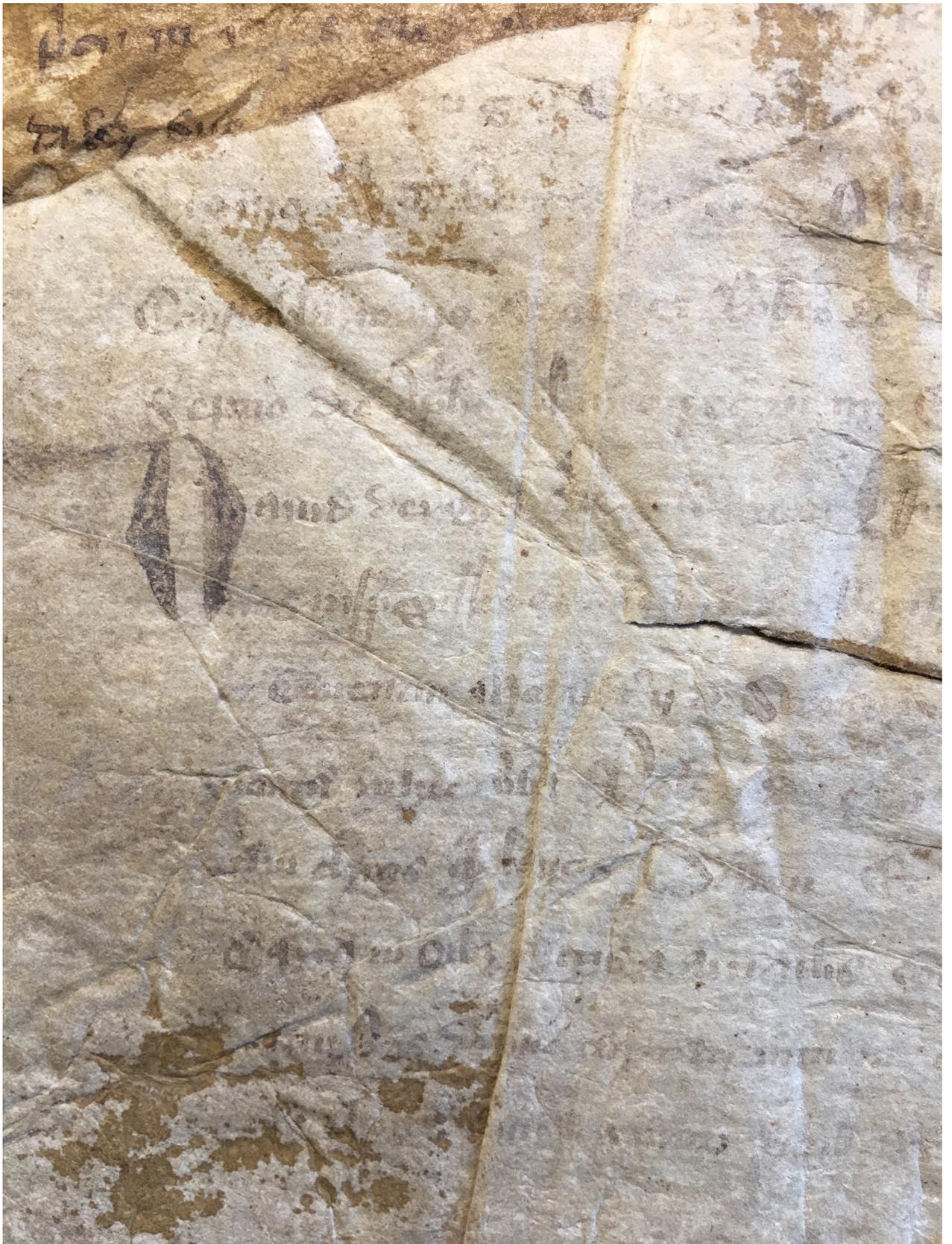


Figure 3 – Scribe C

Classification of Deeds

In the introductory chapter, a classification system of cartulary types was introduced and explained. Scone's Cartulary A fits in with the general 'cartulary' categorisation. It is a collection of copies received by the monastery relating to its assets, rights, titles, and documents. The surviving deeds in the cartulary easily demonstrate this. However, if the binding date is really the seventeenth century then it may bear no resemblance to the order of material in any fourteenth-century cartulary. The volume of material that has been lost from several of the gatherings is unquantifiable and it is possible that these lost folios may have contained medieval quire signatures and catchwords.

There are several key elements that make up a deed: the material on which it is written, the handwriting, the ink colour, and the content. This final category can be broken down even further into categories such as classification of deed, date, location, and witnesses. The scribes had influence over almost all of this, other than the classification of the deed itself. A charter, a brieve, a letter patent, papal letter, for example, were all chosen as the method by the originator. What the scribes then chose to copy was up to them.

This is where cartularies can inform discussion on the wider contemporary forms of communication and record keeping. Moreover, what a scribe chose to copy from the original indicates either their own preference or the preference of the abbot or whomever was overseeing the work. Did a scribe choose to enter the date or location or witnesses from the original, if it was available? With enough analysis, trends emerge as to the preferences of each scribe. For the fourteenth-century cartulary of Scone, this was almost entirely the work of one man. This fact will make it easier to identify the editorial choices he made.

Table 1 – Deed Classification in Cartulary A

Type of Deed	Count	Description
Charter	63	In a monastic cartulary, it should be of no surprise to find that charters are the most common type of deed transcribed. This instrument was the main method for transferring property. These charters include both gifts

		and sales of property, churches, or legal rights, as well as confirmations of these grants. These are usually identified by the formulaic phrasing " <i>dedisse et concessisse et hac mea carta confirmasse</i> " or with a slight variation in word order. These deeds usually have witnesses listed. There are examples where this wording is not used but the deed can still be classified as a charter. One such example, is King Alexander II's gift of Rait and Kinfauns to Scone Abbey, where the key wording is <i>tradidisse</i> , ¹⁷⁰ the perfect active infinitive of <i>trado</i> (to hand over, give up). Brieves, of which there are five extant copies in the cartulary, are similar to charters. They are usually addressed to a person or group and usually contain an instruction or command.
Papal letter	8	A papal letter usually includes <i>salutem et apostolicam benedictionem</i> in the opening preamble and usually confirms rights or benefices or declares decrees.
Brieve	6	A document that is similar to a charter and addressed to a person or group of people. They contain instructions and commands.
Unknown/ incomplete	2	See discussion below.
Papal privilege	4	A papal privilege was usually used to confirm rights or property and jurisdiction. These usually contain the phrase <i>in perpetuum</i> in the opening preamble and include the papal rota at the end of the deed.
Letters Patent	3	Letters patent began to be developed and used from the thirteenth century onwards. They are usually addressed to a single person or group of people. They contain the phrasing, <i>omnibus ad quos presentes littere pervenerint</i> ,

¹⁷⁰ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xiv^r - xiv^v (no.26).

		or a slight variation of that. They do not have a list of witnesses.
Total	85	

The table above contains all the deeds in the cartulary, even those that are only partial: nos.12, 17, 49, 50, 82, 83, 84, and 85. All of these, apart from nos.17 and 50 have enough information to be classified. No.17 is a partial copy of a deed of King Alexander III, it only has three lines and does not contain enough information to fully classify it. If it is a copy of his general confirmation of possessions to the monastery, that is copied into the later recension of the cartulary, then it could be classified as a charter. No.50, appointing a canon or priest who will say prayers for the donor's brothers David and Robert, does not contain enough information to be properly classified. Given the nature of the deed, it was probably a charter.

Dating

In Scotland, the date of issue was not regularly included in royal charters until the 1190s.¹⁷¹ This means that the scribe would not have had access to this information to include it in their transcription.

Table 2 - Date Classifications in Cartulary A

Date Type	Count	Explanation/Example
None	51	No date has been copied into the cartulary.
Partial calendar date and pontifical year	8	<i>Datum Pictaviis octavo idus februariis pontificatus nostri anno tercio</i> Dated at Poitiers, 8 th Ides of February, in the third year of our pontificate
Incomplete	7	

¹⁷¹ RRS, ii, 81.

Partial calendar date and regnal year	6	<i>Datum apud Sconam vicesimo nono die Decembris Anno Regni nostri vicesimo</i> Dated at Scone, 29 th December, in the 20 th year of our reign
Partial calendar date	3	<i>Datum apud Scon Anno et cetera m cc quatragesimo septimo.</i> Dated at Scone in the year etc 1247
Partial calendar date and religious calendar	5	<i>apud Sconam die Jovis proximo post festum beati Barnabe apostoli Anno domini M CC L secundo</i> At Scone, the Thursday after the feast of Blessed Barnaby the Apostle, in the year of our Lord 1252
Full calendar date and pontifical year	3	<i>XVI kalendes Ianuarii indictione XV Incarnationis dominice Anno M CC vicesimo sexto Pontificatus vero domini Honorius pape tercii Anno undecimo</i> 16 th Kalends of January, 15 th indiction, in the year of the Lord's incarnation 1226, in the 11 th year of Pope Honorius III's pontificate.
Calendar year	1	<i>anno ab incarnatione domini M CC XIX</i> In the year of the Lord's incarnation 1229
Regnal year	1	<i>Anno Regis Malcolmo undecimo</i> In King Malcolm's 11 th year
Total	85	

Almost two thirds of the deeds in the cartulary do not have dates copied in their texts. Fifteen of the deeds in the cartulary have a potential pre-1190 date, which

would mean that there was probably no date on the original. This still leaves a substantial number of deeds where a date would have potentially been available to the scribe but he has chosen not to copy it into the cartulary. Eight of the transcriptions that do not have a date recorded in Cartulary A have a date recorded against them in Cartulary B, all of which are royal deeds.¹⁷² Why the scribe chose to omit the dating clauses available to him is unclear. No pattern can be discerned as to why he chose to enter some dates and not others. Given that it was the one scribe who wrote almost all of the surviving deeds in the cartulary, it can be concluded that there was an apparently inconsistent transcription process when it came to dates.

Locations

This information was a routine feature of royal and papal charters and briefs. The location of where a deed was issued is also an important factor in determining when and who issued the document if other pertinent information, such as dates or witnesses, is missing. Only twenty-seven of the eighty-five deeds in the cartulary (31%) have a recorded place of issue.

Table 3 - Places of Issue in Cartulary A

Location	Count
None	51
Incomplete	7
Scone	5
Lateran	3
Perth	3
Poitiers	3
Cargill	1
Crail	1
Edinburgh	1
Inchcolm Abbey	1

¹⁷² Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xiii^r (no.18), f.xiii^r - xiii^v (no.19), f.xiii^v (no.20), f.xiii^v - xiv^r (no.22), f.xiv^r (no.23), f.xiv^r (no.24), f.xiv^r (no.25), f.xiv^v (no.28), and f.xxii^r (no.25) and Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xv^v - xvi^r, f.xvi^r - xvi^v, f.xvii^v - xviii^r, f.xvii^v, f.xvi^r, f.xviii^r - xviii^v, f.xvi^v - xvii^r, f.viii^r - viii^v.

Inchture	1
Jedburgh	1
Melrose	1
Perugia	1
Rieti	1
Rome	1
Sens	1
Stirling	1
Viterbo	1
Grand Total	85

The eighteen different locations at which the deeds were issued underline the peripatetic nature of medieval kings, popes, and bishops as well as the impact of on-going papal disputes. There is a correlation between those charters that do not have a date of issue and those that do not have a location of issue. 68% (58) of the deeds in the cartulary do not have a date or location recorded. This includes the seven deeds that are incomplete. Of the 58 deeds that do not have a date, only one has a location: a brief of King Malcolm IV, given at Jedburgh.¹⁷³ Of the 58 deeds that do not have a location, only one has a date: a charter of John Ylbaren to Scone Abbey.¹⁷⁴

Witnesses

Table 4 - Witnesses Recorded in Cartulary A

Witnesses in Transcription	Count
No	44
Yes	35
Incomplete	6
Total	85

¹⁷³ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xv^v (no.31).

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, f.xxvi^v and f. xxviii^f (no.71).

Witness lists can be an expedient mechanism for determining the date of a deed if none was recorded or allowing a modern researcher to pinpoint where a particular individual was at a particular time. However, these witness lists must be treated with a degree of caution. Analysis of the charters of King Henry I of England (1100-1135) concluded that the witnesses recorded might not have been present but named due to their importance within the specific geographic location to which the charter refers and that this practice may have occasionally been exercised in Scotland.¹⁷⁵ Recent research on the presence of witnesses suggests that naming witnesses to deeds who were in fact absent at that time was the exception rather than normal practice; the expectation was that they would be present.¹⁷⁶

Thirty-five of the eighty-five deeds (41%) have witness lists recorded. Again, this seems to be at times a deliberate decision by the scribe because witnesses were recorded for some of these deeds. 17 of the deeds that do not have any witnesses recorded in Cartulary A have witnesses listed in *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*. These were either taken from the later recension of the cartulary or from an original, single-sheet charter or breve. An in-depth analysis of all the witnesses recorded in this cartulary will not be undertaken for two reasons. The first is that monarchs issued roughly a quarter of the material and the witness lists to these have been analysed in the *Regesta Regum Scottorum* series. The second reason is that the People of Medieval Scotland database provides information and background to all documented people in Scotland between 1093 and 1314 that were mentioned in over 8600 contemporary records.¹⁷⁷

What the witness lists do show should be of no surprise. The top tier of medieval Scottish society witnessed the royal deeds. King Robert I's inspection

¹⁷⁵ *RRS*, i, 78.

¹⁷⁶ D. Broun, "The Presence of Witnesses and The Making of Charters", in D. Broun, ed., *The Reality behind Charter Diplomacy in Anglo-Norman Britain* (e-book, <http://paradox.poms.ac.uk/ebook/index.html>, 2011), 257. The exception to this rule still existed in the fourteenth century. See *RRS*, v, 110-119, 132, and 152.

¹⁷⁷ This database, however, did, at times, use the editions of primary material by the Victorian historical societies but identifies when it did so.

and confirmation of Malcolm IV's charter charters was witnessed by the bishops of St Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Dunblane, the Isles; the abbot of Arbroath, who was also the chancellor; the constable; the chamberlain; the steward; the lord of Douglas; and the earls of March, Ross, and Strathearn.¹⁷⁸ The papal charters were often witnessed by a long list of ecclesiastics, commonly including a list of cardinal deacons.¹⁷⁹ The material relating to Perth was often witnessed, as can be expected, by many of the locals, some of whom appear in several different deeds. Henry Bald and William Lynn are examples of this; they appear as witnesses to two different deeds.¹⁸⁰ When witnesses are listed in the episcopal material, they were largely ecclesiastics, with some laymen accompanying them. For example, the bishop of Caithness, the abbot of Dunfermline, the priors of St Andrews and Inchcolm, the archdeacons of St Andrews and Dunkeld, and a chaplain named Alexander are listed as witnesses to a charter of Bishop Hugh of St Andrews, along with the king's clerk.¹⁸¹

Of the five deeds issued by Scone Abbey in the cartulary, only two have recorded witnesses. The first is the 1225 agreement between Scone and Coupar Angus over the teinds of the villeins and serfs of Banchory, Kinclaven, and Creuchies. This was an agreement made before papal judges-delegate and senior prelates were present. The bishop of Brechin and the dean of Angus were there as the judges-delegate. Also in attendance were the bishops of St Andrews and Dunkeld, including two chaplains of the bishop of Dunkeld, the archdeacon of Dunkeld was also present, so too were the chaplain of Cargill, the dean of Rattray, and Simon of Linlithgow, Robert Raperlaw, Robert of Perth, and 'many others.'¹⁸² The second deed of Scone with witnesses is the thirteenth-century agreement between Abbot William of Scone and Margaret concerning the lands donated to the hospital of St John the Apostle. The witnesses to this deed were, again, a mixture of ecclesiastics and laymen, including the dean of Angus, the vicar of Perth, the chaplain of the bridge and

¹⁷⁸ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f ix^r - xi^v (no.14).

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, f.ii^v - iv^r (no.2).

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, f.xxviii^r – xxviii^v (no.72), f.xxix^r (no.74).

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, f.xviii^v – xix^r (no.43).

¹⁸² *Ibid*, f.xxix^r - xxxi^v (no.52).

two other chaplains, and several burgesses and grieves of Perth.¹⁸³

These two witness lists offer very little insight into Scone or its personnel. No canons are listed as witnesses to these charters. The People of Medieval Scotland database identifies two of the chaplains in the witness list of the agreement between Abbot William and Margaret as chaplains of Scone.¹⁸⁴ There is no discussion as to why they have been listed as chaplains of Scone and this is the only deed that they witnessed. No canons or obedientiaries are listed as witnesses to any of the deeds in the cartulary, other than the abbot. Yet, they appear elsewhere in surviving examples as witnesses to contemporary documents. The cartulary of Inchaffray Abbey has four separate examples of Scone's abbot, prior, and/or canons witnessing charters between the mid-twelfth and mid-thirteenth century.¹⁸⁵ It was not just at monasteries in proximity to Scone Abbey where Scone canons occur as witnesses. Prior Nicholas of Scone is listed as a witness in a charter (attributed to 3 May 1128 x 22 April 1131) of Bishop Robert of St Andrews (1123/4-1159) to Kelso Abbey. The charter did not involve Scone Abbey directly. It was a grant to Kelso that gave its monks freedom from subjection and exactions and allowed the convent to receive chrism, oil, ordination, and other sacraments from any bishop in Scotland or Cumbria.¹⁸⁶ Nicholas' presence can be attributed to his relationship with the bishop of St Andrews, who was formerly the abbot of Scone, and a time when Bishop Robert was working to found an Augustinian monastery at St Andrews.¹⁸⁷

All this underlines that a monastery's cartulary should be viewed as the starting point for research into the monastery and in no way as the totality of information related to it. Unfortunately, the canons of Scone who appear as

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, f.xxviii^r - xxviii^v (no.72). The mention of the chaplain of the bridge is a possible thirteenth-century reference to the chapel of St Mary at the bridge of Perth, which was a recurring meeting place of the Exchequer in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

¹⁸⁴ *PoMS*, no. 8984 (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/person/8984/>; date accessed 10/06/19).

¹⁸⁵ *Liber Insule Missarum*, xxvi, 9, 10, and 58.

¹⁸⁶ *SEA*, i, no. 131.

¹⁸⁷ See A.A.M. Duncan, "The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, 1140," *The Scottish Historical Review*, volume LXXXIV, 1: No.217: (2005), 1-37 for an overview of this foundation and the relationship, through Bishop Robert, between St Andrews Cathedral Priory and Scone Priory.

witnesses in other documents and cartularies do not constitute in themselves enough information to give an estimated number of canons in the community in the twelfth, thirteenth, or fourteenth centuries. Details from other charters, including the witness lists, reference various canons and obedientiaries at Scone. Cartulary A has a deed of Geoffrey, clerk of the Liverance, that grants to the sacristan of Scone, the lands that King Alexander II granted to him.¹⁸⁸ The terrar of Scone is listed in a 1284 charter that details the sale of land in Dundee to Ralph, son of Gregory Long of Dundee.¹⁸⁹

Rubrics, Ink Colour, and Marginalia

Most of the cartulary is written in black ink but the use of coloured ink is, at times, prominent. The coloured ink was primarily used for the initial letter of the first word in a transcription and occasionally elsewhere throughout the document. Seventy-one deeds have a red initial, five have black ink, three have red and green, two have blue, and one initial has been completely cut out of the cartulary. In addition to this, seventy-five of the deeds have red ink throughout their texts. Of the five deeds where black ink is used for the first initial, only one has red ink used within its text.¹⁹⁰ The other four deeds are the last four documents in the cartulary. Two of these deeds are post-1360 documents and it is possible that the purpose of the cartulary may have changed from the time of the original transcription and therefore there could have been a change to the manner in which the text was embellished.

At times the scribe may have been using coloured ink as an identifier or marker. Although the combination of red and green ink only appears three times, each time it does is in an ecclesiastical deed. Two of these texts appear in succession.¹⁹¹ As well as this, blue ink is used to write the 'A' of King Alexander II in a charter that is the first in a sequence of nine deeds by that king.¹⁹² The evidence is not conclusive because there are far more

¹⁸⁸ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxx^v (no. 77).

¹⁸⁹ Sale of land by William Cissar, 1284, Register House Charters, RH 1/2/66, NRS.

¹⁹⁰ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxix^v - xxx^v (no. 76).

¹⁹¹ *Ibid*, f. xviii^r - xviii^v (no. 42), f. xviii^v - xix^r (no. 43), f. xxi^r - xxi^v (no. 52).

¹⁹² *Ibid*, f. xiii^r (no. 18).

ecclesiastical deeds in the cartulary than use red and green ink on the first initials but the examples seem more than coincidental and it is possible that the scribe was experimenting with using colour as an identifier.

The use of coloured ink brings a decorative element to the cartulary but it is not the only one. The papal rota, which is an element of the papal signature, is copied into the cartulary three times: once for Pope Honorius III, once for Pope Innocent IV, and once for Pope Alexander III.¹⁹³ The rota is two concentric circles with the inner circle split into quadrants. The top right quadrant usually contains text that reads *sancte petrus* and the top left usually reads *sancte paulus*. Spread over the two bottom quadrants is usually the name of the pope and between the two concentric circles is usually that particular Pope's motto.

Only one example of further decorative design is found in the text of the cartulary and it is quite plain in format. The decorative element occurs in Harald Maddadson's grant of one mark of silver, annually, to the monastery, the ascender on one of the letters has been used to draw a face.¹⁹⁴ In Cartulary B this type of embellishment is much more common and forms part of the marginalia within that recension. The marginalia in the fourteenth-century cartulary is primarily in the form of a rubric. Rubrics are headings or introductions to the deed beneath it and are typically written in red ink above the deed itself. In this cartulary, there are forty-six rubrics, which is more than half the deeds in the cartulary. However, these rubrics are never written with red ink and, other than in respect of one bull of Pope Honorius IV,¹⁹⁵ always appear in the margin rather than above the deed itself. Some of the text of these rubrics is illegible either because the writing is too small, which has caused the letters to be ill-formed, or it has been partially cut off when the cartulary was bound. The rubrics would have provided the canons with a quick reference or check to determine what was in the deed.

There are other examples of these types of quick referencing tools. A

¹⁹³ *Ibid*, f.i^r - ii^v (no.1), f.ii^v - iii^v, and f.vii^r (no.2), f.vii^r – ix^v, and f.iv^r (no.3).

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*, f.xxiv^v (no.63).

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid*, f.vi^r (no.10).

charter of Pope Innocent IV that confirmed Scone's freedoms and privileges has marginalia that use specifics of the text as a quick identifier. When the text reads that the Pope prohibits anyone from committing robbery, theft, arson, bloodshed, seizing and killing men or committing other violence within the boundaries of the abbey's places or granges, "*grangiarum libertas*" is written in the margin beside it. Finally, when the text refers to all the liberties and immunities granted by his predecessors and those liberties and exemptions of secular exaction indulged by kings, by princes or other faithful, the word "*immunitatis*" is written in the margin.¹⁹⁶

The rubrics, marginalia, and ink served different purposes or were used possibly even to experiment but one aspect of all three stands out: at times, they were used to provide the canons with a quick reference or identifiable marker. There is no level of consistency with the approach taken by the scribes, which suggests a level of freedom was afforded to them in the copying and managing of the cartulary. The use of these markers suggests that the fourteenth-century cartulary was used in the administration and management of the monastery and its estate. It seems to have been a quick way to find certain material, should the canons need to reference it. Hence the grouping of certain geographic material together, such as relates to Perth, or the sequential duplication of transcriptions and royal confirmations.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, f.ii^v - iii^v, and f.vii^f (no.2)

A Comparative Analysis of the Two Recensions

Although this thesis is intended to analyse and contextualise Scone's Cartulary A, this cannot be done without reference to the later recension, Cartulary B. There are eighty-five deeds in Cartulary A and 142 Cartulary B. The earlier recension, compiled between the 1320s and the 1370s, contains deeds datable to the 1160s through to the 1370s. The later recension has been dated to the fifteenth or sixteenth century.¹⁹⁷ It contains documents from c.1115-20 to the 1450s and was written by a single hand. Due to these facts, it is likely that the transcription of the cartulary started no earlier than the 1450s. No analysis has been performed on the binding of Cartulary B. As a result of the overlap in the chronology of the contents of both recensions, there are deeds that have been copied into both cartularies, some that should appear in both but do not, and, given the time periods, some that should only appear in the later cartulary.

Of the eighty-five deeds in the fourteenth-century cartulary, forty-two appear in the later version. It cannot be concluded with any certainty if Cartulary B used Cartulary A as a source. The later recension contains numerous testing and dating clauses that have not been recorded in Cartulary A. This would suggest that the scribe for Cartulary B was using material other than Cartulary A to compile his version. All the papal and royal material from Cartulary A has been copied into the later recension. Forty-three entries in Cartulary A have not been copied into Cartulary B. These can be categorised as,

- Non-royal secular grants (twenty-one, which includes the Perth burgh material)
- Episcopal (eleven)
- The royal household (five - though one of these is a repeat),
- Abbatial deeds (five)
- Canonical (one).

Cartulary B is incomplete and it breaks off halfway through a charter of inquiry into lands held by Bishop William Lamberton of St. Andrews' predecessors in

¹⁹⁷ Davis, Breay, Harrison, and Smith *Medieval Cartularies*, 240.

Kilspindie.¹⁹⁸ There are tens of folios remaining in the recension, many of which are lined. It can be surmised that these deeds probably would have been copied in at some point if transcription had continued and suggests a different logic behind the arrangement of the material. Of these eleven episcopal deeds that were not copied, the bishops of Dunkeld issued seven and the bishops of St Andrews issued four. This means there are no deeds by the bishops of Dunkeld in the later recension of the cartulary.

The four deeds of the bishops of St Andrews that do not appear in the later version of the cartulary have almost nothing in common other than the bishop of St Andrews issued them. None of the four is from the same bishop, and three of the deeds appear in succession in the fourteenth-century cartulary. The omissions are Bishop William Malveisin's grant of Kincarrathie,¹⁹⁹ Bishop Roger's confirmation of the grant by David Lyn to the church of Borthwick that consisted of one acre and one perch of land,²⁰⁰ Bishop Gamelin's general confirmation charter of Scone's possessions,²⁰¹ and the record of Bishop William Landallis' mid-fourteenth-century visitation of the monastery.²⁰²

The arrangement of the deeds in Cartulary B is broadly: royal, papal, and episcopal, with the latter focussing on St Andrews, which may have been a possible source for records recovered by 1323 for Cartulary A. While it could be concluded that they would eventually have been copied into the clearly unfinished cartulary, it is important to explore if there are any other reasons why they have not been copied into the later recension. That Bishop William's grant of Kincarrathie has not been copied into the cartulary stands out from the others. It would have been expected for it to appear somewhere between the deeds of Bishop Hugh of the Seal (1178-1188) and Bishop William Lamberton (1297 -1328). The canons certainly took possession of Kincarrathie following Bishop William Malveisin's early thirteenth-century grant. The canons received a request from King Robert I to take stone from their quarries of Kincarrathie and 'Balcormoc', which is now Quarrymill, west of Bridgend in Perth.²⁰³ Both of

¹⁹⁸ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxxvii^v.

¹⁹⁹ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xviii^r (no.40).

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, f.xviii^r (no.41).

²⁰¹ *Ibid*, f.xviii^r - xviii^v (no.42).

²⁰² *Ibid*, f.xxxi^r - xxxii^r (no.82).

²⁰³ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxviii^r.

these still belonged to Scone when James VI granted the monastery and its lands to William Ruthven, earl of Gowrie in 1581.²⁰⁴ Accidental omission is unlikely because the scribe was deliberately selecting material and ordering it in the way that he wanted. Exactly why the scribe chose to omit this transcription is unclear.

The same ambiguity surrounds the omission of Bishop Gamelin's charter to the monastery from the later recension of the cartulary.²⁰⁵ When the deeds from Cartulary A and Cartulary B are compared, Bishop Gamelin's charter in Cartulary A is almost but not wholly identical to a charter of a Bishop William in Cartulary B. The opening statement is the same but the personal name William has replaced Gamelin. There are some additions and omissions or insignificant words of variation between the deeds and slight spelling differences. However, both are dated at Crail on the Thursday before the Feast of St Mark, 1266.

Clearly a mistake has been made somewhere and the formulaic nature of the bishops' charters makes it very difficult to determine any additional specific information, which would further elucidate causes. Moreover, it is a general confirmation and does not contain a list of any specific churches, which may have identified the grantor. Two different conclusions present themselves. The first, as discussed in the preceding section, is that Bishop William Landallis issued the charter in Cartulary B and when the scribe copied in the date, "*Anno gracie M CC sexagesimo sexto*",²⁰⁶ he mistakenly omitted a C in the Roman numeral to give the date as 1266 rather than 1366, which is during the episcopate of Bishop William Landallis.

The other conclusion is that there has been a different mistake. Indeed, the *People of Medieval Scotland* database attributes this deed to Bishop William Wishart. There is no justification for this attribution. The entry in the database is accompanied by a note that states that the date is mistaken and should be 1277 not 1266.²⁰⁷ There are no other deeds surviving in any source issued by William Wishart on or around this date at Crail or elsewhere that may

²⁰⁴ RPS, 1581/10/94 (<http://www.rps.ac.uk/mss/1581/10/94>; date accessed: 12/02/17).

²⁰⁵ Moreover, this deed does not appear in the Bannatyne and Maitland Club publication of *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* and, as a result of this, does not appear in the *People of Medieval Scotland* database.

²⁰⁶ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxxiii^v - lxxiv^r.

²⁰⁷ PoMS, H2/10/266 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1437/; date accessed 17/02/17).

support or disprove this assertion. Its attribution to William Wishart may be driven simply by the charter's attribution to the thirteenth century by Cosmo Innes in *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*.²⁰⁸

It is most likely that this is a charter of Bishop William Landallis and a C has been mistakenly omitted from the date. It would certainly be easier to mistakenly omit one C than enter an entirely wrong decade and year, especially when the decade and year are in written rather than numerical format. Moreover, the charter is followed, in the later recension of the cartulary, by two other deeds of Bishop William Landallis. This sequential placing supports an attribution to William Landallis rather than William Wishart. Even with this attribution it still does not explain why Bishop Gamelin's charter was not copied into the later recension. Leaving aside simple scribal oversight, it is possible that the canons believed that there was no need to copy it in because they had a more recent and equally full confirmation by a bishop of the same see. If this was the approach taken then it was not applied equally across the other entries.

The omission of Bishop Roger's confirmation of David Lyn's grant to the church of Borthwick may be more than scribal error. King David I granted Lochorwart (Borthwick) in Lothian, to Scone at an unknown date; the original deed does not survive but is referenced in later royal confirmations as a gift from David I. Bishop Richard of St Andrews confirmed the church *in proprios usus* to the monastery sometime between 1172 and 1178.²⁰⁹ It is listed in various papal and episcopal confirmations in the twelfth and thirteenth century. By the fourteenth century, however, the church had regained its independence and there are references to rectors and vicars in the documentary record but by the mid-fifteenth century the church's parsonage and most of its teind was diverted to the newly established collegiate church of Crichton.²¹⁰ Exactly when the church re-gained its independence is not known but that it did may explain why the charter from the earlier recension was not copied into the later one: it was not needed; the monastery was no longer in possession of the church at

²⁰⁸ *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No. 115, 79-80.

²⁰⁹ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xvi^v – xvii^r (no.36).

²¹⁰ (<https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=161324>; date accessed 06/03/2016).

the time of the creation of Cartulary B and had abandoned any effort to recover possession.

Forty-three deeds from the earlier cartulary are omitted from the later recension but what about vice versa? Although the later recension was composed between the mid-fifteenth and sixteenth century, there are deeds that appear in Cartulary B but which are not transcribed into, or survive in, the earlier cartulary but their dates mean that they could have been included in an earlier recession. Cartulary A contains no document dated later than c.1371. There are eighty-three deeds in Cartulary B that have an actual or attributable date earlier than c.1371. These eighty-three are spread across all issuers: royal (71), episcopal (7), papal (3), monastic (1), and one unknown issuer, the last deed in the cartulary, though it is probably episcopal. This royal material includes acts of Kings Alexander I, Malcolm IV, William I, Alexander II or III, Robert I, and David II.

That there were damages and a loss of some records is clear but what did this mean in practical terms for the canons and were these losses as extensive as the notarial instrument suggests? The canons must still have had access to some originals because there is a partial transcription of King Malcolm IV's confirmation charter in Cartulary A²¹¹ and Robert I was able to inspect it and reconfirm it. This would suggest that not all charters were stolen or destroyed. At least five of the deeds survive as stand-alone documents that can be referenced independently of the cartulary. These are King Malcolm IV's confirmation of income in kind²¹² and four charters of King William I: his declaration confirming teind of his fishing in the Tay opposite Scone, Kinnoull Hill, and Kinfauns;²¹³ his confirmation of *cain* and custom of one ship that comes up the river to Scone;²¹⁴ his confirmation of the monastery's right to have its own court;²¹⁵ and the same king's brieve that commanded wherever the abbot of Scone or his serjeant discovered *cumlawes* or *cumherbes* belonging to the monastery they were to have them returned.²¹⁶

²¹¹ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.ix^r (no.13).

²¹² Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.ix^v - v^r.

²¹³ *Ibid*, f.vii^v.

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, f.ix^v - ix^r.

²¹⁵ *Ibid*, f.ix^v - x^r.

²¹⁶ *Ibid*, f.xi^r.

The monastery must have had access to these stand-alone documents but either chose not to copy them into the cartulary or they did copy them and they have been lost from the cartulary. They perhaps believed that entry into the cartulary of King Malcolm IV's confirmation of their teind income from north of Lammermuirs was unnecessary because King Robert I's inspection and confirmation of Malcolm IV's grand confirmation charter to the monastery specifically listed all of this income. Also, specifically listed in this confirmation was the canons' right to have their own court and the right to have the *cain* and custom of one ship. Given the fact that the cartulary's creation was contemporaneous with Robert I's reign this is a strong possibility.

For the other two grants, there may be different explanations. King William's brieve that ordered the return of *cumlawes* and *cumherbes* may no longer have been required by the canons. By the mid-fourteenth century, the canons of Scone probably did not exercise the same rights of possessive lordship over people as they did in the mid-twelfth century, when the brieve was issued. That is because in that time the nature of lordship had changed and so too had the stratification of society; in particular, the status of those who were serfs, or more widely, the 'unfree'. By the end of the fourteenth century, lordship over *neyfs* had practically disappeared²¹⁷ but from the twelfth century onwards there had also been an evolution in terminology, status, and privilege of the medieval peasant in Scotland. The nomenclature evolved

*"...from bonders and scolo of the twelfth century to the neyfs and fugitivi of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and finally to the husbandmen and cottars of the late thirteenth..."*²¹⁸

The last deed not to appear in Cartulary A is the fish-teind grant by King William. Fishing rights were an important source of revenue for anyone important or lucky enough to have control over them. For the monastery to have

²¹⁷ R. Oram, "Rural Society: 1. Medieval" in *Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, ed. M. Lynch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 549.

