

A detailed medieval map of St Andrews, Scotland, showing the city's layout, the cathedral, and the harbor. The map is oriented with North at the top. The city is enclosed by a wall, with the cathedral and its spires prominently featured in the center. The harbor is filled with numerous sailing ships. The map is color-coded with blue for roofs and water, and brown for walls and land. The title 'MEDIEVAL ST ANDREWS' is written in large, white, serif capital letters on a dark blue background. Below the title, the subtitle 'CHURCH, CULT, CITY' is written in smaller, gold, serif capital letters. The background of the entire cover is a reproduction of the map, showing the city's layout, the cathedral, and the harbor. The map is oriented with North at the top. The city is enclosed by a wall, with the cathedral and its spires prominently featured in the center. The harbor is filled with numerous sailing ships. The map is color-coded with blue for roofs and water, and brown for walls and land. The title 'MEDIEVAL ST ANDREWS' is written in large, white, serif capital letters on a dark blue background. Below the title, the subtitle 'CHURCH, CULT, CITY' is written in smaller, gold, serif capital letters. The background of the entire cover is a reproduction of the map, showing the city's layout, the cathedral, and the harbor. The map is oriented with North at the top. The city is enclosed by a wall, with the cathedral and its spires prominently featured in the center. The harbor is filled with numerous sailing ships. The map is color-coded with blue for roofs and water, and brown for walls and land.

MEDIEVAL ST ANDREWS

CHURCH, CULT, CITY

Arx Episcopi.

Collegium
v. Leotardi

EDITED BY
MICHAEL BROWN AND KATIE STEVENSON

MEDIEVAL ST ANDREWS

St Andrews Studies in Scottish History

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MEDIEVAL ST ANDREWS

Church, Cult, City

Edited by

Michael Brown and Katie Stevenson

THE BOYDELL PRESS

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Abbreviations

AA	The Augustinian's Account
ACR	Aberdeen, City Archive, Ms Council Register
<i>Arb. Lib.</i>	<i>Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc</i> , ed. C. Innes and P. Chalmers, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1848–56).
Ash, 'The Administration'	M. Ash, 'The Administration of the Diocese of St Andrews, 1202–1328' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1972).
AU	<i>Annals of Ulster (Annals of Ulster (to 1131))</i> , ed. S. Mac Airt and G. Mac Niocaill (Dublin, 1983)
BA	<i>Breviarium Aberdonense</i> (Edinburgh, 1510)
<i>Balm. Lib.</i>	<i>Liber S. Marie de Balmorinach</i> , ed. W. B. D. D. Turnbull, Abbotsford Club (Edinburgh, 1841).
BL	British Library
Brooks and Whittington	N. P. Brooks and G. Whittington, 'Planning and Growth in the Medieval Scottish Burgh: the Example of St Andrews', <i>Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers</i> n. s. 2 (1977), pp. 278–95.
<i>Camb. Reg.</i>	<i>Registrum Monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth</i> , ed. William Fraser (Grampian Club, Edinburgh, 1872).
Cant, <i>St Salvator</i>	R. Cant, <i>The College of St Salvator</i> (Edinburgh and London, 1950).
Cant, <i>University</i>	R. Cant, <i>The University of St Andrews: A Short History</i> (Edinburgh, 1946).
CDS	<i>Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland</i> , ed. J. Bain, 5 vols (Edinburgh, 1881–88).
<i>Chrs David</i>	<i>The Charters of David I: The Written Acts of David I King of Scots, 1124–53 and of his Son Henry Earl of Northumberland, 1139–52</i> , ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Woodbridge, 1999).
<i>Copiale</i>	<i>Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree</i> , ed. J. H. Baxter (St Andrews, 1930).

ABBREVIATIONS

CPL	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters</i> , ed. W. H. Bliss, 20 vols (London, 1893–).
CSSR	<i>Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome</i> , ed. E. R. Lindsay, A. I. Cameron et al., 5 vols (Edinburgh, 1934–).
DES	<i>Discovery and Excavation in Scotland</i>
Dunf. Reg.	<i>Registrum de Dunfermelyn</i> , ed. C. Innes (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1842).
Dunlop, Kennedy	A. I. Dunlop, <i>The Life and Times of James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews</i> (St Andrews Univ. Pubns, 46), (1950).
Early Records	<i>Early Records of the University of St Andrews</i> , ed. J. M. Anderson, Scottish History Society (Edinburgh, 1926).
ER	<i>Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, 1264–1600</i> , ed. John Stuart et al., 23 vols (Edinburgh, 1878–1909).
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
FAA	Foundation Account A
FAB	Foundation Account B
FO	<i>Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé: The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee</i> , ed. Whitley Stokes, Henry Bradshaw Society 29 (London 1905; reprinted Dublin 1984)
Glas. Reg.	<i>Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis</i> , ed. C. Innes, 2 vols (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, 1843).
Higgitt, St Andrews	<i>Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St Andrews</i> , ed. John Higgitt (British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, XIV) (Leeds, 1994).
Instrumenta Publica	<i>Instrumenta Publica sive Processus super Fidelitatibus et Homagiis Scotorum Domino Regi Angliae Factis 1291–96</i> , ed. Thomas Thomson (Bannatyne Club, 1834).
Lind. Cart.	<i>The Chartulary of Lindores Abbey</i> , ed. J. Dowden (Edinburgh, 1903).
McRoberts, St Andrews	D. McRoberts, ed., <i>The Medieval Church of St Andrews</i> (Glasgow, 1976).
Newb. Reg.	<i>Registrum Sancte Marie de Neubottle</i> , ed. Cosmo Innes (Edinburgh, 1849).
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NRS	National Records of Scotland
n. s.	new series
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris 1844–64)

ABBREVIATIONS

PNF, i	S. Taylor with G. Márkus, <i>The Place-Names of Fife, Volume One: West Fife between Leven and Forth</i> (Donington, 2006).
PNF, ii	S. Taylor with G. Márkus, <i>The Place-Names of Fife, Volume Two: Central Fife between the Rivers Eden and Leven</i> (Donington, 2008).
PNF, iii	S. Taylor with G. Márkus, <i>The Place-Names of Fife, Volume Three: St Andrews and the East Neuk</i> (Donington, 2009).
PNF, iv	S. Taylor with G. Márkus, <i>The Place-Names of Fife, Volume Four: North Fife between Eden and Tay</i> (Donington, 2010).
PNF, v	S. Taylor with G. Márkus, <i>The Place-Names of Fife, Volume Five: Discussion, Glossaries and Edited Texts</i> (Donington, 2012).
PoMS	People of Medieval Scotland 1093–1314, online database (www.poms.ac.uk)
PSAS	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i>
Rains and Hall, <i>Excavations</i>	M. J. Rains and D. Hall, <i>Excavations in St Andrews 1980–89</i> (Tayside and Fife Archaeological Committee, 1997).
RCAHMS <i>Fife</i>	<i>Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Inventory of Monuments in Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan</i> (Edinburgh, 1933).
Reg. KS	<i>Register of the Minister, Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St Andrews, Comprising the Proceedings of the Kirk Session ... , 1559–1600</i> , ed. D. H. Fleming, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1889–90).
<i>Rentale</i>	<i>Rentale Sancti Andree AD 1538–1546</i> , ed. R. K. Hannay, Scottish History Society (Edinburgh, 1913).
RMS	<i>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum</i> , ed. J. M. Thomson et al., 11 vols (Edinburgh, 1882–1914).
RPS	<i>Records of the Parliament of Scotland to 1707</i> , ed. K. M. Brown et al. (St Andrews, 2007–15) (www.rps.ac.uk).
RRS, i	<i>Regesta Regum Scottorum I, The Acts of Malcolm IV King of Scots 1153–65</i> , ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1960).
RRS, ii	<i>Regesta Regum Scottorum II, The Acts of William I King of Scots 1165–1214</i> , ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1971).

ABBREVIATIONS

RRS, iii	<i>Regesta Regum Scottorum III, The Acts of Alexander II King of Scots 1214– 1249</i> , ed. Keith Stringer (Edinburgh, forthcoming).
RRS, iv	<i>Regesta Regum Scottorum IV, The Acts of Alexander III</i> , ed. Cynthia J. Neville and Grant Simpson (Edinburgh, 2013).
RRS, v	<i>Regesta Regum Scottorum V, The Acts of Robert I King of Scots 1306–1329</i> , ed. A. A. M. Duncan (Edinburgh, 1988).
RRS, vi	<i>Regesta Regum Scottorum VI, The Acts of David II King of Scots 1329 –1371</i> , ed. B. Webster (Edinburgh 1982).
Scone Lib.	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i> , ed. C. Innes (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, Edinburgh, 1843).
Scotichronicon	<i>Scotichronicon</i> , ed. D. E. R. Watt et al., 9 vols (Aberdeen and Edinburgh, 1987–98).
SEA	<i>Scottish Episcopal Acta</i> , i: <i>The Twelfth Century</i> , ed. Norman Shead, Scottish History Society, Sixth Series 10 (Woodbridge, 2016).
SHR	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i> (Edinburgh, 1903–).
St Andrews Acta	<i>Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree, 1413–1588</i> , ed. A. I. Dunlop, 2 vols, Scottish History Society (Edinburgh, 1964).
St A. Liber	<i>Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia</i> , ed. T. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1841).
StAUL	St Andrews University Library
SUAT	Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust Ltd
TA	<i>Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland</i> , 12 vols (Edinburgh, 1877–1970).
TFAJ	<i>Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal</i>
Watt, Graduates	D. E. R. Watt, <i>A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to AD 1410</i> (Oxford, 1977).

