

**The Cistercian Abbey of Coupar Angus,
c.1164-c.1560**

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Abstract

This thesis is an examination of the Cistercian abbey of Coupar Angus, c.1164-c.1560, and its place within Scottish society. The subject of medieval monasticism in Scotland has received limited scholarly attention and Coupar itself has been almost completely overlooked, despite the fact that the abbey possesses one of the best sets of surviving sources of any Scottish religious house. Moreover, in recent years, long-held assumptions about the Cistercian Order have been challenged and the validity of Order-wide generalisations disputed. Historians have therefore highlighted the importance of dedicated studies of individual houses and the need to incorporate the experience of abbeys on the European 'periphery' into the overall narrative. This thesis considers the history of Coupar in terms of three broadly thematic areas. The first chapter focuses on the nature of the abbey's landholding and prosecution of resources, as well as the monks' burghal presence and involvement in trade. The second investigates the ways in which the house interacted with wider society outside of its role as landowner, particularly within the context of lay piety, patronage and its intercessory function. The final chapter is concerned with a more strictly ecclesiastical setting and is divided into two parts. The first considers the abbey within the configuration of the Scottish secular church with regards to parishes, churches and chapels. The second investigates the strength of Cistercian networks, both domestic and international. Through the exploration of these varied aspects, this study demonstrates that while Coupar maintained a strong sense of Cistercian identity and a European outlook, it was also highly enmeshed in and profoundly influenced by its immediate environment. The nature of Coupar's experience was shaped by its locality, just as the abbey, in turn, had a reciprocal impact on its surroundings. Coupar was both a Cistercian house and a distinctively Scottish abbey.

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Photograph 1: Present-day remains of the abbey

Introduction

The Historiographical Context

The development of reform monasticism saw the emergence of many new religious orders throughout the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, but it was the Cistercians who were to see the greatest success throughout Europe. The traditional account of the Order, in brief, is as follows. Founded in 1098 when Robert of Molesme and a group of monks fled this monastery to found the abbey of Cîteaux, through the proliferation of subsequent daughter-houses the Order came to consist of over 300 houses by the mid-twelfth century and over 500 by the end of it. A centralised ruling body, the General Chapter, and a network of filiation ensured the maintenance of uniformity amongst this vast empire. The Cistercians saw the Rule of Saint Benedict as their founding text, considering their interpretation to be its truest observance. This involved the simplification of practices, both in liturgical and economic terms, with an emphasis on manual labour. Founding their monasteries in remote and wild places, the Cistercians strove to limit their interactions with the outside world, rejecting certain types of property and closing their houses off to the laity. Self-sufficiency was achieved through the organisation of land into large granges worked by the *conversi*, a class of lay-brethren. Thus, in Robert Bartlett's words, the Order "combined the reproductive rate of the rabbit with the self-containment of the crustacean".¹ In later years, however, a falling away from these austere beginnings and the accompanying loss of prestige saw the general decline of the Order. The *conversi* dwindled and disappeared and the monks moved into the role of landlord and rent collector. The golden age of the Cistercians was over.

In recent times, historians have raised strong challenges to much of the above, questioning long-standing assumptions about the history and nature of the Order. Some of the most radical, and controversial, revisionism is offered by Constance Hoffman Berman in her book, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe*. Her argument, in a nutshell, is that the Cistercian Order was an 'invention' of the third quarter of the twelfth century and that its core institutions, texts and narratives were creations of that

¹ R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonisation and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (London, 1994), p.258.

period.² Her ideas have attracted a significant degree of criticism, though the book's positive contributions have also been, albeit somewhat more cautiously, highlighted.³ As Janet Burton and Julie Kerr have summarised,

“The debate, which has centred on the dating of the early Cistercian documents, is, more broadly, about how soon the monks of the New Monastery set a radical agenda for reform, how soon a monastic order – the Cistercian Order – emerged with an identity based on a set of uniform ideas and principles, and indeed whether ‘uniformity’, so often considered the hallmark of Cistercian monasticism, was ever really seen as an achievable aim.”⁴

Commentators have remarked that Berman is correct to highlight the process of evolution, development and formalisation taking place throughout the twelfth century and, indeed, that she is not the first to do so. Where many take issue, however, is with the assertion that the early Cistercians lacked a sense of common identity or a perception of their own ‘special’ brand of monasticism as distinct from others. In this sense, the Cistercians always existed as an ‘order’, though without the fully-developed administrative structures which would later come into existence. Historians have differed, however, in just how to define ‘Cistercianism’. For many, the answer has been deemed to lie in the earliest statutes of the General Chapter.⁵ These are seen as statements of the original ideals and early practices of the Order; in particular, a great deal of emphasis has been placed upon the perceived economic ‘programme’ within the legislation as key to Cistercian identity. This has generated a need to ‘explain’ the abundant evidence for a lack of adherence to these regulations. Certain authors have thus spoken of spiritual ‘corruption’ and ‘decline’ as the weakening of their commitment to austerity saw the monks violate these rules contrary to their principles.⁶ Others have interpreted the supposed dichotomy between plan and practice in terms of an early ‘ideal’, as

² C.H. Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia, 2000).

³ See C. Waddell, ‘The Myth of Cistercian Origins: C. H. Berman and the Manuscript Sources’, *Cîteaux* 51 (2000), pp.299-386; E. Freeman, ‘What Makes a Monastic Order? Issues of Methodology in The Cistercian Evolution’, *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 37 (2002), pp.429-42; B.P. McGuire, ‘Charity and Unanimity: The Invention of the Cistercian Order: A Review article’, *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 51 (2000), pp.285-97; J. Burton, review of C.H. Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution* (2000), in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 52.4, (2001), pp.720-2; J.R. Sommerfeldt, review of C.H. Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution* (2000), in *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 70 (2001), pp.786-788.

⁴ J. Burton & J. Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2011), p.12.

⁵ Note that debate exists over the dating of these statutes.

⁶ For example see J.E. Madden, ‘Business, Monks, Banker Monks, Bankrupt Monks: the English Cistercians in the Thirteenth Century’, *Catholic Historical Review* 49 (1963), pp.341-364; L.K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (London, 1978); R.B. Ekelund, *Sacred Trust: The Medieval Church as an Economic Firm* (Oxford, 1996).

found in the statutes, which was forced to give way to 'reality' when houses found themselves facing the practicalities of everyday life; these ideals are judged to have "proved too exalted for practical execution". The 'ideal versus reality' model has been extremely influential and it continues to pervade the historiography.⁷

But more recently, historians have rejected the notion that the legislation represents the 'true spirit' of the Order. Constance B. Bouchard argues that the early statutes, produced in a specific historical context, represent neither a statement of original intentions nor a description of earliest practice, since the records show that even Burgundian houses were involved in 'forbidden' activities from their earliest days. Moreover, Bouchard denies that the Cistercians' definition of their own uniqueness or "spiritual integrity" lay in the avoidance of certain types of property or economic transaction, something equally true of outside, contemporary observers. As an integral part of society, houses were involved in, and affected by, changing economic developments and therefore we "cannot speak of 'Cistercian practice' as though it were a single phenomenon".⁸

This last point is echoed by historians such as Emilia Jamroziak and Erin E. Heidkamp, who emphasise the importance of focusing on individual houses and the greatly differing local circumstances they existed in, rather than any alleged central 'plan'. While the Order maintained its international nature and a high degree of uniformity with regards to many aspects of monastic practice, widely varying social, economic and geographical conditions led to "fundamental differences in the application of seemingly standardised models" and a broad spectrum of Cistercian experience. Janet Burton has identified the "multi-layered identity" which houses possessed, encompassing their place within the Cistercian Order as well as their status as local abbeys with local patrons and estates; all were crucial aspects in defining a house. Our understanding of the processes by which foundations were integrated into their surrounding communities has been inhibited by the lack of case studies done, and more generally by the tendency amongst historians to extrapolate from French evidence to make

⁷ L.J. Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Kent, 1977), quote at p.307; R. Roehl, 'Plan and Reality in a Medieval Monastic Economy: The Cistercians', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 9 (1972), pp.83-113; C. V. Graves, 'The Economic Activities of the Cistercians in Medieval England, 1128-1307', *Analecta Cisterciensa*, 8 (1957), pp.3-62.

⁸ C.B. Bouchard, 'Cistercian Ideals versus Reality: 1134 Reconsidered', *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 39 (1988); Idem, *Holy Entrepreneurs: Cistercians, Knights and Economic Exchange in Twelfth Century Burgundy* (London, 1991).

statements regarding the practice and evolution of the entire Order. Indeed, Jamroziak argues that it is precisely through the examination of the more ‘peripheral’ areas of Europe, such as Scotland, that we can understand the remarkable growth and success of the Order. These houses adapted to “local expectations while representing wider and more important cultural models, yet still maintaining core elements of what constituted Cistercian identity and values”; this flexibility was itself a part of the monastic ethos. The individual experiences of these houses constitute Cistercian history just as much as its central structures do, “and there is no single one which is more ‘authentically Cistercian’ than the rest”.⁹ This stance is supported by regionally-focused research which challenges the generally assumed ubiquitousness of institutions such as grange agriculture and *conversi* labour, traditionally considered the hallmarks of the Cistercian economy, and thus questions the validity of Order-wide generalisations.¹⁰ Heidkamp has also highlighted the importance of studying Cistercian communities throughout the course of the high to late Middle Ages, rather than focusing on the earlier period, to understand how houses were able to “successfully navigate the sometimes rough economic, social, and spiritual terrain of this later period”.¹¹

While the notion that the Cistercian ‘spirit’ can be measured solely in terms of economic practice can be rejected, another avenue of research has explored the symbolic significance of landscape, and its exploitation, to the monastic ethos. James L. Smith has argued that “participation in the shaping of landscape was, on another level of interpretation, a spiritual and moral shaping”, simultaneously embodying the mystical, moral and mundane through an intermingling of management and ideology. The Cistercians “read meaning in the landscape,

⁹ E.M. Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context 1132-1300: Memory, Locality and Networks* (Turnhout, 2005); Idem, *Survival and Success on Medieval Borders: Cistercian Houses in Medieval Scotland and Pomerania from the Twelfth to Late Fourteenth Century* (Turnhout, 2011); Idem, ‘Cistercian Centres and Peripheries’, in M.B. Bruun (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order* (Cambridge, 2012), pp.65-79; E.E. Heidkamp, ‘A local community, a community of “locals”: The Cistercians of Altenberg Abbey, 1133-1539’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Connecticut, 2009); J. Burton, ‘Constructing a Corporate Identity: The *Historia Foundationis* of the Cistercian abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx’, in A. Müller & K. Stöber (eds.), *Self-Representation of Medieval Religious Communities: the British Isles in Context* (Berlin, 2009), pp.327-40.

¹⁰ J. Bezan, ‘Revising the Monastic ‘Grange’: Problems at the Edge of the Cistercian World’ *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies* (2014), pp.51-70; B. Romhányi, ‘The Role of the Cistercians in Medieval Hungary: Political Activity or Internal Colonisation?’, *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU, 1993-94* (Budapest, 1995), pp.180-204; R. Oram, ‘Prayer, property and profit: Scottish monasteries, c.1100-c.1300’, in S. Foster, A.I. Macinnes & R. MacInnes, (eds.), *Scottish Power Centres from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Glasgow, 1998), pp.92-3; Idem, ‘A Fit and Ample Endowment? The Balmerino Estate, 1228-1603’, in T. Kinder, (ed.), *Life on the Edge: the Cistercian Abbey of Balmerino, Fife (Scotland)* (Forges-Chimay, 2008), pp.65-6, 68.

¹¹ Heidkamp, ‘A local community, a community of “locals”’, p.80.

but also modified the landscape to produce further meanings, and conceived of themselves in turn as spiritualised by the landscape”.¹² For Ellen F. Arnold, religious ideas both influenced and reflected daily experiences with agriculture and landscape. In consideration of this connection between spirituality and land management, she argues for a cultural approach to environmental history; the control of resources was a practical necessity but it was also closely allied to monastic philosophy, fusing their “seemingly separate identities as landlords and shepherds of souls”. Unlike for the Benedictine monks of the Ardennes, who are the specific focus of Arnold’s work, there are no surviving narrative or hagiographical sources produced by the monks of Coupar with which to employ the methods of analysis she espouses.¹³ But Arnold raises a very important point regarding the blending of the religious and economic, something also noted by other historians who deny that these represent conflicting aspects of Cistercian life.¹⁴

It must be recognised, however, that landscape metaphors were just that. While undoubtedly an important part of the Order’s ideology, the Cistercians’ representation of themselves as ‘God’s frontiersmen’, pioneers who toiled in the wilderness to ‘make the desert bloom’, should not be universally interpreted as a literal description of their interaction with the physical environment. Indeed, Mette B. Bruun has explored the Cistercian textual conceptualisation of the ‘desert’ and its allegorical function, whereby the forest signifies sin in man while clearing and cultivation are interior processes. Through this notion of “wilderness as a matter of soul”, the ‘monastery within the desert’ becomes the ‘desert within the monastery’.¹⁵ Though long a recurrent feature of the historiography, research has shown that Cistercian monasteries were not founded in isolated and inhospitable locations, nor do the monks deserve their reputation as prolific reclaimers of wasteland. Generally, they were simply “new settlers in old lands”.¹⁶ Even twelfth-century Burgundy, the Cistercian heartland,

¹² J.L. Smith, ‘Water as Medieval Intellectual Entity: Case Studies in Twelfth-Century Western Monasticism’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Western Australia, 2013).

¹³ E.F. Arnold, *Negotiating the Landscape: Environment and Monastic Identity in the Medieval Ardennes* (Philadelphia, 2013); Idem, ‘Engineering Miracles: Water Control, Conversion and the Creation of a Religious Landscape in the Medieval Ardennes’, *Environment and History*, 13 (2007), pp.477–502.

¹⁴ Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context*, pp.134-5; K.J. Stringer, ‘Reform Monasticism and Celtic Scotland: Galloway, c.1140-c.1240’, in E.J. Cowan and R.A. McDonald, eds., *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era* (East Linton, 2000), p.146.

¹⁵ M.B. Bruun, ‘The Cistercian Rethinking of the Desert’, *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 53 (2002), pp.193-212; Idem, *Parables: Bernard of Clairvaux’s Mapping of Spiritual Topography* (Leiden, 2007).

¹⁶ Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians*, pp.56-8; Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, pp.153-5; B.P. McGuire, *The Cistercians in Denmark: their attitudes, roles and functions in medieval society* (Kalamazoo, 1982) p.109;

was “a land without howling wilderness” in which, Bouchard asserts, there was nowhere that the monks could have situated themselves without neighbours a few miles either side.¹⁷ But while the image of the monastic pioneer is far too simplistic, Richard Oram has argued that “the reaction against the traditional model has perhaps swung too far”. He warns against underestimating the ability of the monks to shape developments in regions such as Scotland, where “economies and societies were far less developed or sophisticated, or had developed in fashions which differed from what historians have come to regard as the norm”.¹⁸ That is not to assert some kind of “pre-colonial economic primitivism” or to credit the monasteries with pioneering reclamation or driving market development, but rather to recognise an intensification of economic activity coupled with their significant responsiveness to market demand and opportunities, driving innovation and experimentation.¹⁹

Indeed, Scotland did undergo important changes during the period of Cistercian colonisation and beyond. These were part of a wider process referred to by Robert Bartlett as the “Europeanisation of Europe” and explained as “a culture or society that had its centres in the old Frankish lands, was Latin and Christian but not synonymous with Latin Christendom, was marked by certain social and cultural features and was expanding into the surrounding regions during the High Middle Ages, changing as it did so”.²⁰ For Nils Blomkvist, ‘Europeanisation’ should be understood in terms of a ‘Catholic World-system’. Monastic orders played an important role in the process of transference, particularly the Cistercians due to their high level of representation in the ‘peripheries’ by the mid-twelfth century. Throughout Europe, Cistercian monasteries functioned as ideological centres, and thus as “carriers of ideas”. But Blomkvist also stresses the importance of the ways in which this Catholic World-system was received: “we must be prepared to accept that its reception may have differed greatly from the way it was offered”.²¹

C.H. Berman *Medieval Agriculture, the Southern French Countryside, and the Early Cistercians* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp.7-24; Oram, ‘Prayer, property and profit’, pp.89-91.

¹⁷ Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs*, p.103.

¹⁸ R. Oram, ‘Holy Frontiersmen? Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Century Monastic Colonisation and Socio-Economic Change in Poland and Scotland’, in R.W. Unger (ed.), *Britain and Poland-Lithuania: contact and comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795* (Leiden, 2008), pp.103-22.

¹⁹ Idem, ‘Breaking New Ground: the Monastic Orders and Economic Development along the Northern European Periphery c.1070 to c.1300’, in F. Ammannati F (ed.), *Religion and religious institutions in the European economy, 1000-1800* (Florence, 2012), pp.331-344.

²⁰ Bartlett, *The Making of Europe* (quote at p.270).

²¹ N. Blomkvist, *The Discovery of the Baltic: The Reception of a Catholic World-System in the European North (AD 1075-1225)* (Leiden, 2005) (quote at p.686).

Thus, it is important to identify the complex, reciprocal processes of cultural exchange which were taking place between monastic institutions and wider society. Of course, it is precisely these more intangible elements of historical development which can be hardest to discern in the sources.²² One area of Scotland which has received attention in this respect is Galloway, though the discussion is hindered by the dismal survival rate of documentation for Cistercian houses located there. Nonetheless, Keith J. Stringer has argued that the monks possessed both the inclination and the ability to determine “in fundamental ways the nature of the transformations Galloway experienced”, and were thus one of the most potent forces for change. While it would be wrong to exaggerate the earlier economic ‘backwardness’ of Galloway, Cistercian houses were major new centres of lordship and were involved in the restructuring of pre-existing practices. They therefore had a significant impact, “accelerating the tempo” of the regional economy and integrating it more fully into that of the rest of southern Scotland and northern England. In a cultural sense too, Galloway was brought “more firmly within the mainstream”. Contemporary Cistercian rhetoric cast the Galwegians as savage and godless barbarians. As William M. Aird notes, these twelfth-century monks considered themselves to be engaged in a ‘civilising process’ in Galloway, spreading the “moral imperatives of the reformed Latin Church”, which in part explains the exaggerated language employed in these accounts. But Stringer asserts that “for all the prevalence of a smug self-righteousness”, these monastic communities did not rigidly follow established models and, instead, the nature and impact of reform was shaped by earlier patterns. This adaption, evident in their adoption of ancient holy sites and native saints, along with a willingness to recruit locally, saw an interplay between ‘native’ society and ‘mainstream’ European life. Thus, “what resulted in practice can only be described as a fusion of cosmopolitan and local religious culture and modes”.²³

To what extent was the experience of Galloway replicated elsewhere in Scotland? The concept of ‘change and continuity’ has become a common theme in the historiography with regards to Scottish secular society.²⁴ For east central Scotland in particular, Matthew Hammond’s thesis

²² This is something which has been noted in a Welsh context: M. Gray, ‘Preface to Cistercians in Wales and the West’, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 154 (2007), p.25.

²³ K.J., Stringer, *The Reformed Church in Medieval Galloway and Cumbria: Contrasts, Connections and Continuities* (Whithorn, 2003); Idem, ‘Reform Monasticism and Celtic Scotland’; W.M. Aird, “‘Sweet Civility and Barbarous Rudeness’: a View from the Frontier. Abbot Ailred of Rievaulx and the Scots’, in S.G. Ellis & L. Klusáková, *Imagining Frontiers, Contesting Identities* (Pisa, 2007), pp.59-75.

²⁴ For example: S.T. Driscoll, ‘Formalising the mechanisms of state power: early Scottish lordship from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries’ in S. Foster, A. MacInnes, & R. MacInnes, (eds.), *Scottish Power*

has examined the nature of Europeanisation as experienced by the aristocracy in terms of the spread of charter-use, naming practices, and the interaction of 'Anglo-Norman' immigrants with local landholding society. His findings demonstrate that "the notion of a crystallised European culture being imported wholesale to Scotland is too simplistic. Changes and influences flowed through different channels, responded to divergent impulses, existed in various contexts".²⁵ Our understanding of these processes can be greatly enhanced through more specific focus on the function and experience of religious houses, particularly those of the Cistercian Order whose truly international nature is so often highlighted. A certain amount of extremely valuable work has already been done on Scottish houses, notably on Melrose and Balmerino.²⁶ But more generally, Scottish historiography has been, to a great extent, concerned with secular political history. As a consequence, there has been a tendency to consider monastic institutions largely in terms of royal policies and high politics.²⁷ This thesis adds to a much wider perspective of their place in Scottish society. Throughout, the focus is consciously kept upon the abbey as an institution and its significance for the locality, rather

Centres: From the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century (Glasgow, 1998), pp.32-58; R. Oram, 'Continuity, adaptation and integration: the earls and earldom of Mar, c.1150-c.1300' in S. Boardman, & A. Ross, (eds.), *The Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland c.1200-1500* (Dublin, 2003), pp.46-66; A. Young, 'The earls and earldom of Buchan in the thirteenth century', in A. Grant, & K.J. Stringer, eds., *Medieval Scotland: crown, lordship and community: essays presented to G.W.S. Barrow* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1993) 174-99; C.J. Neville, *Native Lordship in Medieval Scotland: The Earldoms of Strathearn and Lennox, c.1140-1365* (Dublin, 2005).

²⁵ M. Hammond, 'A Prosopographical Analysis of Society in East Central Scotland, c.1100 to 1260, with Special Reference to Ethnicity' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2005).

²⁶ For Balmerino: a collection of articles on various aspects of its history in T. Kinder, (ed.), *Life on the Edge: the Cistercian Abbey of Balmerino, Fife (Scotland)* (Forges-Chimay, 2008), particularly J. Kerr, 'Balmerino Abbey: Cistercians on the East Coast of Fife', 37-60, which includes an examination of Cistercian identity, and R. Oram, 'A Fit and Ample Endowment?', 61-79, which discusses the abbey's estates. For Melrose: R. Fawcett and R. Oram, *Melrose Abbey* (Stroud, 2004); H. Birkett, 'The Struggle for Sanctity: St Waltheof of Melrose, Cistercian in-house cults and canonisation procedure at the turn of the thirteenth century', in S. Boardman & E. Williamson, (eds.), *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp.43-60; E.M. Jamroziak, *Survival and Success*; Idem, 'Making Friends Beyond the Grave: Melrose abbey and its Lay Burials in the Thirteenth Century', *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 56 (2005), pp.323-36; Idem, 'Cistercian Identities in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Scotland: the Case of Melrose Abbey', M.H. Hammond (ed.), *New Perspectives on Medieval Scotland, 1093-1286* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp.175-182, D. Broun, 'Melrose Abbey and its World', in D. Broun & J. Harrison (eds.), *The Chronicle of Melrose: A Stratigraphic Edition*, vol I (Woodbridge, 2007), pp.1-12.

²⁷ Commented upon in: G.B. Ratcliff, 'Scottish Augustinians: A Study of the Regular Canonical Movement in the Kingdom of Scotland, c.1120-1215' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2012); H.S Brown, 'Lay Piety in Later Medieval Lothian, c.1306-c.1513' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2006); R. Oram, 'Lay Religiosity, Piety and Devotion in Scotland, c.1300-c.1450', *Florilegium*, 25 (2008), pp.95-126. The Cistercians, of course, did play an active political role, particularly in terms of ecclesiastical reform. See: M.G. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098-1180* (Stanford, 1996).

than the individual careers of its abbots, in order to identify the experience of this Cistercian house within its specific setting.