²¹⁸ A.A.M. Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1992), 345. For a wider overview of this evolution see *ibid*, pp.326-348. See also A. Taylor, "Homo Ligius and Unfreedom in Medieval Scotland", *New Perspectives on Medieval Scotland 1093-1286*, ed. M. Hammond (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), 85-116 and A. Taylor, *The Shape of the State in Medieval Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 266-348.

full, unquestioned control over these rights some form of written record would have been required. Failure to be able to produce a record of ownership would have exposed the canons to challenge from others or at loss when asked to produce a record of ownership. There is an example of this from the early-thirteenth century, where Malcolm, earl of Fife, promised, upon pain of 100 marks, that when the canons presented him with the confirmation charter of King Alexander II of the fourth part of the earl's fishing in Stan Inche which was to be held until they obtained the church of Redgorton, then he would give them the charter that he holds from them that states that when they obtain the said charter the fishery will revert to the grantor and his heirs.²¹⁹

There is no discernible reason King William's charter was not copied into the cartulary given the benefits of fishing rights to the economic prosperity of the monastery and as a source of food for the canons. The monastery had extensive fishing rights in the Tay from the time of its foundation.²²⁰ By the mid-twelfth century, King David I had granted them a teind of fish caught in the parish of Scone and the generic right to fish in the Tay, granted by King Alexander I, had been fixed as two nets: one at Kincarrathie and one at King's Inch.²²¹

The specific fishing rights to which King William's charter refers may have been an attempt to define further the rights of a grant by Bishop Richard of St Andrews. Sometime between 1163 and 1172 he granted a teind of his whole fishery in Scone and the right to take fish from all places from whence the teind came.²²² King William's charter can be dated to c.1173 x 1178, so slightly later than Bishop Richard's donation.²²³ The canons clearly had extensive fishing rights in the Tay and the majority of these rights were already documented in the fourteenth-century cartulary. The canons may have decided to prioritise the material to locate and copy into the cartulary. King William's charter may have been de-prioritised given they already had a record of King David I and King Malcolm IV's grant, as well as Bishop Richard's, not to

²¹⁹ Earl Malcolm of Fife to Scone Abbey, 1204-1228, Papers of the Smythe Family of Methven, Perthshire, GD190/3/63, NRS.

²²⁰ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f. i^r - ii^r.

²²¹ *Ibid*, f. ii^r - iv^v.

²²² *Ibid*, f. lxxi^r - lxxi^v.

²²³ *Ibid*, f. vii^v.

mention King Robert I's grant of the thanage of Scone, which may have included these rights.²²⁴

These five stand-alone deeds were recorded in Cartulary B rather than Cartulary A and are a reminder that the records of a monastery stretch far beyond the monastic cartulary(ies) and that cartularies are created with a specific purpose in mind. Cartulary A seems to have been an attempt to pull together the records of the monastery that the canons could easily access. This came after the possible loss of documents in the pre-1164 fire and the damage and loss suffered at the hands of Edward I's army. Cartulary B seems to have started as a possible display copy, with the ornate lettering and colouring to be completed at a later date. The need to record more in this cartulary, given its status, may have driven the canons to locate more of the records and transcribe them. Cartulary B, however, does seem eventually to have descended into a working copy given the marginalia that exists to identify certain rights easily, such as the right to a court.

Both the cartularies are unfinished and both have space to insert more entries, which was the obvious intention. This probably would have included the twenty-nine documents that appear in Cartulary B that do not appear in the earlier recension. These twenty-nine deeds are split: twenty royal, seven episcopal, and two papal.²²⁵ During the fourteenth century King Robert I, and his son, King David II, were increasingly focussing their councils and parliaments at Scone. King Robert I held nineteen parliaments²²⁶ during his twenty-three-year reign, four of which were at Scone.²²⁷ This may seem a small percentage but of all the meeting places in his reign, Scone was the most common. In addition to this, Robert issued thirty-nine charters from Scone. This was the third highest number of all his charters; the highest was Berwick, from where sixty-nine charters were issued, followed by Arbroath, where sixty-six were issued.²²⁸ The significance of the number of documents issued from Scone is enhanced by the gradual centralisation of Robert's chancery at

²²⁴ The grant of the thanage does not specifically list what comprised the thanage.

²²⁵ This includes the last charter in Cartulary B.

²²⁶ The use of the term parliament refers to parliaments, councils, or assemblies.

²²⁷ *RPS*, Location Map, (<https://www.rps.ac.uk/static/locationmaps.htm>; date accessed, 23/01/2016).

²²⁸ *RRS*, v, map at end of the publication.

Arbroath from 1312 until 1328.²²⁹ His son, King David II, continued this trend. From Scone he issued fifty-nine charters, his third most common location after Perth (102 charters) and Edinburgh (302 charters).²³⁰ In addition to this, thirteen of the fifty parliaments held during his reign gathered at Scone.²³¹

The concentration of parliaments and councils at Scone and Perth in the fourteenth century, during a period of record creation at the monastery and the fourteenth-century cartulary, would have given the canons direct access to the apparatus of royal government. Single sheet charters issued by Robert I and David II would have allowed the canons the opportunity to archive the important originals and transcribe what they wanted into the cartulary. It is possible that the fourteenth-century cartulary contained far more entries from the reigns of Robert and David but have since been lost. This would explain why there are far more entries in the later recension of the cartulary for these two kings than what remains in Cartulary A.

Deeds That Appear in Both Recensions

Having two recensions of a cartulary affords a researcher several different opportunities. It allows the differences in content, style, scribe, and arrangement of the material to be discussed. It also allows for a comparison between those deeds that appear in both recensions. Such an undertaking is important to determine what, if anything, has changed and for conclusions to be drawn as to why. There are forty-two deeds in the earlier recension that appear in the later recension. These are a mixture of royal, episcopal, and papal material. It is not an objective of this thesis to pick apart every single difference between the two versions but an overview and some examples will provide enough detail to demonstrate the full benefit of a comparative analysis.

The later recension was written by one scribe, writing in the later-fifteenth or sixteenth century. With a minimum of 100 years between the two recensions, a difference in style and spelling can be expected. For example, in a bull of Pope Honorius III in Cartulary A, Kildonan is spelled as *kyldonach* but

²²⁹ *Ibid*, 262.

²³⁰ *RRS*, vi, map at end of the publication.

²³¹ *RPS*, Location Map, (<https://www.rps.ac.uk/static/locationmaps.htm>; date accessed, 23/01/2016).

in the same bull in Cartulary B is written as *keldunnach*. Variations like this also occur with people's names. Subtle differences like this exist throughout both recensions, so too do aspects like 'i' being written as 'j' and 'u' being written as 'v' in the later recension. The scribe of Cartulary B also chose to copy testing and dating clauses where they were available. The word order within the transcriptions of deeds that appear in both cartularies is almost identical, save for the small number of examples where the scribe for Cartulary A has either deliberately or accidentally omitted a phrase. One such example of this is a letter patent of Robert I to Thomas Randolph. The address in Cartulary A is to the justiciar north of the Forth and the sheriff of Perth²³² but the address in Cartulary B also includes the baillies of Gowrie.²³³ These differences do not fundamentally change the purpose of each deed but the stylistic nuances do demonstrate how personal preference and linguistic change played a role in how the scribes undertook their transcription effort.

Scribal preference for witness lists is one of the biggest differences between the two recensions, with the later recension having several witness lists to deeds that appear in the earlier recension but have not been copied. This suggests that the original source material for Cartulary A was still extant in the later-fifteenth and sixteenth century. In addition to this, there is an example where a truncated witnesses list, in Cartulary A, has been extended in Cartulary B. A confirmation charter of Bishop Hugh of St Andrews, confirming churches to Scone, has Bishop Andrew of Caithness and Abbot Archibald of Dunfermline listed as witnesses followed by '*et cetera*' in Cartulary A.²³⁴ The transcription in Cartulary B has Andrew and Archibald listed but also Prior Walter of St Andrews; Archdeacon Jocelin of Dunkeld; Hugh, the king's clerk; Richard, the king's clerk; Alexander, chaplain of the bishop of St Andrews; Master William Benniworth; Henry, steward; Henry, butler of the bishop of St Andrews; and Master Gamel, the doorward.²³⁵ The difference between the transcriptions demonstrates scribal preference and possibly even the purpose of the cartularies. The earlier recension seems to have been centred upon

²³² Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xii^r (no.16).

²³³ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxiii^v.

²³⁴ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xvi^v (no.35).

²³⁵ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f. lxxi^v - lxxii^r.

transcribing deeds as a response to the loss of, and renewal of, documentation. The marginalia and clustering of certain types of deeds and locations, suggests that it was used as a collection to find quickly information about certain properties and rights. The later recension is one that may have initially been for public display, which the spaces for ornate lettering suggesting something of importance for the cartulary, so completeness in detail such as witnesses would have been important.

One of the biggest differences in witness lists between the cartularies is in King Robert I's inspection and confirmation of Malcolm IV's great confirmation charter to Scone Abbey. In Cartulary A, Bishop John of Glasgow, Bishop Gilbert of the Isles, Earl Malise of Strathearn, and Earl Patrick of March appear listed as witnesses but are omitted in the later recension. It would be easy to attribute this to simple scribal oversight but was there anything else that may have driven the scribe to exclude these men? Gilbert was archdeacon of Galloway and had shown loyalty to the archbishop of York,²³⁶ before becoming bishop of the Isles, sometime after February 1322.²³⁷ His appointment to the bishopric of the Isles was obviously done with King Robert's approval and highlights that Gilbert's loyalties lay with Bruce and the Scottish crown. Bishop John was a regular witness to King Robert I's charters²³⁸ and was supported by him in his election to the see of Glasgow over the Pope's choice of the English Dominican, John Eggescliffe.²³⁹ Both bishops certainly had pro-Bruce credentials, so their exclusion is probably scribal oversight but what about Malise and Patrick?

Both Malise and Patrick had chequered relationships with Robert and the Bruce kingship. Patrick aided the escape of King Edward II following Bannockburn but is listed as traitor by English records shortly after this,

²³⁶ Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, 239. The subjection of Whithorn to York was a long-standing one, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. For an overview see G. Donaldson, "The Bishops and Priors of Whithorn", *Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History & Antiquarians Society: Transactions and Journal of Proceedings*, Third Series, vol. 27 (1950), 127–54.

²³⁷ Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, 255.

²³⁸ *RRS*, v, 758.

²³⁹ D.E.R. Watt and A.L. Murray, eds., *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad Annum 1638* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 2003), 191 and J. Dowden and J.M. Thomson, eds., *The Bishops of Scotland* (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1912), 309-312.

possibly because of submission to the Scottish king.²⁴⁰ By 1334, he had switched allegiance and was at Edward Balliol's parliament at Edinburgh²⁴¹ but by 1346 he was on the Scottish side at the Battle of Neville's Cross.²⁴² Patrick had his seal attached to the Declaration of Arbroath but this may not necessarily have been a sign of allegiance because several men who had their seals attached to this document participated in the 'Soules Conspiracy' a few months later. One such man was Malise. Implicated in the conspiracy, his son, Malise, who initially inherited the earldom of Strathearn, had it forfeited by Edward Balliol, following his invasion of Scotland. He was later charged in parliament as having resigned the earldom freely. Although found not guilty on this charge, the earldom remained in King David's hands.²⁴³

The scribe may have chosen to exclude these men given their fluctuating loyalty to the Scottish crown. However, another possibility also presents itself. Both the titles of Earls of March and Earls of Strathearn had ceased to be used by the mid-fifteenth century. The scribe may have deliberately excluded them because their titles were no longer in use. However, given that the scribe seems to have preferred completeness in transcription, with the example of the extended witness list of Bishop Hugh being an example, it is more likely that the omissions were accidental than deliberate.

Having the same grant copied into different deeds allows for any changes to those grants to be analysed. For example, one of the lands granted in the foundation charter by King Alexander I was Innberuist, with five carucates.²⁴⁴ Even though this deed is not in Cartulary A, several confirmations of it have been transcribed into Cartulary B. In Pope Alexander III's 1164 confirmation to the monastery, Innerbuist is listed as having seven carucates.²⁴⁵ A difference like this could be assigned to scribal oversight but in Pope Honorius III's 1226 confirmation, Innerbuist is listed as having six carucates.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁰ G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and The Community of the Realm of Scotland* (3rd edition) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988), 231.

²⁴¹ M. Penman, *David II, 1329-71* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2004), 51.

²⁴² *Ibid*, 134.

²⁴³ *RPS*, 1344/2 (<http://www.rps.ac.uk/trans/1344/2>; date accessed, 24/06/2017).

²⁴⁴ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f. i^r - ii^r.

²⁴⁵ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. vii^r - ix^v, and f. iv^r (no.3).

²⁴⁶ *Ibid*, f. i^r - ii^v (no.1). This section of the folio is damaged and the detail has been taken from the later recension, Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f. liv^r - lv^v.

By the time of Robert I's inspection and confirmation in 1326-7, it is listed as five carucates again,²⁴⁷ though this is taken from King Malcolm IV's 1164 confirmation. In the list of lands granted in King Alexander's foundation charter, Innerbuist is the only one with these amendments. This suggests that the scribe was deliberately changing these based on how much was under Scone's lordship at the time. The scribe for the later cartulary also copied in these changes too, which suggests that they were also using the earlier recension as a source for the later cartulary.

In another example, King Alexander I granted to Scone the *cain* of one ship.²⁴⁸ King William I confirmed this between 1165 and 1171 as the *cain* and custom of one ship that came up the river to Scone.²⁴⁹ The grant remained the same in all other confirmations other than that of Pope Honorius III. In his confirmation, it is the *cain* and custom of a ship in the burgh of Perth.²⁵⁰ This is a subtle yet important tweaking to the original grant. Perth is the farthest upstream accessible by sea-faring ship so the canons could not have received such vessels at Scone.²⁵¹ It is unclear if that was what was contained in the actual papal deed or if the scribe changed it when transcribing it into the cartulary either because they were having trouble claiming the *cain* and custom and they believed this would help them or it was changed to reflect the real situation: they were claiming the *cain* and custom and were doing so at Perth.

The two monastic cartularies can work in conjunction to help provide an overview and chronology of the monastery's spiritual and temporal rights and properties. Having these documents enables it to be determined approximately when some rights or properties were granted or developed or sold off or removed. It is easier to do this for lands and churches, as in the example of Kildonan or Borthwick, than it is for some jurisdictional or fiscal rights and privileges because the latter of these can be quite poorly defined at times. One such example of this is with the regality rights of the monastery. Regalities were

²⁴⁷ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.ix^r-xi^v (no.14).

²⁴⁸ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.i^r - ii^r.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid*, f.ix^v - ix^r.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid*, f.lv^r - lvi^v.

²⁵¹ M. Hall, D. Hall, and G Cook, "What's Cooking? New Radiocarbon Dates from the Earliest Phases of the Perth High Street Excavations and the Question of Perth's Early Medieval Origin," *Proceedings of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland*, volume 135 (2005), 275.

royal jurisdictional privileges granted to very few secular and ecclesiastical landholders. This went beyond having your own lordship, lands, and court. Regality rights included the ability to hear pleas normally reserved for the crown, like arson, murder, rape, and theft, without the interference of royal officials.²⁵²

In 1326, Robert I issued a letter confirming that Scone was to enjoy its freedoms under the Great Seal just as the abbeys of Arbroath and Dunfermline enjoy their freedoms.²⁵³ The selection of these monasteries to include in the letter suggests that Scone may have had some vague regality rights because both Arbroath and Dunfermline had similarly vaguely defined regality rights from the twelfth-century. The regality rights for Arbroath seem to have stemmed from King William's foundation charter, in which it is mentioned that the abbey will have its own court, excepting royal justice, unless the abbot is negligent in his own court.²⁵⁴ Dunfermline's seem to stem from the time of Abbot Archibald (1178 – 98) when the monks granted lands to William, son of Enguerrand. The language used in the deed suggests that the monastery had the same rights or power over that land as the king.²⁵⁵ Both the monasteries' rights were not explicitly defined in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries but there is nothing to suggest that they did claim to wield an element of supra-jurisdictional power.

There is no other reason to include Arbroath and Dunfermline as the comparisons in the letter. Yes, Arbroath, Dunfermline, and Scone were all royal foundations but so too were Melrose, Holyrood, Coupar Angus, Jedburgh, and Kelso to name a few. The monasteries at Dunfermline (Benedictine), Arbroath (Tironensian), and Scone (Augustinian) all followed different rules. Had they been the same then that could explain the inclusion of them in the same letter. The connection seems to be possession of a right to exercise regality jurisdiction within their lands.

There is no solid evidence that Scone had or exercised regality rights in the early fourteenth century other than the Robert I letter. If the canons did

²⁵² R. Oram, "Monastic Gatehouses and Regality Jurisdictions. The Gatehouse as Representation of Secular Authority in Scottish Monasteries" in *Medieval and Early Modern Representations of Authority in Scotland and the British Isles*, eds., K. Buchanan, L.H.S. Dean, and M. Penman (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 35.

²⁵³ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxv'.

²⁵⁴ R. Oram, "Monastic Gatehouses", 36.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 36.

exercise such rights then it fits in with the wider pattern of Scone consolidating its rights throughout the previous two centuries, especially in and around Scone itself. However, by the middle of the fourteenth century, Scone is referred to as a regality by David II in a letter to royal officers that informed them that despite the recent revocations in parliament, Scone still held its regality and privileges.²⁵⁶ Arbroath Abbey, however, used the term *regalitas* in its own charters. Its regality power gradually evolved and cemented rather than it being bestowed by a royal act.

By the middle of the fifteenth century, Scone had been granted the lands of Craigmallie with a regality jurisdiction by James II.²⁵⁷ The charter refers to the regality of Scone several times and lists the land in the regality, which suggests that like Craigmallie, Scone exercised regality rights over these lands too. Although the rights of regality are not fully defined at each stage, a pattern emerges that Scone may have had regality rights during the first half of the fourteenth century, or earlier, by the middle of that century Scone was referred to as being a regality.

The full extent of Scone's portfolio of lands, rights, and churches cannot be fully understood or appreciated without reference to the two extant monastic cartularies, at a minimum. Beyond these two collections is a body of evidence that exists as stand-alone charters, references in other monastic cartularies, and entries in the various royal accounts that all work together to tell the history of the monastery. However, it is the two monastic cartularies that were produced at the monastery and they offer the best insight into how elements of documentary record-keeping have changed between the production dates of the two cartularies. The comparative analysis of these two collections requires much more attention than can be given in this thesis but the discussion above demonstrates that these recensions cannot be analysed in isolation.

²⁵⁶ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxxi^r.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid*, f.xliiii^r – xliv^v.

Chapter 3 Codicology and Reconstruction Analysis

Codicology

Using codicology, the physical structure of the cartulary can be analysed and presented.²⁵⁸

Current Codicology

Gathering I: ff. 1-6

This gathering consists of three bifolios, with sewing between ff.3 and 4. The gathering ends mid document.

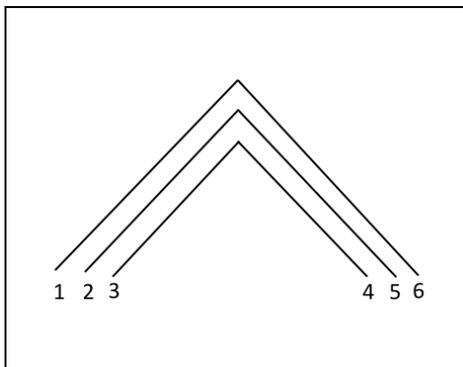


Figure 4 – Current Gathering I ff. 1-6

Gathering II: ff.7-8

This gathering consists of one bifolio with sewing between folio 7 and 8. It begins and ends mid-document.

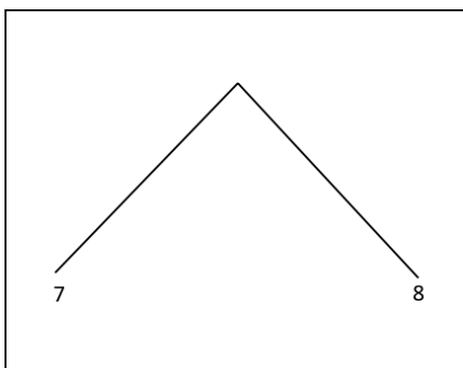


Figure 5 – Current Gathering II ff.7-8

²⁵⁸ My thanks to Professor Dauvit Broun for providing the codicological information, analysis, and reconstruction.

Gathering III: ff.9-12

This gathering consists of two bifolios with sewing between folio 10 and 11. It begins mid-document. The last folio, recto and verso, is mostly blank – with some trace of small writing on the bottom left.

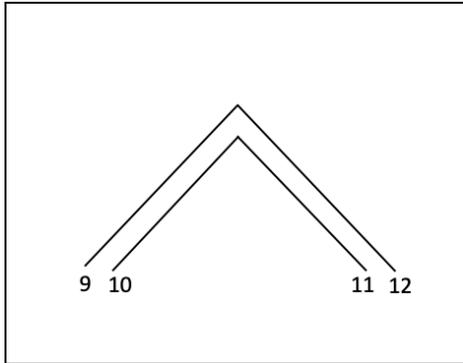


Figure 6 – Current Gathering III ff.9-12

Gathering IV: ff.13-20

This gathering consists of four bifolios, with sewing between ff.16 and 17. It begins and ends mid-document.

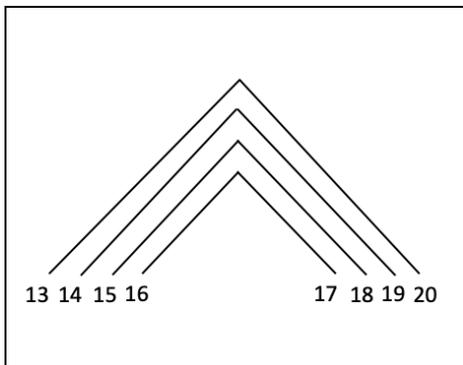


Figure 7 – Current Gathering IV ff.13-20

Gathering V: ff.21-26

This gathering consists of three bifolios, with sewing between ff.23 and 24. It begins and ends mid-document; the final deed, however, continues on f.23 (see below for detail). Some material has been lost.

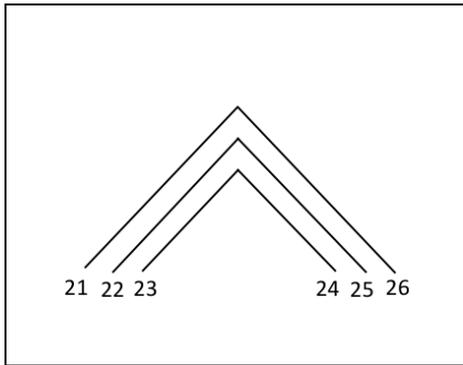


Figure 8 – Current Gathering V ff.21-26

Gathering VI: ff.27-32

This gathering is disordered with 4 singletons followed by a damaged bifolio. Two of the foliations cannot be followed. f.30 is mounted on a guard and is the wrong way around, with the recto appearing as verso and vice versa. f.32 has been torn away at the top, the ink 32 on the next folio presumably refers to f.32

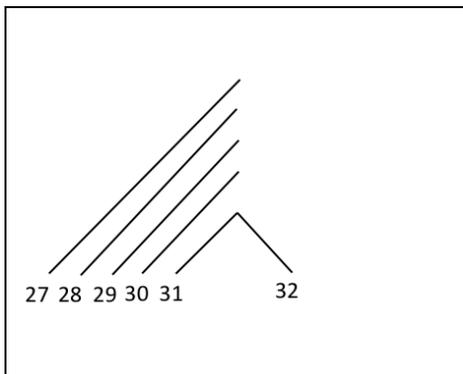


Figure 9 – Current Gathering VI ff.27-32

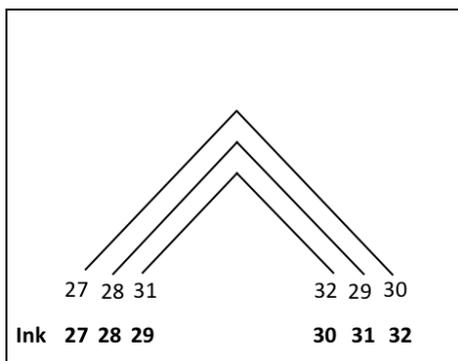
The table below relates to the current order of the folios, which are given in italics. There is an ink foliation in the middle of the top margin. In the muddled last few folios this has been scored out and a pencil correction added:

Current Order	Ink Foliation	Pencil Correction
<i>f.27</i>	27	nil
<i>f.28</i>	28	27
<i>f.29</i>	30	28

<i>f.30</i>	31 (on verso)	29 (on verso)
<i>f.31</i>	29	30
<i>f.32</i>	32 (on first paper folio)	nil

Previous Binding?

The ink foliation suggests that there may have been a previous binding. The pencil correction was an attempt to restore the order at the end of the manuscript according to the flow of the material. Hay's transcription was made when the manuscript corresponded to the ink foliation,



This was probably an attempt to organise the manuscript into a coherent physical structure regardless of contents. The current order of the material may be recognised as an effort to arrange the manuscript in a way that reflects the textual flow, although f.27 has not been placed properly.

Partial Reconstruction

When the manuscript is re-arranged and the currently divided folios are brought together again, the order is as below. It must be stressed that there is no evidence to suggest that this was the order as it appeared in the medieval cartulary. No medieval foliations quires, or catchwords are visible.

Gathering A (reconstructed): ff. 1-8

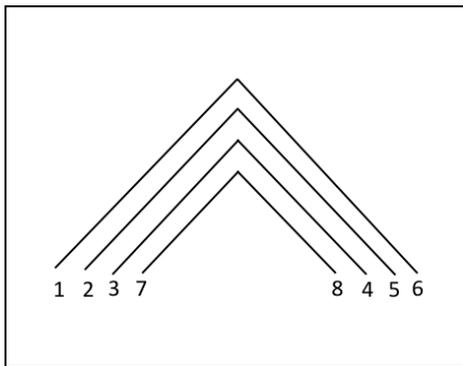


Figure 10 – Reconstructed Gathering A ff. 1-8

Folios have been lost after *Gathering A*.

Gathering B (reconstructed): ff. 9-12

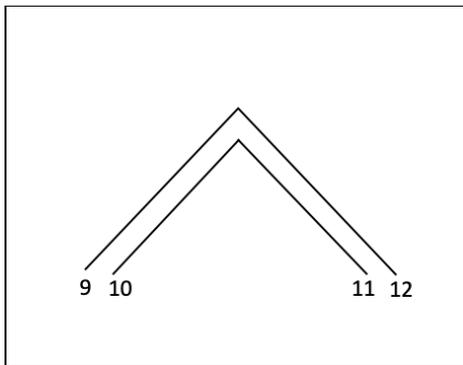


Figure 11 – Reconstructed Gathering B ff. 9-12

Folios have been lost before and after *Gathering B*.

Gathering C (reconstructed): ff. 13-20

This gathering consists of four bifolios with sewing between ff. 16 and 17.

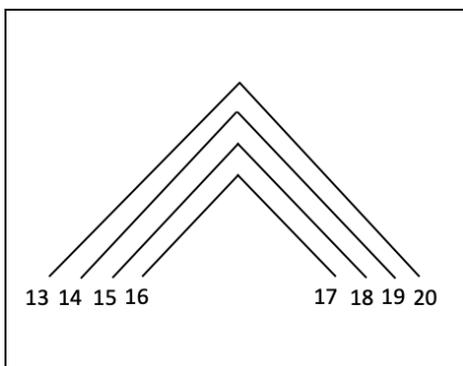


Figure 12 – Reconstructed Gathering C ff. 13-20

Folios have been lost before and after *Gathering C*.

Gathering D (reconstructed): ff.21-28

The text on f.27 flows into f.21 and the text on f.26 flows into f.28. This was probably a regular 8-folio gathering with the outer bifolio loosening and being re-entered in the wrong place.

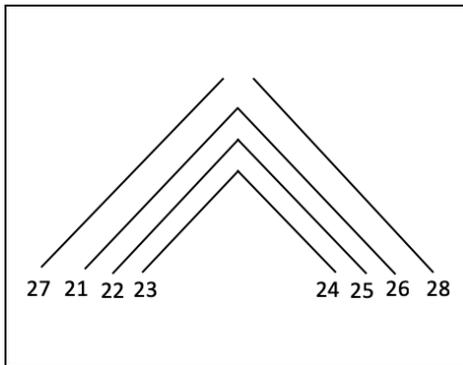


Figure 13 – Reconstructed Gathering D ff.21-28

Folios have been lost before *Gathering D*.

Gathering E (reconstructed): ff.29-32

Once f.30 (ink 31, pencil 29) are placed in the correct order the text flows from the previous gathering. The original scribe finished on f.31, with a new scribe continuing on f.32, which is damaged.

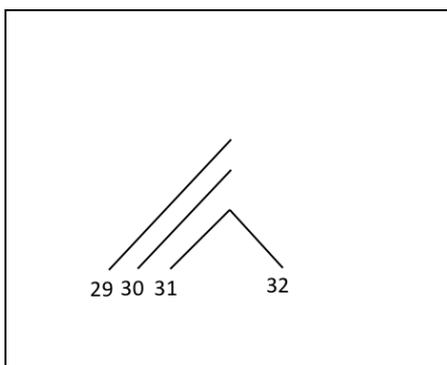


Figure 14 – Reconstructed Gathering E ff.29-32

Gathering A (Reconstruction)

The papal material consists of 12 deeds, one of which is partial. All of the papal material in the cartulary is in this gathering but folios have been lost at the end of this gathering. There is no way to determine where the papal material was located in the cartulary during the medieval period. It may have been at the beginning of the cartulary. Not enough research has been undertaken on Scottish cartularies and the sequencing of the deeds to establish a typical or atypical pattern. The papal material would have been of particular importance to the canons at Scone. In the thirteenth and fourteenth century, Scotland experienced internal strife, with challenges to the throne from within the kingdom and a period of factional politics during the minority of King Alexander III, as well as protracted warfare with England. Having several papal confirmations and protections would have given the canons some hope of a level of security from secular events. The first charter is a confirmation of Pope Honorius III, dated 17 December 1226, which lists what was probably the complete portfolio of the canons' lands, rights, and churches as held in 1226.

The material itself is primarily focussed on protecting the monastery's rights and interests. These include general confirmations, specific bulls of protection, letters to the abbot of Holyrood and the king of Scotland informing them that the canons of Scone are not compelled to answer in secular courts, and a deed, issued to the abbot of Holyrood ordering him to investigate what goods had been alienated to that monastery from Scone Abbey. Of the twelve papal deeds in the cartulary, only one deals with a different topic: a papal indulgence. In 1253, Pope Innocent IV issued a remission to those who visited the church at Scone Abbey on the anniversary of its dedication. The date of issue and the reference to the anniversary of the monastery's dedication, suggests that the monastery was attempting to attract pilgrims in the coming years, possibly in 1255 to coincide with the monastery's 140-year anniversary, presuming the foundation date and dedication date were the same. The context of Pope Innocent IV's 1253 indulgence is also important. Four years before this he canonized Margaret, wife of King Malcolm III, and offered a 40 days

indulgence to those who visited the church during the feast of St Margaret (16th November).²⁵⁹

The surviving evidence for Scone does not indicate to whom any pilgrims may have been praying, beyond the abbey's dedication to the Holy Trinity and Saint Michael. A papal letter of Clement V in 1306 to the archbishop of York and bishop of Ely ordered them to make enquiry concerning the possible removal of Scone and relics of saints said to be there.²⁶⁰ It is not until the fifteenth century that Scone is mentioned as having a head shrine of St Fergus.²⁶¹ It is possible that the monastery was attempting to fund building works and donations from pilgrims would have been another useful source of funds. Several deeds from the thirteenth century reference building work being undertaken. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the canons were granted Kincarrathie by the bishop of St Andrews.²⁶² The charter states that the canons could take whatever necessities they had from there for building chapels and other buildings. By the fourteenth century there is a 1328 reference to a quarry at Kincarrathie. Robert I wrote to the abbot and convent of Scone requesting stone from the quarries of Kincarrathie and 'Balcormoc' (Quarrymill) for the church of Perth and the bridges of Perth and Earn.²⁶³ Between 1215 and 1221, King Alexander II granted to the canons the right to take material for building works for their church from his thanages of Dull and Fortingall.²⁶⁴ Finally, between 1224 and 1245, Stephen of Melginch sold to Scone Abbey, for the works on their church, the house which Gilchrist held with a full toft and with two acres in the villa of 'Balursin' (probably in Perthshire).²⁶⁵ The thirteenth century was definitely a time of building at the monastery and the canons seem to have been using every available method to raise funds. It is only when the papal material is combined with other records that a more complete picture begins to form.

²⁵⁹ *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, nos.290 and 291.

²⁶⁰ G.G. Simpson and J.D. Galbraith, eds., *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland, Preserved in the Public Record Office and the British Library, volume 5 (supplementary) A.D. 1108-1516* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Office, 1986), No.432.

²⁶¹ *TA*, vol. II, 265.

²⁶² Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xviii^r (no.40).

²⁶³ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxvii^r.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, f.xv^v.

²⁶⁵ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxiii^v - xxiv^r (no.60).

Two of the papal charters confirm the monastery's rights, lands, and churches at particular times. These both list what had been granted to the monastery. These types of charters are invaluable to piecing together an understanding of the monastery's portfolio at a given time, especially when other written records are lost. A charter of Pope Alexander III confirms what had been granted to Scone by 1164 and a charter of Pope Honorius III does the same, dated 1226. From comparing both, it can be seen that the churches of Kildonan and Barevan are listed in the 1226 confirmation but not the 1164 confirmation.²⁶⁶ Both were granted to Scone, sometime between these two dates but no record of the grants survive in the cartulary. Kildonan remained in Scone's possession until the Reformation²⁶⁷ but Barevan did not. It is not clear if Scone ever took possession of Barevan because by 1239 it had been appropriated to Elgin Cathedral.²⁶⁸

By comparing these two confirmations side by side other differences in content and style can be noted. For example, in the 1164 confirmation, the lands in Scone's possession are listed with the number of carucates associated with each place but in the 1226 confirmation only two are listed with the carucates. One of the two listed, Innerbuist, is given as seven carucates in the 1164 confirmation and six in the later confirmation. Moreover, Scone's court is listed in the later confirmation but not the 1164 confirmation. It was granted to the monastery by King Alexander I.²⁶⁹ The scribe for both deeds was the same so why is there inconsistency between them? The six or seven carucates may have been a genuine change but it could also be scribal error. The listing of the carucates with each place granted may have been truncated in the later confirmation by scribal choice or indeed error. The 1226 deed from which the scribe was working may have listed the carucates and places in full and the scribe chose truncation or the inverse may be true, it did not contain the carucates and the scribe began to copy it in and then realised the mistake. Without a comparison against an original it is difficult to know what choices the scribe was making when transcribing the deeds. Why is the court mentioned in

²⁶⁶ *Ibid*, f.i^r - ii^v (no.1).

²⁶⁷ J. Kirk, ed., *Book of Assumption of the Third of Benefices, Scottish Ecclesiastical Rentals at the Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 631n.

²⁶⁸ PoMS, H2/8/35 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1786/; date accessed 09/10/2018).

²⁶⁹ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.ii^v.

the 1226 confirmation but not the 1164? It is plausible that it was not part of the 1164 confirmation and not confirmed by the papacy until 1226.

There are folios that have been lost and that is why the last deed in the gathering, a charter of Pope Innocent IV granting a remission to those who visit Scone Abbey on the anniversary of its dedication, is only a partial transcription.²⁷⁰ It cannot be determined fully what else was part of this gathering. It may have been further papal material or even possibly other non-papal material. Cartulary B contains papal material that may offer an indication of what *could* have been in Cartulary A but has been lost from that version. There is a 1272 confirmation by Pope Gregory X of a grant by John Fraser of Glenholm to Scone Abbey of the right of patronage of the church of St Cuthbert of Glenholm (Tweeddale).²⁷¹ It is the type of deed, a confirmation, that has been transcribed into the fourteenth-century cartulary and this one too may have been included. The later recension also contains a letter of Pope Honorius III, dated 1225, to the abbot of Scone. The pope answered a request from the abbot and made clear that any legal cases that involved the abbey, even ones that involved papal commissions, must take into considerations the lack of experience of the abbot in matters of law.²⁷² Again, this type of privilege is one that would fit well with the other papal deeds in Cartulary A. These are just two examples that appear in the later cartulary that, given the time-frame and contents, fit with the earlier recension. The scribe of the later cartulary clearly had access to the material from somewhere and felt the need to include them.