CHAPTER ONE



'Ancient Magnificence': St Andrews in the Middle Ages: An Introduction

Michael H. Brown and Katie Stevenson

SET along its rocky outcrop between two long sandy beaches, the St Andrews skyline is dominated by its medieval buildings. The towers of the churches of St Salvator, Holy Trinity and St Regulus, the gables of the cathedral and the remains of the castle retain a visual prominence. These buildings are reminders of the status and wealth of St Andrews between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. In this era St Andrews was a centre of unique significance in Scotland. It could claim to be the ecclesiastical capital of the land. St Andrews was the seat of the leading bishop, and from 1472 the archbishop, of Scotland whose diocese was both the richest in the Scottish church and included the core regions of the kingdom. Its cathedral was by far the largest church (and the largest building) in medieval Scotland and housed relics of the figure increasingly adopted as the nation's patron saint. The long history of scholarship at this site was reflected by the foundation of the first Scottish university in 1413. Though removed from the natural routes between royal residences and the largest burghs, and possessing a rich, but relatively small, hinterland, medieval St Andrews' claims to be a city rested less on size than on the status provided to an urban community which grew under the wing of powerful clerical patrons and benefited from the flow of clergy, pilgrims and students through its streets and dwellings.

However, the ruinous state of the cathedral, the castle and several of the churches has also been a reminder to modern visitors of the violent closing of the era of St Andrews' greatest significance in the second half of the sixteenth century. The destruction, neglect and loss of status caused by the Scottish Reformation had a devastating effect on the fortunes of the town. Even in the earliest depiction of the city, drawn by John Geddy around 1580, St Andrews shows the scars of recent upheaval. The cathedral and the churches of the Black and Grey Friars are shown as roofless and uninhabited.¹ These are scars that were never healed. When he included St Andrews in his Scottish tour in 1773, Dr Johnson described it as 'a city, which only history shews to have once flourished'

¹ The map is National Library of Scotland [hereafter NLS], MS 20996. For an image of the map see <http://maps.nls.uk/towns/detail.cfm?id=215>.

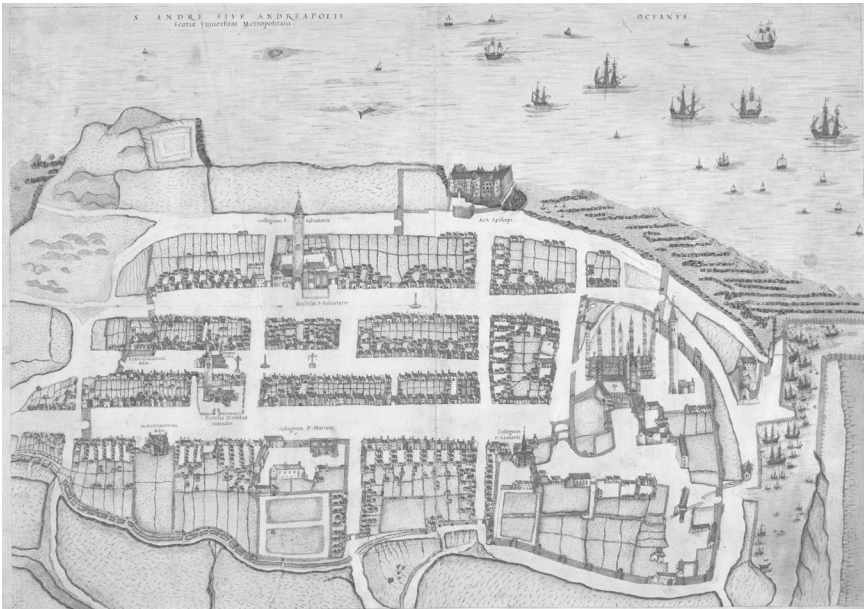


Figure 1.1: John Geddy, *S. Andre sive Andreapolis Scotiae Universitas Metropolitana*, c.1580. National Library of Scotland MS 20996.

as he ‘surveyed the ruins of ancient magnificence’.² The ruins and decline struck not only Johnson but also Sir Walter Scott. He reported in 1827 that ‘they were chiefly remarkable for their size not their richness in ornament’ and that ‘they had lately been cleared out’, an observation which must surely sink the hearts of archaeologists and architectural historians as they ponder the great loss of material remains that St Andrews has suffered.³ However, the revival of the town from the late nineteenth century still rested on the surviving medieval remains, both directly and indirectly. The reputation and economy of modern St Andrews relies on the foundations provided by its one surviving medieval ecclesiastical foundation, the university, but as much, if not more, on the fame which developed from the pleasure its burgesses derived from playing their game of golf on the sandy links north-west of the town. Students, golfers and others who visit or live in the small town on the rocky east coast of Scotland can hardly fail to be aware of the relics, not only of St Andrew himself, but also of the special centre which grew up around his name.

The story of St Andrews has long drawn the attention of historians. A strand of antiquarian and historical interest runs from George Martine, secre-

² S. Johnson and J. Boswell, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and the Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, ed. P. Levi (Harmondsworth, 1984), p. 36.

³ *The Complete Works of Sir Walter Scott with a Biography*, 7 vols (New York, 1833), vii, p. 513.

tary of the controversial assassinated Archbishop Sharpe of St Andrews, who wrote his history of the see of St Andrews, *Reliquiae divi Andreae*, in 1673.⁴ It extends through a second inhabitant, David Hay Fleming, who wrote numerous studies of the town in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and runs on to the works of the great historian of St Andrews University, Ronald Cant, who published histories of St Salvator's College and of the university.⁵ Since 1950 all dimensions of the history of medieval St Andrews have received the attention of scholars. We know much more about the origins and early history of the site,⁶ the reform of the church at St Andrews in the twelfth century and the changes associated with it,⁷ the cult of the saint,⁸

⁴ G. Martine, *Reliquiae divi Andreae or the state of the venerable and prinitial see of St Andrews ... by a true (though unworthy) sone of the church* (St Andrews, 1797).

⁵ D. Hay Fleming, *A Handbook to St Andrews and Neighbourhood* (St Andrews, 1894); D. Hay Fleming, *The Accounts of St Salvator's College, St Andrews, comprising the ordinary revenue and expenditure, the casual and contingent profits, etc., from 1679 to 1689, and details of the revenue in 1691* (Edinburgh, 1922); D. Hay Fleming, *Historical Notes & Extracts Concerning the Links of St Andrews 1552–1893* (St Andrews, 1893); R. G. Cant, *The College of St Salvator: Its Foundation and Development* (Edinburgh, 1950) [hereafter Cant, *St Salvator*]; R. G. Cant, *The University of St Andrews: A Short History* (Edinburgh, 1946) [hereafter Cant, *University*].

⁶ M. O. Anderson, 'St Andrews before Alexander I', *The Scottish Tradition*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh 1974), pp. 1–13; M. O. Anderson, 'The Celtic Church in Kinrhimund', *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, ed. D. McRoberts (Glasgow, 1976) [hereafter McRoberts, *St Andrews*], pp. 1–10; T. O. Clancy, 'Scotland, the "Nennian" Recension of the *Historia Brittonum*, and the *Lebor Bretnach*', *Kings Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland 500–1297*, ed. S. Taylor (Dublin, 2000), pp. 87–107; *The St Andrews Sarcophagus*, ed. S. Foster (Dublin, 1998); J. E. Fraser, 'Rochester, Hexham and Cennrigmonaid: the Movements of St Andrew in Britain, 604–747', *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World*, ed. S. Boardman, J. R. Davies and E. Williamson (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 1–17; J. Kenworthy, 'A Further Fragment of Early Christian Sculpture from St Mary's on the Rock, St Andrews, Fife', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* [hereafter PSAS] 110 (1979–80), pp. 356–63; E. Proudfoot, 'Excavations of a Long Cist Cemetery on Hallow Hill, St Andrews, Fife, 1975–77', PSAS 126 (1996), pp. 387–454.

⁷ S. Taylor, 'The Coming of the Augustinians to St Andrews and Version B of the St Andrews Foundation Legend', *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland 500–1297*, ed. S. Taylor (Dublin, 2000), pp. 115–23; K. Veitch, 'Replanting Paradise: Alexander I and the Reform of the Church in Scotland', *Innes Review* 52 (2001), pp. 136–66; A. A. M. Duncan, 'The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, 1140', *Scottish Historical Review* [hereafter SHR] 84 (2005), pp. 1–37; M. Dilworth, 'Dependent Priors of St Andrews', *Innes Review* 26 (1975), pp. 56–64; M. Dilworth, 'The Augustinian Chapter of St Andrews', *Innes Review* 25 (1974), pp. 15–30.