The Sources

The charters of the abbey of Coupar were long assumed to be lost and small handfuls of miscellaneous material thought to be all that had survived.²⁸ However, in the early twentieth century the main *corpus* of the abbey's charters was discovered in the possession of the earl of Moray in the muniment room of Darnaway Castle.²⁹ In hindsight, this late discovery was a blessing. The vast majority of Scottish monastic source material was published during the course of the nineteenth century by antiquarian clubs and subjected to questionable (by modern-day standards of scholarship) editing practices which involved the collation and 'correction' of many documents, with no indication that this had been done, and the complete omission of others. As Alasdair Ross has noted, this means that the treatment by historians of the content of these publications as primary material is extremely problematic.³⁰ In contrast, the Coupar Angus charter material was transcribed and edited by D.E. Easson and published in two volumes by the Scottish History Society in 1947. In addition to the Moray charters, he also included a considerable amount of unpublished material relating to the abbey from the Airlie writs preserved at Cortachy Castle.³¹

Despite the existence of these volumes for over half a century, the charters of Coupar Angus have never before formed the basis of any dedicated study, a fact which seems astonishing considering the constant lamentations of Scottish historians regarding both the dearth of medieval research and the poor survival rate of source material. The documents are not

²⁸ W.B.D.D. Turnbull, who included eleven fifteenth- and sixteenth-century documents of the abbey court in his 1842 publication, *Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica*, pronounced that this represented all "that seems to remain of this Abbacy".

²⁹ D.E. Easson (ed.), *Charters of the Abbey of Coupar Angus*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1947), vol I, pp.v-viii. The charters remain in the private possession of the current earl.

³⁰ A. Ross, 'The Bannatyne Club and the Publication of Scottish Ecclesiastical Cartularies', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 85 (2006).

³¹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, vol I, pp.viii-ix. It had also been intended that a set of charters relating to Coupar's land of Keithick in the possession of the earl of Wharncliffe would be included, but this proved impossible due to "war conditions". It was reported in 1951 that these were "totally destroyed during the war" (see *Miscellany of the Scottish History*, VIII (Edinburgh, 1951), p.3). A small number were commented upon briefly in H.M.S.O., *Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, Part I (London, 1874), p.518, while several are mentioned in J.W. Barty (ed.), *Ancient Deeds and Other Writs in the Mackenzie-Wharncliffe Charter-Chest* (Edinburgh, 1906), pp.74-9.

printed in full, likely because of a paper shortage in the post-war years: in Easson's own words, the Latin text has been abridged through "the excision of words and phrases which are 'common form', honorific or otherwise recurrent and redundant. An endeavour, however, has been made to keep on the side of safety and to omit no significant word or phrase". Any such omissions, indecipherable words or blanks in the originals, and abbreviated or incomplete words extended by the editor are all clearly indicated. Of course, those interested in studying the precise form of the documents may thus find the published editions inadequate for their purposes. The nature of my own research is such that to have access to abbreviated versions of lengthy Latin charters has been massively beneficial.

While the charters of the abbey are a relatively recent discovery, a series of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century rental records have been known to historians for longer.³² In 1879-1880, Rev. Charles Rogers published two edited volumes which contained registers of Abbey tacks (leases) for the years 1443-1559, a rental of 1542, and a *Liber Compositionum* of 1543-1562.³³ These works were themselves the subject of a PhD undertaken by John Llewellyn Morgan, completed in 1929.³⁴ Morgan found that Rogers had omitted large numbers of entries, with no explanation as to why and without any indication given to the reader that this had been done.³⁵ Morgan therefore completed a transcription of the missing text, which constitutes the second volume of his thesis. This also includes an abbreviated transcript of a rental of 1587, which is archived alongside the rest of the Coupar Angus rental material.³⁶ A full transcription is included in Appendix 2 of this thesis. Morgan did not address the frequent gaps within the entries included by Rogers, indicated through the use of ellipses, though my own examination

³² For example, see M. Sanderson, *Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1982) for a discussion of later medieval landholding and tenancy which makes use of these documents.

³³ C. Rogers (ed.), *Rental book of the Cistercian abbey of Cupar Angus*, 2 vols (London, 1879-80); The originals are held by the National Records of Scotland (NRS), Edinburgh: Registrum Assedationum 1443-1538, CH6/2/1 (in Rogers, vol I, pp.118-318); Register of Tacks 1539-1559, CH6/2/2 (in Rogers, vol II, pp.1-180); Liber Compositionum 1543-62 (in Rogers, vol II, pp.221-73) and Rental 1542, CH6/2/3 (in Rogers, vol II, pp.181-220).

³⁴ J.L Morgan, 'Economic Administration of Coupar Angus Abbey, 1440-1560', 3 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 1929). Morgan's thesis is based upon the rental records and includes no discussion of the charter evidence. The discussion is focused upon the late medieval agrarian economy, including systems of tenantry and farming methods. As such, there is virtually no overlap with this present study.

³⁵ It would appear that, in general, an entry was omitted when another concerning the same land and person(s) appeared elsewhere in the volume, but this was regardless of differences between the two.

³⁶ NRS, Rental 1587, CH6/2/4.

of the original documents reveals all that is missing to be repetitive phrases and routine details.³⁷

Rogers' volumes also contain a small amount of other documentary material relating to the abbey. Without doubt, the most valuable inclusion is a transcription made by Sir James Balfour of Denmilne (d.1657) entitled *Breviarium Antiqui Registri Monasterii de Cupro in Aneagus*, which notes numerous early documents that do not appear in the extant collection of abbey charters.³⁸ A summary of this is included in Appendix 1 of this thesis. In 1851, Cosmo Innes noted the loss of this Register and commented that, in addition to Balfour's transcript, a "fragment of an abridgement is at Panmure".³⁹ The extensive historical archive at Panmure, largely the work of scholar Harry Maule, brother of the fourth earl of Panmure (1658/9-1723), passed into the possession of the Dalhousie family through marriage before being acquired this century by the National Records of Scotland (NRS).⁴⁰ Within the Papers of the Earls of Dalhousie, currently held by the NRS, there is a short document with the title 'Inventair of som writts of the Abbay of Coupar belonging to the Lord Balmerino'.⁴¹ If this was the fragment originally at Panmure that Cosmo Innes referred to, he was wrong to state that it was an abridgment of the Register recorded by Balfour, though it does list surviving abbey charters which remained undiscovered at the time.⁴²

The loss of the abbey Register is extremely regrettable for numerous reasons. Firstly, Balfour's *Breviarium* consists of very brief summaries of these documents, many of which do not survive in any other form, rather than full transcripts meaning that an unknown amount of important

³⁷ Phrases such as "conform to our rental" and "paid in hand".

³⁸ National Library of Scotland (NLS), James Balfour of Denmilne, Adv MS 33.2.9. A handful are repeated by Balfour in NLS Adv MS 33.2.27. A full transcription is given in Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.319-51. For clarity, breviarium entries are referred to in the footnotes as *Brev.*, followed by the entry number. The numbering is consistent with both Rogers' volume and Appendix 1, though it should be noted that Balfour himself does not number the entries.

³⁹ Innes, Cosmo, *Origines Parochiales Scotiae: The Antiquities, Ecclesiastical and Territorial of the Parishes of Scotland*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1850-55), vol I, p.xxxiii.

⁴⁰ Formerly the National Archives of Scotland. *National Heritage Memorial Fund, Reports and Accounts 2006-2007*, (2007), p.17, <http://www.nhmf.org.uk/AboutUs/Corporate_documents/Pages/annual_report2006-07.aspx> [accessed 15 July 2016].

⁴¹ NRS, Papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie, Miscellaneous, GD45/26/17, Inventair of som writts of the Abbay of Coupar belonging to the Lord Balmerino.

⁴² It records ten charters, none unknown, many of which do not appear in Balfour's transcription of the Register.

detail has been lost. Moreover, aside from the impairment to the documentary record, there are other uses to which this type of source can be put which cannot be applied to a corpus of charters. The special value of cartularies for revealing the attitudes and priorities of their creators has been extensively commented upon by historians.⁴³ These were not simply collections of copies; the compilation of a cartulary was “the result was a winnowing and restructuring process”, whereby the charter material was purposely reorganised and subjected to “selection, transformation, and suppression”.⁴⁴ Their creation thus involved not only the recording of but an interpretation of the past, their physical form and structure having particular meaning and significance. In the case of Rievaulx, Emilia Jamroziak has demonstrated that the cartulary was the abbey’s way of mapping the world, illustrating how the monks’ perceived the world around them and their view of their own place within this complex social and political environment.⁴⁵

But while the content is incomplete, if the *Breviarium* preserves the true form of Coupar’s Register, or one form at least, then there is the potential that the type of analysis described above can be applied to it. To do so, our trust must be placed in Balfour, a man who, in Geoffrey Barrow’s opinion, was “incapable of making a correct and careful copy of a medieval Latin document”, possessing an extraordinary talent for “bungling the transcription, at as many crucial points as possible, of genuine historical texts to which he had an access denied in some cases to posterity”.⁴⁶ This raises questions over the reliability of the *Breviarium* as a source. But an examination of Balfour’s copy as compared to the printed version reveals that several of the apparent errors within it are mistakes made by Rogers in his transcription, not Balfour.⁴⁷ There are also very strong indications that in terms of configuration we need not be concerned either. Balfour takes the trouble to note the folio numbers and indicates when a document continues onto the next. Moreover, the Coupar *Breviarium* appears within a notebook of Balfour’s which also contains abbreviated versions of the cartularies of Arbroath

⁴³ C. B. Bouchard, ‘Monastic Cartularies: Organising Eternity’, in A.J. Kosto & A. Winroth (eds.), *Charters, Cartularies and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West* (Toronto, 2002), pp.22-32; D. Walker, ‘The Organisation of Material in Medieval Cartularies’, in D.A. Bullough & R.L. Storey, *The Study of Medieval Records: Essays in honour of Kathleen Major* (Oxford, 1971), pp.132-50; Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution*, p.169.

⁴⁴ P.J. Geary, ‘Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millenium’ (Princeton, 1994), pp.81-114.

⁴⁵ Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context*, pp.19-28.

⁴⁶ G.W.S. Barrow, ‘The Earls of Fife in the Twelfth Century’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 87 (1952-53), p.52.

⁴⁷ See Appendix 1.

and Dryburgh, and a comparison between these and the versions of these cartularies printed by the Bannatyne Club in the mid-nineteenth century reveals a very high degree of consistency.⁴⁸ Of course, Balfour's reliability is not the only issue here, since it is impossible to know anything about the nature of the document from which he was working. What we actually have is a summary of an unknown document created by an unknown author at an unknown date. But putting these uncertainties aside, if it is assumed that the *Breviarium* is a generally accurate representation of the Register, then an assessment can be made of its form. This is included in Appendix 1.

Of course, it is precisely the elements of interpretation and revision inherent in a cartulary which mean that in some ways it is preferable to have access to an extensive collection of original charters for the purposes of building up as full a picture as possible of Coupar's history. But there is no denying that the loss of other specialised types of sources place serious limitations on the discussion. Land and resource exploitation must be assessed without the dedicated estate management records which once must have existed. The lack of narrative sources hinders investigation into the self-perception and identity of the community. No *necrologium* or *liber vitae* survives to provide insight into crucial aspects of Coupar's relationships with the laity.⁴⁹ The exploration of burial and commemoration within the abbey is further hampered by the almost total absence of physical evidence. As Peter Morris notes, in the post-Reformation period the "mining of the abbey ruins for building material has been so efficiently carried out that nothing of the original structure remains above ground except for one fragment of a gatehouse",⁵⁰ something which was already the case by the late eighteenth century.⁵¹ While there have been a limited number of archaeological finds, these date to several centuries ago and are poorly documented.⁵² We are thus restricted not only by

⁴⁸ C. Innes & P. Chalmers (eds.), *Liber Sancte Thome de Aberbrothoc*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1848-1856); W. Fraser, (ed.), *Liber Sancte Marie de Dryburgh* (Edinburgh, 1847).

⁴⁹ Nothing of this sort survives for any Scottish monastery, though Richard Augustine Hay appears to have had access to a now-lost necrology of Newbattle abbey in the late eighteenth century (Brown, 'Lay Piety in Later Medieval Lothian', pp.167-8).

⁵⁰ P. Morris, 'Geophysical surveys at Coupar Angus abbey', *Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal*, 18 (2012), p.81.

⁵¹ Sketches of the abbey ruins dated 1783 are amongst the Hutton Drawings at NLS, Adv MS 30.5.22, Angus, 14c and 14d. The collection also includes an, unfortunately fictional, sketch of the ground plan of the abbey, drawn by William Mitchell, a stone mason, and dating to around the same time (15a and 15b). Mitchell apparently did not take kindly to being scolded by Hutton for this "imaginary embellishment" (General G.H. Hutton, Correspondence, 29.4.2 ix, 174, Letter from Rev. Alexander Peters to Hutton, 19 February 1822).

⁵² J. Sinclair, (ed.), *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1791-99), vol XVII, p.11; A. Hutcheson, 'Notes of the Recent Discovery of Pavement and Flooring Tiles at the Abbey of Coupar Angus and the

the amount but also by the nature of the surviving evidence. Place-names contained within charters may not be extant today, while records of perambulations and descriptions of marches, where they exist, are often based on obsolete pre-agricultural improvement natural features, meaning the determination of the extent of landed holdings can be a difficult process. In certain cases, the later subdivisions of land preserved in the rental records provide the best indicators. But other aspects are harder to discern. The legal and administrative character of the evidence means that many aspects of the abbey's history, such as those relating to more personal relationships and the nature of private lay piety, are largely absent from the written record and must be inferred wherever possible. The inherent source bias towards conflict and dispute resolution, something commented upon by both Jamroziak and Kenneth Veitch, has a tendency to obscure the ordinary, everyday existence of the abbey within society.⁵³

But while it is unquestionable that a huge amount has been lost, there are, of course, additional sources of extremely valuable material.⁵⁴ The numerous volumes of Scottish royal and ecclesiastical documentation, papal records and Cistercian statutes have been of great use. The Scottish documentary material up to 1314 has been catalogued within *The People of Medieval Scotland* (PoMS) online database, the outcome of two Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) -funded projects, *The Paradox of Medieval Scotland* and *The Breaking of Britain*.⁵⁵ The database contains over 8600 documents, noting key information and, usefully, dating parameters.⁵⁶ Included are several unpublished editions of charters, most notably Keith

Cathedral of St Andrews', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 22 (1888), pp.146-8; NLS, Hutton Drawings, Adv MS 30.5.22, Angus, 14e, 14f, 15c (explanatory information contained within NLS, Hutton Correspondence, 29.4.2 ix, 171-2, Letter from William Mitchell to Hutton, 1 December 1820). The Glebe Field, located immediately north of the modern parish church, was excavated in 1993 and a cemetery was discovered, likely comprising around 400 to 600 graves. The "aim of the assessment was to record burials unintrusively" and no conclusion was drawn regarding its nature, which could be medieval or early modern and may or may not be related to the abbey (J. O'Sullivan, 'Abbey, Market and Cemetery: Topographical Notes on Coupar Angus in Perthshire, With a Description of Archaeological Excavations on Glebe Land by the Parish Church, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 125 (1995), pp.1045-1068).

⁵³ E.M. Jamroziak, 'Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Environment, 1132-1300' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 2001) pp.67-8; K. Veitch, 'A Study of the Extent to Which Existing Native Religious Society Helped to Shape Scotland's Reformed Monastic Community, 1070-1286', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1999), p.232.

⁵⁴ A very useful appendix of relevant documents which appear in other publications is included in Appendix I of the second volume of Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, pp.253-67. The list is not comprehensive; it omits anything issued after 1947 and does not include any unpublished material.

⁵⁵ A. Beam, *et al*, 'The People of Medieval Scotland, 1093 – 1314', (2012), <<http://www.poms.ac.uk>> [accessed 15 July 2016].

⁵⁶ As a rule, this dating has been used throughout.

J. Stringer's forthcoming *Regesta Regum Scottorum (RRS), III, Acts of Alexander II*.⁵⁷ Another key online resource is *The Dictionary of Scots Language (DSL)*, a project begun at the University of Dundee, funded by the AHRC, Scottish Language Dictionaries Ltd, and the Scottish Government. The website has been an important tool for this study, particularly since a large proportion of the rental records and some of the later charter material is written in Scots.⁵⁸

In approaching archival material, since ownership of charters tends to pass along with land and titles, the obvious place to start would be to trace the descent of abbey property. This provides the explanation as to how Coupar's charters found their way to Darnaway Castle. In 1606, the abbey was erected into a temporal lordship in favour of James Elphinstone, the title of Lord Coupar becoming joined to that of Lord Balmerino upon his death in 1669. In turn, these estates later fell to James, seventh earl of Moray, nephew of the last Lord Balmerino executed for his participation in the 1745 Jacobite uprising.⁵⁹ Another family with post-Reformation interests attached to the abbey were the earls of Airlie, who held the hereditary office of bailie of Coupar's lands.⁶⁰ Their papers include several inventories pertaining to the lordship, bailiery and portary of Coupar, along with documentation relating to certain abbey lands which came into their possession.⁶¹ The charter collections of prominent benefactor families are another potential source of additional documentation; in Coupar's case, a large body of material pertaining to the Hays of Errol has survived, among which is some particularly important information on burials within the abbey.⁶²

⁵⁷ All references to RRS III refer to the PoMS database entry. A full list of these documents and their sources can be found at <http://www.poms.ac.uk/information/reference-information/rrs-iii-references/>.

⁵⁸ V. Skretkowicz *et al*, 'Dictionary of the Scots Language' (DSL), (2004), <<http://www.dsl.ac.uk>> [accessed: 20 July 2016]. All Scots definitions throughout are taken from DSL.

⁵⁹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXCVIII; *Ibid*, vol I, p.viii; O'Sullivan, 'Abbey, Market and Cemetary', p.1067.

⁶⁰ Excepting those lands within the earldom of Atholl. As would be expected, much of the abbey material within the family papers is concerned with their own possession of offices. Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, pp.2-3, 292; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CLXXIII.

⁶¹ Including Coupar's important Glenisla lands. NRS, Papers of the Earls of Airlie, Lands and Barony of Airlie, GD16/1; Lands and Barony of Lintrathen, GD16/3; Lands of Clintlaw and Auchindory in the Lordship of Coupar, Meikle and Little Forter in the Barony of Glenisla, GD16/7; Lands of Freuchie & Bellaty in the Lordship of Coupar, GD16/8; Lands of Craigneatie & Dalvany in the Barony of Glenisla, GD16/9; Abbey, Portary and Lordship of Coupar Angus, GD16/20; Court Books, GD16/36; Legal Papers, GD16/41.

⁶² The Errol Charters are in a private collection but photographs are held at NRS, Photocopies of Errol Charters, RH1/6 and many were printed in J. Stuart, (ed.), 'The Erroll Papers', *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, II (Aberdeen, 1842).

Another avenue of enquiry was also followed in terms of archival material: it was judged that a good place to look for forgotten, or now lost, documentation was likely to be in the manuscript collections of prominent antiquarians of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in particular those known to have been actively compiling the sources of Scottish monastic history.⁶³ This resulted in two very valuable finds. The first is a charter noted within the writings of Richard Augustine Hay (d.1734). Born in Edinburgh, Hay spent a large portion of his life in France where he became an Augustinian canon, returning to Scotland on a permanent basis around 1718.⁶⁴ Within his unpublished volume, *Scotia Sacra*, Hay records a seemingly now lost agreement regarding teinds made in 1347 between the abbots of Arbroath and Coupar, which contains a reference to Richard de Dun, monk of Coupar and keeper of the island in the loch of Forfar, an important addition to the extremely limited body of evidence relating to the chapel at this site.⁶⁵ The second find of note appears within the collections of General George Henry Hutton (d.1827), an English professional soldier who spent forty years ardently pursuing his antiquarian hobby, amassing an immense collection of pre-Reformation Scottish ecclesiastical material.⁶⁶ One of Hutton's notebooks contains a sketch of a grave marker discovered at the abbey site which confirms the burial of William de Munfichet, a local landowner whose estates bordered Coupar's home grange, an important record considering the dearth of material remains.⁶⁷

In a British context, it is undoubtedly possible to draw unfavourable comparisons between the surviving sources of Coupar Angus abbey and those of the largest English houses; Fountains, for example, is extremely well-represented by a vast and varied array of sources.⁶⁸ But this is certainly not universally the case, and in a specifically Scottish context, Coupar's archives are positively replete.⁶⁹ Of Cistercian houses in the west, the records of Saddell abbey are entirely lost, while no contemporary cartulary or charter archive survives from Dundrennan, Glenluce

⁶³ As discussed in J. Russell, 'A Projected Monasticon Scoticanum', *Innes Review*, 57 (2006), pp.87-96. See also I.B. Cowan & D. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland*, 2nd edition, (London, 1976), pp.xxii-xxvi.

⁶⁴ J. Russell, 'The Last Years of Richard Augustine Hay (1661-1734)', *Innes Review*, 65 (2014), pp.153-157.

⁶⁵ NLS, Richard Augustine Hay, Adv. MS 34.1.8, *Scotia Sacra*, p.299.

⁶⁶ A. Ross, 'Three Antiquaries: General Hutton, Bishop Geddes and the Earl of Buchan', *Innes Review*, XV (1964), pp.122-39.

⁶⁷ NLS, Hutton Notebooks, Adv MS 30.5.19, entry of August 1820, folio 18; NLS, Hutton Drawings, Adv MS 30.5.22, Angus, 14f.

⁶⁸ G.R.C. Davis *et al*, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 2010), pp.83-6; J. Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey and its Benefactors 1132-1300* (Kalamazoo, 1987), pp.1-3.

⁶⁹ Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain* notes numerous untraced cartularies and registers of British houses.

and Sweetheart.⁷⁰ Those in the north have not fared much better: the records of Kinloss have also disappeared and only the smallest handful of material exists for Deer.⁷¹ The survival rate for houses in east-central Scotland has been, as noted by Hammond, comparatively excellent, with extant cartularies or significant charter collections, and sometimes both, for Melrose, Newbattle, Balmerino and, of course, Coupar.⁷² This is not a universal truth, though, as only the most meagre amount of charter material survives for Culross.⁷³ It is clear, then, that the extent of the surviving sources of Coupar Angus abbey presents a rare opportunity to significantly further our understanding of Scottish Cistercian monasticism, and one which has not been exploited until now.