Three deeds of Pope Clement V appear in succession within the gathering. The first forbids anyone to disturb Scone Abbey, or to seize, take in pledge, or detain in any way the goods of the monastery.²⁷³ The second takes the monastery under papal protection.²⁷⁴ The third gave the monastery the right to retain the possessions and other movable and immovable goods that the free-men of the brothers at the monastery have whether or not they came to them by right of succession or other means.²⁷⁵ All three deeds were issued on

²⁷⁰ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.vi^v (no.12).

²⁷¹ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lviii^v – lix^v.

²⁷² *Ibid*, f.lxi^v.

²⁷³ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.iv^r - iv^v (no.4).

²⁷⁴ *Ibid*, f.iv^v (no.5).

²⁷⁵ *Ibid*, f.v^r (no.6).

the same day and are explicit about what was being granted. By February 1309, when these deeds were issued, Scotland had been at war with England for over 10 years and it would be logical to conclude that due to this and the destruction that the monastery had suffered, these were produced in response to petitions by the monastery. Scone had suffered at the hands of the English and was being actively targeted by Edward I in 1306-7, even to the point of potentially moving the abbey. However, the deeds do not specifically mention England or these attacks so was there something else going on? It is entirely possible that these were issued in response to disputes with other ecclesiastical or secular landowners. In 1307, Pope Clement V responded to a petition by Inchaffray Abbey and appointed the abbot of Culross to recover certain possessions that had been alienated from Inchaffray Abbey due to grants to certain clerks and laymen.²⁷⁶ In the same year, the pope addressed the dean and church of Dunblane stating the abbot of Newbattle had appealed to him about people detaining his property.²⁷⁷

Scone had previously been in a similar situation. In 1285, Pope Honorius IV wrote to the abbot of Holyrood stating that he had heard from the abbot and convent of Scone that clerics and laymen had granted certain teinds, houses, lands, possessions, meadows, pastures, forests, mills, rights, jurisdictions, and certain other goods given to the same monastery. He commanded the abbot of Holyrood to discover what goods had been alienated and return them to Scone Abbey.²⁷⁸ This was the downside to being a major landowner, having to protect what you owned and recover what was taken. One way to do this was with papal intervention.

Identifying which pope issued a deed can be troublesome if the dating used does not contain a year and only uses a location and papal year. The three deeds of Pope Clement V only contain a papal year (3rd) and location (Poitiers). Given the location of Poitiers, it has been attributed to Clement V, who moved the papal court there in 1305. One of the trickier deeds to identify is

²⁷⁶ PoMS, H2/158/10 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/7065/; date accessed 10/10/2018).

²⁷⁷ PoMS, H2/158/12 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/6863/; date accessed 10/10/2018).

²⁷⁸ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.vii^r (no.10).

a letter from a pope named Gregory to the king of Scotland that informed him he was not to interfere with ecclesiastics concerning lands, possessions, and cases of dowry. In addition, churches were not to answer in secular courts against canonical sanctions.²⁷⁹ The letter was dated at Perugia on the 10th of the kalends of January (23 December) in the pontiff's second year. There are no specific names or details of specific cases or disputes in the letter that would help to identify which Pope Gregory issued it. To do this, a process of elimination must begin using what information is available and, importantly, context.

From Scone's foundation, c.1115-20, to the latest entry in the cartulary, c.1371, there were four popes named Gregory: VIII (1187), IX (1227-1241), X (1271-1276), and XI (1370-1378). That the letter was recorded in the second year of a pontificate rules out the fifty-seven-day pontificate of Pope Gregory VIII. The pontificate of Pope Gregory XI seems too late to be included in the cartulary. There is only one other charter from the 1370s and that is written in a completely different hand from the papal material. Moreover, the papal material appears at the beginning of the cartulary. If it was a deed issued by Pope Gregory XI then the scribes would have had to wait until the 1370s and transcribe it with the rest of the material and this does not fit in with the evidence for when the cartulary was created. This leaves Pope Gregory IX and Pope Gregory X, both of whom were likely issuers. The place of issue, Perugia, is not conclusive enough on its own. Several of the thirteenth-century popes spent time there but in particular Gregory IX did.²⁸⁰

To help determine which of the two Gregorys issued the letter, context must be applied. In the 1220s a dispute was resolved between Scone Abbey and Dunfermline Abbey over teinds from the River Almond.²⁸¹ Although Pope Honorius III had appointed the abbots of Melrose and Dryburgh and the prior of Melrose as judges-delegate, the case seems to have had some level of secular mediation. The surviving record is in the cartulary of Dunfermline Abbey and

²⁷⁹ *Ibid*, f.v^{r-v} (no.7).

²⁸⁰ R.L. Douglas, ed., *A History of Perugia by William Heywood*, (London: Methuen & Co, 1910), 69.

²⁸¹ See discussion on pp.118-119.

states that the matter was settled at the mediation of King Alexander II and certain magnates.²⁸² It is possible that either the monasteries or the judges-delegate did not welcome mediation by these secular authorities and this may have been the trigger for the new pope to write to the king and inform him that he was not to interfere. All this evidence has led to the attribution of this letter to Pope Gregory IX rather than Pope Gregory X.²⁸³

All the papal material that survives in the fourteenth-century recension of the cartulary is not the totality of the papal material for the monastery from its foundation to the creation of the cartulary in the mid-fourteenth century. Material has been lost from the cartulary but what survives demonstrates that the monastery had regular contact with the papal court and sought its protection on numerous occasions. The order of the deeds in this gathering also highlights a deliberate choice by the scribe. The first six deeds are about confirming and protecting the monastery's rights. Three of these deeds may have been issued in response to Edward I's pillaging of the monastery and removal of documentation. Two of the first three deeds list the actual lands and rights that are being confirmed, which allows for a mid-twelfth and early-thirteenth century snapshot of the monastery's portfolio to be established. It provides vital details about properties in Scone's portfolio and allows a rough timeline of possession to be created for those rights and properties where no extant, independent record survives, such as the church of Kildonan. This gathering is critical to understanding Scone's relationship with the papacy and also the twelfth and thirteenth century monastic holdings.

²⁸² Register of Dunfermline Abbey, 13th-16th century, Adv. MS., 34.1.3, NLS, f.cxxviii^v.

²⁸³ This has been attributed to Pope Gregory IX by August Potthast, see Potthast, no.8303, 715.

Gathering B (Reconstruction)

This small gathering consists of four folios and starts with a partial charter of King Malcolm IV, which is then followed by three whole charters of King Robert I. Some folios have been lost before and after this gathering. As with all of this, there is no way of knowing the extent of the losses for this gathering.

The partial charter of King Malcolm IV is at the top of folio nine. What survives is an extensive list of witnesses and a location of issue, Stirling. The size of the witness list and the status of those listed, suggest that it was a charter of some importance. Likely, this is a copy of King Malcolm IV's confirmation charter to the monastery. The same text is embedded in the succeeding charter, which is King Robert I's confirmation charter to the monastery. This deed includes the full text from Malcolm's charter. The position of these two deeds demonstrates that the scribe wanted these two confirmation charters to be together. These two deeds were probably of significant importance to the canons. Malcolm's confirmation charter, repeated in Robert's confirmation, details the grants to the monastery made by Malcolm and his predecessors as well as Malcolm's own donations of lands and rights. It was Malcolm's charter that appointed an abbot at the monastery, raising its status from a priory to an abbey. Moreover, Malcolm's charter also references a fire at the monastery sometime before 1164 (the date of his charter). Given the importance of these deeds, they may have been the first deeds in Cartulary A, though this is speculation.

The three deeds of King Robert I in this gathering form almost all the surviving material in the cartulary related to this monarch. The only other deed that survives is Robert's grant of the thanage of Scone to the monastery, which appears once in Gathering C, no.29, and possibly again in Gathering E, no.84. The first of Robert's deeds is his detailed inspection and confirmation charter of King Malcolm IV's confirmation charter to the monastery. This is further evidence that the preceding deed is Malcolm's confirmation charter. If Robert inspected and confirmed Alexander II's or Alexander III's confirmation to the monastery then these have not survived. Both Alexander II and III's

confirmations appear in Cartulary B²⁸⁴ and neither list Scone's possession in detail. If the canons were trying to create new records in response to the loss of documentation then those charters that listed specific details and possessions would surely have been of higher importance than general confirmations.

Robert's confirmation also lists the exchanges the canons had made for their teind income: exchanging the bread and other teind from the kitchens of the king and queen for the lands of Blairgowrie and the teind of prebends of malt, *cain*, skins, and cheeses from the four manors of Gowrie for 7 pounds, 8 shillings, and 10 pence. The exchange of teind from the king and queen's kitchen happened during the reign of King Alexander II²⁸⁵ but it is unclear when the exchange of teind of prebend happened. These were not the only exchanges made by the canons and their inclusion in this inspection and confirmation was obviously deliberate. It seems that they were seeking confirmation from the new monarch about these exchanges. It is clear that the canons wanted these protected.

The second deed of Robert in this gathering is also a confirmation. It is dated just over a year before his inspection and confirmation. It was a letter to royal officers that confirmed the possessions of the monastery and forbade the taking of prises and exactions from the abbey and its men. Both deeds need to be seen in the context of the cartulary's creation. The creation of the cartulary may have come in the 1320s. In 1321 King Robert I issued a brief to the chancellor to commission the bishop of Dunblane to examine what charters were in the canons' possession following the removal and destruction of monastic documentation on the orders of King Edward I in 1296. Once this was determined, the chancellor was to renew these from the chancery.²⁸⁶ What this suggests is that following a two-year commission King Robert issued a general confirmation endorsing the monastery's holdings. This was not enough for the canons, who over a year later sought an inspection and confirmation of King Malcolm's confirmation charter, which explicitly states the majority of their holdings, and also have some of their exchanges listed and confirmed.

²⁸⁴ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xiii^r – xiii^v and f.xx^v -xxi^r.

²⁸⁵ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xiii^r - xiii^v (no.19).

²⁸⁶ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f. xxvii^r.

While any originals and renewals would have been of far more importance to the canons in proving ownership of lands and rights should the need arise. The renewals under Robert I seems a logical starting point for the canons to assemble a cartulary that contained transcriptions of their holdings, especially after years of war, documentary loss, as well as physical and economic damage to the monastery. This may have been driven by the need closely manage their estates and the renewals by Robert and the chancellor allowed them the most complete and accurate picture of their portfolio at that time.

Gathering C (Reconstruction)

This gathering is the largest in the surviving cartulary, containing 33 deeds, two of which are partial charters because material has been lost both before and after this gathering. Even within the gathering, two distinct sub-groups emerge: royal material and then the ecclesiastical material. The royal material begins with a partial charter of King Alexander III. It contains three lines and references '*Alexandri patris nostri*'. This is the only real detail in the lines, which means it cannot be determined what the content of that specific charter was. This is the only deed of King Alexander III that survives in the cartulary. The later recension of the cartulary contains two deeds of King Alexander III. One of these deeds in the Cartulary B²⁸⁷ has the same words as those that appear in Cartulary A. If the entire charter was the same then it is a general confirmation of King Alexander III to the monastery.

Following this deed are nine charters of King Alexander II. These acts are not dated but the content and context of the charters place them in his reign (1214-1249). All nine appear in the later recension of the cartulary and eight of them have dates or witnesses that help with the attribution of the deeds to Alexander II. One deed has been credited to Alexander II, which is a mandate issued to the sheriffs, bailiffs and other good men of Moray and Caithness, informing them that the king has taken the ship of the abbot and convent of Scone and all other goods they have under his firm peace and protection.²⁸⁸ Given the challenges that King Alexander II faced in the north, including successive risings of the MacWilliam claimants to the throne and the murder of the bishop of Caithness in 1222, such a mandate seems likely to belong to this reign.

These nine deeds of Alexander II form the single biggest sequence in the extant cartulary of royal charters by any one monarch. That these deeds are preceded by an act of King Alexander III demonstrates that the canon(s) who assembled the cartulary, or at least this gathering, either did not adopt a chronological approach to sequencing or did not know that it was Alexander III

²⁸⁷ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xx^v -xxi^r.

²⁸⁸ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xiii^v (no.21).

rather than Alexander II. Nor were they aiming to have all the material of King Alexander II present in the one sequence because his two other surviving acts in the cartulary appear in separate gatherings. This sequence of nine mostly details the grants to the monastery by King Alexander II himself, demonstrating that the first half of the thirteenth century was a time of expansion for the monastery, both spiritually and temporally. From his patronage alone, the monastery received: the lands of Meikle and Little Blair (Blairgowrie); two acres of land in Scone, where the windmill of the canons had come to be; and the royal lordships of Rait and Kinfauns. He also confirmed Earl Malcolm of Fife's grant of the church of Redgorton. Alexander II's endowments to the monastery seem to have been a return of focussed royal patronage for Scone, following a period where crown patronage was directed elsewhere, principally Arbroath Abbey, which was founded by Alexander's father, King William.

The next two acts in the sequence, following King Alexander II, also demonstrate that the monastery's holdings were expanding in the early thirteenth century. Thomas, son of Malcolm of Lundie, the king's door-ward granted the church of Echt in Mar to Scone, sometime before 1226, when it is listed in a papal confirmation as being in their possession, and King William I confirmed Hugh of Calder's grant to Scone Abbey of 40 acres of cultivated land in Buttergask with a toft and croft in the same place. Both grants appear in another gathering within the cartulary.

Before the major ecclesiastical grouping in this gathering, there are three charters: one of King Robert I, a feu charter of the abbot of Scone, and a charter of King Malcolm IV. Robert's deed is his grant of the thanage of Scone to the monastery and fits in with the preceding charters in the sequence in that it was issued by a monarch or someone from within the royal household. The granting of the thanage of Scone to the monastery was the culmination of two hundred years of deliberate and sustained acquisition of land and rights locally. It is a bizarre feature of the priory and later abbey's development that the monastery was not initially endowed with the land or site of Scone itself. This was probably due to Scone being the inauguration site of the kings of medieval Scotland. Unfortunately, there are no details or boundaries listed in the charter that indicates what the thanage contained or its extent, but the fourteenth-century cartulary contains another four separate grants to the monastery, two

from King Alexander II and two from different bishops of St Andrews, that helped the canons consolidate their rights in and around Scone itself. This included teind, rights, and lands.

The feu charter in this gathering is extremely important. It is evidence that the cartulary's purpose was not to simply record donations and confirmations to the monastery. It suggests instead that its purpose was to help the canons manage their estates. This dual character is illustrated by the feu charter, dated 1326, which feued the land of *Girsmerland* (unidentified) to Master Andrew of Stirling for his lifetime. The payment is 5 marks annually at two terms: half at Pentecost and half at the Feast of St Martin. The charter also specifies that Andrew and his men were to pay to the mill of Kincarrathie the sixteenth measure of all wheat-grain and Andrew shall pay the twentieth measure to the miller as a charge.²⁸⁹

This is the only feu charter in the fourteenth-century cartulary and because of this it is impossible to conclude if this was a typical or atypical Scone feu charter formula. There is, however, another surviving fourteenth-century feu charter for Scone, dated 10 February 1353/4, which survives as an original single sheet.²⁹⁰ Its date could indicate that this may have been one of the deeds that has been lost from the cartulary, if it was ever copied in. By it, Abbot William demised in feu-ferme to John Mercer, burgess of Perth, and his son, Andrew, land in the burgh, which the late Thomas Mercer formerly held of the abbey. The terms of the feu stipulate that John was to erect a durable building in his first year and then in the succeeding nine years pay an increasing sum of money, with the amount for each year stipulated. The sum in the tenth year was to be fixed as the annual payment thereafter. The terms of the agreement also state that if John or Andrew or his heirs did not build on the land in the said manner before the ninth year then they were to pay six pounds sterling of good and lawful money in the name of penalty without remission. These feu charters indicate that the canons were fastidious in their approach to feuing. Their charters had unambiguous terms and clauses, which indicate maturity in secular and economic affairs. The sliding scale of increasing

²⁸⁹ *Ibid*, f.xv^r - xv^v (no.30).

²⁹⁰ Abbot of Scone in favour of John Mercer, 1354, Register House Charters, RH 1/2/119, NRS.

payments underlines the financial acumen of the canons. The Mercers were developing the land and the canons wanted an appropriate share of the profits.

There is another deed before the ecclesiastical grouping that must be seen as evidence that this cartulary was not simply a repository for donations and confirmations to the monastery. An undated charter of Abbot Henry Man (1303-1320) appointed Hugh, a canon of Scone, as procurator for the monastery. Hugh had power to deliver for them and to defend them, to produce witnesses and oaths, to appeal lawsuits, to swear concerning claims and to speak the truth, to ask for expenses, to swear in and receive another procurator as his substitute.²⁹¹ This is one of the few insights into the organisational structure of the monastery. Scone would have been no exception to the typical structure of an Augustinian monastery with canons holding different obedientiary offices below the abbot and prior. However, there is virtually no reference to these positions in Cartulary A. Other than the abbot, prior, and procurator, the only other reference is to the sacristan, which office is mentioned in a grant of Geoffrey, clerk of the Liverance,²⁹² and that charter's subsequent royal confirmation.²⁹³ Although not explicitly stated, the office of sacristan would have been filled by a canon.

The ecclesiastical grouping contains eighteen deeds, albeit one of them is a partial deed at the end of the gathering. It is one of the largest groupings of material by number of items in the entire cartulary. It contains one deed of the abbot of Scone, eleven issued by the bishops of St Andrews, and six by the bishops of Dunkeld. It is in that order that they appear, and the arrangement seems too ordered and structured to be anything other than deliberate. The episcopal documentation within this gathering is not in chronological order and covers a timeframe from the mid-twelfth century to the late thirteenth or very early fourteenth century.

The episcopal deeds are primarily confirmations to the monastery of lands, rights, and churches. It is from these confirmations that an understanding of Scone's appropriated churches in the first half of the thirteenth century can be built up. By this time, the monastery was in possession of the churches of

²⁹¹ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xv^v - xvi^r (no.32).

²⁹² *Ibid*, f.xxx^v (no.77).

²⁹³ *Ibid*, f.xxx^v – f. xxx^r (no.78).

Scone, Kinfauns, *Crag*, Rait, Liff, Invergowrie, Cambusmichael, Borthwick, Carrington, Logie-Dundee, Logierait with Killiechangie, Dunfallandy, Killiechassie, and Kilmichael of Tullimet, and finally Redgorton. All of these were confirmed *in proprios usus*. What is not listed in the episcopal confirmations in the cartulary are the churches of Kildonan or Echt, because there are no surviving confirmations in the cartulary from the bishops of Caithness or Aberdeen. Episcopal and papal confirmations can assist in helping to determine what a monastery held but they are very selective and present a picture of an ideal that was not necessarily the reality on the ground. For example, the 1226 papal confirmation of Honorius III lists the church of Evein (Barevan) as being in Scone's possession²⁹⁴ but it does not appear in any other papal confirmations. It seems likely that the canons never took possession of the church because in 1239 Bishop Andrew of Moray granted it to Elgin Cathedral, along with eight other parish churches: Abernethy, Altyre, Arndilly, Birnie, Bona, Farnua, Kincardine, and Laggan.²⁹⁵

Even though Scone's churches were confirmed *in proprios usus* to the canons, not all were either successfully or fully appropriated to the monastery. The church of Borthwick is one that may not have been fully converted, though by the 1270s there does seem to have been a successful appropriation of the parsonage revenues to Scone.²⁹⁶ Having a church fully appropriated, with both parsonage and vicarage revenues annexed, brought significant benefits to the appropriator, primarily financial but also spiritual because it allowed one of their own to serve in the church if *in proprios usus* was stipulated by the diocesan. The fourteenth-century cartulary only has one reference to an appointment at one of Scone's churches, Kildonan.²⁹⁷ This church is unique in Scone's portfolio because it was also a prebendal church of the diocese of Caithness and its appropriation to Scone gave the abbot a seat in the chapter of that diocese. This is presumably why the monastery kept possession of it but traded the

²⁹⁴ *Ibid*, f.i^r - ii^v (no.1).

²⁹⁵ I.B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1967), 22. Also, R. Fawcett and R. Oram, *Elgin Cathedral and the Diocese of Moray* (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 2014), 124.

²⁹⁶ (https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=161324#RO_button; date accessed 28/11/18).

²⁹⁷ See pp.125-126 for further discussion on this appointment.

church of Carrington due its remoteness from the monastery.²⁹⁸ As always, looking beyond the cartulary provides context and allows for any further supporting evidence that Scone exercised its *in proprios usus* right. There is another example, from 1374, when Michael, bishop of Dunkeld, confirmed the nomination of a canon of Scone as vicar pensionary of the abbey's appropriated parish of Redgorton.²⁹⁹

The episcopal confirmations are also useful in helping to understand and clarify patronage to the monastery where there is no surviving original charter. An example of this is the parish church of Logierait. There is no surviving original record of this donation to the monastery but through episcopal confirmations a narrative record of the grant can be built. A confirmation by John the Scot, bishop of Dunkeld (1178-1203), ratifies the grant of the church of Logierait with its full teinds, profits, and rights namely from Rait and the thanages of Dalmarnock and Findowie; Rait's chapels of Killiechangie, Dunfallandy, Killiechassie, and Kilmichael of Tullimet; and finally, a toft in Logie with common pasture.³⁰⁰ The original grant was made by Henry, earl of Atholl and the episcopal confirmation mentions this. This deed demonstrates a further two points. The first is that Scone could attract patronage in the twelfth century from one of the leading comital families of the diocese of Dunkeld.³⁰¹ The second is that the church brought with it an opportunity for substantial income, which underlines the importance of appropriated churches to a monastery's financial well-being.

The episcopal deeds in this gathering are not just simply confirmations of churches. They also tell of a monastery that was able to extract episcopal patronage, in particular from Bishop Richard of St Andrews. Although the patronage was not extensive, it was still substantial enough to consolidate the canons' holdings in one area and expand their holdings in another. Richard granted a teind of the whole fishery of Scone in grain-rents, cheeses, and the

²⁹⁸ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xliv^r – lxv^v. See discussion on p.112-113

²⁹⁹ (<https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=157111>; date accessed 29/11/18).

³⁰⁰ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xix^r – xix^v (no.45).

³⁰¹ This continued in the thirteenth century with Earl Malcolm of Fife's grant of the church of Redgorton, *Ibid*, f.xiii^v (no.20).

rights to take fish from whence the teind came.³⁰² This grant, from the second half of the twelfth century, was one of the canons' first attempts at exercising more influence and control in the district around Scone itself. Richard also granted two perches of lands in St Andrews to Scone and although his grant does not survive in Cartulary A, Bishop Hugh of St Andrews' confirmation of his gift does.³⁰³ As well as confirming the grant of his predecessor, Bishop Hugh also gave the monastery two further parks of land adjacent to the two donated by Richard. The burgh of St Andrews was going through a period of expansion, so too was the new cathedral, in the second half of the twelfth century.³⁰⁴ Such a grant allowed the canons to potentially gain an income from rent or potentially build a lodging for when Scone's representatives were attending the episcopal see. Moreover, the twelfth century was a period of strengthening ties between Scone and St Andrews.³⁰⁵

Bishop Hugh of St Andrews has four deeds in this gathering, one of which is duplicated. This is his confirmation of the church of Logie-Dundee. The major difference between the two deeds is that one version of the deed contains a list of witnesses³⁰⁶ and one does not.³⁰⁷ Like the duplicated Hugh of Calder grant,³⁰⁸ there are two copies of the deed and the scribe took the decision to copy a version with witnesses and one without. It was a deliberate decision and the need to copy in the witnesses for this grant and confirmation was important to the canons.

When transcribing the deeds, the canons had access to originals or copies that contained witness lists and, at times, chose not to copy the witnesses into Cartulary A. However, for this deed the scribe chose to transcribe a separate deed and then include the witnesses. There is nothing in particular about this deed that makes it stand out when compared to the other deeds that have witnesses listed in either the original document or later

³⁰² *Ibid*, f. xvii^r (no.37).

³⁰³ *Ibid*, f. xvi^r - xvi^v (no.34).

³⁰⁴ M. Hammond, "The Burgh of St Andrews and its Inhabitants" in *Medieval St Andrews: Church, Cult, City*, eds., M. Brown and K. Stevenson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 143-145.

³⁰⁵ See discussion on p.68.

³⁰⁶ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xviii^v – xix^r (no.43).

³⁰⁷ *Ibid*, f.xvi^r (no.33).

³⁰⁸ *Ibid*, f. xxii^r (no.54) and f. xxiv^r (no.61).

recension. Cartulary B has both episcopal and royal material granting and confirming lands, churches, and rights to the monastery that have witnesses listed but do not appear in the Cartulary A transcription. Yet, on two separate occasions within Cartulary A, the same scribe copied a deed and then re-copied it with witnesses.³⁰⁹

The episcopal deeds also include a transcription of a confirmation charter of Bishop Roger of St Andrews, dated c. 1199. In it, Roger confirmed the grant of David Lyn, which conveyed to them land gifted to the church of Borthwick.³¹⁰ The entry of this deed into the cartulary is evidence that the collection was not merely intended as a copy of the grants to the monastery but as a repository for all information connected to its holdings. Other evidence of this can be found in this same gathering. This is illustrated by the record of King Alexander II's gift of a toft in Scone to Robert of London.³¹¹

There is no evidence that suggests Scone had ownership of this toft at any point but the recording of it in the cartulary suggests that they may have, or at the very least wanted, to keep a record of who owned what land in proximity to the monastery. This may have been related to the fact that the site of Scone had not been conveyed to the monastery at its foundation and that the kings of Scotland retained overall possession there until Robert I granted the thanage of Scone to the monastery in 1312.³¹² Unfortunately, as stated above, the document does not specifically express the exact boundaries of the thanage. It has been suggested that if the boundaries of the thanage were coterminous with the parish boundaries then it would include Kinfauns, Craig (Kinnoull), and Rait.³¹³ While this may have been possible, ecclesiastical, and secular boundaries were not always coterminous. Recent research on the province of Moray in the eleventh to early thirteenth centuries has outlined the boundaries of the diocese and the earldom. Although there is significant overlap between the two there is also a conspicuous difference.³¹⁴ The canons may have been

³⁰⁹ The other was Hugh of Calder's grant to the monastery of land in Buttergask.

³¹⁰ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xviii^r (no.41).

³¹¹ *Ibid*, f.xiv^r (no.25).

³¹² *Ibid*, f.xiv^v – xv^r (no.29).

³¹³ *RRS*, v, 302.

³¹⁴ A. Ross, *The Province of Moray c.1000-1230* (University of Aberdeen, unpublished PhD thesis, 2003) Appendix, 8-9.

gathering up evidence for separate landholdings in Scone that were being gathered under the abbey's superior lordship, in the same way that Balmerino Abbey kept records of the acquisition of the properties that formed its core endowment.³¹⁵ Also, these would have been important in assessing holdings for tax.

This gathering ends mid-deed with only half a confirmation charter of Bishop Matthew Crambeth of Dunkeld, which confirmed the grants of his predecessors.³¹⁶ It is possible that there was a continuation of episcopal material that could have included bishops other than St Andrews and Dunkeld. Other sources, in particular the later recension of the cartulary, indicate that there was much more episcopal material available. For example, Cartulary B contains an episcopal confirmation from Bishop William Lamberton of St Andrews that confirmed churches to Scone Abbey.³¹⁷ This was given between 1319 and 1323 and is certainly contemporaneous with the period of record production at the monastery.

There are several other episcopal deeds in Cartulary B that can be dated to the early and mid-fourteenth century, which may have been included in now lost portions of the fourteenth-century cartulary. Amongst these are; an unfinished charter of the inquiry into lands held by Bishop William Lamberton of St Andrews and his predecessors in Kilspindie, dated 3 February 1320-1;³¹⁸ a mandate of Bishop William Lamberton of St Andrews, issued to Robert Lamberton, archdeacon of St. Andrews; Robert, the perpetual vicar of Longforgan and the dean of Perth and Gowrie; and to John, rector of the church of Kinnoull, ordering them to summon the trust-worthy people of the parishes of Erroll, Kinfauns, Rait, and Kilspindie to appear before the Abbot of Scone and Sir Gilbert de Hay, lord of Kilspindie, to inquire what rights, possessions and temporalities the bishop's predecessors had in Kilspindie;³¹⁹ and a deed, dated 12 February 1356-7, that sets out an exchange of churches and money between Scone Abbey, Cambuskenneth Abbey, and the bishop of St Andrews

³¹⁵ M. Hammond, "Queen Ermengarde and the Abbey of St Edward, Balmerino" in *Life on the Edge: the Cistercian Abbey of Balmerino, Fife*, ed., T. Kinder (Forges-Chimay: Citeaux, Commentarii cistercienses 59, 2008.), 7.

³¹⁶ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xx^v (no.49).

³¹⁷ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxxiii^r.

³¹⁸ *Ibid*, f.lxxvii^v.

³¹⁹ *Ibid*, f.lxxvii^r–lxxvii^v.

over the church of Blairgowrie. The bishop resigned his rights over the church of Blair to Scone Abbey and received Scone's appropriated church of Carrington in exchange, while Scone was to pay Cambuskenneth Abbey an annual fee of 100 shillings in recognition of its interest in the church. Finally, when John Lyon the then current rector of the church of Blair died the canons of Scone were empowered to appoint one of their own number.³²⁰

The detail contained in this gathering is crucial to understanding how the canons built up their temporal and spiritual holdings. It is clear that the major elements of patronage came from the crown and from the two episcopal sees closest to the monastery. Given that Scone was a royal foundation, royal patronage should be no surprise but the grant of the church of Logierait by the earl of Atholl demonstrates that Scone also could attract a degree patronage from powerful magnates. However, grants from earls appear as the exception rather than the rule for Scone. Other than this grant by the earl of Atholl, there is only the grant of the church of Redgorton by the earl of Fife³²¹ and the earl of Orkney's grant of one mark of silver.³²² There is a small grant of one stone of wax or four shillings by Walter Comyn but he is not referred to as earl in the charter.³²³

³²⁰ *Ibid*, f.lxxv^r – lxxvi^r.

³²¹ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xiii^v (no.20).

³²² *Ibid*, f.xxiv^v (no.63).

³²³ *Ibid*, f.xxx^r (no.79).

Gathering D (Reconstruction)

When the misplaced folios have been correctly ordered, this gathering forms the second biggest collection of deeds in the cartulary: 28. The deeds cover a period from the late twelfth century to the late thirteenth. The gathering contains copies of secular and ecclesiastical charters that deal with grants, confirmations, sales, and agreements. The latter material may represent the result of legal disputes. There is no immediately conspicuous pattern that can be identified in this gathering, similar to the papal material in Gathering A or the episcopal material of Gathering C. However, a more considered assessment of the collection reveals several important details about the monastery and the cartulary itself.

Almost one-third (7) of the charters in this gathering provide detail about the lands owned by the monastery in the neighbouring burgh of Perth. Although the monastery lay approximately 2.5 miles north and on the opposite side of the river Tay from the town, its proximity to this important market centre meant that the monastery could benefit from it and vice versa. It was King Alexander I who first granted land in Perth to the monastery. This is recorded in the foundation charter, which is copied into Cartulary B. The toft granted to the monastery was one of five; the other four were in Edinburgh, Stirling, Inverkeithing, and Aberdeen.³²⁴ The canons quickly supplemented their income and strengthened their interests in the burgh due to successive grants from the kings of Scotland. These included, a money income from the burgh *ferme* and from the mill at Perth, granted by King David I,³²⁵ and three craftsmen: a smith, tanner, and shoemaker, who had the same rights in the burgh as the king's burgesses, granted by Malcolm IV.³²⁶

By the early thirteenth century, Scone already had formative interests in the burgh because of these grants by successive kings of Scotland. The canons, unimpeded by the strictures of their Rule, were able to receive these gifts; a luxury that not every religious order was permitted to enjoy. In the

³²⁴ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.ii^r - ii^r.

³²⁵ *Ibid*, f.ii^r - iv^v.

³²⁶ *Ibid*, f.v^r.

thirteenth century, Scone Abbey attracted gifts from several of the burgesses. These included booths, tofts, and land.³²⁷ The Perth material provides various insights on the burgh itself, including environmental events, on how these grants were constructed, and on the creation of the cartulary. Within these deeds there are references to the castle of Perth,³²⁸ of which very little is known. The 1209 flooding of Perth washed away a certain *mons* but there is no direct reference to the castle being destroyed.³²⁹ A grant to Scone Abbey, dated between 1214 and 1236, uses the castle of Perth as one marker location to describe where two booths, granted to the monastery, are located. If the castle was not rebuilt after 1209, then the burgesses and the canons were still using it as a marker or descriptor to help describe and provide detail about grants. The flood damage in 1209 also resulted in John Ylbaren selling a toft to the canons of Scone, which was 70 feet by 20 feet. He chose to do so because the flooding prevented it from being returned to its original, pre-flood condition.³³⁰

The content of several of these transactions highlight that not all grants to the monastery were made *pro anima*. Henry Bald granted to Scone Abbey two booths in Perth. As part of this transaction, the canons were to render annually, to the king's chamberlain, one pound of pepper and a half a stone of wax to the monks of Coupar Angus.³³¹ The one pound of pepper was part of the original grant to Henry Bald by King William.³³² Another example includes Roger de Quincy's ratification of a grant to the monastery by William Lynn, which has not itself survived. Roger's confirmation stated that the land was to be held freely except the right of lodging which was remitted by the abbot and canons, who were to pay annually a half mark of silver to William Lynn – 40*d* at Pentecost and 40*d* at Martinmas.³³³ These types of payments appear not only in donations to the monastery but also in sales of land. Between 1224 and 1245, Stephen of Melginch sold a toft and two acres in *Balursin*

³²⁷ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxii^r – xxii^v, f.xxiii^r, f.xxv^r - xxviii^v (nos.56, 58, 65, 66, 67, 68, and 70).

³²⁸ *Ibid*, f.xxvi^r - xxvi^v (no.68).

³²⁹ A. Cox et al., "Excavations at Horse Cross, Perth", *Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal*, volume 13, (2007), 117.

³³⁰ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxvi^v and f. xxviii^r (no.71).

³³¹ *Ibid*, f.xxvi^r - xxvi^v (no.68).

³³² *Ibid*, f.xxvi^v (no.69).

³³³ *Ibid*, f.xxv^r (no.65).

(unidentified/lost but possibly in Perthshire). The canons were to pay two marks initially and then render to Stephen and his heirs one pound of cumin at the Feast of St John the Baptist.³³⁴

Although William Lynn's grant does not survive in Cartulary A, if indeed it was ever copied in to it, both Roger de Quincy's and King Alexander II's confirmations of Roger's confirmation do survive in Cartulary A.³³⁵ These deeds are adjacent and demonstrate that the scribe had purposely copied them in that order. There is a second similar example in this gathering. The transcription of Hugh of Calder's grant to the monastery is followed by King William's confirmation of the grant.³³⁶ This order placement is found in other gatherings in the cartulary and demonstrates that the scribe intended to keep this material together wherever possible.

The Hugh of Calder grant, and its relative confirmation by King William, are both duplicated in the cartulary. Hugh's grant is duplicated in this gathering but the royal confirmation appears in both this and an earlier gathering. There are a number of minor spelling differences between the two versions of Hugh's gift but the main difference is that the later entry has some witnesses listed.³³⁷ This indicates that the scribe saw merit in re-transcribing the deed with witnesses, although only two were listed. This second transcription is not followed by the second confirmation by King William. With regard to the two versions of King William's confirmations, there are minute differences in spelling but no fundamental differences in structure or content.