⁸ M. Ash and D. Broun, 'The Adoption of St Andrew as Patron Saint of Scotland', *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St Andrews*, ed. J. Higgitt (Leeds, 1994) [hereafter Higgitt, *St Andrews*], pp. 16–24; D. Broun, 'The Church of St Andrews and its Foundation Legend in the Early Twelfth Century: Recovering the Full Text of Version A of the Foundation Legend', *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland, 500–1297*, ed. S. Taylor (Dublin, 2000), pp. 108–14; David Ditchburn, "'Saints at the door don't make miracles"? The Contrasting Fortunes of Scottish Pilgrimage, c.1450–1550', *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Religion, Politics and Society: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, ed. J. Goodare and A. A. Macdonald (Leiden, 2008), pp. 69–98.

the medieval bishops,⁹ the burgh,¹⁰ its organisation and people, and the architecture and material remains of church and city.¹¹ Though there have been two earlier collections of essays focusing specifically on aspects to do with the church of St Andrews, this volume represents the first attempt to treat the history of St Andrews collectively and coherently. The aim here is to consider St Andrews as a centre with multiple roles and communities, and to examine the nature of these in different periods and with an eye to points of overlap and interaction, in work by scholars who are all either experts in the study of St Andrews itself or in the varied elements which made up the medieval church, cult and city.

At the heart of the history and significance of St Andrews were the relics of the apostle, which by the late eleventh century had given the place its new name. In the twelfth century two accounts were written of the foundation of St Andrews, drawing on earlier material; they are discussed below by Simon Taylor.¹² The longer of these claimed that the relics of the saint – his kneecap, upper arm bone, three fingers and a tooth – were brought to Scotland by the Greek monk Regulus, to save them from the Emperor Constantius II in the 350s. In a dream, an angel advised Regulus to take the relics to ‘northern parts’, building a shrine for them wherever his ship was wrecked. The real origin of the link between the apostle and the settlement that bears his name continues to be debated, as Simon Taylor shows in his chapter. However, there is good reason to place the formative period of this centre in the eighth century. It was referred to as *Cindrighmonaidh*, the end of the king’s muir or headland, meaning either the wider upland between Crail and St Andrews or the craggy headland where

⁹ M. Ash, ‘William Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrews, 1297–1328’, *The Scottish Tradition*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1974), pp. 44–55; M. Ash, ‘The Diocese of St Andrews under its “Norman” Bishops’, *SHR* 55 (1976), pp. 105–26; M. Ash, ‘David Bernham, Bishop of St Andrews, 1239–53’, *Innes Review* 25 (1974), pp. 3–14; A. I. Dunlop, *The Life and Times of James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews* (St Andrews Univ. Pubs, 46), (St Andrews, 1950) [hereafter Dunlop, *Kennedy*]; M. H. B. Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton c.1494–1546* (Edinburgh, 1986).

¹⁰ N. P. Brooks and G. Whittington, ‘Planning and Growth in the Medieval Scottish Burgh’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* n. s. 2 (1977) [hereafter Brooks and Whittington], pp. 278–95; M. Hammond, ‘The Bishop, the Prior and the Foundation of the Burgh of St Andrews’, *Innes Review* 66 (2015), pp. 72–101.

¹¹ Neil Cameron, ‘St Rule’s Church, St Andrews, and Early Stone Built Churches in Scotland’, *PSAS* 124 (1994), pp. 367–78; M. Thurlby, ‘St Andrews Cathedral-Priory and the Beginnings of Gothic Architecture in Northern Britain’, Higgitt, *St Andrews*, pp. 47–60; I. Campbell, ‘Planning for Pilgrims: St Andrews as the Second Rome’, *Innes Review* 64 (2013), pp. 1–22; E. Cambridge, ‘The Early Building-History of St Andrews Cathedral, Fife, and its Context in Northern Transitional Architecture’, *Antiquaries Journal* 57 (1978), pp. 277–88; J. Hamilton and R. Toolis, ‘Further Excavations at the Site of a Medieval Leper Hospital at St Nicholas Farm, St Andrews’, *Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal* [hereafter *TFAJ*] 5 (1999); M. J. Rains and D. Hall, *Excavations in St Andrews 1980–89* (Fife and Tayside Archaeological Committee, 1997) [hereafter Rains and Hall, *Excavations*].

¹² See also S. Taylor with G. Márkus, *The Place-Names of Fife, Volume Three: St Andrews and the East Neuk* (Donnington, 2009) [hereafter *PNF*, iii], pp. 564–615; Broun, ‘The Church of St Andrews’, pp. 108–14.

the cathedral now stands. The royal association indicated by this name suggests that Cennrigmonaid was already an important location.¹³ Rather than brought directly from Greece, it has been argued that Andrew's relics came, much more prosaically, from Hexham in Northumbria, carried not by Regulus but by a refugee English bishop whose patron, St Wilfrid, may have acquired them in Rome.¹⁴ The decision to house the relics in Cennrigmonaid may have been a deliberate attempt to raise its status to 'the most prominent church in southern Pictland'.¹⁵

This idea of growing status in the mid eighth century is supported by the mention in an Irish annal of the death of an abbot of *Cindrighmonaidh* in the year 747 and by the dating of the St Andrews sarcophagus to slightly later.¹⁶ The sarcophagus, discovered in the cathedral grounds in 1833, is a finely carved stone tomb dating to the latter part of the eighth century and most likely commissioned for a Pictish king, possibly Onuist son of Vurguist, the ruler remembered in the twelfth-century account as the initial patron of the church at the site.¹⁷ However, its presence suggests the continued importance of Cennrigmonaid as a royal, as well as a religious, centre, forming with Scone and Dunkeld what Alex Woolf calls the 'central transit zone' of the tenth- and eleventh-century Scottish kings.¹⁸ This standing as a site known outside Scotland from the tenth century as a place of pilgrimage and ecclesiastical importance may have led to the change of its name to Kilrimund or Cilrigmonaid (church of the king's muir) by the twelfth century. It may also have led to its gradual association with the leading bishop of the Scots.¹⁹ While historians writing after 1400 dated this to Bishop Cellach in the early tenth century, the connection may have developed more gradually and in competition with alternative sites like Abernethy and Dunkeld. In this contest, the association with the apostle may have trumped Abernethy's ties to St Brigid and Dunkeld's to St Columba.²⁰

St Andrews' status as a centre of Scotland's religious life with a wider reputation was founded in the centuries from 700. By 1100 the site possessed a great church dedicated to St Andrew, attended by a group of seven clergy.²¹ Since

¹³ PNF, iii, pp. 476–9.

¹⁴ J. Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795* (Edinburgh, 2009), p. 309; Fraser, 'Rochester, Hexham and Cennrigmonaid', p. 17 n. 87; A. Woolf, 'Onuist son of Uurguist: *Tyrannus carnifex* or a David for the Picts?', *Æthelbald and Offa: Two Eighth-Century Kings of Mercia*, ed. D. Hill and M. Worthington (Oxford, 2005), pp. 35–42.

¹⁵ Fraser, 'Rochester, Hexham and Cennrigmonaid', p. 16.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.

¹⁷ D. Broun, 'Pictish Kings 761–839: Integration with Dál Riata or Separate Development?', *St Andrews Sarcophagus*, ed. Foster, pp. 71–83; S. T. Driscoll, 'Political Discourse and the Growth of Christian Ceremonialism: the Place of the St Andrews Sarcophagus', in *ibid.*, pp. 168–78; Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, p. 318.

¹⁸ A. Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba 789–1070* (Edinburgh, 2007), p. 198.

¹⁹ PNF, iii, p. 477.

²⁰ Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, p. 103. We are grateful to Alex Woolf for his ideas on this subject.

²¹ PNF, iii, p. 608.

the ninth century a community of *céli Dé* (culdees), followers of an ascetic Irish monasticism, had existed, perhaps on the clifftop north of the church.²² Finally there was a third foundation, a hospital dedicated to the care of pilgrims that was administered by the clergy.²³ However, it was the years around and after 1100 which would see the reshaping of this ecclesiastical centre. The physical form and institutional structures of St Andrews, and the consistent use of that name, were products of the great period of church reform which began in the late eleventh century and reached its peak in the twelfth. Our knowledge of Kilrimund in 1100 is itself derived from the foundation accounts produced by the reformed clergy of the site in the subsequent decades. The existence of such written narratives is indicative of the new era and they represent the confidence and ambition of churchmen drawn from a much wider geographical area and motivated by a movement whose impact on local religious custom extended across Latin Christendom. By tracing the history of the cult of Andrew in Fife, the authors of the foundation accounts sought to provide a usable history of their church as the basis for claiming 'ancient' rights and status for new foundations and the place they inhabited. For example, by stressing degeneracy and decline, especially of the married and hereditary clergy of the church of St Andrew, the authors could justify the transfer of rights and the transformation of custom and personnel. Similarly, by claiming the primacy of their bishop as 'high archbishop' or 'high bishop of the Scots', asserting that rights over a territory covering much of eastern Fife had been given to the clergy of Kilrimund by King Onuist and recording that Alexander I had renewed this grant of a land known as the Boar's Raik (*cursus apri*), the authors of the two accounts aimed to demonstrate the extent and legitimacy of their own religious community.²⁴

All the elements of early medieval St Andrews experienced major change in practices and personnel during the twelfth century. In this, as earlier, the kings were major drivers of change. Royal sponsorship clearly lay behind the choice of bishops from English monastic houses after 1100. Turgot, prior of Durham and biographer of Queen Margaret; Eadmer, the friend and biographer of Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury; and Robert, a monk from Nostell in Yorkshire, were all committed to ecclesiastical reform. Alexander I's grant of the Boar's Raik and items from his treasury to the church indicated the support of the royal dynasty for the church of St Andrew.²⁵ These bishops failed to assert the claims of their church and office to a formal primacy over an *ecclesia Scoticana*. However, as defined diocesan structures developed in the mid twelfth century,

²² It is unclear whether the Culdees had their own small church or 'celebrated their office' in a small corner of the main church (*PNF*, iii, p. 610).