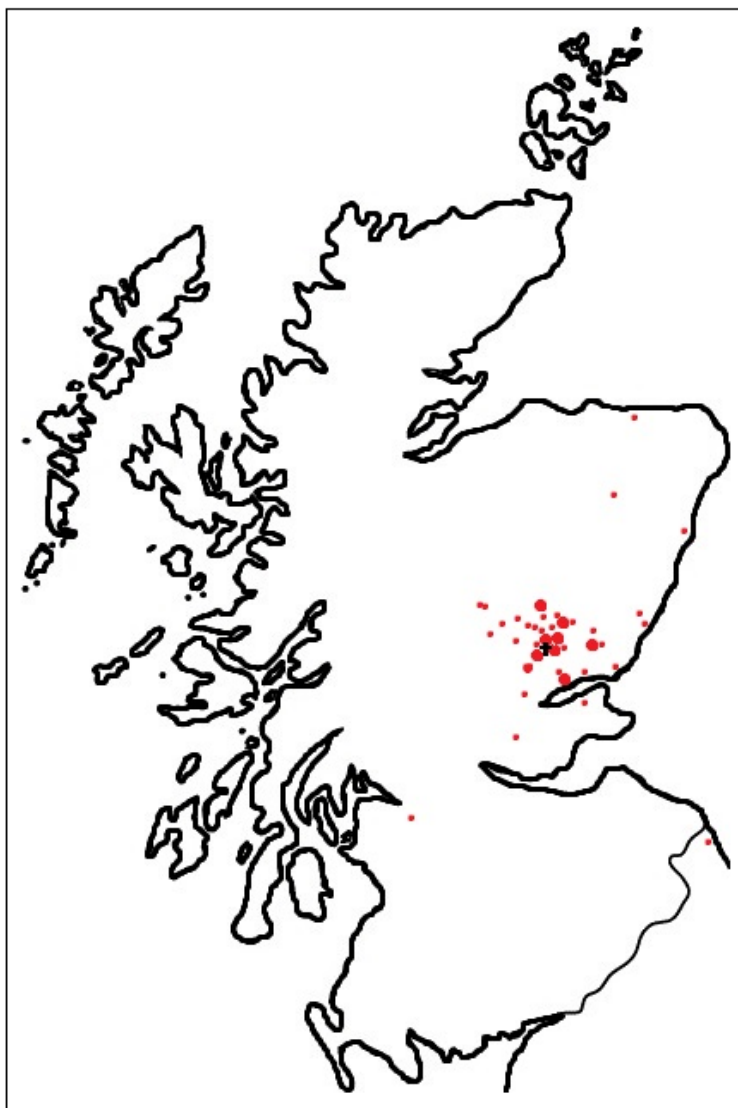
⁷⁰ M.H. Hammond, 'Introduction: The Paradox of medieval Scotland, 1093-1286', in Idem, *New Perspectives on Medieval Scotland, 1093-1286* (Woodbridge, 2013), p.23; D. R. Torrance has endeavoured to collect all surviving evidence relating to Dundrennan resulting in a small book of material gathered from various sources, the overwhelming majority of which relates to the sixteenth century: Idem, *Dundrennan Abbey: A Source Book, 1142-1612* (Edinburgh, 1996). It would appear that these losses did not occur at the Reformation. In the early eighteenth century, Thomas Innes recorded that the Glenluce cartulary was in the possession of the earl of Cassilis, but in the mid-nineteenth century its whereabouts were stated by Cosmo Innes to be unknown (J. Durkan, 'Missing Cartularies: The Thomas Innes Evidence', *Innes Review*, 22 (1971), p.110; Innes, *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, vol I p.xxxiv). On 16 April 1790, Robert Riddell of Friar's Carse wrote to fellow antiquarian, Francis Grose, to inform him that he had made a discovery of a large collection of the papers of Sweetheart abbey and would "perhaps procure them, at least a loan of them". He also reported that Lady Winnifred Maxwell had promised him "the perusal of all her papers relative to Dundrennan" (NLS, Hutton Transcripts, Adv MS 22.1.13, 216, Extracts from a letter of Capt. Riddele to Capt. Grose dated Friars Carse, 16 April 1790). In the mid-nineteenth century, it was reported that an offer for sale of the charters of Dundrennan made to the Maitland family had been turned down due to the high asking price (A.B. Hutchison, *Memorials of the Abbey of Dundrennan, in Galloway* (Exeter, 1887) p.15).

⁷¹ Hammond, 'Introduction', pp.23-4; W.B.D.D. Turnbull suggested in 1842 that a transcript of the Kinloss cartulary may have been amongst the manuscript collections of George Chalmers (*Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica*, p.15). A very small collection of documents gathered from other sources can be found in J. Stuart (ed.), *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss* (Edinburgh, 1872), plus J.H. Bernard, 'A Thirteenth-Century Papal Charter Granted to the Abbey of Kinloss', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 47 (1912-13), pp.408-27. Also see K. Forsyth, *Studies on the Book of Deer* (Dublin, 2008).

⁷² This geographical bias in the survival of Scottish ecclesiastical documents is discussed in Hammond, 'Introduction', pp.20-7. Coupar's mother-house, Melrose, is particularly well-documented as discussed in Fawcett & Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, pp.211-12.

⁷³ W. Douglas, 'Culross Abbey and its Charters', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 60 (1925-6), pp.67-94. The cartulary of Culross appears to have been lost in a fire in the seventeenth century while in the possession of a Mr Matthew Fleming, the manuscript having been loaned to him by Lady Colville (Turnbull, *Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica*, pp.14-15). The Colville family were sixteenth century commendators of the abbey before it was erected into a temporal lordship in their favour in 1589 (J. Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, 9 vols (Edinburgh, 1904-14), vol II, pp.545-55).

Chapter One: Land and Resource Exploitation



Map 1: Geographical spread of property

Coupar amassed an extensive and varied portfolio of landed property, firmly establishing itself as a major landowner. The abbey's holdings spanned a distance of over 200 miles, ranging across different ecological zones from lowland fisheries at sea level up to highland watersheds over 900m amid the Cairngorm mountains. The possession of substantial estates was a necessity in order for monasteries to support themselves, but Cistercian houses also had a strong interest in expansion and were involved in the trade of surplus produce. Recent research has challenged Order-wide generalisations regarding Cistercian economic practice and so it is essential that the approaches of individual houses are identified and, where appropriate, traditional assumptions questioned.

The Foundation Site

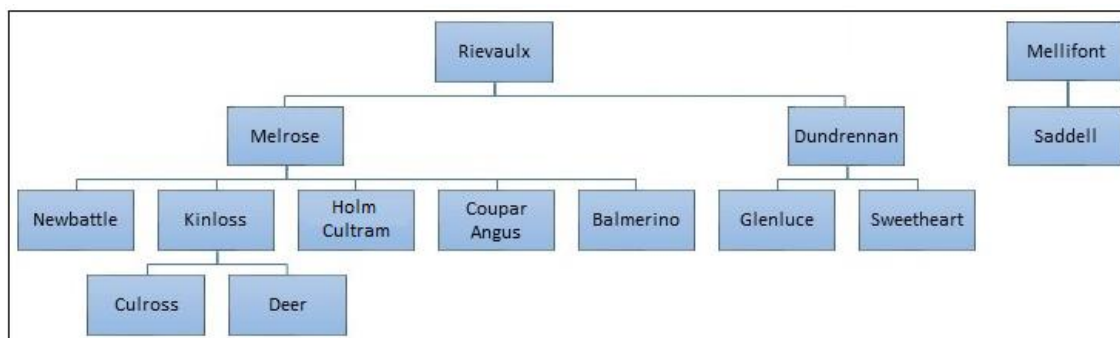


Figure 1: Filiation networks of Scottish Cistercian houses

The Cistercians arrived in Britain in 1128. Melrose, the first Scottish house, was founded in 1136, colonised from Rievaulx abbey in Yorkshire, as was Dundrennan in 1142; from these two houses came eight of the nine other Scottish Cistercian abbeys.⁷⁴ The *Scotichronicon* records that in 1159, “at the suggestion of the saintly abbot Waltheof”, King Malcolm IV (1153x1165) provided a site for a Cistercian abbey at Coupar Angus. The foundation was delayed, however, when “some unavoidable business arose”. The chronicle evidence is in agreement that it ultimately took place in 1164, but the protracted nature of the process of foundation means that it cannot be accurately encapsulated into a single moment or expressed by one neat date.⁷⁵ The question is, at what point do we consider the house founded? With the primary donation of resources? When the monastery buildings were constructed? At the point of its dedication? In the case of Coupar, these events span at least seven decades. The process seems to have begun around 1161, though again we must be careful since, as Marie Therese Flanagan identifies, “the function of the charter as an evidentiary rather than dispositive document imposes limitations on the use of charter texts as a reliable means of dating the foundation of monasteries”, and it is possible therefore that events were already underway,

⁷⁴ In *The Cistercian Evolution*, Berman argues that a great many Cistercian colonisations were in fact incorporations of pre-existing communities. As has been pointed out by others, Berman’s conclusion are based on French evidence and do not hold true for much of northern Europe. See McGuire, ‘Charity and Unanimity’, p.292; Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians*, pp.41-2. There is no indication that Coupar Angus was anything other than a ‘traditional’ foundation.

⁷⁵ D.E.R. Watt (ed.), *Walter Bower, Scotichronicon*, 9 vols (Aberdeen, 1987-99) vol III, p.365; J. Stevenson, (ed.), *A Medieval Chronicle: The Chronicle of Melrose* (Lampeter, 1991), p.12; M.O. Anderson, (ed.), *A Scottish Chronicle Known as the Chronicle of Holyrood* (Edinburgh, 1938), pp.143-4, 190.

perhaps in 1159.⁷⁶ The initial endowment consisted of the ‘whole land’ of Coupar, with the ‘granges’ of Balbrogie, Tullyfergus and Drimmie. King Malcolm also granted rights to fishing and forest resources, along with trading privileges and legal protections.⁷⁷ It was not until 1173x1178, however, that King William I (1165x1214) granted a half-ploughgate of land for the site of the abbey and so construction of the permanent buildings must have taken place after this date.⁷⁸ Moreover, the church was not dedicated until 15 May 1233; V.H. Galbraith argues that a house would not be considered by its members to be fully-founded until the church or a part of it was dedicated but this cannot have been the case for Coupar as the house was a fully-functioning entity long before this occurred. Two other long-standing monastic houses, those of Newbattle and Arbroath, were both also finally dedicated within a few months of this date. Indeed, as D.E. Easson identifies, it was not uncommon for dedication to take place long after a church came into use for worship.⁷⁹

The pivotal event that took place in 1164, then, may have been the monks’ arrival on site. Easson’s assessment of the landed endowment of Coupar abbey was that it was “ecclesiastically, a ‘no-man’s land’, not overtaken by the development of the parochial system and – unproductive and without inhabitant – as yet outwith the incidence of teinds”.⁸⁰ This description, which would conform to traditional notions of Cistercian sites, is disproved by the available evidence. The land of Coupar was a royal manor from which revenues were being extracted by the first half of the twelfth century when King David I granted the teinds of his prebenda, of his oats and of his cain of cheeses and hides from the land of Coupar to Scone abbey, many years before the foundation of Coupar abbey.⁸¹ John Rogers convincingly argues that the ‘whole land of Coupar’, as expressed in King Malcolm’s charter, refers to a multiple estate unit, as the other royal manors of Gowrie were, where Coupar was the caput and Balbrogie, Tullyfergus and Drimmie were its dependent touns, appearing “under the guise of monastic granges”. The renders of Coupar referred to in the time of King David were therefore

⁷⁶ The nature of foundation is discussed in M.T. Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters: Texts and Contexts* (Oxford, 2005), and V.H. Galbraith, ‘Monastic foundation charters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries’, *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 4 (1934), p.214-15.

⁷⁷ RRS, I, nos. 222, 226, 227, 282.

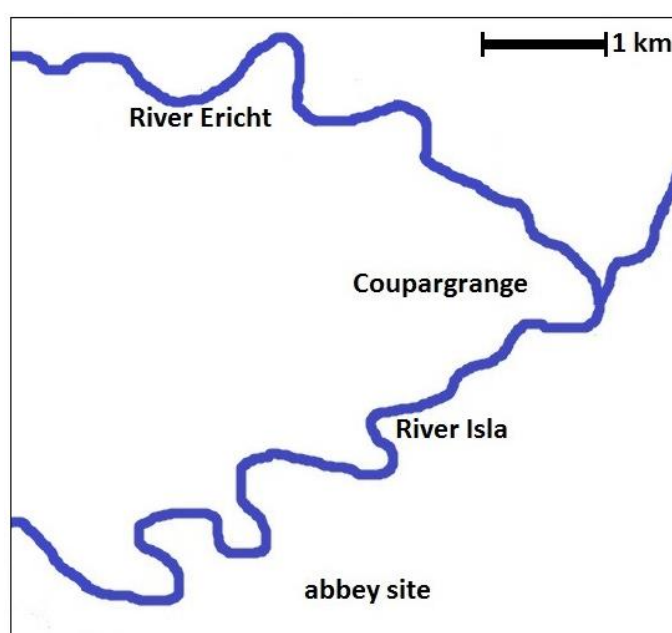
⁷⁸ RRS, II, no. 154; *Brev.*, no.12. A ploughgate was roughly 104 Scots acres but could vary considerably.

⁷⁹ RRS, III, no. 196 <<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2065/>> [accessed 15 July 2016]; Galbraith, ‘Monastic Foundation Charters’, p.214; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, vol I, p.xxix.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, pp.xxviii.

⁸¹ RRS, I, no. 57. Cain was a payment to a lord due in kind.

exactly the type due to a lord from a multiple estate.⁸² In addition, the establishment of the parochial system was largely completed in Gowrie during the twelfth century and the presence of a pre-existing church on the land of Coupar is attested to by references to it in both Malcolm's original grant, which stated that the bishop of St Andrews had surrendered all his right in it, and in Pope Celestine III's confirmation.⁸³ Thus, by the time the Cistercian monks arrived in the second half of the twelfth century, the area in which they settled, far from being unproductive and uninhabited, had long been organised into cultivated units of lordship and settlement. It certainly cannot have been an ecclesiastical wilderness and was clearly already populated by an agrarian community.⁸⁴



Map 2: Abbey site

That the grant of the land of 'Coupar' included fishing rights in both the Rivers Isla and the Ericht would suggest, however, that it should be identified with the territory which became Coupargrange and not with the known site of the monastery itself. As Rogers states, the place-name 'Coupar' is most likely "a P-Celtic compound of co(n) and bero(n), cognate with Gaelic comar and Welsh cwmmer and meaning 'confluence'", suggesting that it lay within the angle of

⁸² J.M. Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit and Community in Perthshire' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1992), pp.124-7, 141-3.

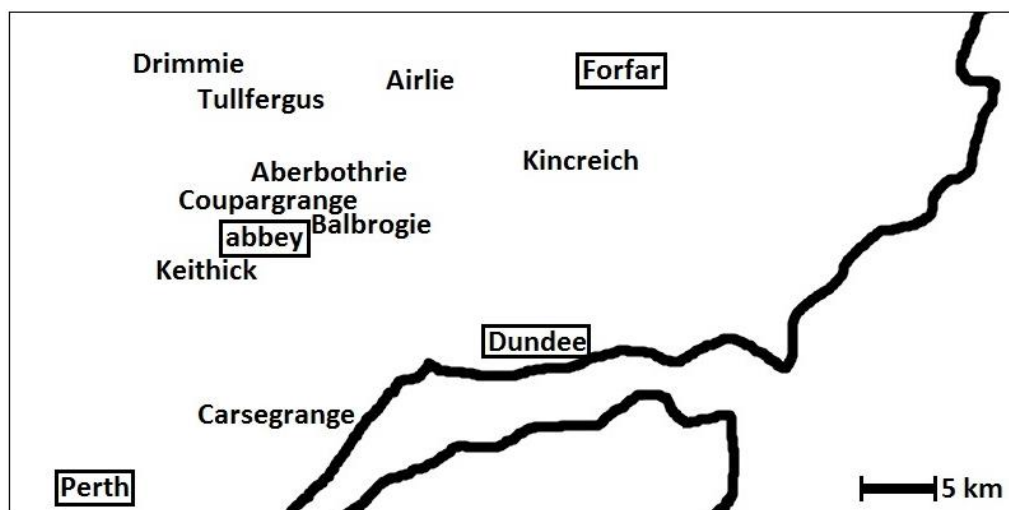
⁸³ Ibid, pp.42-4; I.B. Cowan, *The Medieval Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1995), pp.1-11; RRS, I, no.226; *Brev.*, no.1; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XIII; R. Somerville (ed.), *Scotia Pontificia* (Oxford, 1982) no.163. While questions have been raised regarding the authenticity of this bull, these doubts seem unfounded. For discussion see *ibid*, pp.154-8.

⁸⁴ These general points are also made in O'Sullivan, *Abbey, Market and Cemetery*, p.1048.

the river junction.⁸⁵ This places the ultimate location of the house outwith these lands, something borne out by King William's later donation of land for the site of the abbey since such a grant would have been unnecessary had the site lain within the lands donated by King Malcolm.⁸⁶ The land of Coupargrange must have been envisaged by Malcolm as the intended location of the house. Why the initial site was deemed unacceptable is unclear, but for whatever reason the monastery came to be located to the south of the River Isla. Such an occurrence was not unusual: a third of Cistercian houses in England and Wales moved site at least once before settling in their permanent locations and the monks of Melrose also appear to have rejected their originally-intended site as unsuitable for their needs.⁸⁷ It is in this context that King William's grant of the land of Keithick, which occurred around the same time, should be seen.⁸⁸ While Malcolm must have envisaged Coupargrange as the 'home grange' of the abbey, it is Keithick grange, which bordered the ultimate location of the precinct, which appears to have principally supplied the needs of the house.⁸⁹

Land Acquisition and Consolidation

Granges



Map 3: Granges

⁸⁵ Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit', pp.141-2; W.J. Watson, *The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2004), pp.242-3, 476, 521

⁸⁶ RRS, II, no. 154; *Brev.*, no. 12. As Rogers states, the abbey site lay within a different diocese and shire than the land of Coupargrange, ie. Coupargrange ('The Formation of the Parish Unit', pp.142-3).

⁸⁷ Brown, *Stanley Abbey* p.80; D. Knowles & R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London, 1971), pp.115-28; Fawcett & Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, pp.18-19

⁸⁸ RRS, II, no. 148; *Brev.*, no.5

⁸⁹ Discussed below in Functions of Granges section.

The system of grange agriculture is commonly regarded as the defining feature of the Cistercian economy. There was a clear expectation that granges would feature within Coupar's pattern of landholding; at the time of abbey's founding King Malcolm declared that they were to have the same peace as the abbey itself, anticipating their establishment before any such granges existed. The king's grant of the 'granges' of Balbrogie, Tullyfergus and Drimmie was undoubtedly a statement of intent rather than a description of reality.⁹⁰ The formation of a grange was a gradual and piecemeal process, involving the acquisition and rationalisation of lands and rights, referred to by Constance Berman respectively as 'horizontal' and 'vertical' compacting. The only site which came in largely ready-made form was that of Coupargrange, which had been intended as the abbey precinct and home grange, and so unsurprisingly came as a consolidated holding of lands and rights. The others would have to be assembled.

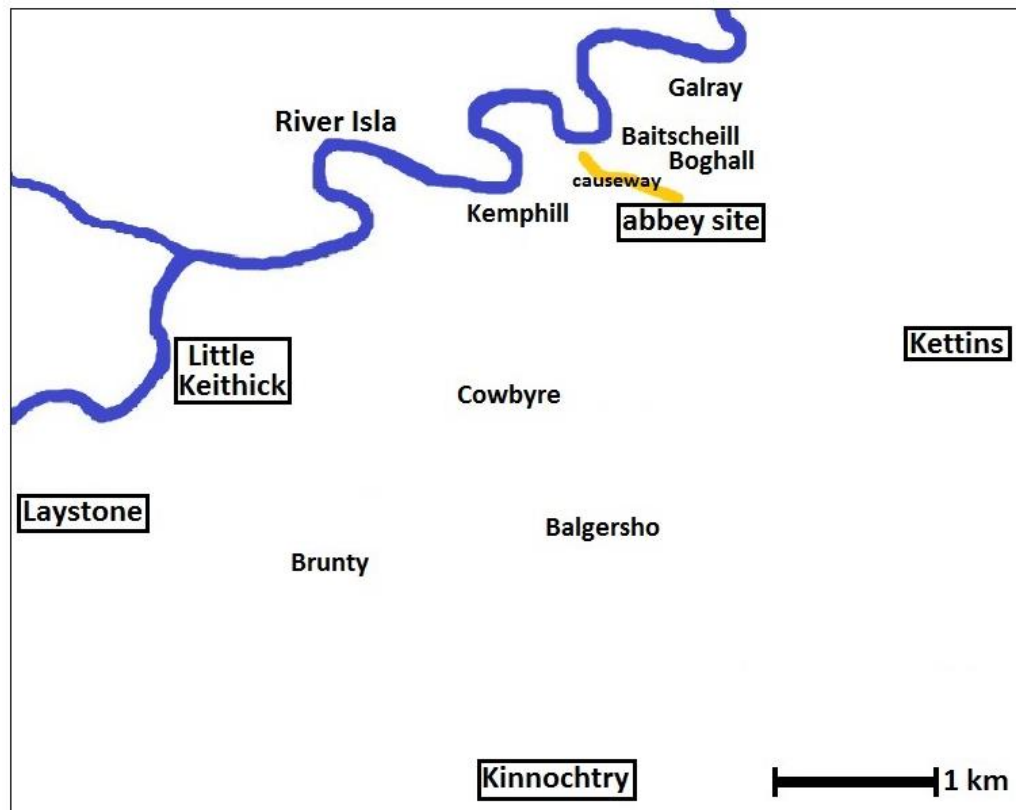
Even Keithick, hastily granted by King William as a replacement in the wake of the relocation of the monastery, required supplementary grants in order to function effectively. The grange stretched from immediately north of the house, out in a south-westerly direction, bounded to the north and to the west by the River Isla, Little Keithick (which belonged to Dunfermline abbey) and Layston, and bounded to the east by Kettins and Kinnochtry.⁹¹ A causeway was constructed from the precinct towards the river, as evidenced by references to the Causaheid and Causa end of our abbey, situated to the north, perhaps required due to an area of marshy ground since the place-name Boghall also occurs in this locality.⁹² In the 1220s, the abbey negotiated access to pasture and turf with a neighbouring landholder, William Munfichet. Various routes of free transit through the lands surrounding the grange were also obtained from William, including the road that went to the Bridge of Isla; the monks received another grant around the same time from Robert, earl of Strathearn, of one oxgang of land in Meikleour for the sustenance of this bridge.⁹³

⁹⁰ RRS, I, nos. 222, 282; As Burton & Kerr state, what was described as a grange was often a grange in the making (*The Cistercians*, p.170).

⁹¹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XXX, XXXI, XXXIII, CXL; C. Innes (ed.), *Registrum de Dunfermelyn* (Edinburgh, 1842), no. 85.

⁹² Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.202, 247, 248, 291, vol II, pp.169, 178-80. Causewayend is now the name of a main road which runs through the modern village of Coupar Angus from the precinct site towards the Isla.

⁹³ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XXX, XXXI, XXXV; *Brev.*, no.65; Neville, C.J., 'The Earls of Strathearn from the Twelfth to the Mid-Fourteenth Century, with an edition of their written acts', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1983), vol II, [no.44], Additional Charters no.11.



Map 4: Keithick grange

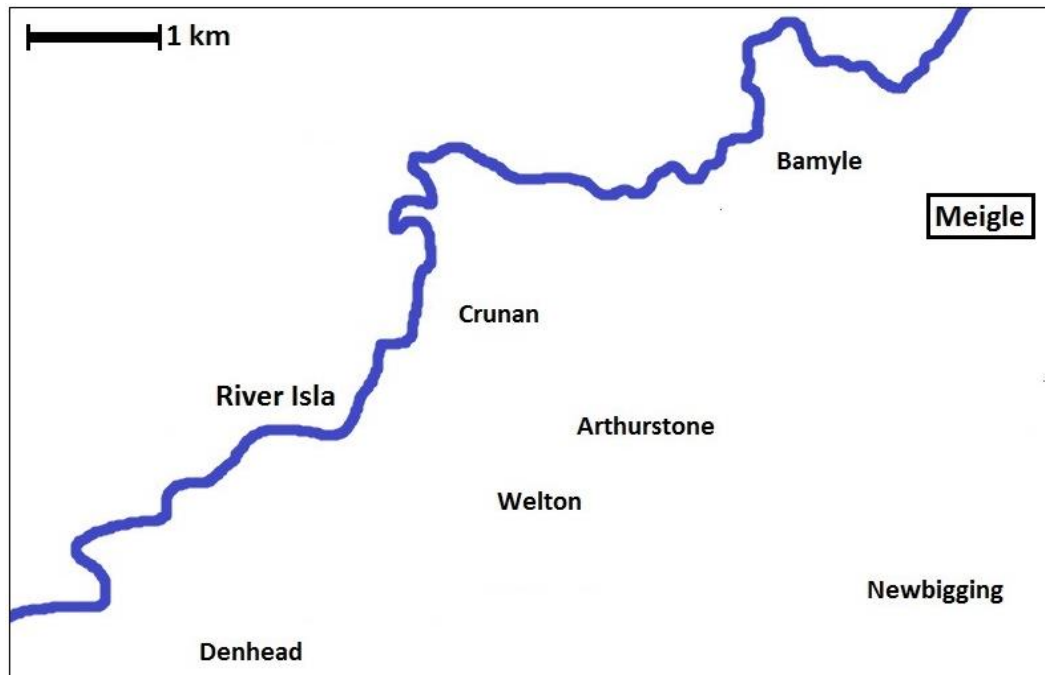
What becomes immediately apparent when examining the formation of Coupar's granges is that the abbey was far from a passive recipient of random land donations; grants made by all levels of society specifically allowed for the creation of consolidated properties.⁹⁴ At Balbrogie, the original holding was increased by a grant of Simon, son of Euard, of the land between Balbrogie and Meigle, expanding the grange out eastwards.⁹⁵ At its fullest extent, the holding seems to have extended from Denhead at its south-west point to Balmyle at its north-east point, bounded by the River Isla, encompassing Crunan, Arthurstone and Welton, and possibly extending to Newbigging in the south-east.⁹⁶ Access to peat for the working of the grange was gained around the turn of the thirteenth century when Michael of Meigle granted the rights of half of his marsh, and a century later, Michael of Meigle, lord of Meigle, granted free passage through his lands for the abbey's men with their goods.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ This process is evident for other Cistercian houses. See: Berman, *Medieval Agriculture*, pp.43-7, 60; Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey*, pp.20, 55, 67, 68, 116, 213-14; Jamroziak, *Rievaulx abbey and its Social Context*, p.134; T.A.M. Bishop, 'The Monastic Grange in Yorkshire', *English Historical Review* 51 (1936), p.202.