The duplicate entries suggest three things. The first is that listing the witnesses for this deed was believed by the scribe to be of some importance. Hence, the entire re-transcription rather than just an addition to the deed that was already copied. The second is that the scribe was content with repeating entries. The third is that these duplicates served a purpose. Exactly what this purpose was will remain an area of speculation. It may simply have been a quick way to find information in various gatherings. For example, the grant and

³³⁴ *Ibid*, f.xxiii^v - xxiv^r (no.60).

³³⁵ *Ibid*, f.xxv^v (no.66).

³³⁶ *Ibid*, f.xxii^r - f. xxii^r (no.55).

³³⁷ *Ibid*, f.xxiv^r (no.61).

subsequent confirmation of Buttergask. Without the complete cartulary it is difficult to draw further conclusions.

The detail of this gathering in the cartulary illustrates that Scone Abbey was continuing to expand its portfolio of lands, rights, and churches in Perthshire and Gowrie during the thirteenth century. The canons were not only relying on patronage and *pro anima* grants but also purchasing lands and coming to mutually beneficial agreements with both secular and ecclesiastical land-holders. Three deeds in this gathering are examples of some of the agreements or settlements that the monastery came to with others, arising from such disputes.

In 1225, Scone came to an agreement with the Cistercian monastery at Coupar Angus. The abbot of Scone granted all the lesser teinds and all the offerings of the villeins and serfs of Banchory, Kinclaven, and Creuchies, saving the rights of the bishop of St Andrews, to Coupar Angus Abbey and their chaplain of Bendochy. Coupar Angus agreed to render annually, one stone of wax in acceptance of Scone's rights. The agreement also stated that the chaplain of Bendochy was to administer the sacrament to the villeins and serfs. Scone Abbey was to be exempt from the presentation of teinds of the named lands if they appropriated them and improved them at their own expense. Finally, it was forbidden for the monks of Coupar Angus to expel anyone who shared the pasture of the foresaid locations.³³⁸ Sometime between 1214 and 1230, Bishop Hugh of Dunkeld settled a dispute between Scone Abbey and Coupar Angus Abbey over the latter's land of Campsie and Scone's lands of Cambusmichael and Craigmakerran. If the canons of Scone were ever found holding the land of Campsie then they were to quitclaim 10 marks and 3 acres of land in the territory of William Wroche outside Perth.³³⁹ The final agreement in this gathering was between the abbot of Scone and a woman called Margaret and her son, Serlo. The abbot gave them 4 marks for all complaints brought to court by them or their kindred, in the lands that Robert Blund, Margaret's brother, gave to the hospital of St John the Apostle of Scone. The canons were

³³⁸ *Ibid*, f.xxii^r - xxiv^v (no.52). See also P.C. Ferguson, *Medieval Papal Representatives in Scotland: Legates, Nuncios, and Judges-Delegate* (Edinburgh: Stair Society, 1997), 145 and 237.

³³⁹ *Ibid*, f.xxiii^r - xxiii^v (no.59).

to provide Margaret with food and clothing during her lifetime, as if she was their sister.³⁴⁰

These three very different agreements demonstrate the complexities of managing a portfolio of lands and rights in the medieval era. These agreements went beyond simple land swaps. The 1225 teind agreement between Scone and Coupar Angus highlights this perfectly. It contains reference to a donation of lesser teind, offerings of villeins and serfs, episcopal rights, blenchferme, and exemption rights. These agreements may have been the result of disputes or simply mutually beneficial accords, and knowledge of the records of other communities shows that regular and often protracted litigation was an unpleasant fact for most monasteries. Certainly, the three examples in this gathering are not the totality of disputes or agreements involving Scone Abbey. To glean more on this topic, the focus must be turned to material that was not entered into, or has been lost from, Cartulary A, some of this was litigation involving Scone that came before papal judges delegate.

There was a dispute with the monks of May over teinds and fishings in Rhynd parish. May accused Scone of occupying and detaining the teinds of four fisheries: Inchyra, Sleepless Inch, 'Elpeneslau', and 'Chingil'. In 1231, it was settled and Scone agreed to pay 2 marks annually to the monks of May and the monks reciprocated by agreeing that Scone was to be free from future legal action by them.³⁴¹ Six years later, in 1237, a dispute between David Hay and Scone was also settled. Scone had sought the second teinds and a marsh between their land of Durdie and David's land, which lay opposite. It was settled when Scone quitclaimed the second teinds to David and the parties divided the marsh between them with a ditch.³⁴²

The abbots of Scone and Dunfermline also found themselves settling a case before judges-delegate appointed by Pope Honorius III in 1222. The dispute concerned the teinds of mills on the river Almond in Perthshire. King David I had granted Scone the teind from his mills on the river,³⁴³ but also

³⁴⁰ *Ibid*, f. xxviii^r - xxviii^v (no.72).

³⁴¹ Ferguson, *Medieval Papal Representatives*, 242; PoMS, H4/32/65 (<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/3990/>; date accessed 12/11/16).

³⁴² Ferguson, *Medieval Papal Representatives*, 247; PoMS, H4/32/77 (<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/4270/>; date accessed 12/11/16).

³⁴³ *RRS*, i, no.57, 164-165.

granted Dunfermline Abbey the church of Perth and the teinds from his lordship there.³⁴⁴ The outcome was that Scone was to pay 5 marks yearly to the monks of Dunfermline for the lighting of their abbey church. In return, the monks of Dunfermline quitclaimed to the canons their right to the mills in Perth.³⁴⁵ While this was probably a better outcome for Scone than Dunfermline, it was either not recorded in Cartulary A or not survived but it has been transcribed into the cartulary of Dunfermline Abbey.

Outside the cases overseen by papal representatives there were other examples of, or references to, disputes, some of which are recorded in the cartulary and some of which are not. For example, a deed in the cartulary, dated 1236, refers to a quitclaim to the monastery of land in Perth. This land was adjudged to the canons in full court due to default of payment.³⁴⁶ There is a similar reference a few deeds later, where, after a dispute in the burgh court of Perth, John the clerk, quitclaimed land to the monastery.³⁴⁷

Scone continued to have property disputes with Dunfermline Abbey that were not settled by a papal representative and also do not appear in the fourteenth-century cartulary of Scone. Sometime in 1237, Bishop Geoffrey of Dunkeld settled a dispute between the monasteries over the teinds of Inveralmond (Perthshire) and '*Hervicroc*'. Scone quitclaimed its rights to the teinds from these locations, saving any teinds from the 'island' of Scone. Dunfermline granted the church of Moulin (Perthshire) at ferme to Scone, saving the land held by David Hastings. Scone was to pay 24 marks annually to Dunfermline as the annual ferme.³⁴⁸ The exact length of the ferme is not stipulated, if indeed there was one, and there are no surviving records to provide clarity as to how much ownership Scone exercised over the church. Over 100 years later, in 1341, Scone Abbey and Dunfermline Abbey agreed that the possession of the parsonage and vicarage remained with Dunfermline and a vicar pensionary serving the cure.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁴ *Ibid*, no.118, 182-185.

³⁴⁵ Register of Dunfermline Abbey, NLS, f.cxxviii^v.

³⁴⁶ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxviii^v – xxix^r (no.73).

³⁴⁷ *Ibid*, f.xxix^r - xxix^v (no.75).

³⁴⁸ *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, no. 205.

³⁴⁹ (<http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=157145>; date accessed 4/12/2016).

All of these cases underline that there is a body of material related to Scone Abbey that exists outwith the Cartulary A. Not all of these deeds are published in *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*. The 1237 issue over the teinds of Inveralmond and 'Hervicroc' that was settled by the bishop of Dunkeld does not appear in the publication but the later 1341 settlement, has been published in it. Why the 1237 deed was not chosen for selection in the publication is unclear. Innes may have felt that because it was published in *Registrum de Dunfermelyn* in 1842, the year before *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* was published, then there was no need for it to be re-published. Whatever the reason, it further demonstrates that Innes fell somewhat short when compiling the muniments of Scone Abbey.

Gathering E (Reconstruction)

This gathering is the last in the cartulary and remains unfinished. It opens as a continuation from the last document in the previous gathering, which is a quitclaim charter to the monastery.³⁵⁰ If this deed is counted as part of the previous gathering rather than of this one, then there are twelve deeds in this collection, though some of these are partial due to manuscript damage. Moreover, two of the deeds at the end are severely faded and while an attempt has been made to identify the content of the deeds, these are so damaged that it renders them almost useless without reference to other material. There is also a clear change of scribes near the end of this gathering, with a noticeable difference in handwriting style. Two of the deeds are written by a second scribe, Scribe B, and two deeds have been written by a third scribe, Scribe C. All four of these deeds are faded and stained.

This gathering can probably also be set out in two parts, the first part includes the eight deeds of early thirteenth-century date, and the second part contains the mid to late fourteenth-century material. The information in this assemblage is some of the most important in the cartulary. It contains both secular and ecclesiastical material and deals with topics such as episcopal visitations and appointments to appropriated churches, as well as grants, confirmations, and quitclaims.

There is a continuation of deeds related to Perth and the canons' interactions with the burgesses there. Again, through the detail of these deeds an understanding of how the monastery came into possession of its lands and rights can be obtained. For example, an entry from a court case, dated 1245, details how John Clerk, son of Matthew, lorimer of Perth, following a dispute in the burgh court of Perth, quitclaimed to the abbot and convent of Scone the lands which King William gave to Hugh the lorimer, which was then purchased by William Lynn and donated to the monastery.³⁵¹ The transaction narration in this deed demonstrates that land granted to the monastery had a previously complex history of ownership. Previous owners of the land could potentially

³⁵⁰ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxviii^v – xxix^r (no.73).

³⁵¹ *Ibid*, f. xxix^r – xxix^v (no.75).

voice a claim to it but through the burgh court the abbot was able to secure title to the land. Just how long John Clerk pursued this claim is unclear. William Lynn had a grant to the monastery, of unnamed land, confirmed by Roger de Quincy between 1236 and 1249.³⁵² If this was the same land, then John Clerk may have been pursuing this claim for almost nine years.

Another grant from this gathering demonstrates further stipulations that were sometimes placed on lands granted to the monastery. Sometime in the mid-thirteenth century, Richard of Leicester, burgess of Perth, granted lands in Perth to the abbey. However, Richard was to retain these lands for himself in his lifetime but agreed to pay the monastery 6d. annually on the feast of the Holy Trinity. However, after his death the canons were to have and possess those lands in perpetuity.³⁵³ The charter is not dated so it is not known how long the canons had to wait to take possession of the lands. Again, this highlights that there were various stipulations that could be attached to lands donated to the monastery; they could not always take immediate possession of lands. Richard would also have gained spiritual benefit from this in his lifetime from being named in the community's prayers.

The evidence from this gathering indicates that the monastery was further cementing its presence in Perth in the first half of the thirteenth century. It was clearly a partnership that worked for both parties: the monastery and the burgesses of Perth. While the canons were consolidating their holdings in the burgh and the immediate areas around Perth and Scone, they were also continuing to expand into other areas and further their consolidation beyond Gowrie and Perth proper. Sometime before 24 February 1236-7, Geoffrey, clerk of the Liverance, granted to the monastery his lands in Clackmannan, Dunkeld, Scone, and Inverness. Inverness would have been the furthest property from the monastery, if it was not for the appropriated church of Kildonan.

Geoffrey's grant also stands out for two other reasons. The first is that it included a stone of wax from Aberdeen. It is another small glimpse of Scone's relationship with this burgh. The monastery had a toft there granted to them in King Alexander I's foundation charter³⁵⁴ but there are no other references to

³⁵² *Ibid*, f. xxv^r (no.65).

³⁵³ *Ibid*, f. xxx^r – xxxi^r (no.81).

³⁵⁴ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.ii^r - iii^r.

Scone's relationship with Aberdeen. The second is that the grant was addressed to the sacristan of Scone. This was because parts of the gift were related to candles, which would have been the sacristan's job to maintain. Geoffrey's grant, and its royal confirmation, are the only references to the sacristan in Cartulary A and it helps provide a small insight into the workings of the medieval monastery at Scone.

This final gathering also contains two of the most important deeds in the collection and also helps provide an appreciation of the state of the monastery in the mid-fourteenth century. The deeds are a visitation of Bishop William Landallis and an appointment of a canon to the church of Kildonan. The Bishop Landallis charter is one of only two surviving accounts of an episcopal visitation to a Scottish monastery in the fourteenth-century,³⁵⁵ both of which were to Scone Abbey. This deed is not in good condition in the cartulary. The folios are severely stained, several sections are illegible, and half of one of the folios is completely missing. What can be discerned from the text is that there had allegedly been a "diminution of divine service and of regular observance" at the monastery. Accordingly, Landallis issued a decree: the canons were ordered to sing devoutly and say their services at the proper times and not perform them hastily. The juniors were told to obey their seniors, quarrels were to be avoided, and silence was to be kept according to the rule. Young canons who were to travel outside the monastery on administrative duties were to do so with men selected by the abbot and the prior and not with irresponsible 'shepherds'. When they were outside the monastery they were not to wander about the towns of Scone or Perth, nor visit taverns or booths except by leave of their superiors. When they returned to the monastery they were to sleep with their brethren and rise in time for matins unless they were sick. In addition to this, canons were forbidden from keeping weapons at their bedside or riding abroad armed.

The abbot was also admonished. If he was leasing out his lands he was to do so with the counsel of his brethren and for the benefit of the monastery,

³⁵⁵ The other is an episcopal visitation report of Scone Abbey, 1369, Register House Charters, RH 6/150, NRS. This is not catalogued on the NRS website but both the original and the transcript exist in Edinburgh at the NRS office. The author has not been able to locate any other fourteenth-century episcopal visitations to Scottish monasteries.

not to his cousins or kinsfolk at a lower price than he could get from others. He was ordered to render account at least once a year at a fixed date, be more solicitous and prudent in the prosecution of rents which were detained from the abbey, and in the matter of the salmon fishery and for the repair of the buildings which were in danger of becoming ruinous.³⁵⁶ The content of this record depicts a monastery in the mid-fourteenth century that was decaying spiritually, physically, and financially. So, too, does the 1369 visitation record.

Circumstances outwith the control of the abbot and canons, such as protracted war with England, the Black Death, and environmental changes resulting in the Great Famine, would have had a detrimental effect on the monastery but some of these issues seem to be self-inflicted. The cartulary visitation record specifically prohibits the abbot from leasing lands below market value and suggests that he leased lands to family and kin at lower prices. The other stand-alone visitation record from 1369 states that the abbot should commit the office of treasurer to any canon who seems competent to discharge that office so that the abbot may be relieved of that burden and have leisure to attend to the government of his monastery. The 1369 record also states that plurality of office should not be conferred on any one person when one person is scarcely able to rightly fill one office and especially that the office of victualler should be deputed to one who is able to give daily attention to it.³⁵⁷

These issues were compounded throughout the fourteenth century and represent a slow build up rather than an immediate decline. Robert I issued several letters and brieves that were designed to help the monastery financially or at least to alleviate the financial burden it was under. A 1313 letter forbade anyone to take poinds from the abbey or its men for any debts or pledges they owe for a one-year period;³⁵⁸ a 1321 letter patent to the justiciar north of the Forth and the sheriff and bailies of Perth ordered them to pay the teinds of the profits, escheats, and pleas from Gowrie to the monastery;³⁵⁹ a 1325 letter patent to the sheriff and bailies of Forfar ordered them not to burden the possessions of the monastery with prises, seizures of marts, horses, carriage

³⁵⁶ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxxii^r - xxxiii^r (no.80).

³⁵⁷ Episcopal visitation report of Scone Abbey, NRS.

³⁵⁸ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxvi^v.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid*, f. xxv^r - xxv^v.

duty, fuel imposts, or other services;³⁶⁰ and in 1326 he ordered his chamberlain, Alexander Fraser, to ensure Scone Abbey received its teinds from the mills of Perth,³⁶¹ and he also issued a brieve to royal officers to help Scone Abbey collect its fermes.³⁶²

Although only one of the deeds mentioned above specifically refers to 'debts', the rest of the content suggests that the monastery was faced with financial difficulties and royal intervention was required to help combat this. These financial troubles continued and in April 1343 King David II issued a letter to the chancellor that granted the monastery a one-year respite from its debts.³⁶³ This was not enough and at the end of the respite, 4 March 1344, David II issued a letter to royal officers that informed them Scone Abbey now had a three-year relief from answering for its debts.³⁶⁴

The financial troubles of the fourteenth century and the record of the visitation suggest that the monastery was struggling not only financially but also spiritually and the fourteenth-century cartulary also contains a record that shows the abbot's commitment to address these problems. In the final few folios of the cartulary, there is a deed, c.1371, which deals with an appointment of a canon to serve Scone's appropriated church at Kildonan in Caithness diocese. The manuscript is severely stained to the point that some text is unreadable and the folio is torn in several places. The appointee was Andrew of Kinross. He was assigned to the church of Kildonan with its rents and revenues, and also received the assignment to him of the lands of Borroboll for a period of ten years. Due to the damage to the manuscript, it is not clear from the text if Andrew was appointed as parson or vicar. That is to say, it is not expressly stated if Andrew would serve the parish in residence at Kildonan or stay at Scone but collect the revenue. He was to enter the position in 1371 and complete three years from this date, after which he would proceed to the next three years. Such a clause suggests a review was taking place at the end of each period but there is no information as to if and what would happen if

³⁶⁰ *Ibid*, f. xxvi^v.

³⁶¹ *Ibid*, f. xxvi^v.

³⁶² *Ibid*, f. xxvi^v - xxvii^r.

³⁶³ *Ibid*, f. xxxiii^v.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid*, f. xxxii^r - xxxii^v.

Andrew could not or would not be allowed to proceed to the next three-year period. Andrew was to pay Scone forty shillings annually and an additional six pounds, which Scone paid the bishop of Caithness in Flemish coin for the said church.³⁶⁵

It is not clear if Andrew was a canon of Scone. The damaged transcription mentions he is “of the order of Saint Augustine” but the terms make it clear he has to pay Scone for the rent and revenues. If he was a canon of Scone he would have been appointed and administered the rents and revenue on behalf of the Scone itself. The payment to Scone suggests that Andrew may have been a portioner, who took part of the payment due to the vicar and the remitted the rest to the common fund of the abbey. Such an appointment may suggest that the number of canons was diminished to such an extent in the mid-fourteenth century that they could not staff all of their appropriated churches from their own community. This is the only deed in the cartulary that deals with the appointment to one of Scone's appropriated churches, which by the mid-fourteenth century included churches dispersed from Lothian, through Perthshire, to Kildonan in the far north.

There is no recorded grant of the church of Kildonan to Scone in the cartulary. A confirmation charter of Pope Alexander III, dated 1226, lists the church in Scone's possession.³⁶⁶ The church possibly came into Scone's possession 1222 x 1225 during the episcopate of Bishop Gilbert of Caithness (1222x1224-1245), who constituted the chapter of his cathedral church at Dornoch. The abbot of Scone was listed as a prebendary in the chapter and his prebend was the church of Kildonan.³⁶⁷ What acted as the trigger for the establishment of a relationship between Scone and the far north of Scotland is unclear. How did the abbot of a monastery in south-east Perthshire manage to obtain and maintain a prebend in a cathedral over one hundred miles away?

The evidence of a connection between the two, before 1226, is far from informative or conclusive. The answer may lie in the cult of Fergus. Although not mentioned specifically until the fifteenth-century at Scone, it is possible that

³⁶⁵ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxxiir (no.81).

³⁶⁶ *Ibid*, f. ir - ii^v (no.1).

³⁶⁷ A.W. Johnston and A. Johnston, eds., *Caithness and Sutherland Records*, vol. I. (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1928), 20.

a cult was established in the twelfth century following the monastery's foundation. Fergus was a missionary in the north of Scotland and is credited with the conversion of Caithness.³⁶⁸ In terms of more solid evidence, Earl Harald Maddadson of Caithness gifted the monastery one mark of silver annually c.1185 x 1206.³⁶⁹ Such a move, however, was probably done to help ingratiate himself to King William by donating to a royal monastery. Why he chose Scone over King William's own foundation at Arbroath may be down to his father being the earl of Atholl. Scone would have been able to say masses for his soul locally. Moreover, a donation like Harald's itself was probably unlikely to trigger the establishment of a long-standing interest in the north of Scotland but may indicate the strengthening of an existing connection. The already mentioned mandate by King Alexander II to the sheriffs and bailies of Moray and Caithness concerning Scone's ship and goods³⁷⁰ is undated but was probably issued pre-1230 when the MacWilliam family were still intermittently rebelling against the descendants of Malcolm III and his second wife; the MacWilliam claim to the throne ended in the 1230s.³⁷¹ It cannot be determined if this mandate was issued before the abbot became a prebendary. If it was issued before this then it would suggest an existing interest in the area and would help explain the relationship between Scone and the north mainland. If it was not, then it demonstrates that shortly after the abbot became a prebendary then the monastery was in regular contact with the area.

³⁶⁸ K. Veitch, "The Columban Church in northern Britain, 664-717: a reassessment," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, volume 127, (1997), 638.

³⁶⁹ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxiv^v (no.59).

³⁷⁰ *Ibid*, f.xiii^v (no.19).

³⁷¹ Oram, *Alexander II*, 99-100.

Chapter 4 – Enhanced Syllabus

Editing Methodology

The arrangement of the material mirrors the order in which the deeds appear in Cartulary A. The only exception to this is the correction of misplaced folios. The codicology section of this thesis demonstrates which folios have been re-ordered. The approach taken with this enhanced syllabus is as follows, where an entry exists in *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, then an English summary of the Latin transcription in the cartulary is provided. The summary contains the issuer and the classification of the deed, such as charter, brief, papal letter etc. Where available, the main body of the summary has been taken from *PoMS*. If there is not an entry in *PoMS* then the author has provided their own. Any corrections to the *PoMS* summaries have been noted, for example no.1 below. In addition to this, if the *PoMS* summary was lacking in detail, such as with no.13, then the author has used their own detailed summary. If the location and date of issue were transcribed into the cartulary then these are given. If it was not transcribed then it has been placed within a probable date range based on the content and witnesses of the deed or taken from a publication such as *Scottish Episcopal Acta*, *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, or *People of Medieval Scotland* database. All of these are referenced after the deed. Following each deed is the source of the transcription, listing the catalogue number and folio number. The folio number starts at one but there are nine paper pages before this in the cartulary. If the deed has been copied elsewhere, or an original exists, or the deed has been published then all of this has been identified. This detail is supported by three further sections. The first two, 'notes' and 'comments', are designed to provide further information about the deed such as colour of ink used, marginalia, sources for dates, changes in folios, and also any supplementary comment on the deed. The third section is a summary table of differences from the cartulary version and the version in *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*. The approach taken for this table is,

- If there are differences in orthography between the published edition and the manuscript, then this will be marked in the table as ‘Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition’.
- Differences in word order will be noted in **bold**.
- Any words that have been included in the publication but are not in the manuscript are marked in **red**.
- Any words from the manuscript that have been omitted in the publication are wrapped in square brackets [].
- Finally, if a testing and/or dating clause has been either omitted or included then this will be identified.

Confected example:

□

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.i ^r - iv ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.56-59) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.ii ^r) et hac mea carta	(p.56) et hac carta mea
(f.ii ^v) concessionones possessiones	(p.57) concessionones et possessiones
(f.iii ^r) Testibus et cetera	(p.58) Testibus [et cetera – omitted]
(f.iv ^r) No testing or dating clause	(p.59) Testing and dating clauses are included

The six deeds that were omitted in *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* from cartulary A have been fully transcribed. These transcriptions follow modern editing practice. All the Latin contractions have been extended, proper nouns have been capitalised, and punctuation has been added but used sparingly. In the transcriptions, *i* has been used for *i* and *j*; *u* has been used as a vowel and *v* as a consonant. Further to this, where the manuscript is damaged words have been completed in italics if the deed has been transcribed into Cartulary B.

Cartulary Syllabus

1.

A charter of papal privilege of Pope Honorius III to the abbot and brethren of Scone, taking the monastery into his protection; those goods and possessions which they possess canonically and other privileges and goods which they have or may acquire by papal permission, by the liberality of kings or the gifts of the faithful, may remain with the abbot and his successors, including the place where the monastery is situated with all its pertinents, the churches of Cambusmichael, Invergowrie, Liff, Logie Dundee, 'Lochoruer' (Borthwick), Carrington, Logierait with its chapels, the churches of Echt, 'Evein' (Barevan) with its chapels, the church of Kildonan with chapels and lands, the church of Scone, of 'Crag', Kinfauns and Rait; from the gift of Alexander, king of Scots, Innerbuist, with six ploughgates, Banchory with three ploughgates, Fodderance,³⁷² Kinnochtry, Fingask, Durdie, Liff, Gourdie, and Invergowrie with lands and possessions, a toft each in Edinburgh, Stirling, Inverkeithing, Perth, Aberdeen and Linlithgow, two nets in the Tay, and of one net in the Forth at Stirling, the island of Loch Tay, the cain and custom from one ship in the burgh of Perth, the court at Scone; from the gift of King David, a rent of 30s. from the villa of Perth, the villa of Cambusmichael, and rents from Scone, Coupar Angus, Longforgan, and from Strathardle, the rents of the mills of [the River] Almond, the rents of Longforgan and other possessions with pertinents and all other liberties and immunities. The abbey is exempt from tithes on new lands brought under cultivation by them or at their expense. They are also exempt from tithes on the offspring of their animals. They are permitted to take in whatever clerics or laymen have fled from the secular world and have converted freely, and to retain them without any contradiction. None of the brothers, after making their profession, shall be permitted to depart the cloister without the permission of the abbot, unless to enter stricter orders; no one may

³⁷² In POMS this is misidentified as Fetters, in Fife, PoMS, H2/139/111 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/3729/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

intend to depart without the surety of common letters; it is prohibited to construct chapels or oratories within the limits of the parish without the assent of the diocesan bishop and the abbey, saving the privileges of the Roman pontiffs. Burial, for those who shall decide to be buried in that place, will be unimpeded, except for those excommunicated or under interdict, saving justice to the parish church. Also, teinds and possessions belonging to those churches, which are detained by the laity, shall be redeemed and liberated from their hands and returned to the abbey. On the death of the abbot, or his successors, no one may be advanced to that office by deceit or violence, unless the brothers by common consent, or a majority of them, shall provide that the abbot be elected in accordance with the Augustinian rule. He prohibits anyone from committing robbery, theft, arson, blood-shed, seizing and killing men or committing other violence within the boundaries of the abbey's places or granges. He establishes all the liberties and immunities granted by his predecessors and those liberties and exemptions of secular exaction indulged by kings, by princes or other faithful. The pope directs that no man is permitted to disturb the church or carry away its possessions; saving to the bishop canonical justice and reverence and the authority of the apostolic see. Should any secular person attempt to go against this, after three warnings if he should not make amends, he may lose his honour and be liable to divine justice, and subject himself to retribution.³⁷³ Given at Lateran, 17 December 1226.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.i^r - ii^v.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.liv^r – lv^v.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.41^v – f.143^r.

Hay's Transcription, f.3^r – f.6^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.103, pp.66-69.

Notes: Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription. Some folios

³⁷³ PoMS, H2/139/111 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/3729/); date accessed: 21/04/2020).

are damaged in places. A papal rota is drawn on f. ii^v.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.i ^r - ii ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.66-69) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

2.

A charter of papal privilege of Pope Innocent IV, takes the church of Scone into his protection; the possessions and goods which the abbot and brethren possess canonically and other privileges and goods which they have or may acquire by papal permission, by the liberality of kings or the gifts of the faithful, shall remain with them, including the place where the church is situated with all pertinents, liberties and immunities. Everyone is debarred from presuming to exact teinds from them, in respect of lands which they cultivate with their own hands or at their own expense, or of food for their animals. They are permitted to take in whatever clerics or laymen have fled from the secular world and have converted freely, and to retain them without any contradiction. None of the brothers, after making their profession, shall be permitted to depart without the permission of the abbot; no one may intend to depart without the surety of common letters; they are permitted the right to celebrate divine office privately and quietly during a general interdict. They may have the privilege of anointment, holy oil, dedications of the altar or basilica, ordinations of the clerics who take orders, preferred from any bishop in the kingdom of the Scots who is catholic and in communion with the apostolic see. No one is permitted to construct oratories or chapels within the boundaries of the parishes of the churches, without the assent of the diocesan bishop, saving the privileges of the papacy. No one shall impose new exactions or customs of the churches or chapels which are not owed. Burial, for those who shall decide to be buried in

that place, will be unimpeded, except for those excommunicated or under interdict, saving justice to the church where they are buried. In addition, teinds and possessions belonging to the church by right which have been detained by laymen shall be returned to the hands of the abbot. On the death of the abbot, or his successors, no one may be advanced to that office by deceit or violence, unless the brothers by common consent, or a majority of them, shall provide that the abbot be elected in accordance with the Augustinian rule. He prohibits anyone from committing robbery, theft, arson, blood-shed, seizing and killing men or committing other violence within the boundaries of the abbey's places or granges. He establishes all the liberties and immunities granted by his predecessors and those liberties and exemptions of secular exaction indulged by kings, by princes or other faithful. The pope directs that no man is permitted to disturb the church or carry away its possessions; saving to the bishop canonical justice and reverence and the authority of the apostolic see. Should any secular person attempt to go against this, after three warnings if he should not make amends, he may lose his honour and be liable to divine justice, and subject himself to retribution.³⁷⁴ Given at Lateran, 26 January 1254.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.ii^v - iii^v, and f.vii^r.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.liv^r – iv^v.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.143^v – 144^v, and f.147^v – 148^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.6^r – f. 8^v and f.14^v – 15^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.113 pp.75-78.

Notes: Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription. Some folios are damaged in places.

³⁷⁴ PoMS, H2/143/168 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/3320/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.ii ^v - iii ^v and f.vii ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp. 75-78) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

3.

A charter of papal privilege, issued by Pope Alexander III to Robert, abbot of Scone, and the brethren there, taking the church into his protection; all the possessions and goods which they have or may acquire by papal permission, by the liberality of kings or the gifts of the faithful, may remain with the abbot and his successors, including, from the gift of Alexander, late king of Scots, Innerbuist, with seven ploughgates, Banchory with three ploughgates of land, Fodderance with one ploughgate, Kinnochtry, with one ploughgate of land, Fingask with one ploughgate, Durdie, with three ploughgates, Clie with three ploughgates, Liff, with six ploughgates, Gourdie with ten ploughgates, Invergowrie with three ploughgates; five tofts, one each at Edinburgh, Stirling, Inverkeithing, Perth, and Aberdeen, two nets in the River Tay, one at Kincarrathie and the other in the King's Inch; also, one net in the River Forth at Stirling, the cain and custom of one ship yearly, as in the king's charter; all the hides of sheep and lambs, the hide of a cow or an ox, half the hides, tallow and grease and the teinds of all bread and hunting of the king, and the island of Loch Tay with its pertinents. From the gift of King David, for the lighting of the church 20s. from the ferme of Perth, 10s. from the ferme of the mill of Perth, Cambusmichael with lands, waters, meadows, pastures, wood, and fishing, the full teinds of the king's provender, his malt and his cain of hides and cheeses, from the four manors of Gowrie, Scone, Coupar Angus, Longforgan, and from Strathardle, the teinds of the king's two mills of [the River] Almond, the church of Loquhariot (Borthwick), with the teinds and customs, the church of Carrington, the teinds of all the parish of Scone, in food, cheese, captured fish and in all other teind-able things; free transit to the king's port; free licence to take material from the king's forest throughout Scotland for building the church

of Scone and their houses; also, from each arable [ploughgate?] of all the land, for their conveth, on the feast of All Saints, one cow, two pigs, four weights of flour and 10 thraves of oats and ten hens and twelve eggs and 10 handfuls of candles and four pennyworths of soap ('nummatas sauonis') and 20 half-melas of cheese. From the gift of King Malcolm, all the teinds of the crops of Longforgan, one full toft in the burgh of Linlithgow, common pasture for the abbot and his men. The pope also establishes the customs and liberties granted by the kings as contained in their charters; the right to celebrate divine office privately and quietly during a general interdict. The pope decrees that burial, for those who shall decide to be buried in that place, will be unimpeded, except for those excommunicated or under interdict, saving justice to the parish church. The pope directs that no man is permitted to disturb the church or carry away its possessions; saving to the bishop canonical justice and reverence and the authority of the apostolic see. Should any secular person attempt to go against this, after three warnings if he should not make amends, he may lose his honour and be liable to divine justice, and subject himself to retribution.³⁷⁵ Given at Sens, 5 December 1164.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.vii^r – ix^v, and iv^r.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lii^r – liii^v.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.148^r – 150^r, and f.144^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.15^v – f.18^v and f.8^v – f.9^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.18, pp.13-16.

Notes: Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription. Some folios are damaged in places.

³⁷⁵ PoMS, H2/131/17 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/3728/; date accessed 21/04/2020).

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.vii ^r – ix ^v and iv ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.13-16) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.vii ^r) sicut auctentico	(p.14) sicut in autentico
(f.vii ^r) omnibus terris aquis pratis	(p.14) omnibus terris et aquis pratis
(f.viii ^r) quatuor maneriis suis scilicet de Goueryn de Scon de Cupre de Forgrund et de Strathardel	(p.14) quatuor maneriis suis scilicet de Goueryn de Forgrund de Scon de Cupre et de Strathardel
(f.viii ^v) ac sanguine dei et domini nostri	(p.15) ac sanguine dei et domini redemptoris nostri
(f.viii ^v and iv ^r) Testing clause	(p.16) Testing clause with differences in the order of some witnesses.

4.

A letter of Pope Clement V prohibiting the seizure of Scone Abbey's canons, *conversi*, animals or other goods by clergy or laymen who allege themselves to have a suit against the abbey and who retain the things seized until they receive satisfaction. Given at Poitiers, 6 February 1309.

^aClemens Episcopus servus servorum dei dilectis filiis abbati et conventui monasterii de Scona ordinis Sancti Augustini Sancti Andree dyocesis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ex parte vestra fuit prepositum coram nobis quod nonnulli clerici tam religiosi quam seculares et laici asserentes se in vos aliquid questionis habere aliquando canonicos interdum vero conversos et nonnunquam animalia et alia bona vestra pretextu cuiusdam prave

consuetudinis temeritate propria vadiare capere ac tamdiu retinere presumunt donec sit eis de huiusmodi questionibus juxta ipsorum beneplacitum satisfactum quamquam iurisdictione in vos non habeant ordinariam seu etiam delegatam. Cum itaque iudicialis vigor sit idio in medio constitutus ut nemo sibi audeat sumere ulcionem et ob hoc id tanquam nullo iure subnixum non sit aliquatenus tollerandum. Nos volentes in hac parte paci et quieti vestre consulere et predictis maliciis obviare auctoritate presentium districtius inhibemus ne quis occasione predictae consuetudinis vobis memoratas inferre molestias et bona monasterii predicti absque iuris ordine capere vadiare seu quomodolibet detinere presumat. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre^b inhibitionis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem omnipotentis dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se noverit incursum. Datum Pictaviis octavo idus Februarii pontificatus nostri anno tercio.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.iv^r - iv^v.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lx^v - lxi^r.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.147^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.9^r – f. 9^v,

Notes: Dating is derived from the pontifical year given, pope's name and place of issue. The location is recorded as Poitiers, therefore the pope in question is most likely Clement V, who moved the papal court there in 1305. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription. Slight fold and stain on folio. Some illegible marginalia. ^a Red initial; f.iv^r; ^b f.iv^v.