²³ *PNF*, iii, p. 608; Duncan, 'The Foundation', pp. 17–18.

²⁴ Taylor, 'The Coming of the Augustinians'; Broun, 'The Church of St Andrews'. Opinions vary about whether Alexander's grant was a new one based on a forged precedent or the church had been deprived of lands granted in the eighth century. See Duncan, 'The Foundation', pp. 6–8; Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, p. 318.

²⁵ Veitch, 'Replanting Paradise', pp. 148–51; Ash, 'The Diocese of St Andrews under its "Norman" Bishops'.

Bishop Robert was assigned spiritual authority over a see that included not just the lands north of the Forth and in the lower valley of the Tay which had been in the scope of the bishop of the Scots before 1100, but also incorporated the province of Lothian, south of the Forth.²⁶ This diocese, stretching through eastern Scotland from Berwick to just south of Aberdeen, encompassed almost all the core regions of the kings and the richest areas of his realm. The lands and earthly rights which were assigned to the bishops were similarly impressive, as Marinell Ash showed. In 1206 they included, along with the Boar's Raik, estates throughout Fife, lands round Loch Leven and in the Ochils, and a network of properties in Angus, Aberdeenshire, Lothian and Wedale in the borders. Ash assessed the value of the bishops' estates and churches at £1,000 per year in the thirteenth century. If correct, this would almost certainly make the bishops of St Andrews the wealthiest figures in Scotland after the king, and the episcopal seat, the *cathedra*, a major centre for economic and political, as well as spiritual, reasons.²⁷

Two creations of the mid twelfth century essentially formed the St Andrews of the later medieval period. The first of these was the priory founded in 1140 by Bishop Robert to serve the church which housed the apostle's relics. Unlike other cathedral churches in Scotland, the chapter at St Andrews was not to be a group of individual priests but rather a community of canons, living together after the rule derived from the writings of St Augustine.²⁸ This rule was designed to combine monastic discipline with pastoral duties and its adoption was probably the choice of Bishop Robert, himself from the order. The plans for such a foundation had been intended to aid the bishop in the reform of his church. However, recent discussions by Archie Duncan and Matthew Hammond have argued that Bishop Robert had to be compelled by King David I to endow the priory from his own possessions, and the history of the priory included in the fifteenth-century *Scotichronicon* speaks of ongoing tensions between the bishop and his chapter like those found elsewhere.²⁹ The canons guarded their rights against the bishop while he was alive and their claims to elect his successor at his death. The latter prompted a long-running conflict with the members of the old Culdee community.³⁰ Housed outside the priory in the church of St Mary of the Rock north of the cathedral, as Simon Taylor explains below, the culdees were

²⁶ The date of this extension of St Andrews' episcopal authority over Lothian (previously within the orbit of Durham) is not clear. The earliest reference to the bishops of St Andrews acting in this area is c. 1150. See D. Matthew, 'Durham and the Anglo-Norman World', *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093–1193*, ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 1–24, at 4 n.12.

²⁷ M. Ash, 'The Administration of the Diocese of St Andrews, 1202–1328' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1972), [hereafter Ash, 'The Administration'], pp. 219–20.

²⁸ C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism* (Harlow, 2001), pp. 162–6; M. Dilworth, 'The Augustinian Chapter of St Andrews', *Innes Review* 25 (1974), pp. 15–30.

²⁹ Duncan, 'The Foundation', pp. 9–28; Hammond, 'The Bishop, the Prior and the Founding of the Burgh', pp. 75–86; *Scotichronicon*, ed. D. E. R. Watt et al., 9 vols (Aberdeen and Edinburgh, 1987–88) [hereafter, *Scotichronicon*], iii, pp. 373–75, 397.

³⁰ G. W. S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 2003), pp. 187–213.

transformed into a house of secular priests from the 1190s. This group of often well-connected clergy challenged the canons for a role in episcopal elections until the early fourteenth century. These tensions with bishops and other clergy reflect the fact that the foundation of the priory gave the church and shrine of St Andrew a much stronger corporate voice.

This voice was expressed in the composition of the foundation accounts mentioned above and also runs through the fifteenth-century history of the bishops and priors in the *Scotichronicon*. These literary activities also reflect the early and continuing association of the churches of St Andrews with learning, and with the production and ownership of written materials. Within Bishop Robert's foundation charter of 1140 was included the gift of all his books to provide the basis of a library.³¹ Norman Reid demonstrates below that something of the expansion of this library and the intellectual activity it fostered can be traced in subsequent centuries. As Reid discusses, in the catalogue of monastic libraries compiled by Franciscan friars from Oxford in the late thirteenth century, St Andrews Cathedral Priory was recorded as possessing some ninety-five texts.³² Given the religious affiliations of the priory, it is not surprising that a number of these were specifically Augustinian works. Some of these texts are in a manuscript that survives in the library of the University of St Andrews.³³ A second work which can be identified from the catalogue, a theological collection, is now in Germany at the Herzog-August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.³⁴ It is one of a number of manuscripts in this collection which were taken from St Andrews in the mid sixteenth century. They were acquired by a German collector, Marcus Wagner, when he visited Scotland in 1553. Wagner was entertained in the priory by the 'royal abbot', James Stewart, bastard son of James V, from whom he acquired at least five manuscripts.³⁵

By the far the best known of these is a manuscript of medieval music which has been regarded as 'holding a special position in the history of late-medieval music'.³⁶ The manuscript was almost certainly produced in Paris in the first half of the thirteenth century and contains crucial evidence of musical developments during the preceding hundred years. These changes were centred on the cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris and the works included in the manuscript show the evolution of choral polyphony, where different voices moved independently,

³¹ Duncan, 'The Foundation', p. 17.

³² J. Higgin, ed., *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*, xii: *Scottish Libraries* (London, 2006), pp. 236–7.

³³ University of St Andrews Library [hereafter StAUL], MS BR.65.A9.

³⁴ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, MS Helmstedt 1108.

³⁵ *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, ed. J. H. Baxter (St Andrews, 1930) [hereafter *Copiale*], xxiii–xxix.

³⁶ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, MS Helmstedt 628; J. H. Baxter, ed., *An Old St Andrews Music Book* (St Andrews, 1931); M. Everist, 'From Paris to St Andrews: The Origins of *W₁*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 43:1 (1990), pp. 1–42; J. Brown, S. Patterson, and D. Hiley, 'Further Observations on *W₁*', *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society* 4 (1981), pp. 53–67.

under the influence of Parisian composers like Leoninus and Perotinus. The manuscript also reflects changed practices in musical notation.³⁷ The decoration of this volume has been linked to that of a Parisian liturgical manuscript which bears the arms of Bishop David Bernham of St Andrews (1239–53) and which contains a list of parish churches in the diocese of St Andrews that the bishop dedicated in the 1240s.³⁸ Though Bernham clearly possessed this codex, and, it seems likely, the musical work, it has been argued that it was his predecessor, the Frenchman William Malvoisin, bishop from 1202–38, who had acquired these items through his strong connections with Paris.³⁹ They may have been donated to the priory by one of Bernham's successors. Though perhaps neglected by the 1550s, in the later thirteenth century they would have been objects of prestige which would have reminded the canons and visitors of St Andrews' links to the centres of the western church.⁴⁰

The thirteenth-century catalogue also included works of ancient and ecclesiastical history by Josephus and Eusebius, while preserved in extracts copied from the, now lost, great register of the priory are references to other pieces of historical writing. These include a work described as 'the names of the kings of the Scots and Picts', a genealogy of the kings of England to Henry II and an account of the sequence of priors of St Andrews.⁴¹ There was also a work described as 'The history of the origins of the Scots from Egypt to Spain, briefly in Ireland, from there to Britain'.⁴² Among the St Andrews volumes in Wolfenbüttel is a mid-fifteenth-century manuscript containing John de Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scottorum* (chronicle of the Scottish people), which includes an account of the mythical wanderings of the Scots as well as their later history.⁴³ This manuscript also includes the text known as *Gesta Annalia*, which is a narrative of events between the 1160s and 1360s.⁴⁴ The survival of this manuscript is testament to the importance of medieval St Andrews as a centre of historical writing. A disproportionate number of historical narratives surviving from medieval Scotland have strong associations with St Andrews. In the thirteenth century a now-lost history of Scotland was composed by Richard Vairement, one of the clergy provided from the old culdee house.⁴⁵ *Gesta Annalia* also has St

³⁷ E. H. Roesner, 'The Origins of W₁', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29:3 (1976), pp. 337–80, 337.

³⁸ Everist, 'From Paris to St Andrews', pp. 4–5. The manuscript is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin, 1218.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 14–26.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 31–2.

⁴¹ T. Thomson, ed., *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia* (Edinburgh, 1841) [hereafter *St A. Liber*], xxvi, xxx.

⁴² *St A. Liber*, xxvi.

⁴³ Wolfenbüttel, Codex Helmstedt 538; *Scotichronicon*, ix, p. 200.

⁴⁴ D. Broun, 'A New Look at *Gesta Annalia* Attributed to John of Fordun', *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland*, ed. B. E. Crawford (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 9–30.