⁹⁵ *Brev.*, no.70.

⁹⁶ *Idem*, *Rentals*, vol I pp.124, 130, 142-4, 179-82, 183-7, 240, 278, vol II pp.24-5, 54-5, 120, 126-9, 186.

⁹⁷ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XVI, LXXXVIII; *Brev.*, no.71.



Map 5: Balbrogie grange

Neither Drimmie nor Tullyfergus are later referred to as granges, but there is strong evidence that Drimmie at least functioned in such a capacity. King Malcolm's grant included only a portion of Drimmie, which was divided into three parts: the "three Drimmies", Easter, Middle and Wester, along the bank of the River Ericht.⁹⁸ A perambulation of 1224 reveals that Coupar's land as donated by the king bounded the land of Cloquhat, thereby identifying it as Wester Drimmie, encompassing the modern sites of Rannagulzion House, Milton and Cairns of Drimmie.⁹⁹ The holding was extended by King William through a grant of two ploughgates in the territory of Rattray, described as adjacent to the monks' land, and at the beginning of the fourteenth century Coupar was making moves to expand it further.¹⁰⁰ In 1300, the monks leased from Adam of Glenballoch his portion of Drimmie for a term of eleven years.¹⁰¹ Shortly afterwards, this became a donation of the "two Drimmies" in Adam's possession, that is, Middle and Easter, along with a grant of free transit through his land which may have allowed access between Drimmie and Tullyfergus.¹⁰² King Malcolm's initial donation had come

⁹⁸ Idem, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.122-3, 167, 197-8, vol II pp.55-6, 129-34; National Library of Scotland, 'Pont Maps of Scotland, c.1583-1614', <<http://maps.nls.uk/pont>>, Map 27: Strathardle; Glenshee and Glenericht [accessed: 15 July 2016].

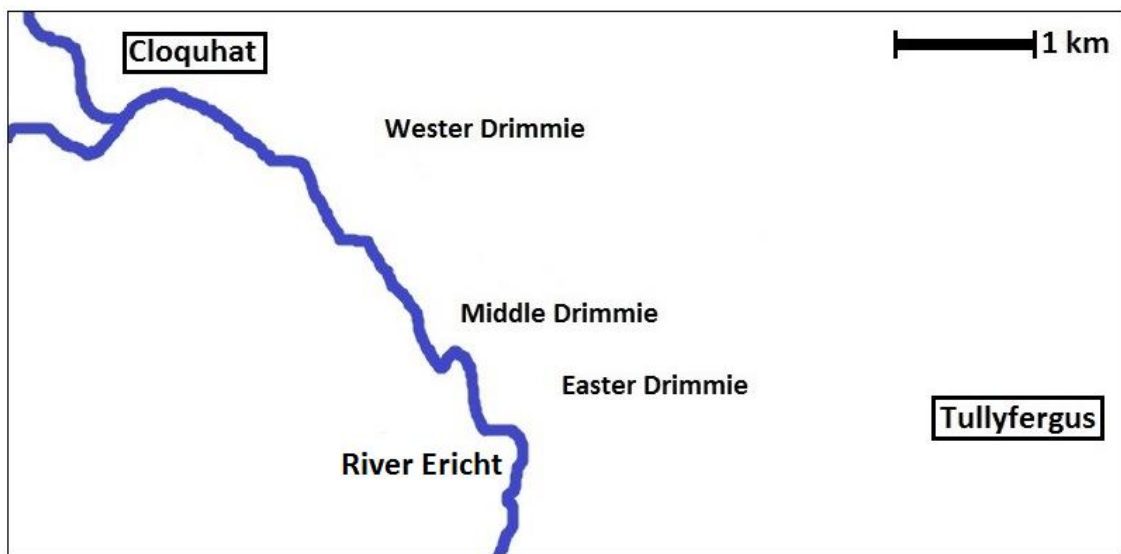
⁹⁹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXXIV; Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit', p.194, note 68

¹⁰⁰ RRS, II, no.222; *Brev.*, no. 13.

¹⁰¹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXVI.

¹⁰² Ibid, LXIX, LXXIII; *Brev.*, no. 91; RRS, V, no. 3.

alongside a grant of grazing rights in his forest of Drimmie, and the monks later acquired the common of Drimmie from Eustace of Rattray.¹⁰³ It would appear, therefore, that Coupar was involved in a long-term process of acquisition and consolidation of the type which would be expected at a grange site. Furthermore, the presence of *conversi* in the area during this period is shown by the settlement of a dispute in 1302 between Coupar and the same Eustace, which records that he had previously been excommunicated for violence towards the abbey's lay brothers, no doubt related to some form of land dispute in the area.¹⁰⁴



Map 6: Drimmie grange

Another grange which arose from an early royal donation was that of Aberbothrie. The land of Aberbothrie was granted by King William in 1166x1171 and the holding may have been expanded by the 1319 grant of King Robert I (1306x1329) of 'Aythnacathyl' and 'Blarerouthnakis' in the thanage of Alyth.¹⁰⁵ The exact location of these lands is unknown, but the fact that both are associated with Polcalk in later leases suggests that they lay to the north of the grange of Aberbothrie.¹⁰⁶ Other sites originated from noble donations. The lands of Airlie and Kinreich, granted by David Ruffus of Forfar at the turn of the thirteenth century,

¹⁰³ RRS, I, no. 226; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXXIV; *Brev.*, no.92.

¹⁰⁴ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXXII.

¹⁰⁵ RRS, II, no. 10; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. I, XIII, C; *Brev.*, no. 4; *Scotia Pontificia*, no.163; RRS, V, no.145; W. Robertson, *An index...of charters* (Edinburgh, 1798), p.4, no.38; J.M.Thomson et al, (eds.), *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum - The Register of the Great Seal, 1306-1688*, 11 vols (Edinburgh, 1882-1914), vol I, app. II, p.515, no.109/38.

¹⁰⁶ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.137-8, 149.

both became granges.¹⁰⁷ The monks' holding at Airlie was augmented in 1212 by a lease of the apdaine of Airlie from William, bishop of St Andrews, which is identified in the charter endorsement with the grange.¹⁰⁸ William of Fenton's early fourteenth-century donation of the land of Auchindorie was a few miles east and did not border it directly but his grant of free passage by all roads through his lands for the monks and their goods must have been utilised for the functioning of the grange.¹⁰⁹ Coupar's property at Kinreich, meanwhile, was enlarged by a part of the territory of Lour to the west of the road which led from Inverarity to Forfar, and perhaps further increased in 1273 when the monks received an additional two acres in Lour from Hugh of Abernethy of arable land in 'le undflate'.¹¹⁰ Carsegrange was also assembled through lay donations. The monks acquired their initial holding through a grant of William Hay in 1189x1195 of the land of 'Ederpolles' in the Carse of Gowrie; not an extant place-name, 'Ederpolles', meaning "between the pows", lay between the two burns which lead to Powgavie on the shore of the Firth of Tay.¹¹¹ By the turn of the thirteenth century, this had been enlarged by a grant of Richard de la Battelle of the land between Ederpolles and Inchmartine, extending the grange northwards.¹¹²

The site was not bounded by the burns for long; by the mid-thirteenth century the grange was extended southwards, over the burn, by a grant of William Hay of one ploughgate of land in Errol called 'le Murhouse', or Muirhouses as it is known today.¹¹³ This was further augmented by a grant of Roger, son of Baudric, whose land is stated in William's charter to border his own grant, of one oxgang on the south side of the grange.¹¹⁴ A bridge was constructed over the burn to facilitate access, the 'Brig End' at Muirhouses appearing in the later rental records.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁷ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XI; *Brev.*, no.76.

¹⁰⁸ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXI; *ibid*, pp.47-8. The term apdaine denotes an endowment of land belonging to an old church. For discussion, see: G.W.S. Barrow, *Scotland and its Neighbours in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), pp.121-3; Cowan & Eason, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p.53.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, nos. LXXI, XCI; *Brev.*, nos. 88, 89.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, no.44. There is a possibility that these are the same pieces of land. The first is described as being to the west of the road, and the second is described as being on the north side beside the road; this puts them both in the same general location. Hugh of Abernethy had acquired the barony of Lour and may have just been confirming the original grant. It should be noted that Scots acres were slightly larger than English acres, being based on the 'fall' of six ells or 18.5 feet, as opposed to the English rod of 16.5 feet. See R.D. Connor, A.D.C. Simpson & A.D. Morrison-Low, *Weights and Measures in Scotland: a European Perspective* (Edinburgh, 2004) pp.84-6.

¹¹¹ *Brev.*, no. 46; RRS, II, p.332.

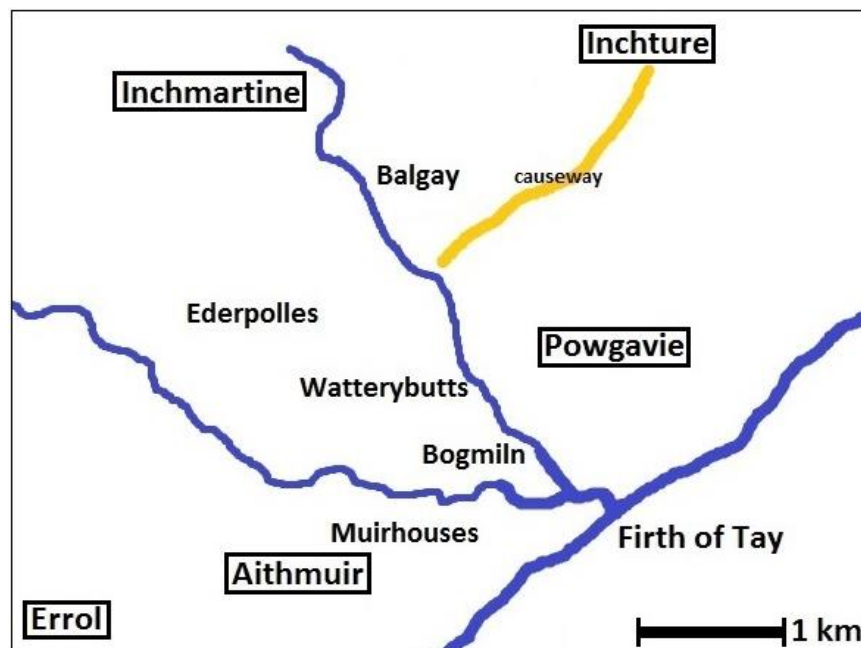
¹¹² *Brev.*, no. 50.

¹¹³ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XLII, XLVII; *Brev.*, no.51.

¹¹⁴ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LVII.

¹¹⁵ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, p.312, vol II, pp.225-6.

Carsegrange also appears to have expanded northwards over the other burn. A grant received from Adam, son of Angus, of an acre of land in 'Balgalli' may refer to Balgay, and the monks certainly appear to have been eager to develop their interests in this direction.¹¹⁶ Access to Inchturre from the grange was evidently a key concern in the earlier thirteenth century, and the monks received a grant from John Giffard of Powgavie of the road through his land, from the bridge over the burn which divided the grange from Powgavie, up to Inchturre.¹¹⁷ This was far from the most direct route between the grange and Inchturre, and it appears that transit between the two was impeded by an area of wetland.¹¹⁸ Within a few decades, the monks were constructing a causeway, receiving in aid of this a grant from Richard Kai of an acre and half a toft in Inchturre.¹¹⁹ A further toft and acre in Inchturre had also been acquired from Richard Hay.¹²⁰ Access to the grange was also facilitated by an extensive portfolio of grants of free passage through the surrounding lands, including Errol, Aithmuir and Inchmartine.¹²¹



Map 7: Carsegrange

¹¹⁶ *Idem*, *Brev.*, no. 58. This charter is recorded in amongst the other Carse of Gowrie charters in the *Breviarium* (see Appendix 1).

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, no. 60.

¹¹⁸ Drainage activity in the Carse of Gowrie is discussed in Water Resources section.

¹¹⁹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXXVII.

¹²⁰ *Brev.*, no. 59. Since this grant is recorded only in the *Breviarium*, the possibility must be considered that this is the same grant of Richard Kai, sloppily transcribed.

¹²¹ NRS, Transcripts and Photocopies of Miscellaneous Charters and Papers, RH 1/2/42; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXXXII, LXXXIII, LXXXIX, XC.

Other Lands

The tendency towards extensive, concentrated holdings is also seen in certain of Coupar's properties which lay outside of the grange system. The holding which was contained within the river junction created by the River Ardle and the Black Water, consisting of the lands of Persie and part of Cally, granted together around the turn of the thirteenth century, certainly has the feel of a purposely contained and consolidated piece of property.¹²² Nowhere is this more evident, however, than in Glenisla, where the abbey actively expanded and consolidated its interests over several centuries.¹²³ King Alexander II's 1233 grants of Bellaty, Freuchie, Craignity and Inverharity gave Coupar a large stretch of land to the east of River Isla along with a foothold to the west at Forter, access to which was permitted through the royal forest of Alyth.¹²⁴ This already largely condensed set of holdings was significantly expanded in the early fourteenth century, when numerous grants made by John of Kinross, of the lands of Cammock, Doonies and Alrick, put the monks in possession of the majority of this western bank to the south of Forter, though initially not of Auchinleish from which they only received a gift of annual rent.¹²⁵ Clearly unhappy with this scenario, whereby land which lay in amongst their own was outwith their control, the monks soon secured a grant of a half davoch of Auchinleish from John of Kinross, before completing their acquisition of the remaining land by, at the latest, the later fifteenth century through a mixture of purchase and donation.¹²⁶ The abbey's acquisition of 'Bogside', or Incheoch, at the foot of Glenisla, first mentioned in Coupar's records in 1547, was likely another purchase and appears to have been procured with a view to providing hospitality for those journeying to these lands.¹²⁷ Several other Glenisla place-names also materialise in the documentation for the first time in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; of these, Glenmarkie may represent a further purchase, though it seems likely that Dalvanie was a later subdivision of Forter considering the forest rights it commanded.¹²⁸

¹²² RRS, III, no. 397; *Brev.*, no.6.

¹²³ The various uses this site was put to by the monks are discussed later in the Functions of Granges, Milling, and Forest Resources sections. In addition, Glenisla was positioned at the Monega Pass through the Mounth (Grampian Mountains), meaning possession of this land put Coupar in control of an important route (R. Smith, *Grampian Ways: Journey over the Mounth* (Edinburgh, 2002), pp.154-63). It is possible that the monks charged tolls for passage through.

¹²⁴ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XLI; *Brev.*, nos. 15, 19; RRS, III, nos. 196

<<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2065/>>, 212 <<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2079/>> [accessed 16 July 2016].

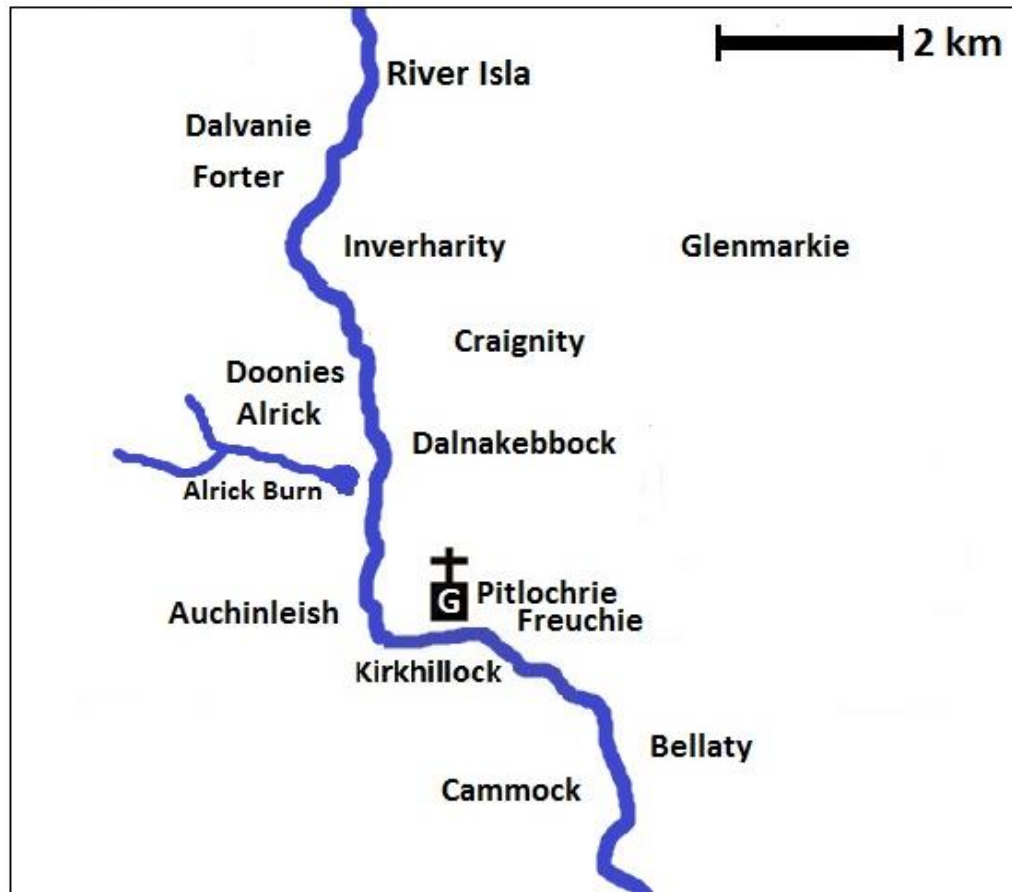
¹²⁵ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. LXX, LXXVI, LXXVIII, LXXIX; *Brev.*, nos. 82, 83, 84.

¹²⁶ RRS, V, no. 316; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. CXI, CXXXIX, CLII. A davoch, or *dabhach*, was a unit of land assessment based upon access to natural resources. For discussion see A. Ross, *Land Assessment and Lordship in Medieval Northern Scotland* (Turnhout, 2015).

¹²⁷ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II pp.42, 135-6, 200.

¹²⁸ Discussed in Woodland and Forest Resources section.

Kirkhillocks, Dalnakebbock and Pitlochrie, meanwhile, may represent the church lands acquired along with the parish church.¹²⁹



Map 8: Glenisla properties

The policy of condensation had its limits however. For Coupar, evidence is lacking for the process described by Emilia Jamroziak whereby Cistercian houses sold or exchanged smaller or more distant properties.¹³⁰ On the contrary, outlying holdings located at some distance, ranging from between twenty and fifty miles as the crow flies, from the abbey and its granges were retained. In many instances, this was due to their economically advantageous appurtenances. The land of Logie Pert, granted to the abbey at the turn of the fourteenth century, was kept due to the fishing rights it commanded in the North Esk.¹³¹ It was the same for Coupar's holding in the port of Stinking Haven, donated in 1214x1215, where the monks

¹²⁹ Dalnakebbock had been in the possession of the vicar (Ibid, vol I pp.285-6, 293).

¹³⁰ Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context*, p.134.

¹³¹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. LXVIII, CXXXIII.

took the relatively unusual step of retaining the property in their direct possession; this also appears to have been the case for their holding at Naughton, granted in the mid-thirteenth century, which likewise does not appear in the rental records but also included a valuable fishery.¹³² Coupar also retained scattered properties in the earldom of Atholl obtained in the first half of the thirteenth century at Murthly, Dunfallandy, Invervack and Tulach, the first three of which, at least, contained forest resources.¹³³ The abbey took a different approach to the management of these distant properties: the mid-thirteenth charter evidence indicates that, almost immediately after Coupar gained possession of them, Murthly became a hereditary feu while Dunfallandy and Tulach were leased to tenants, constituting some of the earliest evidence of the renting out of land by the abbey.¹³⁴ In fact, it seems likely that, as Cynthia Neville has argued, these men were the existing holders who were permitted simply to continue their occupancy when the land passed into the abbey's hands.¹³⁵ Even the land of 'Murthlie', or Morlich, in the earldom of Mar, granted to Coupar in 1317x1320, was neither sold nor exchanged. Indeed, despite the apparent utter impracticality of their ownership of it, the monks seem to have eagerly pursued its procurement; both they and John of Inchmartine, the granter, went to great lengths over a period of half a century to secure its confirmation from the earl of Mar. It not clear how soon the abbey installed tenants on the land after this confirmation as the earliest reference dates to the mid-fifteenth century.¹³⁶ Records of the leases of Morlich do, however, contain very specific articulations of the tenants' powers of autonomous management and, uniquely, name them as bailies of the land. This arrangement no doubt suited the monks, as the lands returned reasonably large rental payments of fourteen merks in the fifteenth century and seventeen merks a century later.¹³⁷

There are, however, instances where certain pieces of land appear to have outlived their usefulness. Tullochcurran, to the north of Strathardle, which was granted in perpetual feuferme in 1232 for a yearly rent of three merks sterling, is absent from the rental records

¹³² Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.80-2, vol II, app. II, no. 2; J. Stuart (ed.), *Registrum de Panmure*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1874), vol II, pp.125-6, 236-9; *Brev.*, no. 67.

¹³³ *Ibid*, nos.28, 32, 86; *Idem*, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.145, 153, 225, 242. Dunfallandy 'Huchtir', perhaps auchter (upper). See Watson, *The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, pp.238, 396, 432, 454, 477.

¹³⁴ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XL, L, LII.

¹³⁵ C.J. Neville, *Land, Law and People in Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, University Press, 2010), pp.155-6.

¹³⁶ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, p.137.