Comment: The letter does not appear in *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*. At the end of this deed the following is written:

Clemens Episcopus servus servorum dei dilectis filiis
Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis presens scriptum visuris
Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis presens scriptum

This does not form any part of the transcription and was probably just pen practice by the scribe.

5.

A letter of Pope Clement V to the Abbot and convent of the monastery of Scone and stating that he takes under his protection all of the goods which they hold at the present time or will acquire in the future, especially the teinds, possessions, houses, fields, pastures, forests, fisheries, granges, and all their other goods, and he establishes and, by the present charter of protection, fortifies the aforesaid, saving the teinds to the administration of the general council. Anyone who goes against the aforesaid will face the indignation of the apostles Peter and Paul.³⁷⁶ Given at Poitiers, 6 February 1309.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.iv^v.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lx^r - lx^v.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.145^r – 145^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.10^r – f. 10^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.147, pp.107-8.

³⁷⁶ PoMS H2/158/7 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/7231/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Notes: Dating is derived from the pontifical year given, pope's name and place of issue. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription. Some illegible marginalia on f.iv^v.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.iv ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.107-8) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.iv ^v) dei dilectis filiis abbati et conventui de Scona	(p.107) dei dilectis filiis abbati et conventui monasterii de Scona

6.

A letter of Pope Clement V addresses the abbot and convent of Scone and states that he grants them an indulgence by the present [charter] that they may prevail to ask for, entreat, accept, and retain the possessions and other movable and immovable goods which the free people of the brothers at the monastery have, whether or not they have them in secular right of succession or some other just title. Anyone who goes against this will face the indignation of the apostles Peter and Paul.³⁷⁷ Given at Poitiers, 6 February 1309.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.v^r.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxi^v.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.145^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS f.10^v – f.11^r.

³⁷⁷ PoMS, H2/158/6 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/7226/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.128, p.94.

Notes: Dating is derived from the pontifical year given, pope's name and place of issue. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.v ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.94) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

7.

A letter of Pope Gregory IX³⁷⁸ writes to the King of Scotland, noting that it is not fitting for him to extend royal hands to ecclesiastical men concerning lands, possessions and others collated in pure alms, nor concerning cases of dowry and of churches to answer in secular court against canonical sanctions. The pope thus advises and encourages him to abstain from this.³⁷⁹ Given at Perugia, 23 December 1228.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.v^{r-v}.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxiir – lxii^v.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.146^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.11^{r-v}.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.120, p.86 (mis-identified as Pope Gregory X).

³⁷⁸ In PoMS this is mis-identified as Pope Gregory X, PoMS, H2/147/11 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/3619/; date accessed 21/04/2020).

³⁷⁹ PoMS, H2/147/11 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/3619/; date accessed 21/04/2020).

Notes: Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription and some folios are damaged in places. A face has been drawn inside the G of Gregorius.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.v ^{r-v}) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.86) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

8.

Pope Innocent IV writes to the abbot and prior of Inchaffray Abbey noting that he has indulged to the abbot and convent of Scone that, concerning lands and other goods of their churches which are known to pertain to the ecclesiastical courts, they may not compel to have [them] answered or litigated in secular court against the privileges of the clerical court. The pope thus commands that the abbot and prior do not permit the abbot and convent to be bothered by anyone, against the tenor of this grant concerning this, the molesters to be compelled by ecclesiastical censure without appeal. They may not be excommunicated, suspended or [placed under] interdict, having not made mention, word for word, of this indult.³⁸⁰ Given at Lateran, 3 November 1253.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.v^r.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxii^v - lxxiii^r.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.146^{r-v}.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.11^v – f.12^r.

³⁸⁰ PoMS, H2/143/164 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/3322/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.105, pp.70-71 and No.112 p.75.

Notes: Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription. This charter has no full calendar date of issue only a pontifical year, meaning it was potentially issued either by Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) or IV (1243-54), as both had an eleventh pontifical year. It is argued here, however, that Innocent IV issued this charter. It is dated at the same time as other deeds of Pope Innocent IV.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon No.105</i>
(f.v ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.70-71) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.v ^v) apostolicam benedictionem dilectorum	(p.70) apostolicam benedictionem Deuotionis dilectorum

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon No.112</i>
(f.v ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.75) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

Comment: The deed does not appear in *Charters, Bulls and other documents relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray*.

9.

A charter of Pope Gregory IX taking the abbot and convent of Scone into his protection along with their persons and places, with all their goods which they reasonably possess at present or which will be acquired in future, and he establishes especially the *villas* of Great Blair and Little Blair with their pertinents, possessions and goods.³⁸¹ Dated at Viterbo, 9 January 1237.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.v^v - vi^r.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.ix^r.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.146^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.12^r – f.13^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.104, p.70.

Notes: Dating is derived from the pontifical year given, pope's name and place of issue. Some illegible marginalia near the opening word. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription and some folios are damaged in places.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.v ^v - vi ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.70) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.v ^v) modis prestante divino poterit	(p.70) modis prestante divino domino poterit
(f.v ^v) sub beati petri et nostra protectione	(p.70) sub beati petri ac [et – omitted] nostra protectione

³⁸¹ PoMS, H2/140/70 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/3325/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Comment: This charter relates to nos.19 and 22, which is an exchange where the canons of Scone received Great and Little Blair for giving up the teinds of bread and other things they received from Coupar.

10.

A letter of Pope Honorius IV to the abbot of Holyrood, noting that he has heard from the abbot and convent of Scone that some clerics and laymen had conceded certain teinds, houses, lands, possessions, meadows, pastures, forests, mills, rights, jurisdictions and certain other goods given to the same monastery, some for life, some for a long time, and others perpetually, at ferme or *sub censu annuo*, some of which they had obtained letters of confirmation by the apostolic see, to the great injury of the monastery. He thus commands him to discover what goods have been alienated by this manner and return them to the right and property of the monastery, compelling the opponents by ecclesiastical censure without appeal. If the witnesses named shall have withdrawn out of favour, hatred, or fear, they shall compel them by the same censure, without appeal, to provide testimony of the truth.³⁸² Given at Rome, at the Basilica of Saint Sabine, 25 October 1285.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.vi^r.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxi^v - lxi^r.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.146^v – 147^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 13^r – f. 13^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.121, pp.86-87.

³⁸² PoMS, H2/153/5 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/3564/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Notes: Dating is derived from the pontifical year given, pope's name and place of issue. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription. The last sentence is written in much larger writing, with letters being almost three times the height of the rest of the charter.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.vi ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.86-87) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.vi ^r) Bulla domini pape	(p.86) [Bulla domini pape – omitted]
(f.vi ^r) et penis adiectis in gravem ipsius monasterii	(p.87) et penis adiectis in communem [gravem – omitted] ipsius monasterii
(f.vi ^r) nullis clericis et laicis aliquibus eorum ad vitam	(p.87) nullis clericis et laicis aliquibus [eorum – omitted] ad vitam

11.

A charter of Pope Honorius III to the abbot and convent of Scone, noting that since he has learned that from J[ohn], of good memory, cardinal priest of St Stephen in Celio Monte, who was legate in those parts, assigned the church of Carrington, which they have for their own uses, to repair Scone Abbey and its buildings. The Pope establishes this and prohibits anyone from extorting teinds of gardens, brushwood, or fodder for their animals.³⁸³ Given at Rieti, 29 December 1225.

³⁸³ PoMS, H2/139/98 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/3324/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.vi^v.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxi^r - lxi^v.
 MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.147^{r-v}.
 Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.13^v – f.14^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.102, pp.65-66.

Notes: Dating is derived from the pontifical year given, pope's name and place of issue. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription. Some folios are damaged in places.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.vi ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.65-66) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.vi ^v) Sancti Augustini salutem et benedictionem	(p.65) sancti Augustini salutem et apostolicam benedictionem
(f.vi ^v) bone memorie Jitercus Stephanus in celio monte presbiter cardinalis	(p.66) bone memorie J tituli Stephani in celio monte presbiter cardinalis

Comment: The manuscript has *Jitercus*, so too do the MacFarlane and Hay transcriptions. It is supposed to reference John.³⁸⁴

³⁸⁴ PoMS, H2/139/98 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/3324/; date accessed 07/02/19).

12.

Pope Innocent IV writes to the abbot and convent of Scone stating that he has relaxed 40 days of penance of all penitents and confessors who visit the church yearly on the anniversary of its dedication.³⁸⁵ Given at Lateran, 3 November 1253.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.vi^v.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxii^v.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.147^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.14^r – f. 14^v.

Pope Innocent IV to Scone Abbey, 1253, Register House Charters, RH 1/2/65, NRS.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.114, p.79.

Notes: Dating derived from the later recension of the cartulary.³⁸⁶ Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.vi ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.79) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.vi ^v) omnipotentis dei... The transcription is incomplete due to lost folios	(p.79) omnipotentis dei Misericordia et beatorum petri et pauli apostolorum ejus auctoritate consi xi. Dies de injuncta sibi penitentia misericorditer relaxamus Datum lateran. iij non. novembris pontificates nostri undecimo

³⁸⁵ PoMS, H2/143/165 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/3321/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

³⁸⁶ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f. lxxiii^v.

Comment: This is the end of the gathering. It remains incomplete in the cartulary.

13.

Partial charter of King Malcolm IV, establishing an abbot at Scone and gives, grants, and confirms goods, possessions, and liberties.³⁸⁷ Given at Stirling, 24 May 1163 x 23 May 1164.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.ix^r.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.ii^r - iv^v.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.150^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.18^v – f. 19^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.5 p.5.

RRS, i, No.243, pp.263-265 (taken from later recension of the cartulary with variants from this recension noted).

Notes: Dating derived from king's name, witness list, and location.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.ix ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.7-8) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

³⁸⁷ PoMS, H1/5/102 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/57/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Comment: Partial transcription in the cartulary. Only the testing and dating clauses survive.

14.

King Robert I inspects the charter that King Malcolm IV made to the monastery of the Holy Trinity and St Michael the Archangel at Scone. He found that the charter was not erased, cancelled or in any way damaged, in these words:

Malcolm, king of Scots, gives greetings to the bishops, abbots, barons, justices, and sheriffs throughout his whole land, clerics and laymen, French, English, Scots, Galwegians, both now and in the future. It is known to be a special honour of the crown to found churches and to care for churchmen and to provide for the churches of our realm. Therefore, it is for the honour of God and for the restoration of the church of Scone, which has been founded in the principal seat of our kingdom, and which was destroyed by fire, we have resolved with the consent of our nobles and ecclesiastics to grant confirmation to the said Church and the abbot promoted therein. We have renewed with the authority of our seal, the privileges of our ancestors which have been reduced to ashes in the aforesaid fire, and give, grant, and confirm to the said church and the abbot and canons who serve God there forever, the goods, possessions, and liberties bestowed upon the said church by our predecessors, namely King Alexander of worthy memory and the illustrious King David, our grandfather, as also by ourselves; and as we have seen the copies of the foresaid privileges we ordain that the aforementioned gifts as conferred upon the said church by the foresaid kings and by us shall be inscribed upon this present page. These are, that to the foresaid church were granted by King Alexander, Innberbuist with five ploughgates, Banchory with three ploughgates, Fodderance with one ploughgate, Kinnochtry with one ploughgate, Fingask with one ploughgate, Durdie with three ploughgates, Clien with three ploughgates, Liff with six ploughgates, Gourdie with ten ploughgates, Invergowrie with three ploughgates,; five tofts: one each at Edinburgh, Stirling, Inverkeithing, Perth, and Aberdeen; two nets in the [River] Tay, one at Kincarrathie, the other in the King's Inch; one net in the [River] Forth at Stirling; the cain and custom of one

ship or of the canons' ship or any foreign ship anchored in the king's territory in summer or winter; all the hides of sheep that are lambs pertaining to the king's kitchen except every sixth hide and this is from north of the Lammermuirs; and every Sunday, outside of Lent, (except every sixth Sunday) one skin on a cow or ox likewise from north of the Lammermuirs; and half of all tallow, fat, and stuffing from the king's part and the teind of all the bread of the king's household from north of the Lammermuirs; and the island of Loch Tay with all its pertinents; and full court with duel, iron, and water and all other liberties pertaining to a court and the privilege of not answering to anyone outside their own court; in augmentation of these goods of the aforesaid church the illustrious King David gave to the said church these possessions and liberties: for lighting the said church 20 shillings from the *ferme* of Perth and for the same purpose 10 shillings from the *fermes* of the mills of Perth; and half of the hides killed for the king's purpose north of the Tay and half the tallow and fat from those animals killed; also Cambusmichael with its men, lands, waters, meadows, pastures, woods and plains, with its fishings and its right bounds with all their pertinents; and fully the whole teind of my prebend and malt and cain of my skins and cheeses from my four manors of Gowrie, namely, Scone, Coupar, Longforgan, and Strathardle; and the teind of my mills on the [River] Almond; the church of Borthwick (*Lochforner*) with its lands, teinds, and rectitudes; the church of Carrington with all its pertinents; and the whole teind of the parish of Scone in victual, in cheeses, in captured fish, and all other things from which teind is taken; free passage at the Queen's Gate to the abbot and the canons of Scone and their men and monies without any tax; also the freedom to take material in my woods through the whole of Scotland for building the church of Scone and their house; and the freedom to take material in that wood between Scone and Cargill and the native men of the lands and churches of the aforesaid and their children beside those who have run away from the said canons and shall be lawfully claimed by them; licence to have at Scone three servants: one smith, one skinner, and one shoe maker and while they remain in service of the canons they shall have freedoms and customs that servants like that have in my burgh of Perth; and from each arable [ploughgate?] of all the land, for their conveth, on the feast of All Saints, one cow, two pigs, four weights of flour and 10 thraves of oats and ten hens and twelve eggs and 10

handfuls of candles and four pennyworths of soap ('nummatas sauonis') and 20 half-melas of cheese. Now, we, for the honour of God, and for the salvation of our souls and the souls of our ancestors, have added to the aforesaid church: the teind of the crops of Longforgan or if Longforgan is disposed then they shall have similar teind and common pasture wherever their manors and mine are adjacent; no-one shall take conveth from their lands and men unless by the permissions of the canons. The church of Scone shall possess its lands, churches, and other possessions, rents, and freedoms undisturbed, freely, quietly, honourably, and peacefully as any church in my kingdom.

Robert, approved and ratified this by the tenor of his present charter, saving the defence of his realm, excepting the clauses above written and spoken of the skins of the sheep and lambs and the skins of the same tallow fats and hides and a teind of the bread from the households of the king and queen which they hold in alms of the land of Blair in exchange and compensation. And a similar exception clause is below written which says that the teinds of prebends of malt, cain, skins, and cheeses from the 4 manors of Gowrie namely: of Scone, of Coupar, of Longforgan, and of Strathardle only as long as the thanage of Scone that the said religious have now by our concession into their hands to endure for which teinds they are accustomed to receiving annually 7 pounds, 8 shillings and 10 pence sterling through the hand of the sheriff of Perth. Given at Scone, 1 March 1327.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.ix^r-xi^v.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxi^r – xiii^v.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.150^r – 152^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.19^r – f.23^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.129, pp.95-96.

RRS, v, no.291, pp.549-552.

Notes: Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription. A face has been drawn at the bottom of f.xi^r.

Differences:

Manuscript	Liber Ecclesie de Scon
(f.ix ^r -xi ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.95-96) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.ix ^r) potestatis honorem spectare dinoscitur	(p.5) potestatis honorem precipue spectare dinoscitur
(f.ix ^v) damus concedimus et confirmamus Inspec ^t is	(p.5) damus et concedimus et confirmamus Inspec ^t is
(f.x ^r) extra propriam curiam Ad memorate bonorum	(p.6) extra curiam propriam Ad memorate vero bonorum
(f.x ^v) unum pelliparium et unum sutorem	(p.7) vnum pelliparium [et – omitted] vnum sutorem
(f.x ^v) quas huiusmodi ministri	(p.7) quas eiusdem [huius – omitted] modi ministri
(f.x ^v) salute prefatis eiusdem ecclesie	(p.7) salute [prefatis – omitted] predictis ecclesie eiusdem
(f.xi ^r) ratificamus approbamus	(p.95) approbamus ratificamus

Comment: The end of the charter also details an exchange of the teinds from the four royal manors of Gowrie for £7 8s. 10d. This exchange is detailed nowhere else and the exact date at which it occurred is unknown. It was possibly after 1226 because it appears in the papal confirmation of Pope Honorius III; no.1.

15.

A letter of King Robert I to his justiciar north of the Forth, the sheriffs of Perth and Forfar as well as their baillies, notifying that he has inspected and truly understood the charters of the abbot and convent of Scone over the lands, holdings, and possessions granted by his predecessors the kings of Scotland,

which they ought to hold in pure and perpetual alms by right. He therefore grants, ratifies, and confirms by these present letters all those lands and possessions in pure and perpetual alms. He firmly prohibits anyone from taking prises, suits, captions, carriages, or other services from the said religious or their men the inhabitants of the said lands.³⁸⁸ Given at Scone, 29 December 1325.

- Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xi^v – xii^r.
- Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxiv^v – xxv^r.
 MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.152^v – 153^r.
 Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.23^r – f. 24^v.
- Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.133 p.98-99.
RRS, v, No.285, pp.543-544.
- Notes: Some illegible marginalia then 'terris et possessiones libram...elemosinam'. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xi ^v – xii ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.98-99) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xi ^v) in aliquibus prisis sectis captionibus	(p.99) in aliquibus sectis prisis captionibus

³⁸⁸ PoMS, 1/53/327 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/10007/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Comment: This charter was given in the twentieth year of Robert I's reign but the charter appears in a confirmation charter of David II with a different date.³⁸⁹ The date in the confirmation charter appears as *anno regni nostri vicesimo tercio* which would have been 29 December 1328, a date which Professor Duncan suggests is too late to have been given at Scone and that *tercio* was mistakenly inserted as it was given in the thirteenth year of David II's reign.³⁹⁰ Robert was definitely not at Scone in December 1328 because he had set sail for Tarbert castle in the second half of November and stayed there for over a month.³⁹¹

16.

A letter patent of King Robert I to his justiciar north of the Forth and the sheriff of Perth and his baillies of Gowrie, noting that the good and faithful assize of responsible and faithful men of the country, in front of Thomas Randolph earl of Moray and lord of Man and Annandale, his justiciar north of the Forth has ascertained that the abbot and convent of Scone was saisied in the time of King Alexander III of the tenth of all his profits of justice from both the justiciar and sheriff courts in Gowrie, in perpetual alms. He commands and instructs them to make the necessary payments.³⁹² Given at Scone, 22 November 1319.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xii^r.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxiii^v.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.153^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.24^r – f.24^v.

³⁸⁹ Confirmation of David II, 1341, Register House Charters, RH 6/107, NRS.

³⁹⁰ *RRS*, v, 544.

³⁹¹ Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, 297.

³⁹² PoMS, H1/53/171 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/9855/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, no.130, p.96.

RRS, v, no.156, p.429.

Notes: 'carta omnibus deci et escheat ...in Go. vicecomitati' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xii ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.96) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xii ^r) vicecomiti de Perth qui pro	(p.96) vicecomiti de Perth ac ballivis suis de Goveri qui pro
(f.xii ^r) bone memorie Alexandri	(p.96) bone memorie Domini Alexandri

Comment: This is the last deed in the gathering.

17.

Partial charter of King Alexander III, possibly from a general confirmation charter issued to the monastery. No place or date of issue, 1249 x 1286.

^a[li]berius et quietius et honorificentius tenet aut possidet et sicut carta et confirmatio domini regis Alexandri patris nostri inde facte predictis abbati et canonicis testantur et confirmant. Testibus

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xii^r.

Other: (possibly) Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xx^v-xxi^r.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.153^r –153^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.24^v.

Notes: ^a f.xiii^r; letters in parenthesis are editorial input. Reference to 'the lord king Alexander our father' indicates that the charter issuer is likely to be Alexander III, the only son of Alexander II.

Comment: Folios lost before the extant remains of this gathering. This partial deed does not appear in *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*.

18.

A charter of King Alexander II to Scone Abbey; he has given, in exchange for certain teinds which canons of Scone claimed from lands of Longforgan in Gowrie, one net in king's fisheries in his thanage of Scone, in addition to a net which they had in same fisheries, so that henceforth the king will retain in these fisheries only one net and fisheries which are called 'Fethes'.³⁹³ Given at Scone, 11 July 1234.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xiii^r.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xv^v - xvi^r.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.153^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.24^v – f. 25^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.66, p.41.

RRS, iii, No.190, p.34.

³⁹³ PoMS, H1/7/217 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2077/; date accessed: 21/04/2020)

Notes: Dating derived from the later recension of the cartulary. 'de piscaria Gerny' is written in the margin A, which refers to a grant by King Alexander III that does not survive in the fourteenth-century cartulary but appears in the later recension. Red lettering throughout Cartulary A transcription, some blue ink has also been used.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xiii ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.41) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xiii ^r) No testing and dating clauses after 'Testibus'.	(p.41) Testing and dating clauses included after 'Testibus'.

19.

A charter of King Alexander II to Scone Abbey. In exchange for teinds of bread consumed in households of the king and queen, and all rights which the canons had in the kitchens and larders of the king and queen, and in exchange for the teinds which they used to receive in the king's lands of Blairgowrie, he has given all his lands of Meikle Blair and Little Blair, except two and a half measured ploughgates of land in feu of Meikle Blair which he gave to Coupar Angus Abbey in exchange for the common moor of Blair; to be held by providing forinsec service due from five davochs of land. The king remits service due from the sixth davoch of Blair on account of land he has bestowed to monks of Coupar, saving pleas and liberties of the crown; and, while no royal forester will be appointed, he retains his rights of hunting.³⁹⁴ Given at Traquair, 1 June 1235.

³⁹⁴ PoMS, H1/7/230 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2089/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xiii^r - xiii^v.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xvi^r - xvi^v.
 MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f. 153^v –154^r.
 Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 25^r – f. 26^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.67, p.42.
RRS, iii, No.199, p.36.

Notes: Dating derived from the later recension of the cartulary. 'de Blar' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xiii ^r - xiii ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.42) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xiii ^r) in escambium conventionis	(p.42) in excambium [conventionis – omitted] communio nis
(f.xiii ^v) No testing or dating clauses after 'Testibus'.	(p.42) Testing and dating clauses included after 'Testibus'.

20.

A charter of King Alexander II to Scone Abbey; he has granted the donation that Malcolm, earl of Fife, with the consent of the bishop and chapter of Dunkeld, made of the church of Redgorton.³⁹⁵ Given at Kinross, 25 May 1229.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xiii^v.

³⁹⁵ PoMS, 1/7/155 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2010/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xvii^v – xviii^f.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.154^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.26^f.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.72, pp.44-45.

RRS, iii, No.135, p.27.

Notes: Dating derived from the later recension of the cartulary.
'ecclesie de Rogordeyn' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xiii ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.44-45) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xiii ^v) et hac carta nostra confirmasse	(p.44) et [hac – omitted] carta nostra confirmasse
(f.xiii ^v) et quiete sicut	(p.45) et quiete et plenarie sicut
(f.xiii ^v) predicti canonicis	(p.45) predicti [canonicis – omitted] Comitis
(f.xiii ^v) No testing or dating clauses after 'Testibus'.	(p.45) Testing and dating clauses included after 'Testibus'.

21.

King Alexander II informs his sheriffs, bailiffs and other responsible men of Moray and Caithness that he has taken under his firm peace a ship of Scone Abbey, and the men of this ship and their goods; and commands them that when the ship enters their waters, they shall protect it and allow the abbey's

men to purchase necessary provisions without impediment. No place of issue, 10 July 1222 x 6 July 1249,³⁹⁶ probably pre-1230.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xiii^v.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xviii^r.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f. 154^r–154^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 26^r – f. 26^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.73, p.45.

RRS, iii, No.313, p.51.

Notes: 'prohibitio regis pro naue monasterio' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xiii ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.45) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

Comment: See discussion on p.104 for attribution.

22.

King Alexander II makes known that he has bestowed the lands of Meikle Blair and Little Blair to the canons of Scone in exchange for teinds of bread consumed in the households of the king and the queen, and all rights which the canons had in the kitchens and larders of the king and queen, which he warrants against all men.³⁹⁷ Given at Traquair, 1 June 1235.

³⁹⁶ PoMS, H1/7/73 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1905/; date accessed 21/04/20).

³⁹⁷ PoMS, H1/7/231 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2090/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xiii^v – xiv^r.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xvii^v.
 MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.154^v.
 Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.26^v – f.27^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.71, p.44.
RRS, iii, No.200, p.36.

Notes: Dating derived from the later recension of the cartulary. 'de blar' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xiii ^v – xiv ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.44) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xiv ^r) No testing or dating clauses after 'Testibus'.	(p.44) Testing and dating clauses included after 'Testibus'.

Comment: This charter relates to no.19: the canons of Scone giving up their teinds of bread and other things in exchange for receiving the land of Great and Little Blair.

23.

King Alexander II has taken the canons of Scone and their servants into his firm peace and protection, wherever they may be in his kingdom on the business of their house. No-one is to molest or oppress them on land or water, on pain of his full forfeiture.³⁹⁸ Given at Forfar, 30 November 1215 x 1224.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xiv^r.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f. xvi^r.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f. 154^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 27^r – f. 27^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.70, pp.43-44.

RRS, iii, no.37, p.14.

Notes: Dating derived from the later recension of the cartulary. 'protectione regis' is written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xiv ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.43-44) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xiv ^r) No testing or dating clauses after 'Testibus'.	(p.44) Testing and dating clauses included after 'Testibus'.

³⁹⁸ PoMS, H1/7/41 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1944/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

24.

A charter of King Alexander II to Scone Abbey. He has given two acres of land in the territory of Scone, where their wind-mill is located.³⁹⁹ Given at Scone, 5 February 1241.

- Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xiv^r.
- Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xviii^r - xviii^v.
MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.154^v – 155^r.
Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.27^r – f.27^v.
- Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.74, pp.45-46.
RRS, iii, No.247, p.42.
- Notes: Dating derived from the later recension of the cartulary. 'de terra molendinum' and two other illegible words written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xiv ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.45-46) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xiv ^r) No testing or dating clauses after 'Testibus'.	(p.46) Testing and dating clauses included after 'Testibus'.

³⁹⁹ PoMS, H1/7/281 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2121/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

25.

King Alexander II for Robert of London, his brother; has given one toft at Scone, that is, the one which Ranulf, his sheriff of Scone, handed over to him at the king's request. Given at Edinburgh, 4 April 1218 x 1219.⁴⁰⁰

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xiv^r.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xvi^v - xvii^r.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.155^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.27^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.68, p.43.

Notes: Dating derived from PoMS. 'de terra in Scon' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xiv ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.43) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xiv ^r) No testing or dating clauses included after 'Testibus'.	(p.43) Testing and dating clauses included after 'Testibus'.

26.

King Alexander II for Scone Abbey; has handed over at perpetual ferme his demesnes at Rait and Kinfauns in Gowrie, with the neyfs of the same land, for an annual rent of 40 chalders of good quality wheat and 60 chalders of first-grade malt, payable at the abbey's granges of Rait and Kinfauns, and by

⁴⁰⁰ PoMS, H1/7/38 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1839/; date accessed 21/04/20).

providing forinsec service due from these lands, saving to canons second teinds collated to them in perpetual alms by king and his predecessors.⁴⁰¹ No place or issue, 1234 x 1241.

- Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xiv^r - xiv^v.
- Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xviii^v - xix^r.
 MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.155^r.
 Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.28^r.
- Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.75, p.46.
RRS, iii, No.324, p.53.
- Notes: Dating derived from the later recension of the cartulary. 'de terris de Rath de Kynfaunes' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xiv ^r - xiv ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.46) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.iv ^v) No testing clause included after 'Testibus'.	(p.46) Testing clause included after 'Testibus'.

⁴⁰¹ PoMS, H1/7/285 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2063/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

27.

Thomas, son of Malcolm of Lundie, doorward of the lord king, has given, granted, and by this his charter established, to Scone Abbey Echt in Mar with all its just pertinents, in free, pure, and perpetual alms.⁴⁰² Sometime before 17 December 1226.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xiv^v.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f. 155^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 28^r – f. 28^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.91, p.58.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating derived from the appearance of Echt in a papal confirmation, no.1. 'Eyth in Marre' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xiv ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.58) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

Comment: This charter is duplicated below, no.57

⁴⁰² PoMS, H3/204/4 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/4649/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

28.

King William I to Scone Abbey; he has granted donation which Hugh of Calder made of 40 acres of cultivated land in Buttergask, with one toft and croft in the same *villa* and with common pasture and all easements of Buttergask.⁴⁰³ Given at Clackmannan, 9 July 1211 x 1214.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xiv^v.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.viii^r - viii^v.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f. 155^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 28^v – f. 29^r.

NRS, RH 6/18 (with witness list).

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.25, p.20.

RRS, ii, no.508, p.459 (taken from the NRS version).

Notes: Dating derived from the later recension of the cartulary and the NRS version. 'Buthirgask' is written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xiv ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.20) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xiv ^v) No testing or dating clauses included after 'Testibus'.	(p.20) Testing and dating clauses included after 'Testibus'.

⁴⁰³ PoMS, H1/6/474 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/621/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Comment: This confirmation is duplicated below, no.55. Neither this charter nor no.55 discuss the boundaries of the grant as specified in Hugh's charter, nos.54 and 61.

29.

King Robert I, for the salvation of his soul, and for the salvation of the souls of all his ancestors and successors, has given, granted, and by this his present charter, established to the abbot, and also the canons of Scone, the whole thanage of Scone, with all its just pertinents, by its correct ends and bounds, in free, pure, and perpetual alms, saving the defence of his kingdom. He wishes and grants that the abbot and canons may have and may hold their court of their men inhabiting the thanage, just as his other men hold and possess their court.⁴⁰⁴ Given at Inchtute, 7 April 1312.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xiv^v – xv^r.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxiii^v – xxiv^r.
MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.155^v – f.156^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.29^r – f. 29^v.

King Robert I grants thanage to Scone Abbey, 1312, Register House Charters, RH 6/106, NRS.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, no.131 p.97.

RRS, v, no.17, pp. 302-303 (taken from both recensions of the cartulary and the NRS charter).

Notes: 'thaynagium de Scona' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

⁴⁰⁴ PoMS, H1/53/22 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/6786/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xiv ^v – xv ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.97) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xv ^r) abbati ac canonicis de Scona	(p.97) abbati [ac – omitted] et canonicis de Scona
(f.xv ^r) per rectas et divisas	(p.97) per rectas metas et divisas
(f.xv ^r) assartandis in venationibus	(p.97) assartandis [in – omitted] et venationibus

Comment: Possibly duplicated as no.84

30.

Simon, abbot of Scone, grants the whole land of *Girsmerland* to Master Andrew of Stirling for the period of Andrew's life. Andrew must pay 5 marks annually at two terms; half at Pentecost and half at the Feast of St Martin (Martinmas, 11th November). Moreover, Master Andrew and his men dwelling in that land shall pay to the mill of Kincarrathie the sixteenth measure of all wheat-grain grown in the same, Master Andrew himself shall pay the twentieth measure to the miller of the mill as a charge. No place of issue, 1326.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xv^r - xv^v.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.156^r – f.156^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 30^r – f. 30^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.149, p.109.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. 'carta Andrea Stiruelyn' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xv ^r - xv ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.109) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

Comment: The name *Girsmerland* has no modern equivalent and remains unidentified.

31.

King Malcolm IV forbids anyone to levy distraint upon the land of the abbot of Scone, whether, for the debt of the abbot himself or of any of his men, or for the default of the abbot or of any of his men, unless the abbot or his man, having been impleaded in the abbot's court, shall first have failed to provide justice. Given at Jedburgh, 25 March 1165 x 9 December 1165.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xv^v.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.vi^v - vii^r.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.156^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.30^v – f.31^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.15, p.12.

RRS, i, No.262, p.275 (collated from both recensions).

Notes: Dating derived from king's name, witness list, and location. Illegible wording in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f. xv ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.12) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

32.

Henry, abbot of Scone, and the convent of the same place, states that in all causes moved or to be moved on behalf of them or against them in the presence of whatever judges, ordinaries, delegates, sub-delegates, commissaries, or arbitrators, on whatever day and place, they made and constitute Hugh, their fellow canon, as their procurator, giving to him the power and special mandate to deliver for them and to defend them, to produce witnesses and oaths, to appeal lawsuits, to swear concerning claims and to speak the truth, to ask for expenses, to swear in and receive another procurator, to be a substitute in his place, as often as he it should be seen expedient, and to provide every other thing in the premise and around the premise which a true and legitimate procurator is able to provide, and they seek a special mandate.⁴⁰⁵ No place of issue, though possibly St. Andrews, 1303-1320.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xv^v - xvi^r.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.157^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.31^r – f.31^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.196, pp.158-159.

⁴⁰⁵ PoMS, H2/98/9 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/7234/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary.
Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription, blue ink used for H of Henry.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xv ^v - xvi ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.158-159) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

Comment: In *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* this charter is placed during the reign of Robert III but this is far too late. There was no abbot named Henry during the reign of Robert III. This charter is from the early fourteenth century during Henry Man's abbacy, 1303-1320.

33.

Hugh, bishop of St. Andrews, for Scone Abbey; he has given the church and land of Logie-Dundee (Lochee) and all right which he had in them he has quitclaimed, paying to the bishop and his successors episcopal dues from the church and rendering half a mark annually at Michaelmas from the land.⁴⁰⁶ No place of issue, possibly St. Andrews, 1178 x 30 December 1184.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xvi^r.

Other: NLS, Adv. MS. 34.2.28 f.lxxii^r - lxxii^v.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.157^r – f.157^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.31^v – f. 32^r.

⁴⁰⁶ PoMS, H2/10/99 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1283/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.41, p.27.

Scottish Episcopal Acta, vol.1, No.224, pp.266-267.

Notes: Dating derived from *Scottish Episcopal Acta*. 'ecclesia de Logydundo' is written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xvi ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.27) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xvi ^r) No testing clause included after 'Testibus'.	(p.27) Testing clause included after 'Testibus'.

Comment: This deed is duplicated below, no.43, with some minor spelling differences and a list of witnesses. The original grant was made by Richard, bishop of St Andrews (1163-1178).⁴⁰⁷

34.

Hugh, bishop of St. Andrews, confirms the grant of his predecessor Richard, bishop of St. Andrews, of two parks of land in the burgh of St Andrews. In addition to this he grants an additional two parks of land lying adjacent to the original grant. From these four parks of land the canons will have a full toft. No place of issue, 1178 x 16 January 1188.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xvi^r - xvi^v.

⁴⁰⁷ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f. lxxi^v.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxxi^v - lxxii^r.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.157^v – 158^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 32^r – 32^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.49, pp.31-32.

Scottish Episcopal Acta, vol.1 No.225, pp.267-268.

Notes: Dating derived from *Scottish Episcopal Acta*. 'de terra in sancti andree' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription, the letter H of Hugh is written in blue ink.

At the bottom of f. xvi^r in this cartulary the following is written in very small, fine ink: 'Iste Hugo factus est episcopus Sancti Andree anno domini M C LXXVIII tempore regis Willelmi obiit anno domini M C LXXXVIII'.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xvi ^r - xvi ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.31-32) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xvi ^v) No testing clause included after 'Testibus'.	(p.32) Testing clause included after 'Testibus'.