⁴⁵ Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots*, pp. 192–3, 198; D. Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain from the Picts to Alexander III* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 255–62.

Andrews connections. It has been shown to have been composed in two segments written in about 1285 and 1363.⁴⁶ The latter section has been tentatively linked to Thomas Bisset, prior of St Andrews between 1354 and 1363.⁴⁷ Two early fifteenth-century chronicles of Scotland have even closer links with the priory. Andrew Wyntoun and Walter Bower were both Augustinians trained at St Andrews. Wyntoun was a canon of St Andrews and became prior of St Serf's, the dependent priory of St Andrews on an island in Loch Leven. His *Original Chronicle of Scotland* was a vernacular history written in the 1410s which incorporated much material relating to Fife and to the church of St Andrews. Copies of it were owned by several Fife families.⁴⁸ Walter Bower was educated in the cathedral priory and became abbot of Inchcolm in the Forth. He also used St Andrews material extensively to compose his *Scotichronicon* during the 1440s and included and extended what was clearly a separate text of lives of the bishops and priors of St Andrews in his history.⁴⁹ Moreover, his description of the priory as 'the paradise of a cloister at St Andrews', his portraits of the priors he knew and, elsewhere, his account of the celebration of the founding of the university all present Bower as a first-hand witness to the city in the years around 1400.⁵⁰

In the same way as the priory became from 1140 the focus of learning in St Andrews, so the canons were deliberately given the responsibility and opportunity of running the cult of Andrew and tending to the pilgrims who were coming to his shrine. As Taylor shows below, there is evidence to demonstrate that the flow of pilgrims was already sufficient before 1140 to require not just facilities around the shrine but ferries and chapels on the different routes to St Andrews. 'The hospital with its land, possession and rents for the maintenance of pilgrims' was specifically assigned to the new priory at its foundation along with additional funds from the bishops' own revenues.⁵¹ Though, as Tom Turpie discusses herein, it is hard to assess the volume of such traffic over the next 250 years, the prestige and income from being the centre of a major saint's cult were sufficient to merit its support by the priory and other religious institutions. That by 1200 Kilrimund had generally been superseded by St Andrews as the name for the whole location is further testament to the growing centrality of the cult of the apostle and the priory (and bishopric) which bore his name.⁵²

⁴⁶ Broun, 'A New Look at *Gesta Annalia*'.

⁴⁷ S. Boardman, 'Robert II', *Scottish Kingship 1306–1542: Essays in Honour of Norman Macdougall*, ed. M. Brown and R. Tanner (Edinburgh, 2008), pp. 72–108, 95; A. Grant, 'The Death of John Comyn: What was Going On?' *SHR* 86 (2007), pp. 176–224, 189–90.

⁴⁸ C. Edington, 'Wyntoun, Andrew', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, May 2006) [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30164].

⁴⁹ *Scotichronicon*, ix, pp. 204–8. There is a third version of this history of the bishops and priors which extends to 1483 included in the manuscript compiled by John Law, principal of St Leonard's College in St Andrews in the mid sixteenth century (J. Durkan, 'St Andrews in the John Law Chronicle', *Innes Review* 25 (1974), pp. 49–62).

⁵⁰ *Scotichronicon*, iii, pp. 431–9; viii, pp. 411–13.

⁵¹ Duncan, 'The Foundation', p. 17.

⁵² *PNF*, iii, pp. 478, 524–5.

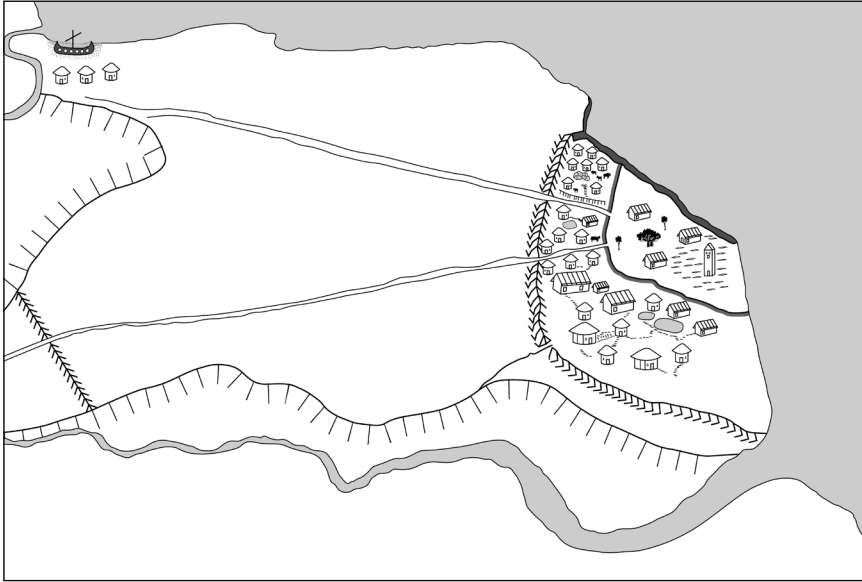


Figure 1.2: St Andrews in the Viking Age.

The name St Andrews was also consistently attached to the second major foundation of the mid twelfth century. Within two decades of the establishment of the Augustinian Priory, Bishop Robert issued a charter which stated that ‘we have established a burgh at St Andrews in Scotland’.⁵³ This was not the earliest record of a wider community around the ecclesiastical centre. In the late tenth century, a Continental saint’s life named ‘Rigmonaid’ as one of two *urbes* in Scotland.⁵⁴ An *urbs* in this context is understood as a major church settlement and its form and area are considered by Alex Woolf in figure 1.2. Moreover, as Matthew Hammond outlines here, in the early twelfth century a secular settlement known as the ‘Clochin’ existed west of the church’s lands. However, despite these precursors, Bishop Robert’s charter clearly indicates a major change. He was creating a new type of urban community, following models drawn from recently founded northern English boroughs like Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and before that from the arrangements made by Continental lords with their urban subjects.⁵⁵ Charters from the 1190s confirmed the rights of the property-owning burgesses of St Andrews to hold a market with a monopoly over an area roughly corresponding to the Boar’s Raik in eastern Fife, to enjoy

⁵³ For the full text of this charter see *PNF*, iii, pp. 429–30.

⁵⁴ Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, p. 103.

⁵⁵ R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe* (London, 1993), pp. 167–96; R. Oram, *Domination and Lordship: Scotland 1070–1230* (Edinburgh, 2011), pp. 265–94.

rights to land outside the burgh and to form a merchants' guild.⁵⁶ They already enjoyed their own officials, Bishop Robert naming Mainard the Fleming as provost or chief magistrate. Hammond discusses here the significance of these rights and observes elsewhere that St Andrews was the first Scottish burgh whose founder was not King David I. He has also argued convincingly that the burgh of St Andrews was not part of an integrated plan of development. Instead the foundation was the response of Bishop Robert to the growing ambitions of the new priory over the ecclesiastical centre.⁵⁷ Hammond's chapter also shows how the burgh's initial population was probably composed of Flemings like Maynard and English-speakers, but that it integrated with the Scottish landowning class in the hinterland of Fife. This process of integration, paralleled in other burghs north of the Forth, like Perth and Aberdeen, marked off Scotland's high medieval development from that of Wales or Ireland where urban corporations remained assertively English islands surrounded by hostile native populaces.

These two institutions, the priory and the burgh, were founded and developed in a close inter-relationship under the (not always welcome) sponsorship of the bishop. Together, their growth created the medieval centre which can be interpreted today both in terms of physical remains and geographical layout. As Bess Rhodes describes in her chapter, in the east there was a distinct ecclesiastical zone physically dominated by the Augustinian priory. Around this still stand the impressive remains of the precinct wall. Uniquely in Scotland, the wall still has its three gates, the most impressive of which, the Pends, faces the burgh, and thirteen surviving towers. Rather than a physical defence, this wall was built by c. 1300 and enlarged in the early sixteenth century as a boundary which displayed jurisdictional rights and spiritual authority.⁵⁸ As Richard Fawcett describes, within the wall stood two churches, both begun in the twelfth century. The small church with its high tower dedicated to St Regulus or 'Rule' was probably built in the early twelfth century. It was overshadowed by the construction of the largest and most impressive structure in medieval Scotland, built to reflect the status of the bishop and the shrine of St Andrew. This ambitious cathedral was begun in the 1160s and only finally consecrated in 1318 at a ceremony attended by King Robert Bruce, and, as Fawcett shows, can be placed in the context of the great age of Gothic ecclesiastical design.⁵⁹ Also within the precinct, on the site of St Leonard's school, stood the great pilgrim hospital, now only surviving in the much-remodelled chapel.⁶⁰ The wall physically marked off the shrine and great church from other centres in St Andrews. The culdee house, whose foundations alone can be seen, lay on the cliffs immediately to the north of the wall. The residence of the bishop was in the castle which lay north-west along the cliffs

⁵⁶ StAUL, B65/23/2c; B65/23/2 (a) c

⁵⁷ Hammond, 'The Bishop, the Prior and the Founding of the Burgh', pp. 86–96.

⁵⁸ *Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Inventory of Monuments in Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan* [hereafter RCAHMS Fife], pp. 241–3.

⁵⁹ D. McRoberts, "'The Glorious House of St Andrew'", *Innes Review* 25 (1974), pp. 95–158; M. Penman, *Robert the Bruce King of the Scots* (New Haven, 2014), pp. 185–6.