¹³⁷ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XCVII, CX; *Brev.*, no.90; RRS, VI, no. 328; *Idem*, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.239-40, 244, vol II, p.12; J. Robertson (ed.), *Illustrations of the Topography and Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, vols II-IV (Edinburgh, 1847-69), vol IV pp.427-30. The merk was the Scots equivalent of the English mark, ie. two thirds of the pound Scots or 13 shillings and 4 pence.

and there is no evidence that the payment continued to be made. This is despite the fact that the monks had been anxious to acquire this Highland property at the time, as the bishop of Moray was forced to exchange another piece of land with its then owner, Duncan, son of Gillymichel Mcath, in order to make the grant to Coupar.¹³⁸ On the whole, however, a very limited number of land donations are absent from later records, and the majority of these are cases where the grant consisted of only a portion. It is conceivable that the retention of such detached pieces of territory was deemed uneconomical, though it is equally possible that these portions came to be known under new designations and so are not readily identifiable in the rentals records. Indeed, there are a handful of such place-names in these records whose origin and location cannot be conclusively determined. One such example is 'Wyndy Haige', from which the abbey received 20s of annual income.¹³⁹ The Roy maps indicate that a place by the name of Windyedge lay north of the River Isla towards Meikleour, ie. at Bridge of Isla.¹⁴⁰ This means it can be identified as the oxgang in Meikleour donated by Robert, earl of Strathearn, for the sustenance of the bridge.¹⁴¹ It is more than possible that other grants of portions, such as the toft in 'Inverkoy', are also hiding in plain sight in the rental records.¹⁴² It can be said with certainty that a general policy of discharging outlying or relatively isolated holdings in favour of consolidation was not implemented by Coupar abbey.

Labour Resources

While it has traditionally been asserted that the *conversi* were the sole providers of manual labour on Cistercian lands, in more recent years this has been challenged and a large amount of regional diversity identified. It is clear from the rental records that, by the later medieval period, Coupar's lands were subject to large-scale leasing, but the determination of the composition of Coupar's early labour force can only be attempted via occasional glimpses in the sources. The immediate problem encountered is one of terminology: how should the frequent charter references to the abbey *et eorum hominibus* (and their men) be interpreted?

¹³⁸ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXXVIII; C. Innes (ed.), *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* (Edinburgh, 1837), no. 79. Tullochcurran is situated further up the River Ardlie from the abbey's holding at Cally and so the monks may have been keen to secure control of the water flow, perhaps to protect (or further) their fishing interests.

¹³⁹ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, p.207; NRS, Rental 1587, CH6/2/4 (Appendix 2, 23).

¹⁴⁰ National Library of Scotland, 'Roy Military Survey of Scotland, 1747-1755', <<http://www.maps.nls.uk/roy>>, British Library Maps C.9.b 18/3d [accessed 16 July 2016].

¹⁴¹ Neville, 'The Earls of Strathearn', vol II, [no.44], Add. Charters no.11; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXXV.

¹⁴² *Brev.*, no. 72.

References to lay brethren appear in the documentary evidence only in relation to the abbey's granges and there is little doubt that their role was generally confined to them. It has been noted above that, in the first half of the thirteenth century, Coupar's Atholl lands of Dunfallandy and Tulach were in the hands of tenants who had likely been the existing occupants when the abbey acquired these properties. Elsewhere, a charter which records the grant of land in Meikleour, dating to the same period, by Robert, earl of Starhearn, and confirmed by his brother Fergus, demonstrates that even on land located just a few miles from Keithick grange and easily accessible via a specific road to which the monks had been granted rights of free transit, the inhabitants remained undisturbed. That a legal distinction could be made between the monks and 'their men' inhabiting the land is demonstrated by a clause which stipulated that all forfeitures which befell these men would be given to the abbey. Furthermore, if necessary, judgements of water, iron, loss of limb, beheading or other forms of death would be executed against them by the earl's men.¹⁴³ It is unquestionable, then, that the inhabitants of these lands were certainly not members of the abbey.

The more contentious issue is to what extent *conversi* labour was utilised on the granges. Insight into this is gained through a charter of William Hay, lord of Aithmuir, dating to around the turn of the fourteenth century, which granted free passage through his land of Aithmuir, specifically differentiating between *monachis, fratribus suis conversis, et eorum hominibus ac servientibus* (the monks, their *conversi* brethren, and their men and servants).¹⁴⁴ This grant was intended to allow access between Carsegrange and the fisheries on the Tay, suggesting that this passage could be required by such a variety of people, and that the inhabitants of the grange were thus composed. Evidently, therefore, the 'men' of Coupar at Carsegrange were not solely members of the abbey. The situation was the same at the grange of Keithick, nearly a century earlier. In the early 1220s, the abbey received a grant of sixty cartloads of turf for the work of Keithick, to be received by the *conversi* of the grange 'or their men'; a clear distinction was made between the lay brothers and the other workers.¹⁴⁵ It can therefore be assumed that non-*conversi* labour was routinely employed on Coupar's granges.

¹⁴³ Neville, 'The Earls of Strathearn', vol II, [no.44], Add. Charters no.11; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XXXI XXXV.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, no. LXXXII.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, nos. XXX; XXXI; *Brev.*, no. 65.

Should this be taken as a symptom of the decline of the lay brotherhood, which is generally asserted to have been underway throughout the thirteenth century, or even as evidence of an initial failure of recruitment on the abbey's part?¹⁴⁶ The extant documentary evidence offers no indication of *conversi* numbers, and it is, of course, impossible to ascertain the extent of the western range at Coupar Angus. It has been convincingly argued, however, that the lay brethren were never intended to be the exclusive, or even principal, source of labour on Cistercian lands. Colin Platt is keen to stress that contemporary reports of 500 *conversi* at Rievaulx was clearly an exceptional example worthy of comment; moreover, the inclusion in this number of an undefined class of 'abbey servant', he argues, exemplifies precisely the group of lay workers "for which a place will have to be found on the granges". Indeed, as Platt identifies, the recruitment of the legion of *conversi* which would have been required to work Coupar's lands would have inevitably left the abbey with the substantial burden of supporting these men in later life. Instead, the lay brothers were intended to fulfil supervisory roles on the granges, managing them on behalf of the abbey. From the earliest days, then, Coupar's granges were worked by a lay labour force under the supervision of a small group of *conversi* overseers, headed by the grange master who had overall charge and responsibility for the general running.¹⁴⁷ It was in this capacity that the *grangiarus conversus* (grange master) was acting in 1215 when he perished in a fire at one of Coupar's granges.¹⁴⁸

Having identified that, even on the granges, the 'men' of the abbey were not members of the monastic community, the question remains as to who they were. It is probable that a number were hired labourers, but the majority were most likely to have been the existing peasantry resident on land acquired by the abbey, and who owed a suite of services as part of their rent.¹⁴⁹ As has been established, even the land which composed the initial endowment of the abbey, and would become Coupargrange, had long been organised into cultivated units of

¹⁴⁶ Specifically in a Scottish context, Oram suggests that the contrast between the extensive provision made for lay brethren at the twelfth-century foundation of Melrose, and the lack thereof at the thirteenth-century foundations of Balmerino, Deer and Sweetheart, may be indicative of a decline in recruitment (Oram, 'Prayer, Property and Profit', p.92).

¹⁴⁷ C. Platt, *The Monastic Grange in Medieval England: A Reassessment* (London, 1969), pp.76-93; R. Wright, "'Casting Down the Altars and Levelling Everything before the Ploughshare?'" The Expansion and Evolution of the Grange Estates of Kirkstall Abbey', in M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England*, IX (Woodbridge, 2003), p.190-1.

¹⁴⁸ Stevenson, *Melrose Chronicle*, p.43; J. France, *Separate but Equal: Cistercian Lay Brothers, 1120-1350* (Collegeville, 2012), p.139.

¹⁴⁹ Numerous examples of the utilisation of peasant labour on Cistercian granges throughout Europe are discussed in I. Alfonso, 'Cistercians and Feudalism', *Past and Present*, 133 (1991), pp.26-9.

lordship and settlement by the time the monks arrived, and it very unlikely that elsewhere granges were established on wholly uninhabited lands. Accusations of Cistercian depopulation have come under strong criticism, and, as Richard Oram has identified, there is scant evidence of a policy of deliberate expulsion in Scotland; like Melrose, therefore, Coupar had obtained “an established native labour force in the tenants of its lands”.¹⁵⁰ Cynthia Neville argues that Scottish monastic houses were anxious to secure sufficient peasant labour, and that these requirements were met by their benefactors who ensured that human resources were among the assets of the lands which passed into their possession.¹⁵¹ The only explicit mention of the transfer of unfree people as part of a land grant to Coupar is King Alexander II’s grant of lands in Glenisla in 1233, which was stated to include *natiuis dictarum terrarium* (neyfs of the said land).¹⁵² The importance of this labour resource to the abbey was demonstrated in 1248, when the king commanded the return of the fugitive neyfs of Glenisla to the monks, their rightful owners.¹⁵³ It is possible that the transfer of the thirled peasantry, as appurtenances of the land, was simply taken for granted in the majority of cases, with no need to explicitly articulate it, though it does seem coincidental that the sole references to neyfs in the abbey’s possession both relate to the same lands. Nevertheless, we can assume that, as has been suggested elsewhere, the majority of the peasant population, “tied to the abbey through its tenure of the land on which they lived and worked, continued in situ, most probably performing the same work and paying the same dues as they would have done for a secular lord”.¹⁵⁴ On the granges, this labour force was overseen by the *conversi*, and likely supplemented by seasonally hired labourers when required; off the granges, the peasant population continued to work the land as they always had done, largely unaffected by property transfers between secular lords and monks.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁰ Platt, *The Monastic Grange*, pp.76-93; Wright, ‘Casting Down the Altars’; G. Brown, ‘Stanley Abbey and its Estates, 1151-c.1640’, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 2011), p.227; Oram, ‘Prayer, Property and Profit’, pp.92-3.

¹⁵¹ Neville, *Land, Law and People*, pp.160-1.

¹⁵² Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XLI; RRS, III, no. 196 <<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2065/>>, [accessed 16 July 2016]; *Brev.*, no. 15.

¹⁵³ RRS, III, no.322 <<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1861/>>, [accessed 16 July 2016]; *Brev.*, no. 16.

¹⁵⁴ Wright, ‘Casting Down the Altars’, p.193.

¹⁵⁵ Bezant comments that, away from the administrative centre, “one wonders whether farmers elsewhere on the grange noticed the change from secular to monastic lordship at all” (J. Bezant, ‘Revising the Monastic Grange’, p.67).

Landed Resources

Common Rights

Access to sufficient pasture and fuel was a necessity for any landowner and such resources were often subject to shared rights. In the early 1220s, the abbey raised a dispute against a neighbouring landholder, William de Munfichet, in Cargill. An agreement was reached whereby the monks would have pasture for forty beasts of Keithick grange alongside William's own animals, along with sixty cartloads of turf for the work of the grange, and pasture for a further thirty animals outwith the bounds of Campsie.¹⁵⁶ The stipulation of fixed numbers of animals for grazing is evidence of souming, that is, the division of pasture into units which supported a finite number of livestock.¹⁵⁷ These types of precise statements were designed to mitigate future disputes on common grazings. For example, Melrose abbey had received a grant which included common pasture for three flocks of sheep from Cospatric, earl of Dunbar (d.1166), but in 1184x1196 his grandson, Earl Patrick, issued a charter clarifying that each flock was to number no more than 500, so that there would be 1500 animals in total, demonstrating the earl's concern that the abbey was overstocking this resource.¹⁵⁸ John Rogers suggests that the lands under dispute between Coupar and William Munfichet had originally formed one large estate of Cargill, broken up through various grants made by King William including that of Campsie to Coupar.¹⁵⁹ The grant made of Cargill to Richard de Munfichet in 1189x1195 thus represented the remainder of the diminished estate, later bringing Richard's successor and the monks into conflict over access to resources.

A similar scenario may account for the clause which appears in the contemporaneous settlement of a landed dispute between Coupar and Dunfermline abbeys which specified their respective rights in the large peatbog which came to be known as Monk Myre, a large portion of which, if not all, appears to have lain within the bounds of Coupargrange.¹⁶⁰ Again, Rogers

¹⁵⁶ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, vol. XXX, XXXI.

¹⁵⁷ Unfortunately nothing more specific can be said due to the absence of standardisation between different areas and the high level of variation evident within the same areas, as identified by Alasdair Ross. Methods of calculating soums, including the numbers of animals allowed per soum, differed from area to area. Moreover, soums were calculated in different ways at different times in the same area. See A. Ross, 'Scottish Environmental History and the (Mis)use of Soums', *Agricultural History Review*, 54 (2006), pp.213-228.

¹⁵⁸ C. Innes, (ed.), *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1837), vol I, no. 56.

¹⁵⁹ Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit', pp.165-7.

¹⁶⁰ Monk Myre: "Originally a shallow reedy pool, covering a bed of rich marl, it was deepened into a lake by extensive digging for removal of the marl.", F.H. Groome, Francis H., *Ordinance Gazetteer of*

argues that Dunfermline's lands of Bendochy and Couttie, the subject of the conflict, had previously lain within a larger estate of Coupar with Monk Myre as its common moor.¹⁶¹ A document of 1546 specified the specific allocation of portions of Monk Myre, as attested to by sworn witnesses, to the tenants of Coupargrange, Bendochy and Couttie, along with the inhabitants of the various subdivisions of Keithick. The remainder was reserved to the monks of Coupar for their use.¹⁶² The recording of this may indicate that questions had been raised as to the exact distribution of rights to this common resource, something which caused controversy elsewhere. In 1442, a complaint was made by Alexander Ogston against Coupar's tenants of Logie Pert regarding common pasture and fuel in the great south moor of Meikle Pert and the alleged illegal occupation and ploughing of part of the common moor. It was adjudged that the tenants would have their rights in the south moor in proportion to their land, but that if it was found that any of the common moor was under the possession and cultivation of Logie Pert then it would be restored to its former state of common.¹⁶³

In 1500, it was the turn of the monks of Coupar to take action in defence of their rights in Cargill, purchasing letters against John, Lord Drummond, who claimed that the monks were preventing him from labouring lands pertaining to him in heritage and poinded (distrained) their animals on the moor. The Lords of Council ordained that Drummond should desist from obstructing the monks from pasturing their animals and taking turf, according to their charters and evidence, but ruled that he had done no wrong in cultivating the moor so long as sufficient land was left for the abbey's uses.¹⁶⁴ The monks may not have been as innocent as this outcome would suggest, however. By 1500, the area of pasture allocated to Coupar may have been no longer capable of sustaining the numbers of animals specified in the early thirteenth century. Research has identified strong evidence of a general climatic downturn throughout the British Isles, though probably felt more keenly in certain areas, beginning in the later thirteenth century and established by the fourteenth. One impact of this cooling and wetting of the climate was to shorten the growing season. The resultant reduction in biomass increased pressure on grass resources, affecting both summer pasture and supplies of

Scotland: a Survey of Scottish Topography, Statistical, Biographical and Historical, 6 vols (Edinburgh, 1882-5), vol V, p.48.

¹⁶¹ Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit', pp.144-6.

¹⁶² Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, pp.3-4.

¹⁶³ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. CXXXII, CXXXIII.

¹⁶⁴ G. Neilson & H. Paton (eds.), *Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes*, II (Edinburgh, 1918), pp.424, 438; A.B. Calderwood (ed.), *Acts of the Lords of Council*, III (Edinburgh, 1993), pp.5, 13; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CLVI.

winter fodder, and placing winter grazing under strain as it came under use for longer periods each year. A reaction to this may have been the local reassessment of souming levels, reducing Coupar's entitlement to pasture in terms of numbers of animals.¹⁶⁵ In response, the monks quoted their charter evidence in, ultimately successful, defence of their claims. In Cargill, then, it would appear that, not for the first or last time, the monks were pressing their ancient rights to the detriment of their neighbours.¹⁶⁶

Functions of Granges

Much of the historiography considers Cistercian granges to be predominantly arable farms, perhaps a logical inference considering that the term *grangia* is derived from granary.¹⁶⁷ Across Europe, however, Cistercian sites performing an extensive variety of functions, from wine or salt production to horse breeding, were all referred to as 'granges'.¹⁶⁸ As Platt states, it was the "physical character of the locality" which was the primary factor in determining the nature of a grange.¹⁶⁹ Even studies which acknowledge a degree of variation, however, emphasise the predominance of arable farming, something which the form of a grange holding is considered to be inherently suited to. But in a Scottish context specifically, Richard Oram has questioned the extent of cereal cultivation being undertaken by Cistercian monasteries considering the evidence that well-endowed, early establishments such as Melrose were supplementing a shortfall in their grain supply through substantial market purchases.¹⁷⁰ That is certainly not to say that such crops were not produced on Coupar's lands; one of the abbey's "best granges" was described as being full of grain when it caught fire in 1215, though presumably the narrower translation of *grangia* as a storehouse should be applied here.¹⁷¹ The

¹⁶⁵ R. Oram & P. Adderley, 'Lordship and Environmental Change in Central Highland Scotland c.1300-c.1400', *Journal of the North Atlantic*, 1 (2008), pp.74-84; R. Oram, *The Lordship of the Isles* (Leiden, 2014), pp.55-9; Idem, 'Estuarine Environments and Resource Exploitation in Eastern Scotland c.1125 to c.1400: A Comparative Study of the Forth and Tay Estuaries', in E. Thoen *et al* (eds.), *Landscapes or Seascapes? The History of the Coastal Environment in the North Sea Area Reconsidered* (Turnhout, 2013), p.373.

¹⁶⁶ For further examples of this see Fisheries: Management and Protection section.

¹⁶⁷ J.N. Adams, *The Regional Diversification of Latin, 200 BC-AD 600* (Cambridge 2007) p.326. For example see: Bishop, 'The Monastic Grange in Yorkshire'; Berman, *Medieval Agriculture*, pp.61-93; R.A. Donkin, *The Cistercians: Studies in the Geography of Medieval England and Wales* (Toronto, 1978), pp.44, 63; J. France, *The Cistercians in Scandinavia* (Kalamazoo, 1992), p.257; G. Coppack, *The White Monks: The Cistercians in Britain, 1128-1540* (Stroud, 1998), p.97.

¹⁶⁸ France, *Separate but Equal*, p.116; Platt, *The Monastic Grange*, pp.71-2; Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey*, p.68; Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians*, pp.173-4; J. Burton, 'The Estates and Economy of Rievaulx abbey', *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 49, (1998), pp.69-81.

¹⁶⁹ Platt, *The Monastic Grange*, pp.71-2.

¹⁷⁰ Oram, 'Prayer Property Profit', pp.92-3.

¹⁷¹ Stevenson, *Melrose Chronicle*, p.43.

assumption that arable production was the main function of Coupar's granges, however, cannot be taken at face value.

Instead, Coupar's extensive involvement in the wool trade indicates that, as was the case for many other houses, to a large extent its lands must have been devoted to sheep farming and wool preparation. According to the notebook of Italian merchant, Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, dating from around the turn of the fourteenth century, Coupar produced thirty sacks of wool annually, far more than Balmerino's fourteen though lower than Melrose's fifty. Working on the basis that 1000 sheep would produce four or five sacks of wool, this would place Coupar's flock at around 7,500, though this can be considered a highly conservative estimate since Pegolotti has been shown to have underestimated levels of production. Moreover, while his figures suggest that Melrose's flock numbered around 12,000 animals c.1300, export figures indicate that by the 1390s the figure was closer to 17,000, rising to 20,000 in the late 1420s.¹⁷²

While the precise composition of Coupar's grange lands cannot be ascertained, the documentary evidence reveals that access to pasture on and around Coupar's granges was a key concern. Grazing rights for the livestock of Keithick were disputed and resolved in the 1220s, a settlement which also included a grant of sixty cartloads of turf for the work of the grange and free transit of wood through adjacent lands, both of which were likely utilised for the construction of farm buildings and enclosures.¹⁷³ David of Ruffus' grant of Kinreich included the common pasture of Lour, the confirmation of which a century later by Alexander of Abernethy referred to common right in the easements of the moor of 'Munthgray', and the monks also held pasture rights at Carsegrange on the moor of Aithmuir.¹⁷⁴ Some form of livestock was also farmed at Drimmie, where rights of pasture in the forest had been included in King Malcolm's initial endowment of the abbey. The monks later also acquired possession of the common and terms of compensation to be made for straying animals were agreed with a

¹⁷² Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La Practica della Mercurata*, (ed.) Allan Evans, (Cambridge, 1936), p.259. Figures also quoted and discussed in A.A.M. Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1996), p.430; Oram, 'A Fit and Ample Endowment?', p.70; P.G.B. McNeill & H.L. MacQueen, *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1996), p.251. There were approximately 24 stones of wool per sack (E. Gemmill and N. Mayhew, *Changing Values in Medieval Scotland: A Study of Prices, Money, and Weights and Measures* (Cambridge, 1995), p.403).

¹⁷³ Easson, *Coupar Angus Charters*, nos. XXX, XXXI; *Brev.*, no. 65.

¹⁷⁴ Easson, *Coupar Angus Charters*, nos. XI, XLVII, LXV; *Brev.*, nos. 76, 79.

neighbouring landowner.¹⁷⁵ Specific mention of common pasture was also made in John of Kinross' grant of land in Auchinleish; although not formally a grange, Coupar certainly appears to have taken advantage of pasture opportunities offered by their vast, consolidated holding in Glenisla.¹⁷⁶ In the mid-fifteenth century, twenty score (400) sheep were kept by a tenant of Pitlochrie, while sixteenth-century leases refer to the schyphird (shepherd) land of Dalvanie which supported fourteen score (280) sheep, tenants being required to herd and keep as many sheep as the abbot pleased to Coupar's profit.¹⁷⁷ Indeed, the place-name element *dal-* indicates a rich water meadow where seasonal grazing could be provided.¹⁷⁸ The abbey's lands in Glenisla, then, were likely providing both winter grazing and summer pasture, for different animals at different times of the year as part of transhumance regimes. Moreover, the exploitation of pasture for profit was a lucrative business and Coupar may have been capitalising on this by renting out certain areas of grazing within their vast holding.¹⁷⁹

Certain granges also performed more industrial functions. Oram has argued that Scottish Cistercian houses may have been extensively involved in industrial tanning, as they were in England and Wales; bark, which was used in the tanning process, was certainly specifically articulated among grants of forest easements made to the monks of Coupar.¹⁸⁰ The presence of oxen at Carsegrange is shown by a mid-thirteenth century donation of Gilbert Hay which granted the monks permission to transport the animals across his land and it is possible that the grant made by Alexander of Abernethy around the turn of the fourteenth century of twenty cartloads of peat to be received at Carsegrange was utilised as fuel for such a tannery.¹⁸¹ The grange at Kinreich, meanwhile, appears to have been devoted to the production of cloth as the monks had erected a fulling mill here by the mid-thirteenth century,

¹⁷⁵ RRS, I, no. 226; Easson, *Coupar Angus Charters*, nos. LXVI, LXXIV; *Brev.*, no. 92.

¹⁷⁶ RRS, V, no. 97; W. Fraser (ed.), *The Cartulary of Pollak-Maxwell* (Edinburgh, 1875), no.6.

¹⁷⁷ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, p.119, vol II, pp.236, 260-2, 267-8.

¹⁷⁸ Watson, *The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, pp.414-15; Oram & Adderley, 'Lordship and Environmental Change', p.9.

¹⁷⁹ Transhumance regimes, or the seasonal movement of livestock, in Scotland have been discussed in A. Ross, 'Assessing the Impact of Past Grazing Regimes: Transhumance in the Forest of Stratha'an, Banffshire', (2004), <<https://www.stir.ac.uk/media/wwwstiracuk/cehp/images/ross-transhumance.pdf>> [accessed: 16 July 2016].

¹⁸⁰ Oram, 'Prayer, Property and Profit', pp.92-3; C.J. Bond, *Monastic Landscapes* (Stroud, 2004), pp.323-4, 352-3; RRS, I, no. 226; Somerville, *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 163; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XIII. Bark mills are recorded in the possession of Kirkstall, Fountains and Beaulieu: C.J. Bond 'Monastic Water Management in Great Britain: A Review', in G. Keevil, M.A. Aston & T. Hall (eds.), *Monastic Archaeology: Papers on the Study of Medieval Monasteries*, (Oxford, 2001), pp.114-15.