Comment: The original charter by Bishop Richard does not appear in either recension of the cartulary but would have been issued between 1163 and 1178. The canons were to use the four perches to make a full toft, in the burgh of St. Andrews between 64 and 80 feet in size. This toft, however, was possibly never consolidated and developed because it does not appear in the papal confirmation of Honorius III (no.1). The burgh was going through a period of expansion, so too was the new cathedral, in

the second half of the twelfth century⁴⁰⁸ and the desire of successive bishops to grant land to Scone demonstrates their religious and economic attractiveness to others in medieval Scotland.

35.

Hugh, bishop of St. Andrews concedes and confirms, *in proprios usus*, to Robert, abbot of Scone, the churches that Kings Alexander, David, Malcolm, and William, and his predecessors Robert, Ernald, and Richard conceded and confirmed. These are the churches of Scone, Kinfauns, *Crag*, Rait, Liff, Invergowrie, Cambusmichael, Borthwick (*lochoruer* also known as *Loquhariot*), and Carrington. Moreover, they are exempt from episcopal exactions and demands. No place of issue, 1178 x 30 December 1184.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xvi^v.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxx^v - lxxi^r.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.158^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.32^v – f. 33^v.

Bishop Hugh of St Andrews to Scone Abbey, 1178 x 1184, Register House Charters, RH 6/10, NRS.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.50, pp.32-33.

Scottish Episcopal Acta, vol.1 No.226, pp.268-269.

Notes: Dating derived from *Scottish Episcopal Acta*. 'ecclesiis Logy' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

⁴⁰⁸ Hammond, "The Burgh of St Andrews and its Inhabitants", 143-145.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xvi ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.32-33) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xvi ^v) nostra et per institutionem	(p.32) nos [et – omitted] per institutionem
(f.xvi ^v) exactione et demanda et consuetudine	(p.32) exactione [et demanda – omitted] et consuetudine
(f.xvi ^v) Testing clause.	(p.33) Testing clause with additional witnesses.

36.

Richard, bishop of St. Andrews, concedes and confirms to the abbot and canons of Scone, *in proprios usus*, the churches in the diocese which Kings Alexander, Malcolm, and William, by the advice of the bishop's predecessors, Bishops Robert and Arnold, granted to the abbey: the church of Scone and its chapels of Kinfauns, *Crag*, Rait, the churches of Liff, Invergowrie, Cambusmichael, Borthwick (*Lochorner*), and Carrington. Moreover, they are exempt from Episcopal exactions and demands. He grants license to them to retain or remove whatever chaplains they wish suitable for those churches. No place of issue, 1172 x probably 13 May 1178.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xvi^v – xvii^r.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxx^r.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.158^r – 158^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.33^v – 34^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.48, p.31.

Scottish Episcopal Acta, vol.1 No.204, pp.239-240.

Notes: Dating derived from *Scottish Episcopal Acta*. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription. At the bottom of folio xvi^v written in very small, fine ink is: ' Iste Ricardus factus est episcopus anno domini M C LXV^{to} tempore Malcolmi regis iunioris'.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xvi ^v – xvii ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.31) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xvii ^r) Roberti Ernaldi	(p.31) Roberti et Ernaldi

37.

Richard, bishop of St. Andrews, for Scone Abbey; he has granted the teinds of the parish of Scone in grain-rent, cheeses, catch of fish and in all other things whence teinds ought to be given.⁴⁰⁹ No place of issue, 28 March 1165 x 2 April 1172.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xvii^r.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxx^r - lxx^v.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.158^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.34^r – f.34^v.

⁴⁰⁹ PoMS, H2/10/60 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1339/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.47, p.30.

Scottish Episcopal Acta, vol.1 No.203, pp.238-239.

Notes: Dating derived from *Scottish Episcopal Acta*. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xvii ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.30) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xvii ^r) No testing clause included after 'Testibus'.	(p.30) Testing clause included after 'Testibus'.

38.

Charter, most probably, issued by William Malveisin, bishop of St. Andrews, concedes and confirms the grants of churches and lands to Scone Abbey for their own use made by his predecessors. No place of issue, 1202 x 1238.

^aUniversis Christi fidelibus hoc scriptum visuris vel auditoris Willelmus miseratione divina Episcopus Sancti Andree salutem in domino sempiternam. Universitati notum facimus quod nos statum monasterii de Scona ex confluencia hospitem utpote in meditullio regni siti miserabiliter afflicti et etiam ex sumptibus fabrice ecclesie eiusdem et aliis causis quam pluribus quasi ad exinanitionem deducti^b compacientes et predecessorum nostrorum vestigiis inherentes concessionem et confirmationem a predecessoribus nostris eidem monasterio de Scona et canonicis ibidem deo servientibus in perpetuum factas ratas habemus et nostra episcopali auctoritate prout inde ac plenius facte sunt et concessa confirmamus. Volumus autem et concedimus quod omnes ecclesias et terras eis a predecessoribus nostris in proprios usus concessas

adeo libere teneant et possideant sicut aliqua abbathia in regno Scotie aliqua concessa tenet vel possidet secundum formam concessionum salvis nobis et successoribus nostris episcopalibus. Volumus etiam et concedimus eisdem canonicis secundum quod ipsis a predecessoribus nostris est concessum ut ecclesiis suis infra diocesim nostram constitutis per ydoneos capellanos in perpetuum possint deservire et eosdem capellanos prout sibi viderint expedire pro tempore retinere et amovere. Dum tamen idem capellani nobis et successoribus nostris vel nostris officialibus vel capitulo loci secundum diocesis consuetudinem presententur. In cuius Rei testimonium et cetera.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xvii^r - xvii^v.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.158^v – 159^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 34^v – 35^r.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating derived from William Malveisin's episcopate. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription. ^a Red initial; f.xvii^r, ^b f.xvii^v.

Comment: See discussion above on pp.73-74.

39.

William Malveisin, bishop of St. Andrews, for Scone Abbey; he has granted all the churches which they have in the bishopric of St Andrews, that is the church of Scone with its chapels of Kinfauns, *Crag*, Rait, and the churches of Liff, Invergowrie, Logie Dundee (Lochee), Cambusmichael, Borthwick, and Carrington. These churches, confirmed by his predecessors to them, he gives and establishes to them [and] grants license to them to retain or remove whatever chaplains they wish suitable for those churches, excepting that the church of Scone be immune from synodalia and assistance, saving the rights of the archdeacon of St Andrews.⁴¹⁰ Probably given at St. Andrews, 1202 x 1209.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xvii^v - xviii^r.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f. lxxii^r - lxxii^v.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.159^r – 159^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 35^r – 35^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.54, pp.34-35.

Notes: Dating derived from the later recension of the cartulary. 'Anno M CC II factus est episcopus' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f. xvii ^v - xviii ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.34-35) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xvii ^v) omnibus has visuris	(p.34) omnibus has litas visuris
(f.xviii ^r) Testibus	(p.35) Hiis Testibus

⁴¹⁰ PoMS, H2/10/146 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1647/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

(f.xviii ^r) No testing clause after 'Testibus'.	(p.35) Testing clause inserted after 'Testibus'.
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40.

Charter most probably issued by William Malveisin, bishop of St. Andrews, for Scone Abbey; he has granted that place which is called Kincarrathie on the banks of the River Tay, which is in the parish of Scone, that they may take whatever necessities for building chapels and other buildings.⁴¹¹ No place or date of issue, 1202 x 1209.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xviii^r.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.159^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 36^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.52, pp.33-34.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating derived from bishop's name and episcopate; attributed to Bishop William Malveisin given is location in the cartulary next to another charter of his. 'de Kincara' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xviii ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.33-34) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

⁴¹¹ PoMS, H2/10/185 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1646/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Comment: The canons were still in possession of Kincarrathie during the reign of Robert I. In 1328, he requested licence to take stone from their quarries of Kincarrathie and 'Balcormoc' (Quarrymill) for the church of Perth and the bridges of Perth and Earn.⁴¹²

41.

Roger, bishop of St. Andrews, for the church of Borthwick; he has given donation which David Lyn made of one acre of land and one perch of land beside the water running below the orchard of that church in exchange for that land which King David gave to the church for his messuage where his house was situated, with common pasture and outside arable and meadow.⁴¹³ No place of issue, 15 February 1198 x 6 June 1199.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xviii^r.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.159^v – 160^r.

Hay's Transcription, NRS, f.36^r – 36^v.

Bishop Roger of St Andrews to Scone Abbey, 1198 x 1199,
Papers of the Marquis of Tweeddale, GD 28/7, NRS.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.51, p.33.

Scottish Episcopal Acta, vol.1 No.239, p.289.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary.
Dating derived from *Scottish Episcopal Acta*. 'Anno M C... nono iste factus est episcopus'. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

⁴¹² Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f. xxvii^r.

⁴¹³ PoMS, H2/10/123 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1311/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xviii ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.33) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xviii ^r) sub pomerio eiusdem eius ecclesie	(p.33) sub pomerio eiusdem [eius – omitted] ecclesie

42.

Gamelin, bishop of St. Andrews, concedes and confirms the grants of churches and lands to Scone Abbey for their own use made by his predecessors. Given at Crail, 22 April 1266.

^aUniversis Christi fidelibus hoc scriptum visuris vel audituris Gamelinus miseratione divina Episcopus Sancti Andree salutem in domino sempiternam. Universitati vestre notum facimus quod nos statum monasterii de Scona ex confluencia hospitem utpote in meditullio regni siti miserabiliter afflictis ac etiam ex sumptibus fabrice ecclesie eiusdem et aliis causis quam plurimis quasi ad exanitionem deducti compacientes et predecessorum nostrorum vestigiis inherentes concessionem et confirmationem a predecessoribus nostris eidem monasterio de^b Scona et canonicis ibidem deo servientibus in perpetuum factas ratas habemus et nostra episcopali auctoritate prout pro inde ac plenius facte sunt et concesses. Volumus autem et concedimus quod omnes ecclesias et terras eis a predecessoribus nostris in proprios usus concessas adeo libere teneant et possideant sicut aliqua abbathia in regno Scotie aliqua concessa tenet vel possidet secundum formam concessionum salvis nobis et successoribus nostris episcopalibus. Volumus etiam et concedimus eisdem canonicis secundum quod episcopis a predecessoribus nostris est concessum ut ecclesiis suis infra diocesim nostram constitutis per ydoneos capellanos in perpetuum possint deservire et eosdem capellanos prout sibi viderint expidere

pro tempore retinere et amovere. Dum tamen iidem capellani nobis et successoribus nostris vel nostris officialibus vel capitulo loci secundum diocesis consuetudinem presententur. In cuius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum nostrum fecimus apponi. Datum apud Carrall die Iovis proxima ante Festum Sancti Marci Evangeliste anno gracie M^o ducentesimo sexagesimo sexto.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xviii^r - xviii^v.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f. 160^r – 160^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 36^v – 37^v.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. 'Anno M CC L V his factus episcopus' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription. ^a Green initial with red outline; f. xviii^r, ^b f. xviii^v.

Comment: This charter does not appear in *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* or *People of Medieval Scotland* database.

43.

Hugh, bishop of St. Andrews, for Scone Abbey; he has given the church and land of Logie Dundee (Lochee) and all right which he had in them he has quitclaimed, paying to the bishop and his successors episcopal dues from the church and rendering half a mark annually at Michaelmas from the land.⁴¹⁴ No place of issue, possibly St. Andrews, 1178 x 30 December 1184.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xviii^v – xix^r.

⁴¹⁴ PoMS, H2/10/99 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1283/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxxi^r - lxxi^v.

MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.160^v – 161^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.37^v – 38^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.41, p.27.

Scottish Episcopal Acta, vol.1, No.224, pp.266-267.

Notes: Dating derived from *Scottish Episcopal Acta*. 'ante scribitur' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription, red and green initial ink used for letter H of Hugh in address.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f. xviii ^v – xix ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.27) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

Comment: This charter is a duplicated of no.33 but this one has witnesses.

44.

Gilbert, bishop of Dunkeld, for Scone Abbey; with the common consent of the chapter, he has granted the church of Logierait in Atholl, and one toft in Logierait with common pasture, as contained in the charter of Earl Henry [of Atholl].⁴¹⁵ Probably given at Dunkeld, 1230 x 6 April 1236.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xix^r

⁴¹⁵ PoMS, H2/6/39 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1644/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.161^r.
 Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 38^r – f. 38^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.99, pp.63-64.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary.
 Dating derived from bishop's name and episcopate. 'Anno M C XX factus est episcopus' written in margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xix ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.63-64) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

Comment: The church was originally granted to Scone by Earl Malcolm of Atholl and confirmed by King William I.⁴¹⁶

45.

John Scott, bishop of Dunkeld, for Scone Abbey; he has given the church of Logierait (Logy Mehedd) with the full teinds, profits, and rights belonging to that church, namely from Rait, which is caput of the earldom and from the whole thanage of Dalmarnock and from all the thanage of Findowie, and with the chapels of Killiechangie, Dunfallandy, Killiechassie, and Kilmichael of Tullimet, and one toft in Logie with common pasture, as contained in the charter of Earl Henry [of Atholl], for their own uses, reserving his episcopal dues.⁴¹⁷ Possibly given at Dunkeld, 15 March 1187 x 1203.

⁴¹⁶ *RRS*, ii, No.336, 340-341.

⁴¹⁷ PoMS, H2/6/14 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1213/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xix^r – xix^v.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.161^r – f.161^v.
 Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 38^v – f. 39^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.55, pp.35-36.
Scottish Episcopal Acta, vol.1, No.48, p.51.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary.
 Dating derived from *Scottish Episcopal Acta*. 'Anno M C xx. Johannes factus est episcopus' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f. xix ^r – xix ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.35-26) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

Comment: The reference to thanage in this transcription is the first recorded use of the term.⁴¹⁸

46.

Geoffrey, bishop of Dunkeld, has inspected the concessions and confirmations that his predecessors, bishops of Dunkeld, made to the monastery of Scone and its canons, concerning the churches of Logierait in Atholl and Redgorton in Stormont, and in addition, the donation made by Henry, earl of Atholl, concerning one toft in Logierait with common pasture. In addition, he establishes that land in *villa* of Dunkeld which he assigns them for himself from

⁴¹⁸ Taylor, *Shape of the State*, 68.

King Alexander before he addressed a sermon from the nave of church of Dunkeld and before the same king bestowed the said *villa* on bishopric.⁴¹⁹ The canons of Scone must render annually one pound of incense to the church of Dunkeld. Possible issued at Dunkeld, 1236 x 1249.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xix^v.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.161^v – f.162^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 39^r – f. 40^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.100, pp.64-65.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating derived from bishop's name and episcopate. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xix ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.64-65) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

47.

A charter of Richard of Inverkeithing, bishop of Dunkeld, for Scone Abbey; he has inspected the concessions and confirmations of his predecessors Richard, John, Gilbert, and Geoffrey, concerning the churches of Logierait in Atholl, Redgorton in Stormont, and rights in *villa* of Dunkeld which the late Bishop Geoffrey assigned to them for himself from the lord King Alexander before he addressed a sermon from the nave of the church of Dunkeld and before the same king conferred the said *villa* on the bishopric, rendering annually to the

⁴¹⁹ PoMS, H2/6/47 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1778/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

church of Dunkeld at the Feast of Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary one pound of incense to burn at the Elevation of Body of Christ.⁴²⁰ Given at Inchcolm Abbey, 15 February 1263.

- Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xix^v - xx^r.
- Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.162^r – f.162^v.
Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.40^r – f. 41^r.
- Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.110, pp.73-74.
- Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Written at the bottom of folio f. xix^v in small, fine ink is: 'Iste Ricardus factus est episcopus anno M CC quinquagesimo tempore Alexandri regis tercii'. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xix ^v - xx ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.73-74) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xx ^r) suos proprios convertendis	(p.64) suos proprios libere convertendis
(f.xx ^r) uno tofta in prefata Logyn	(p.64) uno tofto in [prefata – omitted] eadem Logyn
(f.xx ^r) quo et illi consensu	(p.64) quo et illi de consensu
(f.xx ^r) collationes concessionones	(p.64) collationes et concessionones
(f.xx ^r) concessas liberius quietius	(p.64) [concessas – omitted] conversas liberius quietius
(f.xx ^r) prefatis per ydoneos	(p.64) [prefatis – omitted] predictis per ydoneos

⁴²⁰ PoMS, H2/6/57 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1389/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

48.

A charter of Richard of the Prebend or Richard or Inverkeithing, bishop of Dunkeld, for Scone Abbey; he has granted the church of Logierait with full teinds, benefices, and rights pertaining to the church, that is, from Rait, which is caput of the earldom, and from the thanages of Dalmarnock and Findowie, with the chapels of Killiechangie, Dunfallandy, Killiechassie, and Kilmichael of Tullimet, and one toft in Logierait with common pasture, as contained in the charter of Earl Henry [of Atholl] to the abbey.⁴²¹ No place of issue, 1203 x 1210 or 1250 x 1272.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xx^r - xx^v.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.162^v – f.163^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 41^r – f. 41^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.109, p.73.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary.
Dating derived from bishops' names and episcopates. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xx ^r - xx ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.73) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

⁴²¹ PoMS, H2/6/20 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1643/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

Comment: There is nothing to indicate which Bishop Richard issued the charter and the witness list is missing. The *People of Medieval Scotland* database has attributed this to Richard of the Prebend but how that decision was reached is not explained.⁴²² The chronological sequence of the last few deeds and the next one suggests it could have been issued by Richard of Inverkeithing but there are examples in both cartularies where the deeds do not follow a chronological sequence.

49.

An incomplete deed of Matthew Crambeth, bishop of Dunkeld, inspecting the confirmations of his episcopal predecessors of the churches of Logierait with one toft and common pasture in the same place and the church of Redgorton. No transcribed place of issue, 1288 x 1309.

^aUniversis sancte ecclesie filiis presentes literas visuris vel auditoris Matheus permissone divina ecclesie Dunkeldensis mynister humilis eternam in domino salutem. Noverit universitas vestra nos ad plenum inspexisse plurimorum Episcoporum Dunkeldensis predecessorum nostrorum Ricardi videlicet Johannis Osberti^c Galfridi et Ricardi concessionones et confirmationes et concessionem et confirmationem ultimi Ricardi cum consensu capituli Dunkeldensis monasterio de Scona et canonicis ibidem deo servientibus et servituris in perpetuum factas super ecclesiis de Logy Mehed in Athollia et de Rogortenan in Starmund cum capellis decimis terris possessionibus rectitudinibus obventionibus oblationibus et omnibus aliis ad easdem ecclesias iuste pertinentibus in usus suos proprios libere convertendas et insuper donationem Henrici Comitis de Athollia factam super uno tofto in prefata Logyn cum communi pastura et cum de iure non possemus nec vellemus eorum facto honesto iniuste contraire nec pias eorum collationes et confirmationes predicto

⁴²² PoMS, H2/6/20 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1643/; date accessed 08/04/17).

monasterio factas infirmare. Nos eodem spiritu pietatis ducti quo et illi collationes confirmationes et concessiones predicto monasteri a prenominationis factas ratas et gratas habentes concedimus...

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xx^v.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.163^r – f.163^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 41^v – f. 42^v.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating derived from bishop's name and episcopate, as well as detail in the charter. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription. ^a Red initial; f.xx^v, ^b scribal error for Gilbert?

Comment: This deed lists Osbert as a previous bishop of Dunkeld. There was no such bishop. There was a Bishop Osbert of Dunblane (1227- 1231) but his inclusion here is clearly an error. It is likely the scribe has mistakenly listed Osbert instead of Gilbert, who was bishop of Dunkeld between 1230 and 1236. This partial deed has not been included in *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*.

50.

Fragmentary charter from an unidentified donor whose name is lost, granting unidentified property to the monastery for the sustenance of a canon or priest who will celebrate, once a year, in the abbey at Scone, and say prayers for the donor and his brothers David and Robert. Given at Perth, after the Feast of St. Peter in Chains, 1st August, no year transcribed.

... cum introitu et exitu inter terram dicti Michaelis et terram quam Willelmus de Pel de dictis canonicis tenet et ab illo introitu linealiter procedit usque ad murum burgi de Perth et omne ius quod in dicta terra unquam habui vel habere potero

in futurum eisdem libere quiete et pacifice cum omnibus suis pertinenciis et aysiamentis. Concedo et prout dictum est assigno ad sustenationem unius canonici vel sacerdotis secularis qui singulis diebus divina celebret in abbathia de Scona cum comode poterit salvis fabrice pontis de Perth septem solidis annuis de dicta terra percipiendis et firma domini regis ad dictam terram pertinente. Dicti vero canonici susceperunt dictum Daudid et Robertum fratres meos et me in orationibus suffragiis in fratres et elemosinis suis in perpetuum singulis autem annis die obitus dicti Daudid pro eo sicut pro uno canonico professo facient et divina celebrabunt et ad hoc servandum tam seniores quam iuniores qui tunc temporis fuerunt pro se et successoribus suis fideliter promiserunt. In cuius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui et ad maiorem securitatem sigillum commune burgi de Perth apponi procuravi. Hiis testibus Cristino de Insula Andrea Teket Henrico Dunan Johanne de Perth Radulpho Basso tunc prepositis de Perth Symone Cokyn tunc clerico de Perth et aliis. Datum apud Perth die Lune proxima post Festum Sancti Petri ad Vincula anno et cetera LXX quatro.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxvii^r.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.170^v – f.171^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 55^r – f. 55^v.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Comment: This partial deed does not appear in *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*.

51.

William of Ruthven, lord of Ruthven, has seen, heard and fully understood the charter of Sir Walter son of Alan, his father, produced for, and granted to, Scone Abbey [which is copied in full]. He states that since the seal of his late father, Sir Walter, [which was] appended to the charter, was broken and thoroughly torn away and removed by hostile malevolence, he gives, grants and also established by his present charter to the abbot and canons of Scone, in free, pure and perpetual alms, by the consent and assent of Sir Walter, his son and present heir, who similarly saw and heard the said charter, for the salvation of his soul and his ancestors and successors, the tenor of the charter of his father, to be approved and ratified in all its dots and tittles, with the aforesaid tofts, by their bounds, and the fishing of *Karnes*, with the pertinents, common pasture, and easements in the charter. No place of issue, though probably Perth, c.1298.⁴²³

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxvii^r - xxviii^r and f.xxi^r.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.171^r – 172^r and f.163^v.
Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.55^v – 57^r and f.42^v – 43^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, no.125, pp.90-92.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary.
Dating derived from *People of Medieval Scotland* database.
Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

⁴²³ PoMS, H3/516/6 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/7222/; date accessed 07/02/19).

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxvii ^r - xxviii ^r and f.xxi ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.90-92) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xxvii ^v) ad plenum inspexisse	(p.90) ad plenum [inspexisse – omitted] intellexisse
(f.xxvii ^v) hac carta mea	(p.90) hac mea carta

52.

A friendly agreement is formed between Sir Alexander, abbot, and the convent of Coupar Angus, and Sir William, abbot, and the convent of Scone whereby the abbot and convent of Scone grants to the abbot and convent of Coupar Angus and their chaplain of Bendochy all the lesser teinds and all the offerings of the villeins and serfs of Banchory, Kinclaven, and Creuchies, saving the rights of the bishop of St Andrews, rendering yearly one stone of wax in acknowledgement of the rights of the church of Scone on St Michael's day, the chaplain of Bendochy shall administer the sacrament to the villeins and serfs. The abbot and convent of Scone will be exempt from the presentation of teinds of the named lands if they appropriate them and improve them at their own expense. It is forbidden for the monks of Coupar Angus to expel anything common in the pastures of the said places pertaining to the canons of Scone in regard to the said teinds.⁴²⁴ Cargill, 4 July 1225.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxi^r - xxi^v.

⁴²⁴ PoMS, H4/8/13 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/4106/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.163^v – f.164^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 43^r – f. 44^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.83, pp.52-53.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Illegible writing in the margin, possibly 'minute de...obvencionis [three illegible words] de Cupre de Thory'. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription. Red and green ink used on first initial.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxi ^r - xxi ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.52-53) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

53

Swain, son of Thor, has given, granted and by this his charter established, to Scone Abbey the land of 'Ahednepobbel' by its right bounds, which Robert the chaplain held, and one toft in Tibbermore, which the goldsmith held, and a meadow that is on the Lochty Burn, in free and perpetual alms for the soul of Earl Henry. 1 October 1182 x 1194.⁴²⁵

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxi^v - xxii^r.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.164^r – f.164^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 44^r – f. 44^v.

⁴²⁵ PoMS, H3/516/1 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/5458/; date accessed 23/09/17).

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.21, pp.17-18.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary.
Dating derived from *People of Medieval Scotland* database.
'Ahednepobbel' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxi ^v - xxii ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.17-18) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

Comment: The name Ahednepobbel has been lost but it can be reasoned that it was in the Tibbermore area, as with the rest of the grants.

54.

Hugh of Calder, has given, granted, and by this his charter established, to Scone Abbey 40 acres of cultivated land in Buttergask, with one toft and croft in the same *villa*, with common pasture and other easements of Buttergask, in free and perpetual alms, for the welfare of his soul and that of his wife Sara.⁴²⁶
No place of issue, given before 1214.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxii^r.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.164^v – f.165^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 44^v – f. 45^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.24, pp.19-20.

⁴²⁶ PoMS, H3/118/1 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/4647/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating derived from before the end of King William's reign, who died having confirmed this grant. 'quatraginta acris in ...yirgask' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxii ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.19-20) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xxii ^r) carta confirmasse ecclesie trinitatis de Scona	(p.19) carta confirmasse ecclesie sancte trinitatis de Scona
(f.xxii ^r) et successorum meorum in liberam	(p.19) et successorum [meorum – omitted] in liberam
(f.xxii ^r) No testing clause inserted after 'Testibus et cetera'.	(p.20) [et cetera – omitted], testing clause is inserted after 'Testibus'.

Comment: This grant was confirmed by King William I, no.28 and no.55.

55.

King William I to Scone Abbey; he has granted donation which Hugh of Calder made of 40 acres of cultivated land in Buttergask, with one toft and croft in the same *villa* and with common pasture and all easements of Buttergask.⁴²⁷ Given at Clackmannan, 9 July 1211 x 1214.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxii^r.

⁴²⁷ PoMS, H1/6/474 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/621/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.viii^r - viii^v.
 MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.165^r.
 Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.45^r – f. 45^v.
 King William I confirms grant of Buttergask, 1211 x 1214,
 Register House Charters, RH 6/18, NRS (with witness list).

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.25, p.20 (taken from NRS).
 RRS, ii, no.508, p.459 (taken from the NRS version).

Notes: Dating derived from the later recension of the cartulary.
 'confirmo eidem' written in the margin. Red highlighting
 throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxii ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.20) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xxii ^r) No testing or dating clauses inserted after 'Testibus et cetera'.	(p.20) [et cetera – omitted], testing and dating clauses is inserted after 'Testibus'.

Comment: This charter is a copy of no.28 above except from the et cetera ending.

56.

Roger Quincy, earl of Winchester, constable of Scotland, has granted, and established by his charter, to Scone Abbey in perpetuity, the land pertaining to the constableness of Scotland, that was formerly William Lynn's in the *villa* of Perth, which William conferred on them, and as contained fully in William's charter, and as the charter of Alan son of Roland, of good memory, late

constable of Scotland, to the aforesaid William, of that land with a stone house on the street that goes from the great road northwards towards the island (i.e. the Inch), and which lies between the said street and the River Tay, namely, the stone house and the whole land between the said house and the water pertaining to it, and the garden outwith the walls of Perth which pertains to the same land. The canons cannot have any claim to the land of John Spartund which similarly pertains to the constableness. Therefore, he grants the said land and the said stone house and garden to the forenamed abbot and canons of Scone, in perpetuity, for an annual render of 10s., five at Pentecost and five at Martinmas, for all service, custom and demand, saving to the earl, his heirs and their baillies, suitable hostelage in the aforesaid stone house and easements on the courtyard when they are staying at the stone house, and saving their court held on their land and their pleas and amercements, and if there be any, escheats. The canons shall maintain the house honourably. Any claim to the land shall be settled by right of law and assize of land in his court.⁴²⁸ No place of issue, 1235 x 1264.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxii^r – xxii^v.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.165^r – f.165^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 45^v – f. 46^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.80, pp.49-50.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating derived from Roger inheriting the earldom of Winchester in 1235 until his death in 1265.⁴²⁹ Illegible writing in the margin, possibly 'concessio [illegible word] cum domo [illegible word] in Perth. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

⁴²⁸ PoMS, H3/23/18 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2699/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

⁴²⁹ (<https://www.oxforddnb.com/abstract/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22966>; date accessed 07/12/18).

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxii ^r – xxii ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.49-50) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xxii ^v) Testibus et cetera	(p.50) Testibus [et cetera – omitted]

57.

Thomas, son of Malcolm of Lundie, doorward of the lord king, has given, granted, and by this his charter established, to Scone Abbey Echt in Mar with all its just pertinents, in free, pure, and perpetual alms.⁴³⁰ No place or date of issue but earlier than 17 December 1226.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxiii^r.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.166^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.46^v – f. 47^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.91, p.58.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating derived from when Echt appears in papal confirmation, no.1. 'ecclesia in Mar' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

⁴³⁰ PoMS, H3/204/4 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/4649/; date accessed: 21/04/2020).

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxiii ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.58) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xxiii ^v) Testibus et cetera	(p.58) Testibus [et cetera – omitted]

Comment: Duplicate of no.27 but with the name of the church updated to Echt rather than *hahtis*.

58.

William Blund, with the consent of his heir Reginald and all his other children, has given, granted, and by this his charter established to Scone Abbey, in pure and perpetual alms, one toft in the *villa* of Scone that is near the toft of David Hay on the northern side, which toft his illustrious lord Alexander, king of Scots, gave him. In the presence of Bishop Geoffrey of Dunkeld.⁴³¹ No place of issue, possibly Perth or Scone, 1236 x 1249.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxiii^r.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.166^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 47^r – f. 47^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.94 pp.59-60.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating derived from the list of witnesses. The charter was issued during the episcopate of Bishop Geoffrey of Dunkeld 1236-1249, making the king who gifted the toft to William, King Alexander II. William Blund was the sheriff of Perth and Scone,

⁴³¹ PoMS, H3/648/1 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/5706/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

making the likely place of issue one of these two locations. 'concessio Blond' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxiii ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.59-60) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xxiii ^r) illustris dominis Alexander	(p.59) illustris dominis meus Alexander

59.

An agreement is formed between the abbot and convent of Coupar Angus and the convent of Scone regarding the marches between Coupar Angus' lands of Campsie and Scone's lands of Cambusmichael and Craigmakerran, whereby Coupar Angus shall hold Campsie according to those marches perambulated by the canons and the monks in the presence of Sir Hugh, bishop of Dunkeld and others, that is from the River Tay through the plough conduit and the standing stones and crosses, which, through the same marches, formed the boundaries at Redford. If at any time the said canons are holding that land which the monks remain in receipt, 10 marks and 3 acres of land in the territory of William Wroche outside *the villa* of Perth shall be quitclaimed to the said monks in perpetuity.⁴³² Possibly given at Dunkeld, 1214 x 1229x30.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxiii^r - xxiii^v.

⁴³² PoMS, H4/8/15 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/4054/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.166^r – f.166^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.47^v – f. 48^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.57, pp.36-37.

Charters of the Abbey of Coupar Angus, vol.1, no. XXIV,
pp.51-52.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary.
Dating derived from bishop's name and episcopate. Red
highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxiii ^r - xxiii ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.36-37) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

60.

Stephen of Melginch, in his great need, has sold to Scone Abbey, for the works on their church, the house which Gilchrist held with a full toft and with two acres in the *villa* of *Balursin* that is, one acre which Gilchrist held and another adjacent to it on the west, for two marks he has received from them, holding in perpetuity, rendering annually for all service and burden one pound of cumin at the Feast of St John the Baptist. The canons will also have free entry and exit and common pasture in the same *villa*. No place of issue, 1224 x 1245.⁴³³

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxiii^v - xxiv^r.

⁴³³ PoMS, H3/398/1 (<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/5707/>; date accessed 03/12/16).

Other: MacFarlane’s Transcription, NLS, f.166^v – f.167^r.
 Hay’s Transcription, NLS, f. 48^r – f. 48^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.116, pp.80-81.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary.
 Dating derived from the *People of Medieval Scotland* database.
 Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxiii ^v - xxiv ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.80-81) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xxiii ^v) ad reparacionem	(p.80) ad [reparacionem – omitted] operationem

61.

Hugh of Calder, has given, granted, and by this his charter established, to Scone Abbey 40 acres of cultivated land in Buttergask, with one toft and croft in the same *villa*, with common pasture and other easements of Buttergask, in free and perpetual alms, for the welfare of his soul and that of his wife Sara.⁴³⁴
 No place of issue, given before 1214.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxiv^r.

Other: MacFarlane’s Transcription, NLS, f.167^r.
 Hay’s Transcription, NLS, f.48^v – f. 49^r.

⁴³⁴ PoMS, H3/118/1 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/4647/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.24, pp.19-20.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating derived from before King William's confirmation. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription. 'terra de Bothergasc' in the margin.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxiv ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.19-20) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

Comment: This charter is almost an exact copy of no.54. The difference being this charter has witnesses whereas no.54 does not. This is the charter that appears in *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*.

62.

William Uvieth has given, granted, and by this his charter established to Scone Abbey seven acres of land in Inveralmond in 'Tay Flat', from where the island where the duels of Scone are done, towards the north, and a fishing in the Tay where it may be most beneficial to them, for the length of the territory of Inveralmond, from the aforesaid island to the old Almond, in free and perpetual alms, free and quit from dispute and exaction.⁴³⁵ No place of issue, 1178 x 1199.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxiv^r.

⁴³⁵ PoMS, H3/579/2 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/5309/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.167^r – f.167^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 49^r – f. 49^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.56, p.36.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating derived from witnesses, especially Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen (1171-1199), and John, bishop of Dunkeld (1178-1203). 'septem acras Inneramon terra uni rethe' in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxiv ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.36) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

Comment: A reference in the deed to the Tay flat, where the duels of Scone are done, could possibly be the location of the trial by combat for the canons' court.

63.

Harald Maddadson, earl of Orkney, Shetland, and Caithness for Scone Abbey; he has given 1 mark of silver, by weight of Scottish mark (*ad pondus marce Scotie libratam*). He wishes that every year aforesaid alms will be paid to that house by himself, his son Turphin and his heirs in perpetuity, for the souls of himself, his wife, and his ancestors.⁴³⁶ No place of issue, c.1185 x 1198, probably post-1190.

⁴³⁶ PoMS, H3/13/1 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2400/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxiv^v.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.167^v.
 Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 49^v – f. 50^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.58, pp.37-38.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating derived from witnesses. One of Harald's sons by his second marriage c.1168 is listed as a witness to the charter, Turphin, who died in 1198.⁴³⁷ A potential date of the 1190s fits in with Harald's other endeavours to ingratiate himself with William I. 'reddendo' and an illegible word written in the margin. One of the ascenders has been used to draw a face. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxiv ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.37-38) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

64.

Orabilla, sister and heir of Sir Hugh Sai, wife of the late Reginald de Warenne, in free widowhood, has given, granted and by this her present charter established to Scone Abbey one full toft and croft in the territory of the *villa* of Kintillo, namely, that which they formerly held of the said Hugh Sai, and three acres of land in the territory of Kintillo, i.e., one acre which lies next to that acre which they first held of her brother, Hugh Sai on the west side, and the other two acres lying on the east side of the road that goes from the *villa* to the mill, having and holding in free, pure and perpetual alms, with just pertinents and

⁴³⁷ R. Oram, *David I: the king who made Scotland* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004), 101-102.

liberties, and with common easements of the same *villa*.⁴³⁸ Given at Scone, 1247.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxiv^v – xxv^r.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.167^v – f.168^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 50^r – f. 50^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.87, pp.55-56.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. 'de Kyncolith' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxiv ^v – xxv ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.55-56) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xxiv ^v) concessisse et presenti	(p.55) concessisse et hac presenti

65.