⁶⁰ See Hall and Smith below.

from the precinct, leaving the bishop symbolically excluded from his cathedral. The castle was, as Michael Brown considers, both a centre of ecclesiastical and temporal authority for the burgh, the tenants of the bishop's lands and for the people of his diocese. The landed rights of both bishop and prior added to St Andrews' significance as a focus of lordship and legal activity via the holding of courts covering both spiritual and earthly matters. The ruined structure of the castle visible today almost wholly dates from after 1390, but a castle residence on this site is mentioned from the late twelfth century onwards.

Though fewer architectural remains survive of the medieval burgh, as Matthew Hammond shows and others have discussed previously, the growth and design of the burgh can be extracted from documentary evidence and from the layout of the modern streets. This suggests the possibility that St Andrews' initial plan followed those of Edinburgh and Stirling, with its main axis focused on the castle of its founder, the bishop. This north-south alignment, on the line of modern Castle Street (then Castlegate), was replaced by a west-to-east axis. Two principal streets developed, North and South Street, which focused on the cathedral, while a third focused on the burgh's market. This new alignment has been taken as proof of the importance of the cult and shrine of Andrew to the economy of the burgh in the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.⁶¹ Ian Campbell argues that the layout of the whole site in the twelfth century also had an ideological significance. St Andrews was planned to remind visitors of the shrine of Andrew's brother, Peter, in Rome, in a manner similar to the great pilgrimage centre of Santiago de Compostella in north-western Spain.

The character of St Andrews as the closely intertwined religious centre and urban community which had developed by the late twelfth century is the subject of most of the essays in this volume. In his chapter David Ditchburn assesses the uniqueness of St Andrews within Scotland. He estimates the population of St Andrews as being in the range of 2,500–3,000. This would place the city below the largest Scottish burghs like Edinburgh, and Aberdeen, but probably on a par with, or larger than, Dunfermline or Stirling. However, the population of St Andrews included a significant body of clergy, most of them attached to the priory but also from the bishop's household, the clerks of St Mary's of the Rock, the hospital of St Nicholas south of the city and from the friaries and university founded after 1400. Ditchburn suggests that these amounted to several hundred men, adding to the size of the city and creating a disproportionately male population. Though all medieval burghs held a significant body of clergy, for St Andrews this would have had a greater influence on urban life. Ditchburn illustrates this point by tracing the yearly life of the burgh. He demonstrates how this calendar would have been dominated by the sequence of religious festivals and seasons, probably to a greater extent than elsewhere. This ecclesiastical character would also have been evident in the role of religious houses as property owners in the burgh. Bess Rhodes demonstrates the growing role of churchmen and institutions in the ownership of lands and buildings after 1400.

⁶¹ Brookes and Whittington, pp. 285–88.

Part of this was a product of new foundations occupying space in St Andrews; part came from the assignment of rents to clerical landlords. The role of the bishops as lords of the burgh was more than purely notional. As Michael Brown shows, strong connections existed between the followings of successive bishops and the leading figures of both the burgh and the surrounding locality.

However, it is important not to regard the burgh of St Andrews as simply an offshoot of the ecclesiastical centre from which it had developed. Elizabeth Ewan's chapter is a depiction of St Andrews as a full urban society. Her discussion covers the existence and operation of rights of self-government and identifies the centres of public life in the burgh in the now-vanished tolbooth alongside the market place. The early grant of the right to a merchants' guild indicates that trading possibilities were a consideration in the founding of the burgh. As Ewan shows, mercantile activity was significant in the fifteenth century. The customs payments made from St Andrews in 1474–75 may suggest levels of exports well below other east coast burghs like Dundee, Montrose, Aberdeen, Perth and, of course, Edinburgh. However, they were higher than those of the other Fife burghs and royal centres like Stirling and Linlithgow.⁶² Ewan and Hammond both reveal something of the people who lived in the burgh, via records of their occupations and their living conditions. These show the urban community to be defined by its relationship with the bishop and priory, but it was much more than a service settlement. Instead, in their dealings with these lords and neighbours, the burgesses (or citizens) showed a keen sense of their rights and distinct identity, capable of independent interaction with other burghs and serving as a centre of the surrounding district.

The clearest expression of this sense of identity was the construction of the parish church of Holy Trinity in South Street in the 1410s. This moved the place of worship of the inhabitants of the burgh from within the cathedral precincts and gave the burgesses a large civic church as a focal point for their devotions. Bess Rhodes identifies this as part of a significant period of change in the fifteenth century which redrew the map of the burgh and redirected its focus. Along with the parish church, the foundation of the two friaries, the Blackfriars on South Street and the Greyfriars at the west end of Market Street, only occurred in the mid fifteenth century. This was two centuries after mendicant houses were founded in Scotland's major burghs, suggesting that St Andrews, with its great ecclesiastical institutions, was perceived as unsuitable ground for the friars. The reason for their foundation in the fifteenth century should probably be linked to wider changes. One element of this related to the cult at the heart of the town's identity. As Tom Turpie argues, a paradox existed in that as St Andrew became the focus for Scottish communal identity as patron saint, especially in the fifteenth century, there was at the same time a gradual decline in importance of the saint's shrine. While throughout Western Europe pilgrimage as an activity was never more popular, the focus changed to sites linked to the cult of Mary or to the

⁶² *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, 1264–1600*, ed. John Stuart et al., 23 vols (Edinburgh, 1878–1909) [hereafter *ER*], viii, pp. 318–19.

Passion.⁶³ As local interest in St Andrews waned, Turpie detects that the bishops used the opportunity of the devastating fire in the cathedral in 1378 and substantial storm damage in 1410 as a platform for a sustained campaign to refocus attentions on St Andrew. In doing so, however, they emphasised contemporary trends and remodelled the Lady Chapel to give it more prominence in the 1420s.

Such developments suggest that the fifteenth century was, for St Andrews, a final period of major change that altered and added to the character of the church and city before the Reformation. The most lasting of these changes was the university. As Norman Reid proves, scholars had been in residence well before the burgh was founded, and it is clear that an active intellectual population thrived in the town. Reassessing the extant evidence, Reid concludes that there was a significant level of organised education taking place in St Andrews by the eleventh century and that this was more than simply devotional study of canons or culdees within cloisters. Reid suggests instead that the university was a gradual development out of an existing *universitas*, an academically active community that was there from before the foundation of the burgh, perhaps making St Andrews the earliest centre of higher learning in Britain and not just Scotland's first university. Under the leadership of Bishop Henry Wardlaw, a charter of privileges was granted to the masters in early 1412, with the papal bull arriving the following year, formally ratifying the foundation. The bishops ran the university and its medieval inheritance is significant, from the rich collection of incunabula housed in the University Library to the remarkable collection of three fifteenth-century silver maces, explored in depth here by Julian Luxford, as objects held in reverence for their antiquity, but also as evocative reminders of the past, of the vitality of material display in an age where an object could represent the single purpose of the founders, masters and scholars striving to attain enlightenment.

The early university, small though it was, had a considerable impact on St Andrews. The endowment of the institution and especially the foundation of St Salvator's College by Bishop James Kennedy in 1450 altered the physical layout of the burgh. As Bess Rhodes points out, along with the new friaries and Holy Trinity, the construction of St Salvator's chapel established church buildings on all the entries into the burgh from the west. Attracting masters and students may have partly replaced the dwindling flow of pilgrims, a shift illustrated in 1512 when the pilgrims' hospice was transformed into student accommodation for St Leonard's College. In his chapter Roger Mason considers the nature of this in the context of the foundation of two further universities in Scotland in the fifteenth century and wider, revolutionary trends in university learning throughout Europe. What Mason makes clear is that St Andrews was plugged directly into Continental intellectual circles and he observes that the foundation of the university did not hinder, but instead promoted, intellectual exchange beyond Scotland. Katie Stevenson sees this aspect as a key factor in the spread

⁶³ Robert N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 287–90.

of heretical and heterodox thinking and the enthusiasm for its detection, placing St Andrews at the heart of the inquisition in Scotland. She argues that because of the distinctive characteristics of the town, including the range of ecclesiastical institutions and the university, this made St Andrews an obvious focal point for reformist thinkers and for those who wished to counteract the threat. Detection and teaching were significant parts of clerical life in late medieval St Andrews and the foundation of the Dominican and Franciscan houses, whose orders had long-standing roles as teachers and inquisitors, may also reflect heightened concerns about education and orthodoxy.

St Andrews was the chief site of the medieval Scottish church and one of the centres which defined the kingdom. The bishops were finally given archiepiscopal rank in 1472 and made primates of Scotland.⁶⁴ Though opposed by other prelates and countered by the elevation of Glasgow in 1492, their status confirmed a claim which had been made since the twelfth century. Further evidence of the pre-eminence of St Andrews had been demonstrated in the formal recognition that the prior of St Andrews was the senior head of a religious house in Scotland. The wealth and standing of its prelates, the international prestige of its cult, the scale and design of its cathedral and, in comparison with other ecclesiastical settlements, the size of its burgh all raised St Andrews above all Scottish counterparts in status and power. However, the elements mentioned above and examined more fully in this volume were not unique but occurred in other settings in ecclesiastical centres across the insular world and other parts of northern Europe. Consideration of some of these can highlight the character and role of St Andrews as well as external models for its development.