¹⁸¹ NRS, Transcripts and Photocopies of Miscellaneous Charters and Papers, RH 1/2/42; *Brev.*, no. 81.

which was still standing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁸² Presumably surplus, and probably lower quality and unsuitable for foreign trade, wool was woven into cloth here for the local market at the nearby burgh of Forfar. A fulling mill also stood at Keithick by the later fifteenth century.¹⁸³ It is clear, therefore, that Coupar's granges performed a variety of functions and were engaged in diverse economic activities.

The grange of Keithick also served another important purpose, functioning as the 'home grange' of the abbey and supplying the immediate internal needs of the house.¹⁸⁴ The rental records reveal a far higher level of territorial organisation and extensive land division on Keithick grange than, for example, at Coupargrange where the land was simply leased in equal portions without specific designations, perhaps indicating more intensive cultivation. The working nucleus of agricultural production on the grange was located in the immediate vicinity of the abbey precinct, where the *horreum major* (great barn), of the grange was found at Cowbyre, along with that of the fodder of the cattle and the seed house. Tenants in Cowbyre were instructed that they must bring the hay of the meadow to the monastery before pasturing their own animals. The 'kitchen acres' were situated nearby and local tenants were granted rights to the ashes of the brewhouse, bakehouse and oven.¹⁸⁵ In 1503, John Baxter was given charge of carpentry in the brewhouse, mill and wheelhouse, in return for land in Cowbyre, provisions of food and drink, and a yearly payment of seven merks and a stone of wool.¹⁸⁶ At Galray, tenants were instructed to allow passage to the house and garden of the cook of the convent. They were also required to maintain the broom for the hearths and ovens of the abbey.¹⁸⁷

The broom parks of Keithick also served another purpose. At Kemphill, they provided shelter for the abbey's cuningar (rabbit warren), which they bordered.¹⁸⁸ As Tom Williamson

¹⁸² Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LX; Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.141, 145, 148, vol II, pp.81-2, 82, 201.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, vol I, pp.126, 161, 204, 214.

¹⁸⁴ Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians*, p.168.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, vol I, pp.128, 139-40, 172-3, vol II, pp.123-4; J. Stuart *et al* (eds.), *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, 23 vols (Edinburgh, 1878-1908), vol XXIII, appendix, pp.478-9.

¹⁸⁶ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.258-9.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, vol II, pp.167-9. The planting of broom was required by a parliamentary statute of 1458: Brown, K.M., *et al*, *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707'* (RPS), (2007-2016), <<http://www.rps.ac.uk>>, 1458/3/28 [accessed: 16 July 2016].

¹⁸⁸ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I pp.193-4, 202-3, vol II, pp.169-70, 183; J.M. Gilbert, *Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1979), p.213.

identifies, many warrens featured purpose-built accommodation for the rabbits in the form of mounds of soft, dry earth, but this was not always the case and there were other ways of providing suitable accommodation. While apparently much less common, in England at least, Williamson does cite several examples similar to the setup described for Coupar's warren where banks of low-growing vegetation had been established to shelter the rabbits. Charge of the cuningar was assigned to a warrener, whose duties included protecting the rabbits from both predators and poachers, preventing escapees, managing their food supply, and of course, capture and killing. He was also charged with protecting the broom, which would inevitably have to be continually replenished as it came under attack from the rabbits themselves.¹⁸⁹ In return, Coupar's warrener held two acres of land at Kemphill, no payment being due providing he did his duties, together with easements and rights in the common pasture of the grange for his cattle; other tenants of this land were warned that he was not to be removed from his designated patch.¹⁹⁰ It was essential that the warrener be resident and many larger warrens contained lodges which served as both a home and working base.¹⁹¹ Documentary evidence of Coupar's cuningar is not found until these fifteenth-century rental records, however it is highly likely that its existence predates this as rabbit warrens began to appear in the possession of ecclesiastical landowners in Scotland a century earlier.¹⁹² Unlike other types of game, rabbits were unregulated and landholders were free to construct rabbit warrens on their property without royal permission. Also unlike other types of game, the main purpose of the cuningar was economic, rather than recreational, and rabbits were valuable both in terms of their flesh and their fur.¹⁹³ The trade in rabbit skins was underway in Scotland by the reign of Robert I when a duty was set on them and the Exchequer Rolls reveal a moderate level of trade in the fifteenth century, but the close proximity of the warren to the abbey itself perhaps suggests that the internal supply of meat was its main purpose.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁹ T. Williamson, *The Archaeology of Rabbit Warrens* (Princes Risborough, 2006), discussed at pp.42-4; Idem, *Rabbits, Warrens and Archaeology* (Stroud, 2007), pp.20-3; Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, p.180.

¹⁹⁰ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.187-8, 193-5, 202-3, vol II, p.183.

¹⁹¹ Williamson, *The Archaeology of Rabbit Warrens*, pp.11-12.

¹⁹² Gilbert, *Hunting and Hunting Reserves*, p.212. Williamson links the increase in rabbit warrens from the fourteenth century onwards to agricultural diversification in the wake of declining population and falling grain prices (*The Archaeology of Rabbit Warrens*, p.7).

¹⁹³ Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, p.180; Gilbert, *Hunting and Hunting Reserves*, pp.211-13.

¹⁹⁴ Figures quoted at *Ibid*, p.213.

Water Resources

Throughout Europe, monasteries created extensive and elaborate systems of water management. The Cistercians, in particular, are often singled out for special mention when discussing medieval water engineering, credited with the construction of complex arrangements of fishponds, the application of milling technology to industrial processes, and the widespread alteration of the landscape through the drainage of wetlands and the diversion of rivers. Magnusson argues that, while sophisticated water systems existed for nearly all categories of religious institution, the communication channels of the Cistercian Order, facilitated by its filiation networks and General Chapter meetings, may have allowed for the diffusion of hydraulic technology, with monasteries such as Clairvaux acting as ‘opinion leaders’. Aside from the potential for shared expertise, however, Magnusson also provides evidence of a ‘financial threshold’ that determined which religious houses, among all types, undertook such projects, thereby identifying income as a key factor.¹⁹⁵ Indeed, it is commonly argued that monasteries took the lead in water management due to the high levels of capital and labour resources at their disposal, coupled with a clear willingness to invest in such schemes, something Richard Holt attributes to their “long-term, corporate, mentality”.¹⁹⁶ The management and exploitation of water systems was of great importance to Coupar abbey, allowing the opportunity to undertake two key economic activities: milling and fishing. Both were highly sought-after, valued and protected by monks and lay landowners alike.

Within the Precinct

Access to a water source would have been a fundamental concern when determining the location of the abbey and both the initially-intended site at Coupargrange and the eventual permanent site were well-served in this capacity. No details survive of exactly how the monastery was provided, though a supply of sufficient volume and reliability must have been long established by the 1290s when Hugh de Eure, lord of Kettins, granted the Bradewell spring and a conduit through his land in order for the monks to direct the water to the abbey.¹⁹⁷ A number of English Cistercian abbeys similarly acquired grants of the right to

¹⁹⁵ R.J. Magnusson, *Water Technology in the Middle Ages: Cities, Monasteries and Waterworks after the Roman Empire* (London, 2001), pp.11-14.

¹⁹⁶ R. Holt, ‘Medieval England’s Water-related Technologies’, in Paolo Squatriti (ed.), *Working with Water in Medieval Europe* (Leiden, 2000), p.88; C.J. Bond, ‘Water Management in the Rural Monastery’, in R. Gilchrist & H. Mytum (eds.), *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries* (Oxford, 1989), pp.83-5; R. Magnusson & P. Squatriti, ‘The Technologies of Water in Medieval Italy’, in P. Squatriti (ed.), *Working with Water in Medieval Europe* (Leiden, 2000), pp.245-6.

¹⁹⁷ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXIII.

convey spring water to the house, long after their foundation. It may be that water was collected in a cistern at the head of the main conduit to the abbey, and therefore could be supplied from several different sources.¹⁹⁸ Alternatively, Bond describes how conflicting requirements could make it necessary to draw water from more than one source. For example, a supply of sufficient flow for driving a mill may not be pure enough for drinking water, and vice versa.¹⁹⁹ The expansion of Coupar's water requirements by the late thirteenth century may point to development within the precinct, perhaps in the construction of tanning pits of the type seen at Melrose abbey.²⁰⁰ The tanning of leather, an activity which it has been suggested Scottish Cistercian houses may have been extensively involved in, was a process which caused water pollution through the washing of the hides at various stages.²⁰¹ It may be that Coupar's acquisition of a supplementary water source was intended to allow a separation of functions between this and other supplies.



Photograph 2: Tanning pits at Melrose abbey

¹⁹⁸ Bond, 'Monastic Water Management', pp.91, 125-6, 128.

¹⁹⁹ Idem, 'Water Management in the Rural Monastery', p.85.

²⁰⁰ Fawcett & Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, p.197.

²⁰¹ Oram, 'Prayer, property and profit', pp.92-3; J. Cherry 'Leather', in J. Blair & N. Ramsay (eds.), *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products* (London, 1991), pp.295-9. As noted earlier, bark, used in the tanning process, was specifically indicated in grants of forest easements made to Coupar.

Beyond the Precinct

Drainage: The Case of Carsegrange

Water management also involved its removal from landscapes. The surviving sources are largely silent on the issue of drainage and land reclamation, but there is one area where it is clear that Coupar was involved in such activities. The nature of the landscape of the Carse of Gowrie is revealed by its name, 'kerse' denoting low, alluvial land along the banks of a river. Coupar's initial holding within the Carse was the land of Ederpolles, bounded by slow-moving streams, and various other place-names within the abbey's grange, such as Watterybutts and Bogmiln, are also indicative of the wet environment. Nearby locations, meanwhile, containing the element 'inch', or island, signify areas of higher ground, and in the thirteenth century the monks of Coupar constructed a causeway from Carsegrange, across an area of wetland, to Inchtur.²⁰² Under the abbey's ownership, the areas of cultivation within the grange were expanded, but as Richard Oram is keen to stress, reclamation within the Carse of Gowrie was neither initiated by nor solely sustained by the monks of Coupar. Grants of land such as Muirhouses and Aithmuir were clearly arable areas developed under lay ownership, something which continued alongside the monks' own efforts. Moreover, the extent of reclamation was far from total, the creation of the modern arable landscape of the Carse being the result of drainage schemes undertaken hundreds of years later.²⁰³

Mills

Of chief concern for ecclesiastical mill-owners and their lay counterparts alike was generating income. This could be achieved through the receipt of multure payments for grain milling, the production of various goods through industrial milling, and secondary economic activities associated with mill water-systems such as fishing. Mills were valuable commodities, therefore, and as such their ownership and associated rights were often closely guarded. Though in some cases the monks acquired mills already situated on donated land, a mill could be too valuable to relinquish, however pious its owner.²⁰⁴ Adam, son of Abraham, of Lour's grant of Kinreich to David Ruffus of Forfar reserved to Adam and his heirs a site for a mill, at which David could grind his corn with multure. Adam gave permission to David to bequeath the land to Coupar abbey, which he did soon after, but again saving the site of the mill and its

²⁰² Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), *South-East Perth: An Archaeological Landscape* (Edinburgh, 1994), pp.2-3; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, XXXVII.

²⁰³ Oram, 'Estuarine Environments and Resource Exploitation', pp.363-4.

²⁰⁴ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. LV, LXVI; *Brev.*, no. 66.

aqueduct to Adam.²⁰⁵ The monks did not gain control of the mill until a century later, when the grant was confirmed by Alexander of Abernethy.²⁰⁶ Alexander also granted the multure of the entire barony of Lour, which apparently was due to this mill, and explains why Adam had previously been reluctant to surrender possession of it.

The functioning of mills depended upon their water supplies, and control of this resource was keenly defended by their owners. David Hay was careful to exclude his mill-pond from the grant of the land of Ederpolles to Coupar.²⁰⁷ The mill was presumably situated on one of the burns bounding the land, with the mill-pond on the monks' side of the boundary. It is probable that this was the mill of Aithmuir referred to in the mid-thirteenth century; by 1305, when Gilbert Hay sought confirmation of his possession of the mill-pond and watercourse which ran over the monks' land, the grange had expanded across the southern burn, likely prompting Gilbert's request for affirmation.²⁰⁸ The monks, for their part, were careful to stipulate that the watercourse and floodgate were not to be enlarged in any way. As Adam Lucas has identified, the construction of a mill, and particularly its associated water system, was expensive, which is likely to be part of the reason they were so cautiously protected. It was far cheaper, therefore, to later reconstruct a water mill on an existing site, rather than to erect a new one.²⁰⁹ When Wester Drimmie was let in the mid-fifteenth century, the monks kept their options open, including a clause to allow for sufficient easements for a mill should they choose to construct one either on the burn or "upon the great water", that is, the River Ericht.²¹⁰ They later decided on the burn.²¹¹ It may be assumed that the site on the burn was that referred to centuries previously as the Miln Lead, lying between Drimmie and the forest of Alyth, and therefore the pre-existing mill water system may have been the deciding factor for the mill site.²¹² However, in certain instances it appears to have been desirable to construct new mill sites. At Keithick, the monks' reserved the right to relocate the mill to a more profitable location.²¹³ This actually took place in the cases of the mills of Aberbothrie and Inverharity, the

²⁰⁵ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. X, XI; *Brev.*, no. 76.

²⁰⁶ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXV; *Brev.*, nos. 79, 81; RRS, V, no. 3.

²⁰⁷ *Brev.*, no. 48.

²⁰⁸ Stuart, 'The Erroll Papers', no. 11; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXXXI.

²⁰⁹ A. Lucas, *Wind, Water, Work: Ancient and Medieval Milling Technology* (Leiden, 2006), pp.133-41.

²¹⁰ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.197-8.

²¹¹ *Ibid*, vol II, pp.55-6, 132-4.

²¹² RRS, V, no. 161.

²¹³ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.178-9.

potential lucrativeness of these new sites apparently outweighing the costs involved in such repositioning.²¹⁴

The continual maintenance required by a mill was also a significant financial burden which could run to a substantial percentage of the income generated by the mill.²¹⁵ Once its mills began to pass into the hands of lay tenants, Coupar was sure to shift this burden onto the leasees. Tenants to whom mills, both grain and fulling, were let were required to assume responsibility for repairs and upkeep and these instructions were sometimes very specifically articulated, such as at Drimmie where tenants were expected to undertake the “hame bringyn of the mill stanis, haldin in of the water to the mill, and upholding of the mill house effering to their part” (procurement of mill stones, the preservation of water to the mill, and upholding of the mill house pertaining to them).²¹⁶ Likewise, issues with the water supply of a mill would need to be swiftly rectified. An instruction of 1484 from the abbot to the tenants of Carsegrange that they should bring their corn to be ground at the Bogmiln “when she shall have water”, hints that some such problem had developed.²¹⁷ This may have been what prompted William Maxwell of Telling in 1492 to grant the monks permission to construct an aqueduct through the lands of Powgavie to the mill of Carsegrange.²¹⁸

The environmental impact of mills and their water systems could generate considerable hostility. A substantial amount of litigation in England was the result of harm done by mills, and it can be assumed that such disputes were also prevalent in Scotland. Mill water systems could cause the flooding of neighbouring lands, and the diverting of a river’s flow impaired its uses further downstream.²¹⁹ When King Robert I granted permission to Coupar to construct a pond and lade for their mill at Cally on the River Ardle, a warning was addressed to the foresters of Clunie that they were to permit the monks to do so and allow them access to repair it, without disturbing or hindering them.²²⁰ The River Ardle formed the boundary

²¹⁴ Ibid, vol I, pp.126-7, 292.

²¹⁵ Lucas, *Wind, Water, Work*, pp.136-40.

²¹⁶ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.125-7, 132-4, 149, 280, vol II, pp.132-4.

²¹⁷ Turnbull, *Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica*, app. VI, no.2.

²¹⁸ Perth and Kinross Council Archive (P&KC Archive), Baron Kinnaird of Inchtute, MS100/1/593, MS100/1/594.

²¹⁹ J.S. Loengard, ‘Lord’s Rights and Neighbours Nuisances: Mills and Medieval English Law’, in S.A. Walton, *Wind and Water in the Middle Ages* (Tempe, 2006), p.130, 132; R.C. Hoffmann, *An Environmental History of Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2014), p.212.

²²⁰ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CVIII; RRS, V, no. 306.

between Cally and the forest of Clunie, and therefore the impact of such construction was likely to have been a source of grievance for the foresters. To avoid such conflict, it was thus desirable to control a stretch of water from both banks. In 1233, King Alexander II's donation of lands in Glenisla had given Coupar access to a large portion of the River Isla from the eastern bank, but only a foothold on the western bank; full control of this body of water, upon which several mills would be established at Freuchie, Inverharity and Pitlochrie, was largely secured in the early fourteenth century when numerous grants made by John of Kinross put the monks in possession of the majority of the western bank. This was completed in the later fifteenth century when the abbey obtained the remaining lands at Auchinleish which had been outwith its control.²²¹

Coupar also utilised more creative means in order to establish adequate water supplies for its mills. In 1500, the abbey rented the land of 'Red Gothens' from Andrew Liel, treasurer of Aberdeen and pensioner of Brechin.²²² The lease was made with the condition that the monks would recover the lands "wrongly occupied by neighbours", the lords of Lethendy, Meikleour and Essendy, and also refers to the damming of the water to the monks' mill, which would be permitted according to the will of Andrew and his successors. It seems, therefore, that the lease represented a mutually beneficial agreement, whereby the diverting of the water by the monks would be tolerated in exchange for their reclamation of the illegally occupied land on behalf of Andrew. The water of Red Gothens was the Lunan Burn, and was diverted by way of a "heap of stone and wood" to the monks' nearby corn mill of 'Lethcassy', the land of which had been in the possession of Coupar since the twelfth century. In the 1530s, however, presumably once the lease had lapsed and the land had passed out of the monks' possession, a legal complaint was raised regarding the dam by James Scrimgeour of Red Gothens.²²³

²²¹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XLI, LXX, LXXVI, LXXIX, CXI, CXXXIX, CLII, *Brev.*, nos. 15, 82, 83; RRS, III, no. 196 <<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2065/>> [accessed: 18 July 2016]; RRS, V, nos. 3, 97, 316; Fraser, *Cartulary of Pollok Maxwell*, no.6.

²²² P. Chalmers & C. Innes (eds.), *Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1856), vol I, no. 110. The modern Upper and Nether Gothens, next to Meikleour, Lethendy, Essendy and the Lunan Burn.

²²³ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. CLXX, CLXXI; *Brev.*, no. 35; Idem, *Rentals*, vol II pp.224-5. The Pont Maps shows the mill of 'Laidcassy' in the immediate vicinity of Gothens: NLS, 'Pont Maps of Scotland, c.1583-1614', <<http://maps.nls.uk/pont/>>, Map 27: Strathardle; Glenshee and Glenericht [accessed 16 July 2016].

Grain Milling

The vast majority of Coupar's mills were devoted to grinding grain. A portion of this was the abbey's own produce, largely intended for internal consumption with surpluses sold to the local market. Their mills were also used by the lay people who lived and worked on the lands in their possession. By the time certain lands came under Coupar's ownership, rights of multure which legally tied the grain of particular land to certain mills, known as 'suit of mill', were already established over them. In some instances, land donated to the monks' was exempted from the suit of mill previously attached to it, as was the case with John of Kinross' grant of the lands of Cammock, Doonies and Alrick in Glenisla.²²⁴ However, this was not necessarily the case, as the multure of Auchindorie, the land of which came into Coupar's possession in the early fourteenth century, evidently belonged to the mill of Fyal, some distance away.²²⁵ References to suits attached to Coupar's own mills are almost wholly absent from the early records and it seems likely that initially their mills functioned without them. Research on English medieval mills has shown that "milling monopolies" were not the norm, and the numerous 'independent' mills were capable of attracting enough custom to generate reasonable revenues.²²⁶

Over time, however, a system of multure rights was established over many of Coupar's lands as a way of maximising the profitability of their mills. Suit of mill was a valuable asset, and it was defence of this right of their mill in Lour to the multure of the barony that prompted the monks in 1478/9 to take legal action against Alexander Guthrie regarding a mill built at Kincaldrum and the multure of that land.²²⁷ Lucas describes how Cistercian holdings were generally sufficiently well-consolidated in order to establish suit of mill over their tenants.²²⁸ The multure of Coupar's lands in Glenisla were divided between the mills of Freuchie and Inverharithy, while the tenants of Coupargrange and Carsegrange did their debt to Millhorn and Bogmiln, respectively, which were located on the corresponding granges.²²⁹ This may have been met with a certain amount of resistance. Despite the significant labour-savings offered, compulsion to travel to mills which could be inconveniently located may have been grudged.

²²⁴ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXXIX.

²²⁵ *Ibid*, no. LXXI; *Brev.*, no. 88; RRS, VI, no. 324.

²²⁶ A. Lucas, 'The Role of the Monasteries in the Development of Medieval Milling', S.A. Walton, *Wind and Water in the Middle Ages* (Tempe, 2006), pp.102, 117.

²²⁷ T. Thomson (ed.), *Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes*, I (Edinburgh, 1839), vol I, p.5; *Idem*, *The Acts of the Lords Auditors of Causes and Complaints, 1466-1494* (Edinburgh, 1839), p.69; RPS, 1479/3/11 [accessed: 17 July 2016].

²²⁸ Lucas, 'The Role of the Monasteries', p.107.

²²⁹ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, pp.16-17, 50, 92-3, 106-8, 175-7.

Loengard describes suit to a mill as “a festering issue”, resented by those it was imposed upon and avoided through home-use of handmills or querns, instigating serious disputes between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries particularly between ecclesiastical lords and their tenants, something Bond also comments upon.²³⁰

It may have been in an effort to suppress the use of querns that a statute was issued in 1480 by the abbot of Coupar, at a court held at Coupargrange, decreeing that all tenants were to bring their grain to be ground at whichever mill to which it was thirled. The tenants of Carsegrange seem to have been particularly resistant as a statute of 1484 was directed specifically at them, instructing them to bring their grain to and pay multure to the miller of Bogmiln.²³¹ In some cases, tenant opposition may have successfully altered suits of mill; whereas previously the tenants of Persie and Cally had been required to do their debt to the mill of Drimmie, this was later altered to the far more conveniently located mill of Cally.²³² But in general, if anything a more rigid and complex system of multure rights on the abbey’s lands had developed by the sixteenth century, with debts owed to what appears to be a restricted network of key mills. Whereas in the previous century the tenants of the grange of Aberbothrie had done their debt to the mill of the same, with free multure, by the mid-sixteenth century duties were owed to the mill of Blacklaw.²³³ Tenants of Balbrogie, meanwhile, were required to make payment to the mill of Keithick.²³⁴

Industrial Milling

Though it has been asserted that the Cistercians led the way in industrial milling technology, as with many other aspects of the monks’ historiographical reputation for technological advancement, research has shown that the extent of the Order’s application of hydraulic power to such purposes has been exaggerated.²³⁵ Indeed, more generally, it has been

²³⁰ Loengard, ‘Lord’s Rights and Neighbours Nuisances’, pp.137-9; Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, pp.310-11.

²³¹ Turnbull, *Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica*, app. VI, nos. 1, 2.

²³² Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, p.243, vol II, pp.72-3, 78-9. The mill of Cally was in the process of being constructed in 1518 when the holders of the mill of Drimmie were promised that they would also be offered first refusal on the tack of the new mill, no doubt since a portion of their revenue was to be diverted to it (Morgan, ‘Economic Administration of Coupar Angus Abbey’, vol II, p.2).

²³³ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.173-5, vol II, pp.63-4.

²³⁴ *Ibid*, vol II, pp.9-10, 24-5, 41-2.