Roger Quincy, earl of Winchester, constable of Scotland, ratifies the donation that William Lynn made to Scone Abbey in perpetuity over that land that was in the barony of his father the earl of Winchester within the burgh of Perth, that lies between the land that was the late Henry Bald's and the land that was the Helmet-maker's, that is, the land which the same William held from him by charter. He also grants and establishes the aforesaid land to the abbey as fully attested by William's charter, except the right of lodging which the earl has remitted to the abbey. He wills that the abbey should have the land freely and

⁴³⁸ PoMS, H3/520/1 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/5817/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

quietly for an annual render of one half mark of silver, namely, 40d. at Pentecost and 40d. at Martinmas, for all service, custom and demand, saving the right that any claim shall be settled in his court by the law and assize of the land.⁴³⁹ No place of issue, 1236 x 1249.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxv^r.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.168^r – f.168^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 50^v – f. 51^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.79, pp.48-49.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating derived from witness list, in particular the episcopate of Bishop Geoffrey of Dunkeld. 'terra omnio Willelmi Len in Perth' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxv ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.48-49) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

66.

King Alexander II confirms the confirmation of Roger de Quincy of his confirmations of William Lynn's grants to Scone Abbey of the land in the south of the burgh of Perth lying between the land formerly owned by Henry Bald and the Armourer's. Given at Edinburgh, 12 November 1246.

⁴³⁹ PoMS, H3/23/19 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2701/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxv^v.

Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f. xx^r - xx^v.
 MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.168^v – f.169^r.
 Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 51^v – f. 52^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.81 pp.50-51.
RRS, iii, No.281, p.47.

Notes: Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxv ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.50-51) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

Comment: In this charter King Alexander II confirms the confirmations of Roger de Quincy's confirmations of William Lynn's grant to Scone Abbey, no.65. There is not a confirmation by Alexander of no.56 and this may be because it was granted after Alexander's death in 1249.

67.

Richard of Leicester, burgess of Perth, has given, granted, and by this his present charter established to Scone Abbey, one booth in Perth, namely, that one which he formerly bought from Kenneth of Scone, which is situated at the corner of North Street and the street that runs towards the church of St John the Baptist on the west side, having and holding in perpetuity, free and quit,

making provision to light the altar of Blessed Mary in the church of St John of Perth. No place or date of issue, probably mid-13th century.⁴⁴⁰

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxv^v - xxvi^r.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.169^r – f.169^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 52^v – f. 52^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.88, p.56.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary.
Dating derived from the *People of Medieval Scotland* database.
Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxv ^v - xxvi ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.56) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

68.

Henry Bald, goldsmith of Perth, has given, and granted, and by this his charter established to Scone Abbey in pure and perpetual alms, his two booths with the solar above, in the burgh of Perth, on that land which William, of pious memory, king of Scots, gave him for his homage and service; that is, those two booths that are on the front of the street that extends from the church of St John the Baptist towards the Castle of Perth, on the east side, next to the house of Andrew son of Simon on the north, rendering annually one pound of pepper on the Feast of St Michael to the chamber of the lord king of Scots, and a half

⁴⁴⁰ PoMS, H3/646/10 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/5703/; date accessed 03/12/16).

stone of wax on the Purification of Blessed Mary (2 February) to the monks of Coupar Angus Abbey.⁴⁴¹ No place of issue, 4 December 1214 x 1236.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxvi^r - xxvi^v.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.169^v – f.170^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 53^r – f. 54^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.86, pp.54-55.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating derived from reference to the pious memory of King William and the year in which Geoffrey, clerk of the king, became bishop of Dunkeld. However, that assumes the Geoffrey mentioned is the future bishop. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxvi ^r - xxvi ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.54-55) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

69.

King William I to Henry Bald; he has given land in burgh of Perth which James, son of Simon, and the king's other provosts of Perth invested him by the king's command, rendering annually to the king's chamber one pound of pepper on the Feast of St Michael.⁴⁴² Given at Perth, 14 April 1189 x 1199.

⁴⁴¹ PoMS, H3/646/4 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/5702/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

⁴⁴² PoMS, H1/6/383 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/464/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

- Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxvi^v.
- Other: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xii^v - xiii^r.
 MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.170^r.
 Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 54^r – f. 54^v.
- Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.45, p.29.
RRS, ii, No.415, pp.396-397 (taken from the later recension of the cartulary).
- Notes: Dating derived from witness list. 'territoria in burgo de Perth' written in the margin. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxvi ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.29) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

70.

Malcolm, butler of the lord king, has given, granted, and by this his charter established. to Scone Abbey two pieces of his land in Perth on the west side of the castle, next to the land William Uviet. No place or date of issue, probably 1198 x 1256.⁴⁴³

- Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxvi^v.

⁴⁴³ PoMS, H3/276/9 (<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/4651/>; date accessed 21/05/2020).

Other: MacFarlane’s Transcription, NLS, f.170^r – f.170^v.
 Hay’s Transcription, NLS, f. 54^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.106, p.71.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary.
 Dating derived from *People of Medieval Scotland* database.
 Illegible marginalia. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxvi ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.71) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

Comment: This, along with the grant of Thomas Durward and Geoffrey, clerk of the liverance, is one of the few grants from the royal household.

71.

John Ylbaren of Perth sold to the canons of Scone, the site of a toft which he had before it was ferociously carried away by the inundation of flood, on the south side of the bridge, facing the River Tay, which was 70 feet by 20 feet. John is doing this because the flooding was so excessive that the toft could not be returned to its pre-flood condition. And this sale is ratified and made unbreakable forever, in the time of the grieves of Perth, namely Simon of the Chamber and William son of Joel and James son of Uhtred and other burgesses of the same burgh, namely Henry son of Geoffrey, Serlo the Tailor and William his son, Henry the Bald, Robert son of Fulco, William son of Uhtred, Richard son of Andrew, Peter son of David the Clerk, Robert the Smith, Benedict and Henry, sons of Walter of St Edmunds, John son of David,

Geoffrey Redbeard, Alan and Osbert, his brothers, William Loveproud and Serlo his son, Robert of Stanford, William Whitebeard, David Yeap are witnesses to this sale.⁴⁴⁴ No place of issue, possibly Perth, 1219.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxvi^v and f. xxviii^r.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.172^r – 172^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS f.55^r and f.57^r - 58^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* No.82, pp.51-52.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Illegible marginalia, possibly '...nda tenement... usque...men de Tay... ... LXX pedes' Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxvi ^v and f.xxviii ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.71) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

Comment: At the bottom of f.xxvi^v the following is written,

Ista terra iacet inter terram quam Willelmus potter tenuit de Johanne Cokyne filio Radulphi Cokyn ex parte australi et viam qua itur ad naves iuxta pontem de Perth ex parte boreali et terram simonis de Tabirmor ex parte occidentali et aquam de Tay ex parte orientali et continet a terra dicti simonis usque aquam de Tay septuaginta pedes et a terra dicti Willelmi Potter usque....

⁴⁴⁴ PoMS, H3/646/2 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/5699/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

72.

Abbot William and the convent of Scone have made the underwritten agreement with Margaret, who was the sister of Robert Blund of Perth, and Serlo, her son, concerning the lands which the same Robert Blund gave to the hospital of St John the Apostle of Scone in perpetual alms, whereby the said abbot and canons have given to the said Margaret and Serlo, her son, 4 marks for all complaints (or suits) [*querela*] which were moved by them or by others of their kindred. The canons will provide Margaret with food and clothing during her lifetime, as their sister. The common seal of the burgh has been appended.⁴⁴⁵ No place of issue – most likely Perth, 1206 x 1227.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxviii^r - xxviii^v.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.172^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.58^r – f.58^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.169, p.126.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating and location suggested from witness list. 'St Johns Hospital' written in the margin. Slight damage to the manuscript. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxviii ^r - xxviii ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.126) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xxviii ^r) vel moveri potuit in	(p.126) vel moveri [potuit – omitted] in
(f.xxviii ^v) filius lene robertus petrus	(p.126) filius Lene [Robertus – omitted] Petrus

⁴⁴⁵ PoMS, H4/21/1 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/4120/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

73.

Matilda, formerly the wife of John the furber, and all the brothers and kinsmen as well of the said John as of the wife, and the whole body corporate of Perth, to all Christ's faithful. With the common advice of their kinsmen and friends the burgesses, and of the whole body corporate of Perth, they have quitclaimed on behalf of the issue of John Furber of Perth to the abbot and canons of Scone the whole right that the same issue had or could have had in the land laid waste by flood and fire, to wit, that which John the furber, father of the aforesaid issue, bought from Gilbert son of Udard of Forfar and his wife Christina for 3 marks that the aforesaid abbot and canons gave to them for the benefit of the aforesaid issue, which land, understand, was adjudged to the same canons in full court on account of the default of the payment of one mark that the same canons received yearly from the aforesaid land and was late for many years; and although they were able to possess the land adjudged to the same by common law, nevertheless, so that they could administer it by full and peaceful right in perpetuity, they have given the above-mentioned money to the aforesaid issue out of the excess; this is therefore that land that lies between the land of Amabilla and the land of Arnold on the other side, since the front of the same land belonged to the canons by long possession; rendering yearly to the lord King in respect of it 12d. and to Albert of Dundee 4s. No place or date of issue, possibly Perth, 6 September 1236.⁴⁴⁶

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxviii^v – xxix^r.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.172^v – f.173^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.58^v – f.59^v and f. 60^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, no.96, pp.61-62.

⁴⁴⁶ PoMS, H3/646/7 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/5989/; date accessed 04/12/16).

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating derived from the *People of Medieval Scotland* database, who have posited this date based on the papal mandate for Geoffrey's consecration as bishop of Dunkeld and the reference to John of Everley as master. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxviii ^v – xxix ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.61-62) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

74.

William son of Ketell of Perth, his wife Eda, and his daughter Wymark, by common consent, after many plaints in the chapter at St Andrews, diverted together by their Christianity, have quitclaimed in perpetuity to Scone Abbey, that toft in the South Street of Perth which was Alan of the Bridge's, which William had held of the aforesaid abbot and canons in feu, although the rent on many occasions was detained, and because the son of the aforesaid William and Eda his wife, Robert by name, was absent and outwith the kingdom, the abbot and convent have found the following pledges: Simon de Camera, William son of Joel, and James son of Ketell. Witnesses who swore before those present: Denis, dean of Forfar; Master John of Perth; Henry son of Geoffrey; Simon de Camera; William son of Joel; James son of Uhtred; James son of Ketel; Henry Bald, goldsmith; William of Lynn; William son of Serlo; Richard son of Andrew; John son of David; Richard, *nepos* of Master John. Sealed by Dennis the dean and Master John. Henry son of Geoffrey, alderman of Perth, by consent of the other burgesses at the petition of the aforesaid

William son of Ketell, appended the seal of the commune of Perth.⁴⁴⁷ No place of issue – most likely Perth. No date of issue, possibly 1209 x 1245, possibly c.1212 x 1231.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxix^r.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.173^r – f.173^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.60^v – f.61^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.97, pp.62-63.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary.
Dating and location derived from the witness list. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxix ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.62-63) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

75.

John Clerk, son of Matthew, lorimer of Perth, makes known that since the dispute in the burgh court of Perth between himself and Robert, abbot, and the convent of Scone Abbey, over the lands that William, of good memory, king of Scotland, gave to Hugh, lorimer, and which land William of Lynn, burgess of Perth, bought with his money and gave to the abbot and convent of Scone. John recognises the right of the abbot and convent to the land, and he has quitclaimed his right to the abbot and convent by its right marches, as according to the charter of Sir William, king of Scotland, and his son, King Alexander's

⁴⁴⁷ PoMS, H3/646/1 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/5697/; date accessed 04/12/16).

confirmation. This recognition and quitclaim were made at Perth on the aforesaid land in the presence of the burgesses of that town, in May 1245. He took a bodily oath to observe the quitclaim faithfully, and if it happens that he disregards his oath rashly against the quitclaim, he shall try to come to the abbot and convent to be sued, whether in a civil or ecclesiastical forum.⁴⁴⁸
 Given at Perth, May 1245.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxix^r – xxix^v.

Other: MacFarlane’s Transcription, NLS, f.173^v – 174^v.

Hay’s Transcription, NLS, f.61^r – 62^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No. 95, pp.60-61.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary.
 Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxix ^r – xxix ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.60-61) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

Comment: The charter does not explicitly mention what land John is quitclaiming to Scone Abbey. There is no separate record of the land granted to Hugh the lorimer by King William; *RRS*, ii, refers the reader to the Bannatyne Club edition, No.95, which is this charter.⁴⁴⁹ The land that William Lynn granted to Scone is detailed above, nos. 56, 65, 66, and 75 but this charter does not state which grant the controversy was over; it may have been both.

⁴⁴⁸ PoMS, H3/646/12 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1458/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

⁴⁴⁹ *RRS*, ii, No.565A, 478.

76.

John, son of David of Perth, has given, granted, and quitclaimed to Scone Abbey one perch of land from the western side that is next to the land of Baldric of Carse, for one stone of wax that John's mother and father gave to the monastery to light the church of Scone. No place of issue, though most likely Perth. No date of issue, possibly c.1210 x c.1250.⁴⁵⁰

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxix^v - xxx^v.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.174^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.62^r – 62^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.90, pp.57-58.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating derived from the *People of Medieval Scotland* database based on the list of witnesses. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription. Slight damage to the manuscript A. Folio xxx in has come loose at some point and has been attached back in the wrong way around. As a result, this charter begins on f.xxix^v and jumps to f.xxx^v.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxix ^v - xxx ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.57-58) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

⁴⁵⁰ PoMS, H3/646/3 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/5700/; date accessed 04/12/16).

77.

Geoffrey, clerk of the liverance, has given, granted, and his charter established to the sacristan of Scone Abbey the land that King Alexander II donated to him in the *villas* of Clackmannan, Dunkeld, Scone, and Inverness and one stone of wax which the same king gave to him in his burgh of Aberdeen from the house which belonged to Robert of London, in pure and perpetual alms, for the maintenance of two candles for the mass for St Mary in the church of Scone.⁴⁵¹ No place of issue, on or before 24 February 1237.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxx^v.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.175^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.62^v – 63^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.93, p.59.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating derived from before King Alexander II's confirmation and before Geoffrey became bishop of Dunkeld. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription. Manuscript has a fold in it.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxx ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.59) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

⁴⁵¹ PoMS, H2/55/2 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1456/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

78.

King Alexander II for the sacrist of Scone; he has given, for upkeep of two candles forever in the abbey church, lands that belonged to Geoffrey, clerk of the liverance, which he also grants to the sacrist, that is, land which the king had given him in the *villas* of Clackmannan, Scone, Dunkeld, and Inverness, together with one stone of wax from the house in the burgh of Aberdeen, once belonging to Robert of London, the king's brother, which the king granted to Geoffrey for this special purpose.⁴⁵² Given at Melrose, 24 February 1236-7.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxx^v – f.xxx^r.

Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xix^r - xix^v.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.175^r – 175^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.63^r – f.63^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.77, p.47.

RRS, iii, No.211, p.37.

Notes: Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxx ^v – xxx ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.59) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

⁴⁵² PoMS, H1/7/242 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2099/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

79.

Walter Comyn, son of William Comyn, has given, granted, and established by this his charter, to Scone Abbey, in pure and perpetual alms, one stone of wax or four shillings to be collected annually on the Feast of St Michael from his chamber. No place or date of issue, possibly c.1212 x 4 December 1214.⁴⁵³

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxx^r.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.175^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.63^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.98, p.63.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating derived from the *People of Medieval Scotland* database based on the witness list. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxx ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.63) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

⁴⁵³ PoMS, H3/167/5 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/4648/; date accessed 04/12/16).

80.

Roger of Derby, canon of the church of Dunkeld, has given and granted to the abbot and convent of Scone the annual rent which he used to receive for a certain toft in the *villa* of Dunkeld, which he held of the gift of the said abbot and convent; he has instituted that the annual rent shall be payable by his assignees holding the toft to his agents; the said abbot and convent, during his life, may claim no rights in that toft unless, when they come to that place, they are to pay 2 shillings. annually plus hospitality, as is contained fully in the charter of the abbot and convent, which he has.⁴⁵⁴ Given at Scone, 12 June 1252.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxx^r.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.175^v – 176^r.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.64^r – 64^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.111, pp.74-75.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating derived from calendar year and religious calendar. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription. Folio has been put in back to front. Moreover, there are two overlapping bends in the charter making it difficult to read.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxx ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.74-75) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

⁴⁵⁴ PoMS, H2/40/9 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/264/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

81.

Richard of Leicester, burgess of Perth, has given, granted, and by this his charter established to Scone Abbey in perpetual alms, save the service of the lord king, that land of Perth, namely, the booth that he bought from Thomas son of Gilbert the Small which was on the west side of the land of Roger Furber in the great street on the north side, and the other land in the same street that was Robert Gurlwald's, which he (Richard) had from the son of Robert of Perth, namely, that land which he gave at *ferme* to Simon Taylor. However, he retains these lands for himself in his lifetime, but will give annually 6d. to the said canons on the feast of the Holy Trinity. However, after his death the canons may have and possess these lands perpetually. He has also quitclaimed to the said canons that land in Perth that Alan of Galloway granted to Richard and to William Lynn. No place of issue, though most likely Perth. No date of issue but probably mid-13th century.⁴⁵⁵

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxx^r – xxxi^r.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.176^r – 176^v.

Hay's Transcription, NLS, f.64^v and f.59^v – .60^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.89, pp.56-57.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Dating derived from the *People of Medieval Scotland* database, based on the witness list. Red highlighting throughout Cartulary A transcription. f.xxxii has copious stains.

⁴⁵⁵ PoMS, H3/646/11 (www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/5704/; date accessed: 21/05/2020).

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f. xxx ^r – xxxi ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp. 56-57) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

82.

A record of an episcopal visitation by Bishop William Landallis of St Andrews, who, finding diminution of divine and regular observance, issued the following decree: that divine service, both matins and [the] regular hours and vespers, should not be performed negligently, rapidly, or hastily; these must be distinctly and devoutly sung and said; the bells must ring for the services at the proper hours; silence must be kept according to the Rule and that reading scripture from the pulpit in the Refectory must not be omitted; juniors must obey their seniors and the Rule; quarrels must be avoided; young canons who are travelling outside the monastery on administrative duties must do so with men chosen by the abbot and prior rather than with irresponsible 'shepherds'; however late, they must return to their dormitory and sleep in common with their brethren and rise in time for matins unless prevented by sickness; they must not wander the *villas* of Scone or Perth, nor go to taverns and booths, except for a reasonable cause and by the leave of their superiors; canons must not keep bedside weapons nor ride abroad armed, even for defence; the abbot must lease lands with the counsel of his brethren and for the benefit of the monastery, not to his cousins or kinsfolk at a lower price than he could get from others; the abbot must render account once a year at a fixed date in the presence of his council and of others; the abbot must be prudent in the prosecution of rents that are detained from the abbey, and in the matter of the salmon-fishery, and for the repair of the buildings which threaten ruin, and all other matters. Sometime after 20 January 1365.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxxi^r - xxxii^r.

Other: MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f.176^v – 177^v.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.180, pp.137-138.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Manuscript severely stained and torn. This is the first entry by Scribe B.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxxi ^r - xxxii ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.137-138) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

83.

Abbot William of Scone appoints Sir Andrew of Kinross, an Augustinian canon to the church of Kildonan with its rents and revenues as well as the land of Borroboll for a period of ten years. The date of entry is the feast of the apostles Philip and James in the year 1371, after he completes his first three years from the date of entry he shall then proceed to the next three following years. Sir Andrew is to pay annually to Scone the sum of forty shillings at the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel and six pounds; which sum of money the abbot and convent have to pay the bishop of Caithness in Flemish coin for the said church. No place or date of issue, probably c.1371.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxxii^r.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No.181, p139.

Notes: No corresponding entry in the later recension of the cartulary. Half the manuscript is missing due to a diagonal tear, the rest is stained. Also, an anchor with a heart has been drawn at the bottom of the manuscript; a device of James Balfour.⁴⁵⁶

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxxii ^r) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.139) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

84.

Fragmentary charter, probably of King Robert I, granting the thanage of Scone to the monastery. No place or date of issue visible but probably given at Inchtute, 7 April 1312.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f. xxxii^v.

Other: (possibly) Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f. xxiii^v – xxiv^r.

(possibly) MacFarlane's Transcription, NLS, f. 155^v – f.156^r.

(possibly) Hay's Transcription, NLS, f. 29^r – f. 29^v.

(possibly) King Robert I grants thanage to Scone Abbey, Register House Charters, RH 6/106, NRS.

⁴⁵⁶ H.J Lawlor, "Notes on the Library of the Sinclairs of Rosslyn", *The Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. VIII, third series (1898), 116.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, no.131 p.97.

RRS, v, no.17, pp. 302-303 (taken from both recensions of the cartulary and the NRS charter).

Other: (possibly) *RPS*, 1341/1.

Notes: The manuscript is this charter is severely damaged due to a diagonal tear. The charter is also faded and stained. The writing that is there has the same phrases and witnesses from Robert I's grant of the thanage of Scone, no.29. This is the first entry by Scribe C.

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxxii ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(p.97) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.

85.

Fragmentary inspection and confirmation charter of King David II of his father's grant of the thanage of Scone to Scone Abbey. No date or place of issue visible but probably given at Scone, 17 September, 1341.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 14th cent., NLS, f.xxxii^v.

Other: (possibly) Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxviii^r – xxix^r.

(possibly) King David II confirms thanage to Scone Abbey, 1341, Register House Charters, RH 6/106, NRS.

Printed: *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, No. 151, pp.111-112.

(possibly) *RRS*, vi, No.34, pp.81-82 (taken from *NRS* and later recension).

Other: (possibly) *RPS*, 1341/1.

Notes: Manuscript torn. The rest of the folio is severely stained and faded. The charter does not continue on the next folio. This is the last entry in the cartulary.

Differences:

Manuscript	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i>
(f.xxxii ^v) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.	(pp.111-112) Orthographic differences between manuscript and published edition.
(f.xxxii ^v) ac veraciter intellexisse cartam confirmationis domini	(p.111) ac veraciter intellexisse cartam [confirmationis – omitted] domini

Chapter 5 Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to produce a study of the fourteenth-century cartulary of Scone and its context. The evidence presented and the analysis undertaken demonstrates that Cartulary A is a complex manuscript with many nuances of which historians must be aware when using the cartulary or referring to it. Although dated to the fourteenth century, the binding is seventeenth century – one of James Balfour’s, the famous seventeenth-century antiquarian. There is no absolute conclusive proof that this cartulary was bound in the fourteenth century. Only if the current manuscript was dis-bound could this be assessed. The fourteenth-century handwriting, the 1298 notarial instrument regarding loss of documents at Scone, and the commission established by Robert I to assess what charters remained in Scone’s possession, suggests that the cartulary was created in the first half of the fourteenth century, possibly in the 1320s when the chancellor renewed the documents in Scone’s possession, Robert granted the thanage of Scone to the monastery, and confirmed Malcolm IV’s grand confirmation charter to the monastery. The cartulary was most probably an effort to transcribe the documents in the canons’ possession into something that could help them manage their estates.

Scone was just one of several monasteries undertaking such an effort at this time. The abbeys of Arbroath, Balmerino, Dunfermline, Kelso, Lindores, Newbattle all have substantial elements or their extant cartulary material dateable to the fourteenth century.⁴⁵⁷ Not all these monasteries may have suffered the same extent of documentary loss or had their remaining deeds renewed to the same extent as Scone but their cartularies, or sections of them, were probably created as previous gifts were renewed or new donations came to the monastery. Something similar may also have happened with Dryburgh Abbey. It was sacked multiple times by the English army between the early 1300s and 1386,⁴⁵⁸ and in 1443 there was an apparently accidental fire that

⁴⁵⁷ Davis, Breay, Harrison, and Smith, *Medieval Cartularies*, 227-242.

⁴⁵⁸ R. Fawcett and R. Oram, *Dryburgh Abbey* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), 20-32.

appears to have caused extensive damage to the buildings. The Dryburgh cartulary is dated to the fifteenth century⁴⁵⁹ and the renewal of documentation and a need to manage the monastic estate may have been the reason for the generation of this cartulary. Only the cartularies of Scone and Kelso have been fully examined through this lens and both these fourteenth-century cartularies were created in response to the renewal of documentation and royal patronage following a period of destruction of property as a result of war with England.⁴⁶⁰ Further research is required to fully examine and compare these cartularies to determine if there was a co-ordinated response between monastic institutions to retrieve and replace documentary losses. These cartularies need to be placed within the maelstrom of national and civil conflict, destruction, displacement, disease, and economic decline of the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries.

The research on Kelso does provide a degree of context and room for comparison with Cartulary A. In his thesis on the Kelso Abbey cartulary Smith concluded that what is transcribed into the cartulary for Kelso Abbey is not a completely accurate representation of the archive at the monastery and that several of the deeds are probably forgeries.⁴⁶¹ In the case of Scone's Cartulary A, folios have been lost throughout the gatherings, so it is difficult to know the full extent of what may have existed in this cartulary. However, looking beyond this collection, there is a body of documentary record related to Scone Abbey, from its foundation to the cessation of entries in Cartulary A in the mid-fourteenth century. This material demonstrates that there would have been records available to the scribe, which have either been lost (via the lost folios) or were never entered.

The biggest body of work is the later recension of the cartulary, datable to the mid-fifteenth/sixteenth century. Cartulary B is incomplete and breaks off halfway through a charter of inquiry into lands held in Kilspindie by the predecessors of William Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrews.⁴⁶² There are eighty-

⁴⁵⁹ Davis, Breay, Harrison, and Smith, *Medieval Cartularies*, 232.

⁴⁶⁰ Smith, *Kelso Abbey Cartulary*, 200.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid*, 200-201.

⁴⁶² Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxxvii^v.

three deeds in Cartulary B that have an actual or attributable date earlier than c.1371. These eighty-three are spread across all issuers: royal (71), episcopal (7), papal (3), monastic (1), and one unknown issuer, the last deed in the cartulary, though it is probably episcopal. These entries in the later recension, as well as a host of extraneous material, either individual parchment record or entries into other monastic cartularies, demonstrate that Cartulary A is only a small collection of available material related to Scone Abbey.

What has survived as Cartulary A has suffered damage as well as loss. The bulk of the damage is on the last few folios, some of which are torn and missing, as well as severely stained, which make the text difficult to read in some places, and illegible in other parts. Folios have also come loose in the past and have been re-entered in the wrong order, which make the text difficult to follow in places. Using codicology, this thesis has corrected these errors and grouped the folios together into the correct gathering of quires. These gatherings allow a modern researcher to gain an understanding of what deeds were grouped together and identify any patterns that the scribe or scribes of a cartulary chose when arranging the material.

For Cartulary A, when the folios are rearranged correctly, there are five gatherings. Even though there are lost folios within these gatherings, some patterns emerge. All the papal material is located in one gathering. This is the first gathering (A) presented in the extant cartulary. The surviving material in gathering B contains only royal material, though royal material can be found in gatherings C, D, and E. Gathering C contains all the episcopal confirmations. Gatherings D and E flow into one another. This means that these two last gatherings are in the correct order. D and E also contain the material related to the monastery's dealings with Perth and its burgesses and other landholders in the burgh. Finally, Gathering E contains the two deeds written by a different scribe and can be dated to the second half of the fourteenth century.

The ordering of the material suggests that Cartulary A was arranged in a way that allowed those using the cartulary to find specific material easily, such as the papal bulls, episcopal confirmations, and holdings in Perth. However, the order is not uniform throughout. Royal material appears in different gatherings

and some deeds are replicated in separate gatherings, such as the gift of the church of Echt. These duplicated deeds were obviously serving a purpose. Exactly what this purpose was will remain an area of speculation. It may simply have been a quick way to find information in various gatherings. Moreover, the scribe was consciously placing some of these duplicates together. For example, Hugh of Calder's grant of land in Buttergask and King William's confirmation of it are duplicated in different gatherings and placed in successive order. Such an arrangement meant that the records of these grants and confirmations were easier to find.

The scribe also duplicated two different charters so that he could include the witnesses of those deeds. These were Hugh of Calder's grant, mentioned above, and Bishop Hugh of St Andrews confirmation of the church of Logie-Dundee. This editorial approach seems to suggest that recording the witnesses in the cartulary was of primary importance to the scribe. However, a wider analysis of Cartulary A demonstrates that the scribe chose on 17 occasions to omit witnesses from his transcriptions. These witnesses are either listed in the original parchment records or in Cartulary B. There is no discernible pattern as to why the scribe chose to record witnesses to some deeds and not others. It is something that may never be answered.

Another question to which there is no answer is the original order of the deeds in the manuscript. There are no catchwords at the bottom of any of the folios in the cartulary. What has been produced in this edition of the cartulary is the order in which the gatherings appear today, with misplaced folios corrected for this thesis. The deeds may have been ordered this way in the fourteenth century but there is no way to know. The order of the deeds can help inform a researcher as to some of the motivations and preferences of the individual or people collating and writing a cartulary. The antiquarian editors of these cartularies and muniments arranged them according to the conventions of their time. This was an approach that was fit for the time but one that, ultimately, 'de-cartularises' a cartulary. It was not a consideration for learned societies for whom these editions were produced during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Researchers must be cognisant of this fact.

In the case of *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, the editor, Cosmo Innes, was gathering together and presenting the muniments of Scone. To do this, the two recensions of the Scone cartulary were fundamental to his source material but they were not the full extent of it. Innes relied on other sources too. He omitted six deeds from cartulary A, three of these are partial transcriptions and three are full transcriptions. While this may seem like Innes made an editorial decision to only include full transcriptions, he did not. Other transcriptions in the cartulary that were damaged have been included. He also excluded three deeds from the later recension of the cartulary.⁴⁶³ This means that Innes's work, while commendable, is incomplete. Those who use *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* must understand that this work has its limitations in terms of completeness. The issues with this publication strengthen further Ross's conclusion that while historians should be grateful for the work undertaken with these editions, they have limited value as faithful reproductions of primary evidence.

The rigours of modern scholarship mean that the researchers and editors of today have different standards and motivations than the antiquarians, especially when it comes to analysing and editing cartularies. Techniques such as codicology are critical to creating an understanding of how these documents were constructed. These cartularies were extensions of the monasteries themselves. They contain important artefacts and records and to fully understand these institutions and their history, their cartularies must be analysed and examined.

For Scotland, this means that a systematic editing and analysis of monastic cartularies using modern critical apparatus must be undertaken. It means producing a body of work that builds upon, but ultimately supersedes, the publications of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. A renewed focus on these records, on the production and construction of cartularies as entities in their own right rather than just simply extensions of the archive from which they are transcribed, with documents being carefully selected and transcribed to suit a particular purpose, will lead to a greatly improved understanding of these collections and the monasteries themselves. It is not a quick or easy

⁴⁶³ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xx^v -xxi^r, f.lxxvii^r – lxxvii^v, and f.lxxvii^v.

undertaking but given the importance of these records and the issues with previous publications and transcriptions, it is one that must be undertaken.

New approaches and analysis of the primary source material will undoubtedly lead to new ways of discussing and analysing cartularies, especially if there are multiple scribes for a cartulary, each with their own styles and editing methodology. It is possible that this terminology may not be the best way to describe these collections but without the research that cannot be determined. It could be more accurate to describe and present these collections as 'Records of'..., for example, the Records of Scone Abbey. Such an approach would contribute more to our understanding of the source material and allow for a comparative analysis of deeds with different versions, which in turn can provide a greater insight into the editing methodology of the cartulary scribe(s). Only further analysis of these collections will help create the academic debate that is required in this field.

If such an effort is undertaken, then the best way to present the work may be online, in a similar vein to People of Medieval Scotland, Records of the Parliaments of Scotland, and Corpus of Medieval Parish Churches. Accessibility is key to the interest and success of such an endeavour. A digital catalogue makes it easier and quicker to maintain and update. It would bring many in Western Europe who are working in this field closer together. It could begin by seeking to include Scottish cartularies in the *CartulR* database. In the last 15 years, works on Dryburgh Abbey and Melrose Abbey, as well as Elgin Cathedral,⁴⁶⁴ have provided concise yet detailed overviews of the histories of these institutions and the architecture of the buildings. This type of approach coupled with an edition of the institution's records presents an opportunity to produce a more well-rounded study of these religious establishments. It is an approach that has yet to find any momentum in Scotland but it is one that is needed.

⁴⁶⁴ R. Fawcett and R. Oram, *Melrose Abbey* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004); R. Fawcett and R. Oram, *Dryburgh Abbey* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005); R. Fawcett and R. Oram *Elgin Cathedral and the Diocese of Moray* (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 2014).

Appendix A - Scone's Portfolio

Churches



1. Scone
2. Rait
3. Kinfauns
4. Crag
5. Invergowrie
6. Liff
7. Cambusmichael
8. Borthwick
9. Carrington

Table 5 – List of Churches granted to Scone by c.1170, mentioned in Cartulary A.

Figure 15 – Map of Churches granted to Scone by c.1170, mentioned in Cartulary A.



Figure 16 – Map of churches granted to Scone by c.1300, mentioned in Cartulary A.

Table 6 – Table of churches granted to Scone by c.1300, mentioned in Cartulary A.

Number	Name of Church	In Scone's Possession at the Reformation? ⁴⁶⁵
1	Scone	Yes
2	Rait	Yes
3	Kinfauns	Yes
4	Crag?	Yes
5	Invergowrie	Yes
6	Liff	Yes
7	Cambusmichael	Yes
8	Borthwick	No. The church regained independent status, possibly as early as the fourteenth century. It was annexed to the collegiate church of Crichton in the mid-fifteenth century and was still annexed to there by the Reformation. ⁴⁶⁶
9	Carrington	No. In February 1356-7, Bishop William Landallis of St Andrews resigned his right to the church of Blair to Scone. The bishop received the church of Carrington, where it remained at the time of the Reformation. ⁴⁶⁷
10	Logie-Dundee	Yes
11	Logierait ⁴⁶⁸	Yes
12	Echt	Yes
13	Barevan	No. Scone never took possession of this church.
14	Kildonan	Yes
15	Redgorton	Yes

⁴⁶⁵ Kirk, *The Book of Assumption of the Thirds of Benefices*, 331-334, 485.

⁴⁶⁶ (<https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=161324>; date accessed 17/12/19).

⁴⁶⁷ Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f. lxxv^r – lxxvi^r.

⁴⁶⁸ Including its chapels of Killiechangie, Dunfallandy, Killiechassie, and Kilmichael of Tullimet.

Lands



Figure 17 - Geographic Extent of Scone's Landed Estate c.1320, mentioned in Cartulary A

Table 7 - Lands granted to Scone, mentioned in Cartulary A.