An obvious model for early medieval St Andrews can be found in Armagh whose claims to primacy in Ireland rested on its authority over the cult of St Patrick. These claims were asserted in the seventh century, prior to those of Cennrígmonaid over Andrew. Armagh's complex layout, with multiple enclosures and churches, a 'sacred way' leading pilgrims to the shrine and a house of *céli Dé*, suggests a form of Irish ecclesiastical centre which may have influenced the early character of St Andrews.⁶⁵ Though, like St Andrews, Armagh also underwent change after 1100 to bring it into greater conformity with the reformed church, new ecclesiastical influences at this time reached Fife from the south rather than the west.⁶⁶ An obvious model, and comparator, for this reformed St Andrews was its immediate neighbour to the south, the bishopric

⁶⁴ L. J. MacFarlane, 'The Primacy of the Scottish Church 1472–1521', *Innes Review* 20 (1969), pp. 111–29.

⁶⁵ T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 416–40; K. Hughes, 'The Irish Church, 800–1050', *New History of Ireland*, i: *Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. D. Ó Cróinín (Oxford, 2005), pp. 635–55; R. Stalley, 'Ecclesiastical Architecture before 1169', in *ibid.*, pp. 714–43, 716–21, 725, 733; N. B. Aitchison, *Armagh and the Royal Centres in Early Medieval Ireland: Monuments, Cosmology and the Past* (Woodbridge, 1994).

⁶⁶ J. A. Watts, *The Church in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1972), pp. 9–24; M. T. Flanagan, *The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 101–2.

of Durham. Durham's significance rested on the shrine of Cuthbert, which conferred status and attracted pilgrims. It underwent reform a generation before St Andrews, when its secular clergy were replaced with a monastic community which served the cathedral. The prior of this house, Turgot, would serve the Scottish royal dynasty and bring reform to St Andrews as its bishop. A monastic cathedral, rebuilt in the new style, with an adjacent episcopal castle, suggests a similar plan to St Andrews.⁶⁷ The powers of the prince bishops over their palatinate also suggest some similarity with the regality rights developed by the bishops over their temporalities in Fife.⁶⁸ However, Durham did not develop a significant, self-governing urban centre. The settlement below the castle and cathedral did not receive the rights and status accorded to St Andrews.⁶⁹ More importantly, the future of the bishop and church of Durham was as a diocese far removed from the centres of royal government, very different to the centrality of the diocese and prelates based in St Andrews.

On the broad level, comparisons for late medieval St Andrews can be identified in every realm or major principality of northern Europe. While clearly different from the episcopal principalities of the Low Countries and the Rhineland, there were many ecclesiastical centres which possessed their own powers of temporal jurisdiction, were physically removed from royal or princely courts and associated with significant, though usually secondary, urban communities. Fewer of these cities developed universities before 1500. Most late medieval universities were founded in centres of princely power, like Prague, Krakow, Heidelberg, Nantes and Copenhagen, or, like in Cologne and Rostock, by urban initiative.⁷⁰ As a fifteenth-century episcopal foundation, St Andrews University had few counterparts. One of these, Uppsala in Sweden, provides an interesting comparison. It was situated in the principal see of its kingdom, whose status and location developed in the twelfth century in association with its role as the shrine of a martyred saint, in this case St Erik. The university was founded in 1477 by local clergy led by Archbishop Jakob Ulfsson Örnefot at a time of weakened and disputed authority. Distinct, but not far from, the centres of Swedish kingship at Stockholm and Kalmar, Uppsala's medieval development suggests parallels with that of St Andrews.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Matthew, 'Durham in the Anglo-Norman World', pp. 7–16; J. Crook, 'The Architectural Setting of the Cult of St Cuthbert in Durham Cathedral', *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093–1193*, ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich, pp. 235–50; E. C. Fernie, 'The Architectural Influence of Durham Cathedral', in *ibid.*, pp. 269–82; P. Dalton, 'Scottish Influence on Durham 1066–1214', in *ibid.*, pp. 339–52. For the later medieval priory see R. B. Dobson, *Durham Priory 1400–1450* (London, 1973).

⁶⁸ C. Liddy, *The Bishopric of Durham in the Late Middle Ages: Lordship, Community and the Cult of Cuthbert* (Woodbridge, 2008).

⁶⁹ Margaret Bonney, *Lordship and the Urban Community: Durham and its Overlords 1250–1540* (Cambridge, 1990).

⁷⁰ A. B. Cobban, *The Medieval Universities: Their Development and Organisation* (London, 1975), pp. 118–19.

⁷¹ *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*, i: *Prehistory to 1520*, ed. K. Helle (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 225, 229, 392–3, 534–5, 673–5.

The St Andrews depicted in the Geddy map reflected a history of growing status and scale which spanned the eight centuries from 750 to 1550. The landscape of wide streets and clustered spacious houses, of great ecclesiastical buildings, especially the spires of Holy Trinity, St Salvator's and St Regulus and the huge cathedral which dominated the image, of the archbishop's castle on the cliffs and the surrounding well-populated seascape, depicted different aspects of this glorious history. It also depicted a recent revolution which, in a matter of weeks, had shattered foundations laid down over centuries. In the words of Bess Rhodes, 'in the spring of 1559 St Andrews was still a functioning Catholic city. By the end of the summer the burgh had become a bastion of the Protestant cause.'⁷² The preaching of John Knox in Holy Trinity Church between 11 and 14 June marked the beginning of a planned attack on the institutions of Scotland's ecclesiastical capital. This change altered all aspects of the medieval city. The archbishop was forced to flee, leaving his castle occupied by the reformers. The friaries were sacked and partially demolished. The cathedral priory was also attacked and 'put down' and the books and sculptures of the community destroyed. The relics which had formed the centre of devotion at the site for eight centuries were removed or destroyed. The life of the Augustinian house effectively ended. Over the next few years, the possessions and revenues of these houses in and beyond St Andrews were assigned to, or uplifted by, other individuals or bodies. This change was not just an external assault. Its architect, James Stewart, the bastard son of James V, held the office of prior of St Andrews. Moreover, the attacks had support from a sizeable group of St Andrews burgesses, whose motives may, in part, reflect tensions between the urban community and its overlords.⁷³ For St Andrews, however, the events of 1559 marked the end not just of its pre-Reformation history, but of its history as a major centre of power and spirituality.

Its revived fortunes lay several centuries in the future. The reasons for one part of this revival would have surprised both the reformers and their opponents but were not unknown to them. In 1552, just seven years before he was expelled from his seat, Archbishop John Hamilton received a licence from the provost and community of St Andrews concerning the use of the unfruitful dunes north-west of the burgh by the River Eden. This allowed him to 'plant' rabbits 'within the northe pairt of thair commond Linkis nixt adjacent to the watter of Eddin'. However, he reserved to the community all other right and possession n of the links

baith in pastoring of their guds, casting and lading of divattis and scherettis to thair uis and profit, playing at golf, futball, schuting at all gamis, with all uther maner of pastyme as ever thai plais.⁷⁴

⁷² E. Rhodes, 'The Reformation in the Burgh of St Andrews: Property, Piety and Power' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2013), p. 85.

⁷³ For these events see Rhodes, 'Reformation in St Andrews', pp. 85–116; Jane Dawson, 'The Face of Ane Perfyte Reformed Kyrk': St Andrews and the Early Scottish Reformation', *Humanism and Reform: Essays in Honour of James K. Cameron*, ed. J. Kirk (Oxford, 1991), pp. 413–35.

⁷⁴ StAUL, msdep106/1.

While it would be stretching matters to suggest that a dispute over access to the burgesses' playing grounds, or even the impact of the archbishop's rabbits on the rules of golf, might have shaped the history of St Andrews, it cannot be denied that, to much of the world, St Andrews today is less the town, let alone the shrine, than these 'common Linkis' which were already used for 'playing at golf'.

CHAPTER TWO



From Cinrigh Monai to Civitas Sancti Andree: A Star is Born

Simon Taylor

THIS chapter has as its focus the earliest written material concerning the place now known as St Andrews, from the mid eighth century to the end of the twelfth. Because of the nature both of the sources and the place, this material is overwhelmingly ecclesiastical in context and content. However, the Christian, ecclesiastical story of St Andrews begins already in the pre-documentary, archaeological record. Excavations have revealed early Christian long cist cemeteries both beside St Mary's Collegiate Church on the headland above the harbour (at Kirkheugh) and at Hallow Hill, a low hill bounded on three sides by burns, the Kinness Burn on the north and the Cairnsmill Burn on the west and south-west, just over 2km south-west of the St Andrews cathedral complex.¹ The earliest documentary reference to the place now known as St Andrews comes in 747 when 'the death of Tuathalán abbot of Kinrymont' is recorded in the Annals of Ulster.² Already by this time the place must have been of more than local importance, since this reference occurs in a source probably written in Brega (east central Ireland) and is a rare instance of interest shown by these annals in a Pictish religious house.³ The St Andrews sarcophagus, one of the finest pieces of early medieval sculpture from northern Europe, discovered in 1833 at the heart of the early church precinct, probably dates to only a short

¹ At NO493156; see E. Proudfoot et al., 'Excavations at the Long Cist Cemetery on Hallow Hill, St Andrews, Fife, 1975-7', *PSAS* 126 (1996), pp. 387-454. Hallow Hill is probably Eglesnamin, one of the core lands granted to St Andrews Priory by Bishop Robert on the priory's foundation in 1140. For this identification, see Proudfoot et al., *ibid.*, pp. 391-8. For a full discussion of the names Eglesnamin, containing the Pictish church-element *egles*, and Hallow Hill, see PNF, iii, pp. 466-7, p. 473.