²³⁵ J. Gimpnel, *The Medieval Machine: The Industrial Revolution of the Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1988); L. White, *Machina Ex Deo* (Cambridge, 1968), pp.66-7; Magnusson, *Water Technology in the Middle Ages*, pp.13-14; Bond, ‘Monastic Water Management’, p.114.

demonstrated that despite claims for a medieval European ‘industrial revolution’, in fact there were only “geographical pockets of technological innovation within a broader environment of technological incrementalism”. Areas where the profitability of industrial milling compared favourably with grain milling, such as France, led the way in the application of waterpower to such processes, while in areas such as England, where industrial mills were far less lucrative, this was relatively rare.²³⁶ Despite this overemphasis, however, that is not to say that the monks were not to some extent more enterprising in this capacity than their lay counterparts.²³⁷ Water-powered forges had been established at French Cistercian sites by the 1130s, and the Cistercians of England were familiar with the application of waterpower to smithing by the turn of the thirteenth century as ironworking complexes had been constructed at Kirkstall and Bordesley abbeys.²³⁸ It is possible that a similar operation was in place on Coupar’s land at Lintrathen, where they were granted two davochs by Alan Durward in the 1250s.²³⁹ A pre-existing mill is referred to in the donation charter, indicating an already-constructed water-system, and it may have been that this was converted into an industrial milling site by the monks, as a later description of these lands refers to the water of ‘Melgewin’, ie. mill of *gobhainn* (smith), now known as the Melgam Water.²⁴⁰ Certain evidence of this type of milling does not appear in relation to Coupar until the fifteenth century, when a mill in Glenisla and an associated *fabrica* (workshop) was let to Donald Smith, a telling occupational surname. That this was indeed a smithy is revealed by references to the smith-land and the ‘smedy’ croft in Glenisla.²⁴¹ The related mill appears to have been that which was situated at Pitlochrie, which was later let to James Smith and to which no multure payments were thirled, unlike Coupar’s other two mills in Glenisla.²⁴²

²³⁶ A. Lucas, ‘Industrial Milling in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds: A Survey of the Evidence for an Industrial Revolution in Medieval Europe’, *Technology and Culture*, 46 (2005), pp.24-5, 28-9; P. Benoit & J. Rouillard, ‘Medieval Hydraulics in France’, in P. Squatriti (ed.), *Working with Water in Medieval Europe* (Leiden, 2000), p.194.

²³⁷ Lucas, *Wind, Water, Work*, pp.254-5; Lucas, ‘Industrial Milling’, p.23; Bond, ‘Monastic Water Management’, pp.114-15.

²³⁸ Benoit & Rouillard, ‘Medieval Hydraulics in France’, p.195; Hoffmann, *An Environmental History*, p.214; Holt, ‘Medieval England’s Water-related Technologies’, p.73; Lucas, *Wind, Water, Work*, pp.251-2

²³⁹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LV; *Brev.*, no. 66.

²⁴⁰ Idem, *Rentals*, vol I, p.131. For a similar example, see the entry for Peingown (pennyland of the smith) on Bòrd na Gàidhlig *et al*, ‘Gaelic Place-Names of Scotland’, (2006-2011) <<http://www.gaelicplacenames.org/>> [accessed: 26 July 2016].

²⁴¹ *Ibid*, vol I, p.226, vol II, p.200, 234, 253, 258.

²⁴² *Ibid*, vol I, pp.138, 265, 294.

Given their involvement in the wool trade, investment in industrial fulling was a logical move for Coupar. Over half of the fulling mills on ecclesiastical estates in Wales from the late fourteenth to early sixteenth centuries were held by Cistercian houses.²⁴³ Similarly, in England, where the vast majority of industrial mills were fulling mills located within the vicinity of local markets, the Cistercians were the most active of the monastic orders in such activities.²⁴⁴ By the mid-thirteenth century, the monks of Coupar had erected a fulling mill at Kinreich, the grange of which was probably devoted to cloth production.²⁴⁵ Further examples of this type of milling are later found at Keithick, where a fulling, or waulk, mill had been constructed by the fifteenth century.²⁴⁶ Another type of industrial milling was also taking place at Keithick by this time; the corn mill was now undertaking a secondary function and had an associated brewery.²⁴⁷ Conventional corn water-mills could just as easily be used to grind malt for brewing.²⁴⁸ The mill at Cally was performing the same role, where the mill was leased alongside the brewhouse and brewland.²⁴⁹

Fisheries

Medieval Christian ideology forbade the consumption of meat, meaning terrestrial animals, for over one third of the calendar year. On these days, however, it was permitted to eat 'cold flesh', meaning water-dwelling creatures, and thus developed the Christian tradition of substituting fish on specified days.²⁵⁰ Fish was therefore a key part of the monastic diet and all houses sought access to a source. While the earliest Cistercian writings imagined fish as an occasional supplement to a vegetarian regimen, this was very soon modified and by the later twelfth century a house like Coupar was consuming increasing amounts. Fish continued to constitute an important component of the Cistercian diet into the later Middle Ages, when

²⁴³ Lucas, *Wind, Water, Work*, p.286.

²⁴⁴ Idem, 'Industrial Milling', p.25; Idem, 'The Role of the Monasteries' pp.105-6.

²⁴⁵ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LX.

²⁴⁶ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I p.126, 161, 204, 214.

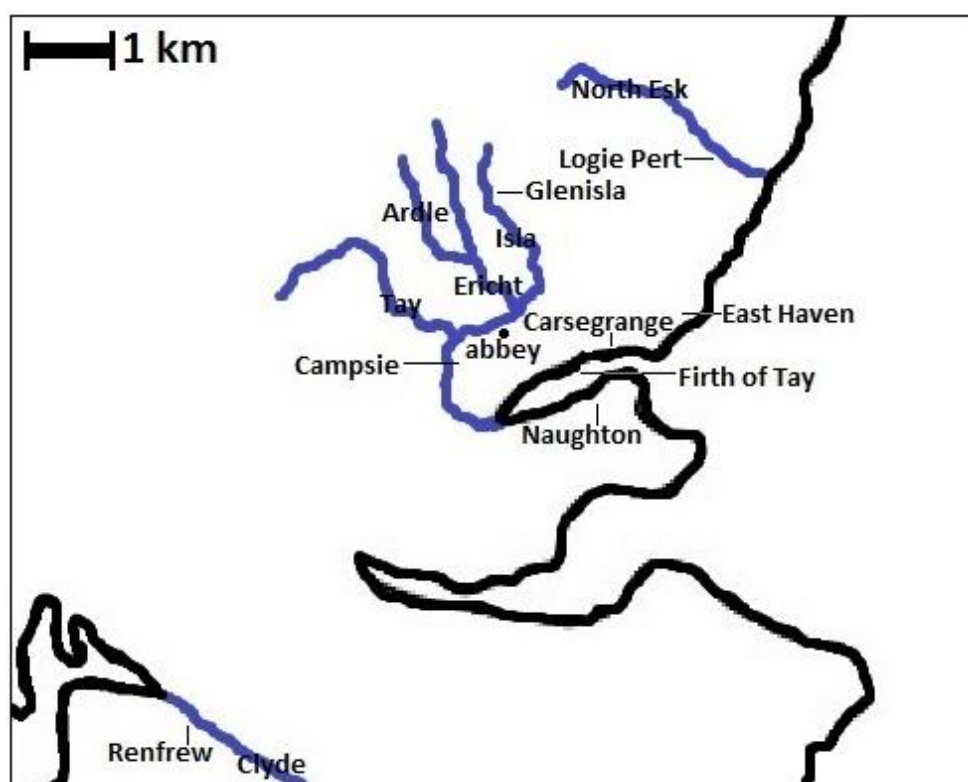
²⁴⁷ Ibid, vol I, pp.151, 246, 258-9, vol II pp.20-2, 101-2.

²⁴⁸ Lucas, *Wind, Water, Work*, pp.236-41.

²⁴⁹ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, p.194; Morgan, 'Economic Administration of Coupar Angus Abbey', vol II, p.125.

²⁵⁰ R.C. Hoffmann, 'Fish and Man: Changing Relations in Medieval Central Europe', *Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich*, 15 (1999), p.187; Idem, 'A Brief History of Aquatic Resource Use in Medieval Europe', *Helgoland Marine Research*, 59 (2005), p.23; P.J.E.M. van Dam, 'Fish for Feast and Fast: Fish Consumption in the Netherlands in the Late Middle Ages', in L. Sicking and D. Abreu-Ferreira, *Beyond the Catch. Fisheries of the North Atlantic, the North Sea and the Baltic, 900-1850* (Leiden, 2009), pp.309-20.

monks were eating meat relatively frequently.²⁵¹ It was thus essential that Coupar secure an adequate supply and this clearly was an active concern for the monks. The only species specifically referred to in grants of fisheries is salmon, but presumably the monks were also catching many others such as pike, perch, sea trout, greyling and lamprey, all of which inhabit Scottish rivers. Eels, for example, may have formed an important part of the abbey's catch.²⁵² Elsewhere in Scotland, the abbey of Inchcolm received 1000 eels in annual rent from the land of Strathenry, gifted by Robert de Quincy (d.1200), and in 1165x1171 King William granted that Dunfermline abbey were to have the teind of eels rendered yearly by Donald Forthar.²⁵³ In addition, a parliamentary statute of 1681 referred to a license of the "old abbot of Inchaffray" and his successors regarding the taking of eels and other fish in the Pow of Inchaffray.²⁵⁴



Map 9: Fishing resources

²⁵¹ E.M. Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order in Medieval Europe, 1090-1500* (London, 2013), pp.17, 63, 191-2, 260; R.C. Hoffmann, 'Mediaeval Cistercian Fisheries, Natural and Artificial', in L. Pressouyre (ed.), *L'Espace Cistercien* (Paris, 1994), p.402; J. McDonnell, *Inland Fisheries in Medieval Yorkshire 1066-1300* (York, 1981), pp.21-2; Burton, 'The Estates and Economy of Rievaulx Abbey', p.57.

²⁵² For discussion of the development of monastic eel fishing in a European context see: C.H. Berman, 'Reeling in the Eels at La Trinquette Near Arles', in S.G. Bruce (ed.), *Ecologies and Economies in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2010), pp.149-164.

²⁵³ Somerville, *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 85; RRS, II, no. 108.

²⁵⁴ RPS, 1681/7/132 [accessed: 17 July 2016]. Pows were often a site for eel fishing, something which the monks of Coupar may have exploited at Carsegrange.

The initial endowment to the abbey of the land of Coupar included the right to fish in both the Ericht and Isla and salmon fisheries were established on both rivers on the bounds of what would become Coupargrange.²⁵⁵ Fisheries were also established in the vicinity of other granges. Within easy access from Carsegrange, the Hay family granted permission in the earlier thirteenth century to the abbey to place a fishing net on the Tay wherever they judged most profitable between 'Lornyn' and the hermitage that Gillemichael the late hermit held.²⁵⁶ In addition, around the turn of the fourteenth century, William Hay, lord of Aithmuir, granted a site for two cruives, on the shore of the Tay between the marches of the lands of Aithmuir and Powgavie on one side, and the land of Randerston, in Errol, on the other, alongside cruives already established by him and his men. He also granted free transit through his land of Aithmuir between the fisheries and Carsegrange. On the other side of the Tay, John Hay of Naughton granted to the monks a toft and yair on his land.²⁵⁷ Fisheries were also established within easy reach of the grange of Keithick at 'Cambusadon', which came into the possession of Coupar before the turn of the thirteenth century. This place-name is not extant but, like Keithick, the teinds of Cambusadon belonged to the church of Cargill.²⁵⁸ A dispute between the abbey and William Munfichet, "concerning lands, fishing and other things" in the general vicinity of the grange occurred in the 1220s. No mention is made of fishing rights in the settlement of this dispute, however the various routes of free transit through William lands conceded to the abbey and their men may have been partially intended to provide access to their fisheries at Cambusadon on the Isla.²⁵⁹

Coupar also obtained fishing rights further afield. In the later twelfth century, Alan son of Walter, steward of the king of Scots, granted a toft in the burgh of Renfrew and a fishing net for salmon in the Clyde.²⁶⁰ Another donation, made by Philip de Valognes in 1214x1215,

²⁵⁵ RRS, I, no. 226; Somerville, *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 163; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XIII; Stuart, *Exchequer Rolls*, vol XXIII, app., p.464.

²⁵⁶ Stuart, 'The Erroll Papers', no. 7; *Brev.*, no. 57. The hermitage at Carsegrange with the fishing appears in the 1587 Rental (Appendix 2, 22).

²⁵⁷ R.C. Hoffmann, 'Salmo salar in Late Medieval Scotland: Competition and Conservation for a Riverine Resource', *Aquatic Sciences*, 77 (2015), p.361; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXXXII; *Brev.*, no. 67. The Scots term *cruive* referred to the wicker cages for catching fish, while the 'yair' was the barrier or fence itself.

²⁵⁸ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. VII, XXVIII, LVI; *Brev.*, nos. 94, 97, 98; N. Shead, (ed.), *Scottish Episcopal Acta, I, Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 2016), no. 50. A 'cambus' is a sharp river bend (see Watson, *The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, pp.94, 138, 202-3). There are several along the boundary of Keithick grange (see Map 4).

²⁵⁹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XXX, XXXI; *Brev.*, no. 65.

²⁶⁰ J. Stevenson (ed.), *Illustrations of Scottish History, From the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century* (Glasgow, 1834), no.15; *Brev.*, no. 93.

granted an acre of land in his port of Stinking Haven, now known as East Haven, to make a toft and buildings, with fishery and easements of the sea. The acre lay adjacent to the seashore, and the implication is that a residence was to be established in the port.²⁶¹ The monks added fishing in the North Esk to their portfolio around the turn of the fourteenth century when Walter Lindsay, lord of Thurston, granted all his lands of Logie Pert.²⁶² The later rental records reveal that Coupar also established fisheries at Campsie, Drimmie, Cally and Balbrogie, on the Tay, Ericht, Ardle and Isla respectively.²⁶³ Additionally, fishing activities were also associated with mill sites on abbey lands; as has already been noted, the construction of mills and their associated water systems interrupted the natural flow of rivers, and so the migration of fish such as salmon and eels was consequently affected. Structures such as millponds, therefore, served a secondary function as artificial fisheries.²⁶⁴ Gilbert Hay, though carefully guarding possession of his mill's water supply, relinquished to the monks the right to fish in his millpond.²⁶⁵ Later rentals of land in Carsegrange refer to the waterstanks (ponds) where pike, eels and other fish could be caught, which may be associated with either the water system of the Hay mill or that of Bogmiln. The mill at Lethcassy was also a site for catching eels, while at Coupargrange an acre of land related to the mill was known as "the fisher's".²⁶⁶

Certain Cistercian houses also supplemented their supply of fish with systems of fishponds. It has been argued that the communication networks of the Order allowed continental houses to lead by example in disseminating knowledge of selective breeding techniques and thereby developing fish farming on Cistercian estates.²⁶⁷ Richard Hoffmann, however, has questioned the suggestion of Cistercian innovation in this field, arguing that the evidence does not suggest that the monks were any more advanced in fish culture than their contemporaries amongst the lay elite.²⁶⁸ Indeed, studies which identify largescale and complex systems of fishponds at

²⁶¹ *Registrum de Panmure*, vol II, pp.125-6, 236-9; Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.80-2, vol II, app. II, no.2.

²⁶² Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. LXVII, LXVIII.

²⁶³ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, p.222, 124-5, 303-4, vol II, pp.166-7, 187.

²⁶⁴ Hoffmann, *An Environmental History*, p.212; Idem, 'Medieval Fishing', in P. Squatriti (ed.), *Working with Water in Medieval Europe* (Leiden, 2000), p.382-3.

²⁶⁵ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XCIV; Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, app. iii, no.4.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid*, vol I, pp.188-90, vol II pp.224-5, 239, 258. The leases reveal that the ponds at Carsegrange were in close proximity to an orchard; there are several historic orchard sites within the bounds of the grange lands, and examples are found near to both mills sites (C.W. Hayes, *Historic Orchards of the Carse of Gowrie, Phase 1 Survey: An Investigative Study on their Location, Extent and Condition, Report to Perth and Kinross Countryside Trust* (2007), <<http://www.crispinwhayes.com/projects.html>>, [accessed: 17 July 2016]).

²⁶⁷ McDonnell, *Inland Fisheries*, pp.23-4.

²⁶⁸ Hoffmann, 'Mediaeval Cistercian Fisheries', pp.404-6.

English houses have also found that selective breeding was being practised in local royal and noble ponds.²⁶⁹ In Scotland, the evidence indicates that neither monks nor the laity engaged in this type of aquaculture. The explanation for this may lie in the apparent density of Scottish river systems, thus rendering investment in such practices unnecessary.²⁷⁰ As Richard Oram has identified, though, the seasonal nature of Scottish monastic fisheries, which exploited migratory species, principally salmon, meant that some form of alternative, out-of-season sources must have been available to the monks.²⁷¹ Singular fishponds, or holding ponds, do appear to have existed within the precincts of Sweetheart and Balmerino abbeys, while a mid-sixteenth-century rental of the abbey gardens at Coupar refers to the stankis (ponds).²⁷² These types of small ponds near to the point of consumption were a convenient means of storing fish until needed, acting as 'live larders'.²⁷³ Another solution was for houses to obtain the means of salt-production in order to preserve their catches, something which Coupar secured in the first half of the thirteenth century when Walter Bisset donated a saltpan at 'Aldendonecha', near Aberdeen, along with sufficient peat for making the salt.²⁷⁴ In addition, from 1326 onwards, Coupar benefitted from permission granted by King Robert I to catch salmon in the close season in the Tay, Isla, Ericht and North Esk.²⁷⁵ The abbey's supply was further supplemented, in the sixteenth century at least, by a regular delivery of 'hard' fish, a type of stockfish, which the tenants of Kinreich were compelled to make from the burgh of Montrose "or any other port on the sea shore within Angus or Mearns".²⁷⁶

²⁶⁹ C.J. Bond, 'Monastic Fisheries', in M. Aston (ed.), *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds in England* (Oxford, 1988), pp.69-112; McDonnell, *Inland Fisheries*; C.K. Currie, 'The Role of Fishponds in the Monastic Economy', in R. Gilchrist & H. Mytum (eds.), *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries* (Oxford, 1989), pp.147-51.

²⁷⁰ Research undertaken by Richard Hoffmann and Alasdair Ross as part of the Inland Fishings in Medieval Scotland project (<https://www.stir.ac.uk/cehp/projects/pastprojects/inland-fishings/>). As discussed in Trade: Salmon section.

²⁷¹ Oram, 'A Fit and Ample Endowment', p.71.

²⁷² A. Ross forthcoming article on European fishing, c.1000-c.1350; R. Oram, *A monastery and Its Landscape: Whithorn and Monastic Estate Management in Galloway, c.1250-c.1600* (Whithorn, 2005); Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, p.210-11.

²⁷³ Hoffmann, 'Mediaeval Cistercian Fisheries', p.403; Bond, 'Monastic Fisheries', p.95.

²⁷⁴ Oram, 'A Fit and Ample Endowment', pp.73-4; Fawcett & Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, p.243; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XLVIII. 'Aldendonecha' is possibly the modern Altens Haven.

²⁷⁵ RRS, V, no. 298; *Brev.*, no. 25.

²⁷⁶ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.206-7, vol II, pp.81-3, 86-7, 102-3, 173-4, 201; Bond, 'Monastic Fisheries', p.73. Stockfish were cod or other gadids which had been split open and dried.

Management and Protection

Cistercian houses assigned the management of their fisheries to a *magister piscium* (master of fish), usually a lay brother, who oversaw their use.²⁷⁷ Later, large-scale leasing theoretically moved fisheries out of the direct control of the abbey, but in reality Coupar continued to manage many of them closely, particularly the seine-net salmon fishings on the Tay at Campsie. The teind sheaves of the land belonged to the tenants of Campsie in return for working the fishings, but the abbey provided their own fishermen who were stated to be “at the command of the abbot”, and for whose sustenance the tenants were required to provide three bolls per fisherman. Generally speaking, tenants supplied all equipment and were commanded to “haf all thair gratht redy for our fischin within viii dais eftir thair corne be led in” (have all their equipment ready for our fishing within eight days after their grain is brought in), though certain instances record that the abbey provided the boat, something which Hoffmann suggests indicates the existence of at least two separate fishings at Campsie. Strict instructions were issued regarding the net, which was to be “xxxiiii fawdome of lintht, and four fawdome of breid in the bosum, and thre fawdome and a half at baitht the wingis of breid” (34 fathoms of length, and four fathoms of breadth in the centre, and three fathoms and a half of breadth at both the wings). Tenants were held responsible for the maintenance of the net and, should any fault be found in it, strict penalties were applied, initially in the form of monetary fines though serial offenders were required to make reparations in livestock. Apparently such threats were not considered sufficient, as the nearby tenant of Blair was instructed to superintend the fishings at Campsie and “warne ws lawtefully quhen that he knawis any falt with the fissaris” (warn us faithfully when he knows of any offences with the fishers). Two fifteenth-century leases contained a quota of thirty dozen salmon per tenant, of which four were named in each instance, to be provided annually to the abbey and none were to be sold, given away or eaten until full payment had been made. The remainder was stated to belong to the tenants, however the stipulation that if the full amount could not be made in salmon it was to be supplied in other kinds of fish suggests that the quota demanded was the maximum, or above, expected return of salmon from these fisheries. Carriage of the fish to the abbey was the responsibility of the tenants, to be done at their expense, and was carried out by a specifically designated cottar who lived on site, in the later-titled cadgear croft at Campsie.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁷ McDonnell, ‘Inland Fisheries’, p.18.

²⁷⁸ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.121, 127, 220-2, 227, 237, 274-5, vol II, p.181; NRS, Rental 1587, CH6/2/4 (Appendix 2, 2); An informal field survey was carried out at Campsie in 2011 (see Hoffmann, ‘Salmo salar’, p.360). A cadgear was an itinerant dealer of fish.

Other fisheries do not appear in the later rental records. The abbey's toft at Renfrew and salmon fishing in the Clyde was leased in perpetuity in 1326 to Nicholas, son of Peter, burgess of Renfrew, and his heirs, in return for an annual payment of 3s to be made in the town of Glasgow on the first day of Glasgow fair.²⁷⁹ There is no later record of the payment being received, and the holding was perhaps sold to the family at some point. Others, however, were retained in abbey hands. The acre and fishery at the port of Stinking Haven were never leased, but Coupar's possession was confirmed by a charter of Thomas Maule of Panmure in 1456, giving sasine to William Trent and Simon Landailis, monks of Coupar and procurators of Thomas de Levingstone, commendator of the abbey.²⁸⁰ Similarly, Coupar's fisheries on both sides of the Firth of Tay, on the shore of the Carse of Gowrie and at Naughton, which do not appear in the rental records, seem to have remained under direct control. The other possibility, of course, is that they had been relinquished, but this seems unlikely considering their value.²⁸¹ On the contrary, the abbey was actively promoting the establishment of new fisheries: tenants of Murthly, in Atholl, were instructed to establish a schot, ie. a place from which nets are shot, for salmon fishing in the Tay, while the fishings of Campsie were let "as well new as old, and those that may yet be found".²⁸² Moreover, that various disputes with neighbouring landowners occurred illustrates the monks' reluctance to surrender their existing fisheries. One such dispute occurred between Coupar and Donald de Malles regarding fishing rights in a section of water known as 'Polstora' which lay between the monks' land of Wester Drimmie on north side of the Ericht, and land belonging to Donald to the south, adjacent to the fisheries. In 1445 an assize was awarded which upheld the monks' lawful right to their possession "as far as to the middle of the same when then the water flowed".²⁸³

Indeed, the abbey was vehement in the defence of its fishing rights, and was known to exceed them at times. In the early sixteenth century, a legal complaint was raised by the Cumming family, who held Couttie hereditably from Dunfermline Abbey, regarding the intrusion of Coupar into their fisheries. Evidently, following the death of Alexander Cumming at Flodden and his underage heir, John, being placed in the ward of John Moncur of Balleuny, the monks took their opportunity and seized control of the Couttie fishery.²⁸⁴ The lands of Couttie lay across

²⁷⁹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CVII.