Patron/Grantor	Location
King Alexander I	Banchory, Innerbuist, Lintrose, Kinnochtry, Fingask, Durdie, Clien, Liff, Gourdie, Invergowrie, Edinburgh, Stirling, Inverkeithing, Perth, Aberdeen
King David I	Cambusmichael
King Malcolm IV	Linlithgow
King Alexander II	Blairgowrie, Scone, Rait, Kinfauns,
Hugh of Calder	Buttergask
King Robert I	Scone
Bishop Hugh of St Andrews	St Andrews
Bishop Richard of St Andrews	St Andrews
Bishop William Malveisin of St Andrews	Kincarrathie
William, Walter, Swain	Tibbermore
Swain	Ahednepobbel and a meadow above the Lochty Burn
William Lynn	Perth
William Blund	Scone
Stephen of Melginch	<i>Balursin</i>
William Uvieth	Inveralmond
Orabilla	Kintillo
Richard of Leicester	Perth
Henry Bald	Perth
King's butler	Perth
Robert Blund	Land
William, son of Ketell	Perth
John, son of David	Perth
Geoffrey, clerk of the Liverance	Clackmannan, Dunkeld, Scone, Inverness,
Henry, earl of Atholl	A toft in Logie
Unknown, possibly bishop of Moray	Land of Borroboll

Appendix B – Cartulary B Deeds Datable from c.1115-20 to c.1371

Below is a list of deeds from Cartulary B that can be dated between Scone's foundation (c.1115-20) and the latest datable deed in Cartulary A, c.1371. These are deeds that could have been transcribed into Cartulary A and have been lost from that recension. It cannot be said with certainty that they were in Cartulary A but the content and type of deeds mirror that of Cartulary A. This is not the totality of material related to Scone during this time-frame but a representative example that is intended to show the vast amount of material related to this monastery.

1.

Foundation charter of Scone Priory detailing the canons arrival from St Oswald's Priory at Nostell. The charter also details King Alexander I's original grant of lands and right to the monastery. No place of issue, c.1115 x 1120.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.ii^r - ii^r.

2.

King Alexander I grants to Scone Priory the island of Loch Tay in memory of his recently deceased wife, Sibylla. The canons are to colonise this island, erect a church there, and serve God under a monastic rule. Given at Stirling, sometime after c.1122 x 1124.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.ii^v.

3.

A letter of King Alexander I to the merchants of England and all beyond the realm of Scotland that he has granted to Scone Priory the *cain* and custom of one ship that comes up to Scone. Given at Perth, 25 December 1123 x 23 April 1124.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.ii^r - ii^v.

4.

King Alexander I grants the canons their own court in judicial combat, iron, and water. The canons have the right not to answer in any other courts. Given at Scone, 25 December 1123 x 23 April 1124.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.ii^v.

5.

King Malcolm IV grants to Scone Abbey the teind of his provender and his malt and the *cain* of hides and cheeses from his manors in Gowrie both from the earldom rights and what is due to him as king; and grants also the teinds of all his pleas and conventions of Gowrie in gold, silver, and all money. Given at Stirling, 1161 x 20 September 1164.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.iv^v.

6.

King Malcolm IV grants and confirms to Scone Abbey the teind of the bread of his household benorth Lammermuir and five-sixths of the skins of lambs and sheep belonging to his kitchen, and half the tallow and fat and grease belonging to his kitchen, and on every Sunday not in Lent (except every sixth Sunday) the hide of a cow or an ox; all these things benorth Lammermuir only; and half the

hides, tallow, and grease from the slaughtering done for the king benorth Tay.
Given at Stirling, 1161 x 20 September 1164.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.iv^v - v^r.

Other: King Malcolm IV confirms teind, 1161 x 1164, Register House
Charters, RH 6/1, NRS.

7.

King Malcolm IV grants and confirms to Scone Abbey a licence to have three craftsmen there: one smith, one tanner, and one shoemaker. They are to have the same freedoms in the burgh of Perth as the king's burgesses in the same town for as long as the three craftsmen remain in the abbey's service. Given at Stirling, c.1161 x 23 May 1164.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.v^r.

8.

King Malcolm IV confirms to Scone Abbey the right to have its own court in battle, iron, and water. The abbot and canons need not answer to anyone outside their own court. Given at Stirling, c.1161 x 20 September 1164.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.v^v.

9.

King Malcolm IV grants to Scone Abbey a teind of all his venison that comes to his household from north of the Tay. Given at Perth, c.1161 x 20 September 1164.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.v^v.

10.

King Malcolm IV grants to Scone Abbey the teind of his wheat from Longforgan. If Longforgan is set at ferm of a different kind then the canons are to have the teind of this. Moreover, no-one may take conveth from the lands or tenant of the abbey without licence from the canons. Finally, the canons and their men are to have common pasture wherever their men and lands adjoin the king's. Given at Stirling, c.1161 x 20 September 1164.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.vi^r.

11.

King Malcolm IV grants and confirms two fishing nets in the Tay to Scone Abbey, one at Kincarrathie, the other at the King's Inch. He also grants them one fishing net in the Forth at Stirling, c.1161 x 20 September 1164.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.vi^r.

12.

King Malcolm IV confirms to Scone Abbey 20 shillings (annually) from his *firma* of Perth for lighting the church at the monastery. Moreover, for the same purpose, ten shillings (annually) from his two mills at Perth on the River Almond, as well as a teind equally from each mill. Given at Stirling, c.1161 x 20 September 1164.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.vi^r - vi^y.

13.

King Malcolm IV grants to Scone Abbey one toft in the burgh of Linlithgow. Given at Edinburgh, c.1161 x 20 September 1164.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.vi^y.

14.

King Malcolm IV concedes and confirms to Scone Abbey the church of Invergowrie, with half a carucate of land lying on the western side of the church of Invergowrie called Dargie. Given at Stirling, 1163 x 20 September 1164.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.vii^f.

15.

King Malcolm IV issues a letter to the earl of Angus and the sheriffs of Forfar and Scone that he has given the abbot of Scone the right to collect aids from his own property through his own men and forbids anyone to enter the lands and collect these aids. Given at Perth c.1161 x 20 September 1164.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.vii^f.

16.

King William I grants to Scone Abbey one full toft in Scone with 20 acres of arable land. Given at Forfar, 9 December 1165 x 1171.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.vii^v.

17.

King William I declares that after a charter of the canons of Scone has been read in the presence of bishops and his good men that the said canons should have the full teind of the catches of all his fishings which are on the Tay opposite the territories of Scone, *Crag*, and Kinfauns. Given at Stirling, c.1173 x c.1178.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.vii^v.

Other: King William I confirms teind to Scone Abbey, 1173 x 1178, Register House Charters, RH 6/6, NRS.

18.

King William I confirms the grant of Swain, son of Thor, to Scone Abbey of 'Ahenepobbel' (name now lost, possibly somewhere near Tibbermore in Perthshire), one toft in Tibbermore, and the meadow on the Lochty Burn. Given at Clunie, 1189 x 1199.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.vii^v - viii^r.

19.

King William I confirms to Scone Abbey the churches of Borthwick (Louchferuer) and Carrington. Given at Dunfermline, 9 December 1165 x 1171.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.viii^r.

20.

King William I grants to Scone Abbey his teind of the parish of Scone in grain-rents, cheeses, fish, and everything else given and owed in teind. Given at Forteviot, 9 December 1165 x 1171.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.viii^v.

21.

King William I confirms the grant to Scone Abbey by Malcolm, earl of Atholl, of the church of Logierait with its dependent chapels of Killiechangie, Dunfallandy, Killichassie, and Kilmichael of Tullimet. Given at Perth, 1189 x 1199.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.viii^v - ix^r.

22.

King William I commands Archibald and Hugh, sons of Swain of Longforgan, that they must render eight chalders of the king's wheat from Longforgan yearly. No place of issue, 9 December 1165 x 1174.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.ix^r.

23.

King William I confirms the earlier charter of King Alexander I to the merchants of England and all beyond the realm of Scotland stating that he has granted to the church of the Holy Trinity of Scone the *cain* and custom of one ship that comes to Scone. Given at Dunfermline, 9 December 1165 x 1171.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.ix^v – ix^r.

Other: King William I confirms *cain* and custom of one ship, 1165 x 1171, Register House Charters, RH 6/5, NRS.

24.

King William I issues a brieve granting and confirming to Scone Abbey permission, on the death of their abbot, with the King's assent and counsel, to elect one of their own as abbot from their community at Scone, provided that a suitable candidate can be found there. Given at Forfar, 29 May 1198 x 1201 - probably 1198.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.ix^v.

25.

King William I confirms to Scone Abbey the freedom of having its own court in

combat, iron, and water. Just as his brother King Malcolm's charter bears witness. Given at Dunfermline, 9 December 1165 x 1171.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.ix^v - x^f.

Other: King William I confirms a court to Scone Abbey, 1165 x 1171, Register House Charters, RH 6/4, NRS.

26.

King William I confirms to Scone Abbey the church of Invergowrie, with the land to the west of the church named Dargie. Given at Perth, 1172 x 1184.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.x^f.

27.

King William I grants to Scone Abbey all rights from the queen's household that they already have in his, namely in expenditure and in the kitchen, when she herself holds court. Dated at Crail, 1 x 15 March 1187-88.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.x^f - x^v.

28.

King William I quitclaims Nar, a man of the abbot of Scone, from the charge against him of coming to Moray. The abbot of Scone is to have Nar and his heirs freely and unbound from claims of the king and his heirs. Given at Perth, 1165 x 1171.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.x^v.

29.

King William I commands that wherever the abbot of Scone or his sergeant may discover men who have left their land on account of the aid, after the aid was decided upon and assessed at Musselburgh, these men are to return and stay on the abbot's land until the aid has been uplifted. Given at Forfar, 1189 x 1195, possibly c.1190.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.x^v - xi^r.

30.

King William I commands that wherever the abbot of Scone or his sergeant may discover *cumlawes* and *cumherbes* belonging to the lands of Scone Abbey they are to have them justly without delay, and no-one is to detain them unjustly upon the king's forfeiture. Given at Dunfermline, 9 December 1165 x 1171.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xi^r.

Other: King William I orders *cumlawes* and *cumherbes* to be returned to Scone Abbey, 1165 x 1171, Register House Charters, RH 6/3, NRS.

31.

King William I quitclaims to Scone Abbey Ronald Mac Malmur Goueran and Malmur Mac Hecar, whom Archibald abbot of Dunfermline had claimed against Scone Abbey on the king's behalf, but who have been adjudged to belong to Scone Abbey in the king's full court at Montrose. Given at Montrose 1189 x 1198.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xi^r.

32.

King William I confirms to Scone Abbey the teind of the bread of his household benorth Lammermuir and five-sixths of the skins of lambs and sheep belonging to his kitchen, and half the tallow and fat and grease belonging to his kitchen, and on every Sunday not in Lent (except every sixth Sunday) the hide of a cow or an ox; all these things benorth Lammermuir only; and half the hides, tallow and grease from the slaughtering done for the king benorth Tay. No place of issue or date of issue, 9 December 1165 x c.1174.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xi^v.

33.

King William I commands those who ought to make annual payments to Scone Abbey, from the king's teinds and grants, to pay what is owed at the appointed terms. Moreover, it is prohibited for any such payment to be withheld, and if so, the king's sheriff or bailie in whose jurisdiction the debtor lives is to take poinds from him until he has paid. No place of issue, c.1174 x 4 December 1214.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xi^v - xii^r.

34.

King William I confirms to Scone Abbey the church and land of Logie-Dundee, in Dundee, which was granted to them by Richard, bishop of St Andrews. No place of issue, 1178 x 4 December 1214, probably 1178 x 1188.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xii^r.

35.

King William I confirms to Scone Abbey for the lighting of its church: 20 shillings annually from his *firma* of Perth, 10 shillings annually from his two mills on the

River Almond, as well as a teind of these mills. No place of issue, 9 December 1165 x c.1174.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xii^r.

36.

King William I commands his men who dwell or are about to dwell on the moorland within the territory of Borthwick (Lochoruer) all rights to the parish church as other before them have done so in the time of King David I, as King Malcolm IV's charter confirms. Moreover, the king instructs that whatever occurred in King David's time relating to the church should be maintained. No place of issue, 9 December 1165 x c.1174.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xii^v.

37.

King William I grants to William the 'helmet-maker' that place in the burgh of Perth, which is 26 ft. long and 20 ft. wide. It lies between the land of Serlo the 'die-cutter' and the land of James the tinkler. Given at Stirling, 1211 x 4 December 1214, possibly 1214.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xiii^r.

38.

Inspection charter of King Alexander II whereby he confirms the grants of Kings Alexander I, David I, Malcolm IV, and William I. Given at Forfar, 29 November 1215 x 1224.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xiii^r – xiii^v.

39.

A charter (of probably) King Alexander II commanding those who ought to make annual payments to Scone Abbey, from the king's teinds and grants, to pay what is owed at the appointed terms. Moreover, it is prohibited for any such payment to be withheld, and if so, the king's sheriff or bailie in whose jurisdiction the debtor lives is to take poulds from him until he has paid. No place of issue, 4 December 1214 x 6 July 1249.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xiii^v - xiv^r.

40.

King Alexander II grants to Scone Abbey all rights from the queen's household that they already have in his, namely in expenditure and in the kitchen, when she herself holds court. No place of issue, 21 June 1221 x 1224, probably latter half of 1221.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xiv^r.

Other: King Alexander II confirms rights from queen's household to Scone Abbey, 1221 x 1224, Register House Charters, NRS.

41.

A charter (of probably) King Alexander II granting to Geoffrey, son of Martin of Perth our clerk, the land called the Island of Scone. To be held by him and his heirs in feu in heritage and in return for which he must render annually one stone of wax at the Feast of St. James the Apostle (25 July). The grant does not include the fishings or water in the Tay next to the land. No place of issue, 10 July 1222 x 6 September 1236.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xiv^r – xiv^v.

42.

A charter King Alexander III granting to Scone Abbey a net in the fishing called *Gerny* (Cairnie?) on the river Tay. No place or date of issue, 1264 x 1275.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xiv^v.

43.

A charter King Alexander II confirming an exchange between the abbot and canons of Scone and Gregory of Cambusmichael. The canons donated to Gregory the lands of Creuchies and Cloquat and in return they received from Gregory the land held by him in Cambusmichael. To be held of the abbey by Gregory until the fourth heir and if Gregory's heirs die the land donated to him and his heirs is to revert to the canons of Scone. No place of issue, 1227 x 6 July 1249.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xiv^v - xv^f.

44.

A charter (of probably) King Alexander II forbidding anyone to hunt or cut timber without permission in the land of Blairgowrie held in warren by the abbot and canons at Scone upon his full forfeiture of 10 pounds. No place of issue, 6 June 1235 x 6 July 1249.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xv^f.

45.

King Alexander II issues a mandate to the thanes and other good men of the thanages of Dull and Fortingall that the canons of Scone have the right to take materials (timber) for the works at their church from these thanages and should

not be hindered or impeded from doing so. Given at Edinburgh, 18 January 1214-15 x 1249, probably 1214-15.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xv^v.

46.

King Alexander II forbids anyone to hunt or cut timber without permission in Hole o' Clean (Clien) held in warren by the abbot and canons at Scone upon his full forfeiture of 10 pounds. Given at Scone, 12 February 1230-31.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xvii^r.

47.

King Alexander II concedes to Scone Abbey the woods of Killiechassie. No-one may hunt or cut there without the permission of the canons upon the king's full forfeiture of ten pounds. No place of issue, 1214 x 1243.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xix^r.

48.

King Alexander II confirms the confirmation of Walter, son of Alan, who confirmed the grant made to Scone Abbey by Swain, son of Thor of Tibbermore, of a certain toft that belonged to the goldsmith with other adjacent tofts, a small plot of land above the well called King's Well, and the fishing of *Carnes*. No place of issue, 4 December 1214 x 1224.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xix^v - xx^r.

49.

King Robert I issues a mandate or brieve against interference with the right of Scone Abbey to benefit from their thanage of Scone. Dated at Strathord, 22 March 1316-17.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxiv^r.

50.

King Robert I issues a letter to certain royal officers that Scone Abbey is to enjoy its freedoms granted under the Great Seal just as the abbeys of Arbroath and Dunfermline enjoy their freedoms. Given at Alyth, 5 August 1326.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxv^r.

Other: King Robert I orders that Scone abbey are to enjoy their freedoms, 1326, Register House Charters, RH 6/89, NRS.

51.

King Robert I issues a letter patent to the justiciar north of the Forth and the sheriff and baillies of Perth to pay to Scone Abbey the teinds of the profits, escheats, and pleas from Gowrie. Given at Perth, 13 October 1321.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxv^r - xxv^v.

52.

King Robert I issues a letter to the sheriff and baillies of Perth to exact a teind of any amercement for Scone Abbey so that it may be used for the construction of the church of Scone. Given at Dundee, 29 November 1326.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxv^v.

53.

King Robert I issues a letter to the sheriff and baillies of Forfar not to burden the possessions of Scone Abbey with prises, seizures of marts, horses, carriage duty, fuel imposts, or in other services. Given at Clunie, 14 December 1325.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxvi^v.

54.

King Robert I issues a brieve to the chancellor to issue a commission to Maurice, bishop of Dunblane and himself to examine what charters the canons of Scone currently possess and what charters have been taken by the English. The chancellor is to renew these in due form of the chancery. Given at Scone, 3 August 1323.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxvi^r.

55.

King Robert I issues a letter forbidding anyone to take poinds from Scone Abbey or its men for any debts or pledges they own for the period of one year. Given at Cambuskenneth, 12 March 1312-13.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxvi^v.

56.

King Robert I issues a brieve to the chamberlain of Scotland, Alexander Fraser, to ensure Scone Abbey receive payments of its teinds from the mills of Perth. Given at Clunie, 4 August 1326.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxvi^v.

57.

King Robert I issues a brieve to royal officers to help Scone Abbey lift (i.e. to collect) its fermes. Given at Alyth, 6 August 1326.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxvi^v - xxviii^f.

Other: King Robert I issues a brieve to royal officers to help Scone Abbey lift (i.e. to collect) its fermes. 1326, Register House Charters, RH 6/90, NRS.

58.

King Robert I issues a brieve to the sheriff and baillies of Perth to guard the loch of Blair from being used for fishing other than by the abbot and convent of Scone, on account of the king's need when at Scone. Given at Clackmannan, 26 March 1326.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxvii^f.

59.

King Robert I issues a letter to Scone Abbey requesting licence to take stone from their quarries of Kincarrathie and 'Balcormoc' (Quarrymill) for the church of Perth and the bridges of Perth and Earn. Dated at Glasgow, 4 July 1328.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxvii^f.

60

King David II inspects a charter of his father King Robert I confirming the grants of his predecessors to Scone Abbey and forbidding the taking of prises and other exactions from the abbey and its men. Given at Scone, 17 September 1341.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxvii^v - xxviii^f.

Other: Inspection charter of King David II of his father to Scone Abbey. 1341, Register House Charters, RH 6/107, NRS.

61.

King David II issues letters to the foresters of Clunie, Alyth, and Forestmuir (*Plater*) and other royal forests not to interfere with the canons of Scone Abbey or their men when they cut timber or take away fallen timber. Given at Perth, 5 July 1364.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxix^r – xxix^v.

Other: King David II to foresters of Clunie, Alyth, and Forestmuir, 1364, Register House Charters, RH 6/141, NRS.

62.

King David II issues a letter to Scone Abbey, confirming the right of cutting wood within the royal forests and taking fallen timber as granted by the king's predecessors. Given Perth, 5 July 1360.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxix^v – xxx^v.

63.

King David II issues a letter to the abbot of Scone ordering him to revoke alienations contrary to the decree of parliament on 27 September 1367. Given at Scone, 2 October 1367.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxx^v - xxxi^f.

64.

King David II issues a letter under the Privy seal to royal officers informing them that despite the revocation in parliament of recent grants that Scone Abbey still holds its regality and privileges. Given at Dundee, 11 December 1369.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxxi^r.

Other: King David II to royal officers, Scone Abbey holds its regality and privileges, 1369, Register House Charters, RH 6/149, NRS.

65.

King David II issues a letter to the sheriffs of Perth and Forfar to maintain the liberties, franchises, and privileges of Scone without interference. Given at Lindores Abbey, 20 August 1342.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxxi^v.

66.

King David II issues a letter under the Privy seal not to trouble or vex Scone Abbey, contrary to the grants of his progenitors. Given at Perth, 28 January 1363-4.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxxi^v - xxxii^r.

67.

King David II issues letters to royal officers informing them that Scone Abbey has a three-year relief from answering for its debts. Given at St. Andrews, 4 March 1343-44.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxxii^r - xxxii^v.

68.

King David II issues letters patent to the justiciar north of Forth and other royal officers to pay to Scone Abbey the teind of the profits and escheats of the justice of Gowrie, as granted by his father. Given at Perth, 18 May 1345.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxxii^v - xxxiii^r.

Other: King David II that Scone Abbey are to paid their teind, 1345, Register House Charters, RH 6/111, NRS.

69.

King David II issues privy seal letters to William, bishop of St. Andrews, to investigate and revoke unlawful alienations of the property of Scone Abbey. Given at Falkland, 5 March 1344-45.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxxiii^r.

70.

King David II issues a letter to Thomas Charters, chancellor of Scotland, for letters under the great seal granting to Scone Abbey a one-year respite from its debts. Given at Aberdeen, 30 April 1345.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxxiii^v.

71.

King Robert I issues a brieve to the sheriff and baillies of Perth to guard the loch of Blair from being used for fishing other than by the abbot and convent of Scone, on account of the king's need when at Scone. Given at Clackmannan, 26 March 1326.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.xxxviii^v.

72.

A papal confirmation by Pope Gregory X of a grant by John Fraser of Glenholm to Scone Abbey of the right of patronage of the church of St. Cuthbert (Tweeddale). Given at Orvieto, 5 August 1272.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lviii^v – lix^v.

73.

A letter of confirmation by Pope Innocent VI to Scone Abbey ratifying King David II's confirmation of his father, King Robert I's, grant of the thanage of Scone to the monastery. Given at Neuville (Avignon), 29 August 1353.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lix^v – lx^v.

74.

A letter of Pope Honorius III to the abbot of Scone, noting his request that since he does not have experience in the law and on account of a formality of justice which might impede his tranquillity; he therefore indulges that none of the others which befall the abbey may go forward, even by papal commission, unless mention is made of an indulgence of this sort. Given at Rieti, 18 July 1225.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxxii^v.

75.

Richard, bishop of St. Andrews, grants and confirms to Scone Abbey the church and land of Logie-Dundee. The canons must pay the bishop half a mark of silver annually at the feast of St Michael (Michaelmas, 29th September). No place or date of issue, 28 March 1165 x May 1178.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxxi^v.

76.

William Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrews, confirms to Scone Abbey *in proprios usus* the church of Scone with its chapels, and the churches of Cambusmichael, Liff, Invergowrie, and Logie-Dundee. No place or date of issue, 1319 x 1323.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxxiii^r.

77.

A charter of William (probably de Landallis), bishop of St. Andrews, who concedes and confirms to Scone Abbey the grants of churches and lands to them by his predecessors. Given at Crail, April 1366.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxxiii^v - lxxiv^r.

78.

William de Landallis, bishop of St. Andrews, settles a dispute between himself, Scone Abbey, and Cambuskenneth Abbey over the church of Blair. The bishop resigned his rights to the church of Blair to Scone Abbey. The bishop received the church of Carrington in exchange. Scone Abbey is to pay Cambuskenneth Abbey an annual fee of 100 shillings. Finally, when John Lyon current rector of the church of Blair dies the canons of Scone can appoint one of their own number. Given at St. Andrews, 12 February 1356-57.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxxiv^r – lxxv^r.

79.

William de Landallis, bishop of St. Andrews, settles a dispute between himself, Scone Abbey, and Cambuskenneth Abbey over the church of Blair. The bishop resigned his rights to the church of Blair to Scone Abbey. The bishop received

the church of Carrington in exchange. Scone Abbey is to pay Cambuskenneth Abbey an annual fee of 100 shillings. Finally, when John Lyon current rector of the church of Blair dies the canons of Scone can appoint one of their own number. Given at St. Andrews, 12 February 1356-57.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxxv^r – lxxvi^r.

80.

William de Landallis, bishop of St Andrews, issues a letter to the perpetual vicar of Perth and the deacon of Gowrie instructing him that on the death or demission of John Lyle, current rector of the church of Blair, he is to give possession of it to the abbot and convent of Scone, to whom he has united it *in proprios usus*. Given at St. Andrews, 12 February 1356-57.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxxvi^r – lxxvi^v.

81.

An inspection charter of the prior and chapter of St. Andrews whereby they inspect a confirmation charter of William, bishop of St. Andrews, of the churches held by Scone Abbey namely: the church of Scone with its chapels of Kinfauns, *Crag*, and Rait; the churches of Liff, Invergowrie, Logie-Dundee, Cambusmichael, Borthwick (Lochoruer), and Carrington. Given at St. Andrews, 8 February 1283-4

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxxvi^v – lxxvii^r.

82.

A mandate of William Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrews, issued to Robert Lamberton, archdeacon of St. Andrews; Robert, the perpetual vicar of Longforgan and the dean of Perth and Gowrie; and to John, rector of the church of Kinnoull, ordering them to summon the trust-worthy people of the parishes of

Erroll, Kinfauns, Rait, and Kilspindie to appear before the Abbot of Scone and Sir Gilbert de Hay, lord of Kilspindie, to inquire what rights, possessions and temporalities the bishop's predecessors had in Kilspindie. Given at Clunie, 3 February 1320-1.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxxvii^r–lxxvii^v.

83.

Fragmented charter of the inquiry into lands held by the predecessors of William Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews. It lists the trust-worthy men summoned. No place of issue, 3 February 1320-1.

Source: Cartulary of Scone Abbey, 15th/16th cent., NLS, f.lxxvii^v.

Appendix C – Photographs of the Manuscript



Figure 18 – Photograph of the Front Cover



Figure 19 – Photograph of the Papal Rota of Pope Honorius III, f.1v

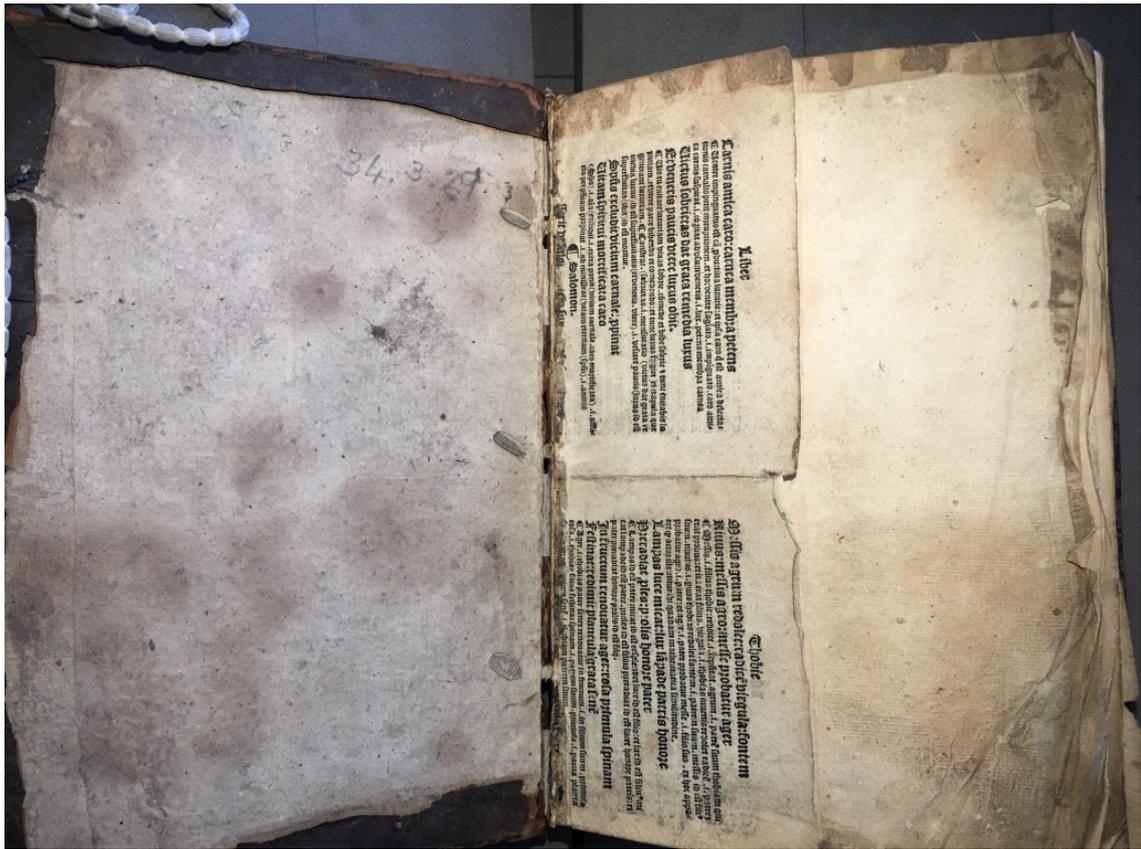


Figure 20 – Inside the opening cover, showing an excerpt from *Historia Thobie Cum Mortalitatibus Eiusdem* and the first of 9 paper folios, used as padding.

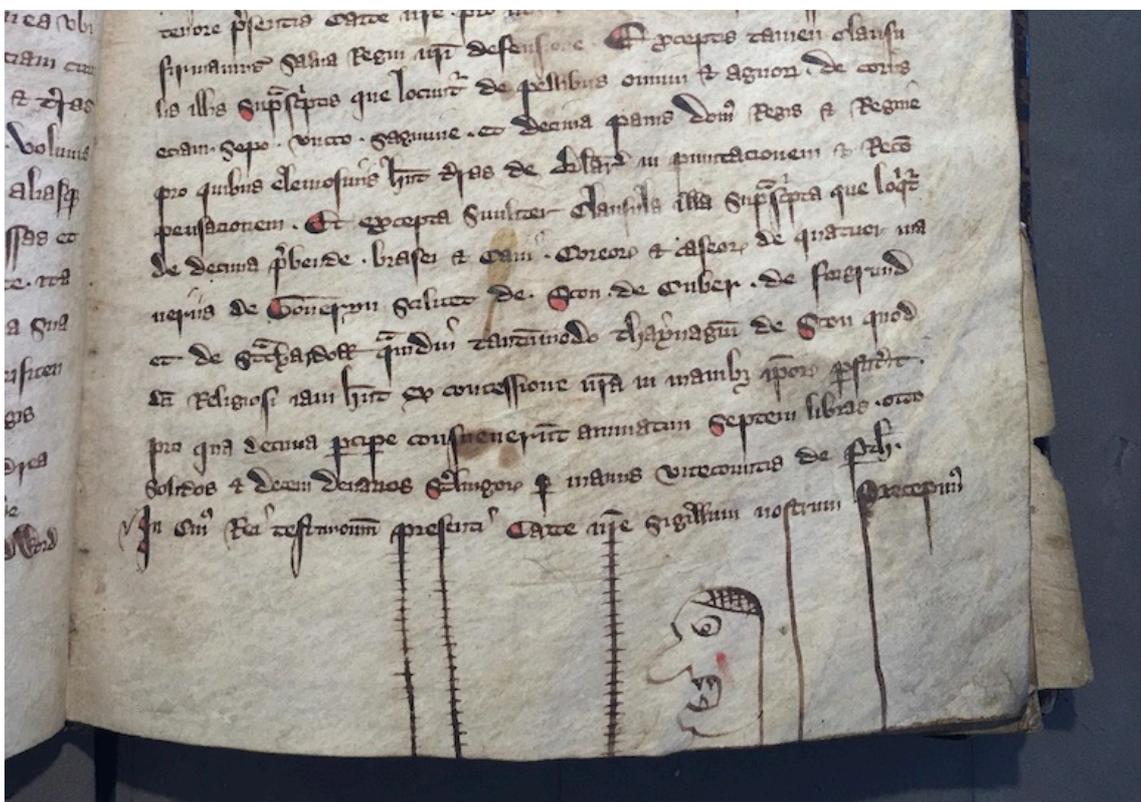


Figure 21 – Picture of some marginalia, f. xii

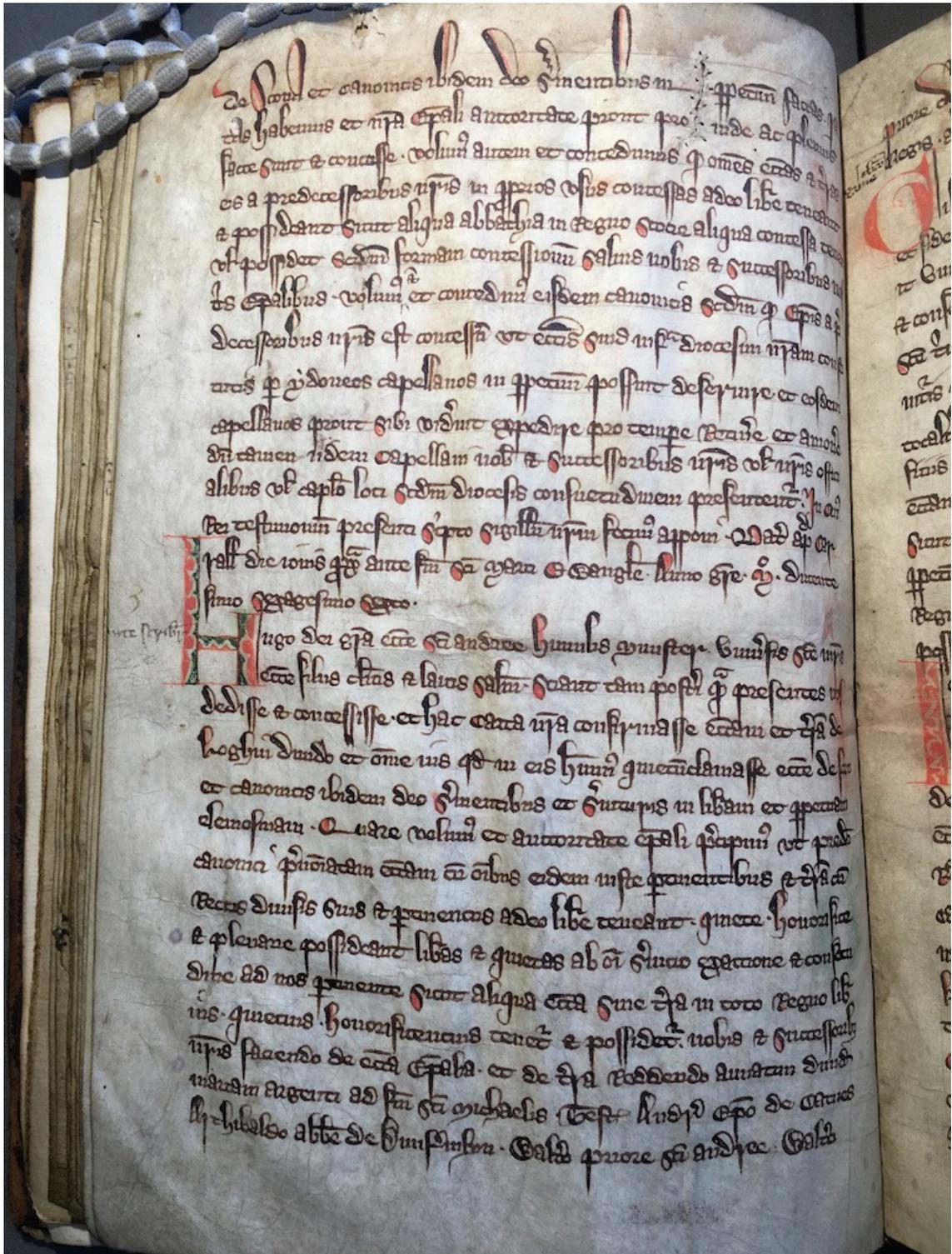


Figure 22 – Example of use of red and green together, ‘ante scribitur’ in the margin, f.xviii’

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Signet letters charging commendator of Scone to appear before the council, 1563. RH 15/29/5.

Ratification by Adam Hepburn to James Martin, 1567. RH 15/29/10.

Commendator of Scone discharges £200 to Adam Hepburn, 1568. RH 15/29/11.

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