² *Annals of Ulster (to 1131)*, ed. S. Mac Airt and G. Mac Niocaill (Dublin, 1983), p. 202. Also found in the Annals of Tigernach: 'The Annals of Tigernach. Third fragment, A.D. 489-766', ed. W. Stokes, *Revue Celtique* 17 (1896), pp. 119-263, at p. 249. Its appearance in both the Annals of Ulster and the Annals of Tigernach means that it was part of the 'Chronicle of Ireland', for which see T. Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, 2 vols (Liverpool, 2006).

³ It is possible that a Pictish source was informing the Chronicle of Ireland at this time (Nick Evans, pers. comm.); Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, i, pp. 9-15.

Figure 2.1: Long Cist Cemetery. The Hallow Hill Excavation, St Andrews.



time after this annal reference and is further proof of the very high status of the place in this period.⁴

There are no secure references to Kinrymont for the ninth century, although the fifteenth-century historians Andrew Wyntoun and Walter Bower, both following an account (now lost) drawn up at an earlier date at St Andrews, name Cellach as the first bishop of St Andrews and state that he held this office from the time of King Giric (878–89).⁵ A more secure reference to a Bishop Cellach concerns the year 906, when he presided with Constantine son of Aodh (Cústantin mac Aeda) over an assembly in Scone.⁶ It is probably correct to assume that Cellach was based at St Andrews, although, as with other later and better-attested bishops of St Andrews who are styled variously bishop of Alba or bishop of the Scots, his office had national rather than merely local diocesan significance. The death of Mael Dúin in 1055, who, as the donor of the church of Markinch in Fife to the Culdees of Lochleven is styled bishop of St Andrews, is recorded in the Annals of Tigernach in glowing terms.⁷ A remarkable letter written by Nicholas of Evesham, prior of Worcester, to Eadmer of Canterbury, who was bishop-elect of St Andrews in 1120, and was caught between the competing claims of the archbishops of Canterbury and York for archiepiscopal authority over the Scottish Church, as well as Alexander I's determination that St Andrews should be the seat of Scotland's own archbishop, argued against York and for Alexander's position: 'Since the leader of St Andrew[s] is called

⁴ For more see Sally Foster, ed., *The St Andrews Sarcophagus* (Dublin, 1998).

⁵ *Scotichronicon*, ii, p. 318; iii, pp. 342, 461–2.

⁶ Chronicle of the Kings of Alba; original Latin text M. O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* (first edition, 1973; revised edition, Edinburgh, 1980, which supplies all the references in this chapter; first edition 1973), pp. 249–53 at p. 251; translation B. T. Hudson, "The Scottish Chronicle", *SHR* 77 (1998), pp. 129–61.

⁷ 'The Annals of Tigernach', p. 397; translation from A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History, AD 500 to 1268*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1922; reprinted with preface, bibliographical supplement and corrections by M. O. Anderson, Stamford, 1990), i, p. 599; *St A. Liber*, p. 116.

“chief bishop of the Scots”, he is indeed “chief” in no other way but that he is over others. And how is he over other bishops if what he is is not an archbishop?⁸ The position of the bishop of St Andrews within the Scottish Church is also succinctly expressed in the mid twelfth-century Augustinian Account (see Appendix 2). Writing of the election of Robert as ‘bishop of the Scots’ in 1124, the author (almost certainly another Robert, the first prior of the Augustinian house of St Andrews) goes on:

Indeed from ancient times they have been called the bishops of St Andrew[s], and in both ancient and modern writings they are found called ‘High Archbishops’ or ‘High Bishops of the Scots’. Which is why Bishop Fothad, a man of the greatest authority, caused to be written on the cover of a gospel-book these lines:

Fothad, who is the High Bishop to the Scots,
made this cover for an ancestral gospel-book.⁹

So now in ordinary and common speech they are called *Escop Alban*, that is ‘Bishops of Alba’. And they have been called, and are (still) called this on account of their pre-eminence by all the bishops of the Scots, who are called after the places over which they preside.¹⁰

King Constantine (Cústantín mac Aeda), already mentioned in connection with Bishop Cellach, ruled for much of the first half of the tenth century. In his old age he is said to have resigned the kingship and retired into religion to serve the Lord, handing over the kingdom to Malcolm son of Donald (Mael Coluim mac Domnaill).¹¹ Though the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* does not name the place of retirement, the author of the late eleventh-century *Prophecy of Berchán* leaves us in no doubt that he believed it to be St Andrews, stating that Constantine retired ‘to the church on the brow of the wave; in the house of the apostle he will die’.¹² Most explicit of all are the notes on individual kings, probably added to a Scottish regnal list between about 1105 and 1165, which state that Constantine, having reigned forty years, resigned the kingdom and

⁸ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 371, pp. 8–9, written in Eadmer’s own hand. See also A. O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers, 500 to 1286* (London, 1908; reprinted with foreword, bibliographical supplement and corrections by M. O. Anderson, Stamford, 1991), p. 144 n. 2. Nicholas may well have been one of the two Canterbury monks with Eadmer in St Andrews in the summer of 1120 (*ibid.* p. 144).

⁹ This verse is also quoted in *Scotichronicon*, iii, p. 343 and translated into Scots by Wyntoun, both of whom attribute it to Fothad I, bishop of St Andrews in the mid tenth century. However, it might equally well be Fothad II (died 1093).

¹⁰ For a detailed account of the bishops of St Andrews (and of Alba) before Bishop Robert, see M. O. Anderson, ‘The Celtic Church in Kinrimund’, McRoberts, *St Andrews* [reprint of article which first appeared in *Innes Review* 25 (1974), pp. 67–76], pp. 1–10; and D. E. R. Watt, ed., *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae Occidentalis ab initio usque ad Annum MCXCVIII* Series VI, Britannia Tomus I Ecclesia Scotica (Stuttgart, 1991), pp. 77–83.

¹¹ *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* (M. O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 1980, p. 251).

¹² See B. T. Hudson, *Prophecy of Berchán: Irish and Scottish High-Kings in the Early Middle Ages* (Westport, Connecticut and London, 1996) for the most recent edition and translation of this enigmatic and difficult text.

spent his last five years as abbot of the Culdees of St Andrews, and on his death was buried there.¹³

The next mention of Kinrymont is also the first indication that it was a place not only of pilgrimage but of pilgrimage on an international scale. Again the source is an Irish annal entry, this time for 965. This states that ‘Aodh son of Maolmithigh (Aed mac Mail Mithig) died on pilgrimage, that is in Kinrymont’.¹⁴

The final quarter of the tenth century produces another piece of evidence of Kinrymont’s key national, and perhaps also international, status: this is its inclusion in the introduction to the remarkable *Life of Cathróe*. Cathróe was a Scottish cleric born in the early tenth century, who around 940 settled in Flanders. Someone in the Belgian monastic milieu that Cathróe had inhabited wrote his *Life* shortly after his death in the 970s, drawing on contemporary Scottish material.¹⁵ The introduction contains the following passage:

Several years passed [after the Scottish settlement in Ireland] and they [the Scots] crossed over the sea that is beside them, and occupied the island of *Eu*, which is now called Iona. Not resting there, they passed the neighbouring sea of Britain, and over the river *Rosis*, and settled the district of Ross. They went also to Rymont and Bellethor, situated far apart from each other, and overcame them, to hold them [ever after]. And thus they called the whole land Scotia [which previously had been] called by its own name *Chorischia*.¹⁶

From Kinrymont to St Andrews

ONE of the great questions regarding early medieval St Andrews is when did the relics believed to be those of St Andrew the Apostle first come to be venerated there? It is quite possible that the exceptionally high profile of the place as a religious centre from the earliest reference in 747 onwards is due to the fact that Andrew’s relics were already thought to be there. The St Andrews Foundation Accounts would certainly have us believe that the apostle’s bones were brought here during the reign of a king called Ungus, who is probably to be

¹³ ‘Constantine makEdha xl a[nnis] reg[navit] et dimisso regno sponte deo in habitu religionis abbas factus est in keldeorum sancti Andree quinque annis servivit ibi et mortuus est ac sepultus’, M. O. Anderson’s Regnal List D (*Kings and Kingship*, p. 267). The same or a similar note appears in other mss of group X, for which see *ibid.* pp. 274–5 (F), 283 (I), pp. 290–1 (N). For Marjorie Anderson’s Group X, see *ibid.* pp. 52 ff. See also A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources* i, p. 447. See also Dauvit Broun, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 153–60 for a different view of the king-list development.

¹⁴ A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources* i, p. 472, from *Chronicon Scotorum*.

¹⁵ See A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources* i, p. lxxiii for details of editions and a note on authorship; pp. 431–43 for a long extract (in translation) and summary. For St Cathróe, see D. N. Dumville, ‘St Cathróe of Metz and the hagiography of Exoticism’, *Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars*, ed. J. Carey, M. Herbert and P. Ó Riain (Dublin, 2001), pp. 172–88.

¹⁶ *Chronicles of the Picts: Chronicles of the Scots*, ed. W. F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1867), p. 108.