²⁸⁰ *Registrum de Panmure*, vol II pp.236-9; Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.80-2.

²⁸¹ See Trade: Salmon section.

²⁸² Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I pp.169-70, 222, 231-2, 243.

²⁸³ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXXXIV.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid*, no. CLXII.

the River Isla, bordering the most northerly lands of the grange of Keithick. Those who were to be summoned to the sheriff court in Perth to answer for their actions, other than the abbot, cellarer and prior, were tenants of Coupar's lands across the water from Couttie, that is, Baitcheill and Kemphill.²⁸⁵ Coupar's defence was to cite a charter of Malcolm IV regarding the fishing and its privileges.²⁸⁶ There is no known grant of the fishing of Couttie specifically, however they may have been referring to King Malcolm's grant of the land of Coupar, with fishing on the Isla, which the monks seem to have chosen to interpret, with a certain amount of artistic licence, as their possession of the sole right to fish this stretch of the river.²⁸⁷ Apparently this was an ongoing issue as the marches between Coupar's and the Cumings' land do not seem to have been fully settled until 1535, when a boundary line was agreed, to the south of which Coupar would fish and to the north of which John Cuming and his heirs would.²⁸⁸ Early charter evidence was also employed by the monks in defence of their rights elsewhere. When the fishing in the North Esk at Logie Pert became part of a dispute between the abbey and Alexander Ogston in the 1440s, a notarial transumpt was made by the monks of the charter which recorded the initial grant made by John of Kinross to Walter Lindsay c.1300, no doubt to help support their case. Interestingly, King James I's confirmation in 1432 of the subsequent grant from Walter to the abbey, and John's confirmation of this, makes no mention of the fishing rights, which may have been why this was done.²⁸⁹ When the dispute was settled, it was decreed that the abbey and its tenants should not fish beyond the bounds of the land of Logie Pert, except in the prohibited season as granted to them by King Robert I, another grant which the monks had no doubt called attention to during the legal proceedings.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁵ Elspeth Ogilvy, spouse of the late William Turnbull: tack to William Trumbull of Kemphill (Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, p.281); Alexander Turnbull of boat: tack to Alexander Trumbull of two acres of land in the Baitshell (Ibid, vol I, p.302), Alexander Turnbull and Elizabeth Smyth, his spouse, in the half of the Bait of Ylai and three acres of land (Ibid, vol I, p.311); Andrew Brown: tack of four acres, two in the Baitcheill haugh and the other two in the Kemphill haugh (Ibid, vol I, p.261). A haugh is a piece of flat land beside a river.

²⁸⁶ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CLXIII.

²⁸⁷ RRS, I, no.226; Somerville, *Scotia Pontificia*, 163; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XIII.

²⁸⁸ J.H. Ramsay (ed.), *Bamff Charters 1232 – 1703* (Oxford, 1915), no. 46.

²⁸⁹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. LXVII, LXVIII.

²⁹⁰ Ibid, nos. CXXXII, CXXXIII.

Woodland and Forest Resources

Woodland was a source of various valuable resources for the abbey and, like lay landholders, the monks obtained access to these on lands which came into its possession. These were augmented by specific noble donations, such as that made by Peter of Pollok which granted the easements of his woods.²⁹¹ Coupar also received a grant of the right to gather wood for building and other easements in all the woods of Atholl from Earl Malcolm in the second half of the twelfth century.²⁹² A charter of Conan, an illegitimate son of Earl Henry, appears to reaffirm this right as it grants the easements of his woods of 'Glenherthy' and 'Tolikyne', most likely Glen Errochty and Tulach, which in turn was confirmed by Conan's son Ewen.²⁹³ Additionally, in 1282 the monks gained control of Ewen's wood of 'Kelbrochachi', Coille Bhrochain, as surety for a loan made to him of twenty merks sterling.²⁹⁴ This was to return to the possession of Ewen or his heirs once the loan was repaid, but the monks would retain "their common in the said wood, which they had by collation of his ancestors of old".

The abbey also received grants of these types of resources in royal forests. It must be noted at this point that the terms 'forest' and 'wood' are not synonymous in a medieval context. Unlike in modern usage, a forest did not necessarily denote a recognisable area of woodland. Instead, the term applied to an artificially-defined space, which may or may not have been wholly or partially wooded, where a set of legal rights to resources applied.²⁹⁵ These forest resources were strictly controlled in medieval Scotland, particularly in royal forests, and thus rights had to be officially obtained. The initial endowment of Coupar included a grant of certain easements and charcoal in all of the king's forests in 'Scotland', elsewhere specifically referred to as those north of the Forth. King Malcolm IV articulated these rights more explicitly with regards to his forests of Drimmie and Clunie where the monks had rights to timber, wood, bark, pannage, charcoal and other easements wherever they may best be found for the monks' needs. He also gave permission to pasture their animals in Drimmie forest, but stipulated that they must be removed overnight.²⁹⁶

²⁹¹ Ibid, no. XII.

²⁹² *Brev.*, no.27.

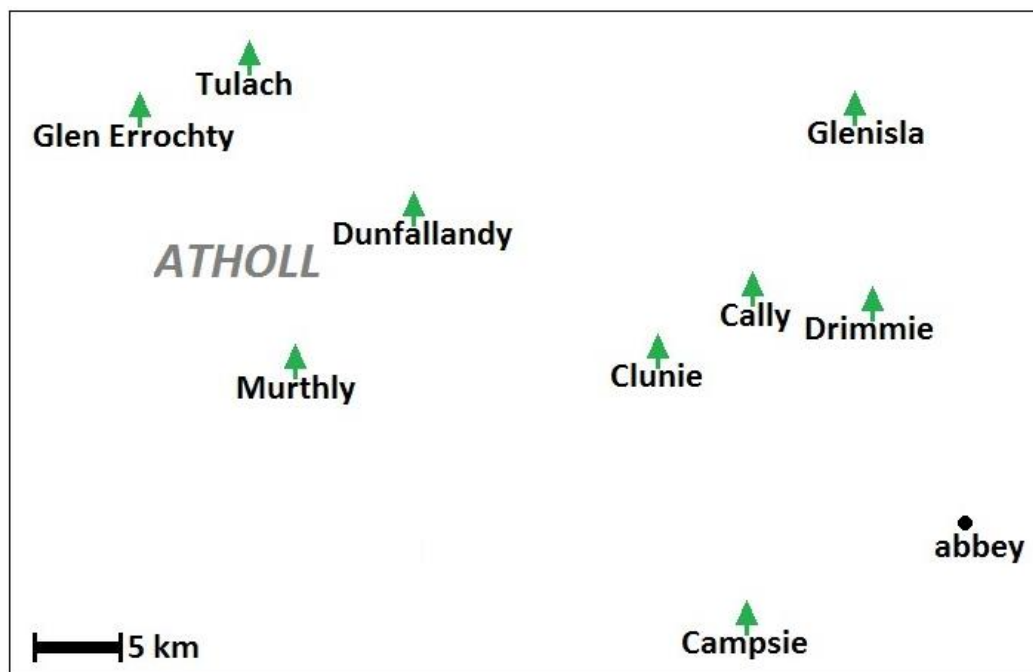
²⁹³ Ibid, nos. 37, 38.

²⁹⁴ J.R.N. Macphail (ed.), *Papers from the collection of Sir William Fraser* (Edinburgh, 1924), Miscellaneous Papers, no.1.

²⁹⁵ Gilbert, *Hunting and Hunting Reserves*, pp.19-20.

²⁹⁶ RRS, I, no. 226, 227.

From the reign of David I (1124x1153) onwards, non-royal forests were created through grants made by the king. The forest grant entitled the recipient to the same powers as the king had in a royal forest, conveying a monopoly of hunting and wood-cutting along with the judicial power to enforce these rights. Over time, the charter terminology which developed to formally express this was *liberum forestum* (free forest).²⁹⁷ Coupar abbey received two such royal grants made in free forest. The first was of Campsie, granted by King William in 1173x1178, and the second was King Alexander II's 1233 grant of lands in Glenisla, consisting of Bellaty, Freuchie, Craignity, Inverharity and Forter.²⁹⁸ Both charters contain the standard sanction clause that no one other than the monks was permitted to hunt or fell timber there without their permission, on pain of the king's full forfeiture of £10. These were the two main aspects of medieval forest rights, encapsulated in the phrase 'vert and venison'. The monks of Coupar's management of their holdings in Campsie and Glenisla both demonstrate the extensive exploitation of only one of these categories of resource, and, significantly, a different one for each.



Map 10: Forest resources

²⁹⁷ Gilbert, *Hunting and Hunting Reserves*, pp.183-5, 190-1, 198.

²⁹⁸ RRS, II, no. 154; RRS, III, no.196 <<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2065/>> [accessed: 17 July 2016]; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. II, XLI; *Brev.*, no. 15. In *Hunting and Hunting Reserves*, pp.184-5, Gilbert argues that, while the grant is authentic, the form 'liberum forestum' would be more appropriate to the reigns of Alexander II and III, and therefore the thirteenth-century scribe may have used the contemporary form to which he was accustomed. Thus, the term 'free forest' conveyed the associated rights of a forest grant in a formal manner.

Vert: The Case of Campsie

At Campsie, it is clear that the abbey's main concern was the preservation of the vert. That Campsie forest was routinely utilised for timber is shown by a grant of William Munfichet in 1220x1222, which gave the monks permission to transport their wood freely through his lands, providing access to both the grange of Keithick and the abbey precinct itself.²⁹⁹ King William's grant of the land of Campsie appears in a charter alongside the grant of land for the site of the abbey, and so may be assumed to have been primarily intended as a source of construction materials.³⁰⁰ Coupar's timber requirements must have been enormous, both on and off the abbey site. For example, elsewhere in Scotland, later research has revealed that every timber structure was completely renewed every seven years, while all wooden components within a structure, such as walls and roof timbers, were renewed annually or at most biannually, the old timbers presumably being used for fuel.³⁰¹ Thus, the continuing value of this essential resource, and the threat to its preservation, is seen in the steps taken by Coupar to protect it. There is evidence of a serious timber shortage in Scotland by the fifteenth century and landowners were becoming ever-more concerned with protecting woods in their possession, something which is evident elsewhere on abbey lands during this period.³⁰² In Atholl, the tenants of Dunfallandy were to preserve the wood from all others and themselves, under penalty, and when Murthly was let in 1466 the monks reserved the right to labour for timber for the use of the monastery.³⁰³ Elsewhere, they took the further step of appointing a forester. In the later fifteenth century, the tenant of Cally was charged with keeping the woods of 'Stroncalady' and appointed master forester of all the abbey's woods in Strathardle. He was permitted only to take what timber he needed for building, "without byrnyng, garthin, gevyn or sellyn" (without burning, enclosing, giving or selling).³⁰⁴ The tenants of Persie were similarly instructed, though it was stated that they would receive the profits of fines imposed for breaches unless they themselves were at fault, in which case they would go to the abbey.³⁰⁵ This provided an incentive for the tenants to assist the forester in his protection of the woods in the area. A forester was also appointed at Wester Drimmie, and the tenants were threatened with forfeiture of their tacks should they cut or destroy any of the wood, or permit

²⁹⁹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XXX, XXXI.

³⁰⁰ RRS, II, no. 154; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. II.

³⁰¹ A. Ross, 'Two Surveys of Vernacular Buildings and Tree Usage in the Lordship of Strathavon, Banffshire, 1585x1612', *Miscellany of Scottish History Society*, XIV (2010), pp.1-60.

³⁰² Gilbert, *Hunting and Hunting Reserves*, pp.191, 237; T.C. Smout, A.R. MacDonald & F. Watson, *A History of the Native Woodlands of Scotland, 1500-1920* (Edinburgh, 2005), pp.37-9.

³⁰³ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.145, 153, 242.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid*, vol I, pp.198-9.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid*, vol I, pp.201-2.

anyone else to do so.³⁰⁶ It is in this context that the abbey's strict management approach regarding the forest of Campsie must be considered.

The pressure on timber supplies prompted the enclosing of areas of forest from the fifteenth century onwards. At Campsie, the abbey went to the lengths of having walls constructed.³⁰⁷ John Gilbert argues that the practice of dividing and enclosing the forest into separate areas was in order to implement a rota system of coppicing so as to protect their wooded resources.³⁰⁸ Overseeing such a system was the responsibility of the forester, who held certain acres in Campsie and was to receive 4 bolls of its produce for his sustenance. The other inhabitants of the land were also expected to assume responsibility for the forest. In 1471, the wood of Campsie was quartered and let to four tenants, each of whom was to be *clientulus generalis* for his own part as well as for the others, a phrase which portrays the shared responsibility placed upon these men by the abbey, whereby each was accountable for violations regardless of where they were committed. The tenants were also instructed to keep all cattle from the wood under pain of forfeiture. In 1474, when proper provision could not be made for a tenant, he was permitted to reside in the abbots' residence at Campsie and to graze his cattle in the wood since he did not have access to sufficient pasture. These were obviously exceptional circumstances, but nevertheless he was warned that this was to be done without damage to the wood under pain of free forest. Tenants were also threatened with this penalty in 1479 should they fail to abstain from the forest in all ways; such punishment had previously been inflicted in 1460 when the abbey's court fined two men, at least one of whom was a tenant, for the destruction and sale of the wood of Campsie.³⁰⁹

Venison: The Case of Glenisla

In Glenisla, King Alexander II's free forest grant of 1233 comprised the lands of Bellaty, Freuchie, Craignity and Inverharity on the eastern bank of the river, along with Forter on the

³⁰⁶ Ibid, vol II pp.55-6, 132-4

³⁰⁷ Gilbert, *Hunting and Hunting Reserves*, p.237; Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.227, 237, 242

³⁰⁸ Ibid, vol I, p.242, vol II, pp.65-6, 68-71, 178-80. Communicated to me by John Gilbert via email correspondence. There has been some debate on this topic. J.M. Lindsay suggested that coppice rotation at Campsie involved the cutting of the wood in four sections at equal intervals, each felled every 28 years and protected for seven (J. M. Lindsay, 'The Use of woodland in Argyllshire and Perthshire Between 1650 and 1856', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1974), vol I, p.341). T.C. Smout et al felt that this conclusion was reading too much into the evidence (Smout, MacDonald & Watson, *A History of the Native Woodlands*, pp.157-8).

³⁰⁹ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.121, 130, 220-1, 227, 290; Gilbert, *Hunting and Hunting Reserves*, p.197

western where a fifteenth-century lease referred to the acres belonging to the keeper of the forest.³¹⁰ As has been discussed, this embraced only a portion of the eventual extent of Coupar's holdings in Glenisla. No mention of forest, woodland or associated resources was made in the charters recording John of Kinross' early fourteenth-century grants of Cammock, Doonies and Alrick on the western bank; however, their existence is certainly possible.³¹¹ Firstly, the place-name 'Alrick' is derived from the Pictish/Scottish Gaelic *eileirg* (deer trap); the Alrick burn runs south-east across this piece of land towards the Isla, creating a natural run and trap which deer could be driven along and into.³¹² Secondly, John of Kinross made a further grant of two merks of annual rent from Auchinleish, which lay among the lands of his other Glenisla grants, along with all his 'right' in the said land. Both of the charters which this grant appears in and the subsequent confirmations made by King Robert I all make this rather cryptic reference to John's 'right' but do not articulate the specifics, and it is possible that this could have referred to forest rights.³¹³ That valuable resources existed on the lands of Auchinleish would explain John's apparent reluctance to part with them despite his great generosity towards the abbey. He was later convinced to relinquish only a portion of them and the monks would be forced to purchase their remainder for the sum of 120 merks.³¹⁴ Potentially, then, Glenisla was forested along both the eastern and western banks.

Furthermore, the rental records reveal that Coupar's forest resources stretched into the far north of Glenisla parish. A sixteenth-century lease of Dalvanie made by the abbey was stated to include the forests and glens of 'Glasworybeg' and 'Glasworymoir' on the west side.³¹⁵ Shortly afterwards, a tenant of Dalvanie was charged with the keeping and forestership of 'Glenbraughty' in return for a yearly payment of ten pounds.³¹⁶ Indeed, a feu of the lands of Dalvanie and Craignity made to Nicholas Campbell in 1559 was stated to include all three of these forests with privileges and pastures.³¹⁷ Later charters relating to these lands refer to

³¹⁰ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, p.157.

³¹¹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. LXX, LXXVI, LXXIX; *Brev.*, nos. 82, 83; RRS, V, nos. 3, 97; Fraser, *Cartulary of Pollok Maxwell*, no.6.

³¹² A. Watson, *Place Names in Much of North-East Scotland: Hill, Glen, Lowland, Coast, Sea, Folk* (Rothersthorpe, 2013), p.43.

³¹³ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. LXXVIII, LXXIX; *Brev.*, no. 84; RRS, V, nos .3, 97; Fraser, *Cartulary of Pollok Maxwell*, no.6.

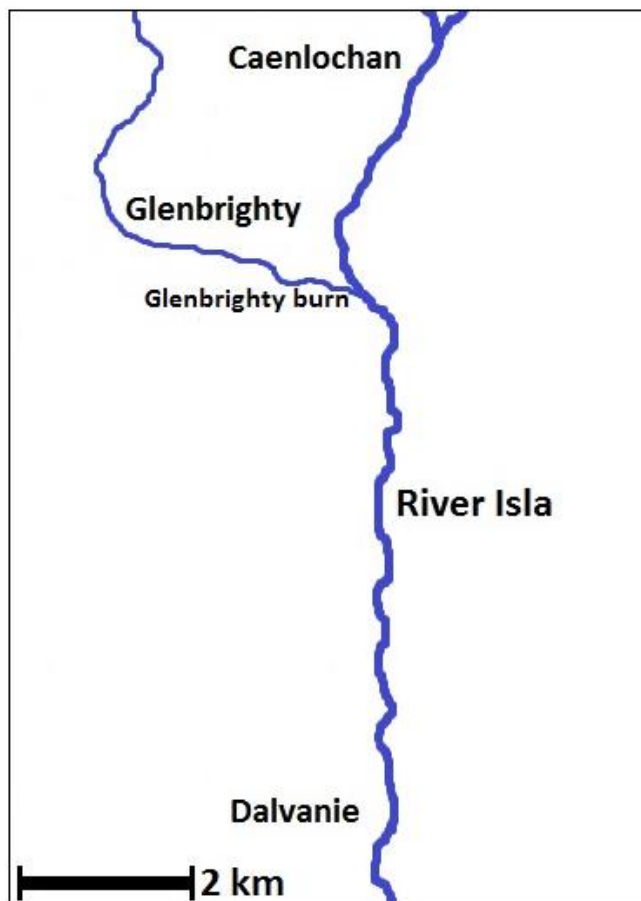
³¹⁴ RRS, V, no. 316; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. CXI, CXXXIX, CLII.

³¹⁵ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, pp.260-2.

³¹⁶ *Ibid*, vol II, pp.267-8.

³¹⁷ NRS, Papers of the Earls of Airlie, Lands of Craigneatie & Dalvany in the Barony of Glenisla, GD16/9/1.

Glascorie and Glascoriebeg as being commonly called 'Cainlochin', lying within the parish of Glenisla.³¹⁸ Glenbrihty, meanwhile, lay immediately to the south of Caelochan.



Map 11: Northern Glenisla

Significantly, though, efforts to preserve timber resources are drastically less evident in Glenisla than Campsie. Instead, it would appear that hunting was taking place on these lands on a large scale. The sixteenth-century rental records reveal that tenants of all of Coupar's lands in Glenisla were required to rear hunting dogs, most often a leche (set of three) of hounds and/or at least one rache, a type of scenting hound. Tenants were also instructed to be ready to provide service for hunting.³¹⁹ It could be argued that hunting in Glenisla may have fulfilled a functional rather than recreational purpose; in many instances, the dogs were stated

³¹⁸ NRS, Papers of the Earls of Airlie, Legal Papers, GD16/41/387, GD16/41/420; RPS, 1661/1/244 [accessed: 17 July 2016].

³¹⁹ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II pp.223-4, 250-1; CA Rent II pp.142-64, 175-7, 260-2. Rogers abbreviates these entries to "conditions as before". Full details on these provisions are given in NRS, Register of Tacks 1539-1559, CH6/2/2, folios 70-90.

to be intended for tod (fox) and wolf and a reference to the tenants of Bellaty, Freuchie and Glenmarkie being required to be “reddy at all tymes quhene we cherge thame to pas with ws or our bailzeis to the hountis” (ready at all times when we command them to proceed with us or our bailies to the hunt) perhaps suggests an intent other than sport.³²⁰ A parliamentary statute of 1458 ordained that sheriffs and bailies were to organise three hunts a year for the destruction of wolves and anyone who killed one was to be rewarded with a penny from each household of the parish.³²¹ Wolves posed a threat to both the rural economy, particularly in terms of livestock, and to human life, and as such their pursuit by everyone was encouraged. Indeed, a statute of 1546 issued by the abbot of Coupar dealt with regulations for protecting the tenants of Glenisla from damage caused by wolves. Foxes were also considered an agricultural pest and hunted as vermin.³²²

Clauses relating to hunting provision by tenants, however, are only present in Coupar’s leases of Glenisla lands and are thus unique within the context of the abbey’s rental records, begging the question of what was distinctive about these lands in comparison to all other abbey estates. Indeed, the evidence indicates that hunting in Glenisla was taking place on a much larger, not to mention far more organised, scale than practical agricultural necessity would have dictated. The only evidence for an organised programme of horse breeding run by the abbey appears in Glenisla, which may have been intended to supply hunting parties in addition to being sold for profit. Tenants were required to be prepared to accept and use the office of stodhirdrie or stodhirdschip, (the task of taking care of horses in a stud), and a lease of Forter in 1470 stated that two acres were due for the *studarius*.³²³ At the turn of the sixteenth century, the abbey was involved in legal action against Alexander Gordon for withholding the prices of sixty horses and mares spoiled from them and their tenants of the lands of Glenisla by James Beg. It was adjudged that 26s 8d pence was to be paid for each horse and mare and 6s 8d for the profit thereof.³²⁴ In addition, as has already been discussed, industrial smithing was taking place in Glenisla by the fifteenth century, the requirement for which may have been to supply the necessary hunting weapons and horse shoes.³²⁵

³²⁰ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, pp.106-8.

³²¹ RPS, 1458/3/36 [accessed: 17 July 2016].

³²² J. Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting* (London, 2001), pp.132, 141; Gilbert, *Hunting and Hunting Reserves*, p.232; NRS, Papers of the Earls of Airlie, Court Books, 16/36/3.

³²³ NRS, Register of Tacks 1539-1559, CH6/2/2, folios 70-90; Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, p.157.

³²⁴ Neilson & Paton, *Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes*, II, p.353.

³²⁵ See Industrial Milling section.

The eradication of foxes and wolves, then, may have had another purpose; elsewhere in Scotland, their control was associated with the protection of deer.³²⁶ The Accounts of the King's Pursemaster reveal that in 1539x1540 a payment of 14s was made to a servant of the abbot of Coupar who brought venison to the king's grace, indicating that deer were being hunted somewhere on abbey lands.³²⁷ That it was taking place in Glenisla is shown by a decree of the court of the lord of Coupar held on 9 July 1608 which described statutes issued in the times of William Turnbull, Donald Campbell and Leonard Leslie, abbots and commendator of Coupar from the early sixteenth century onwards, putting in place a system of twelve watchmen to protect Glenisla from "thiefes, sorners and brokin men" (thieves, extorters and lawless men).³²⁸ It is of great significance that the period during which these men would be required to maintain this watch was given as 10 June until 15 September: while hunting seasons are seldom mentioned in medieval Scottish sources, it is known that open season for harts and bucks occurred during the summer, the most popular months being July to September while the animals were 'in grease', that is carrying the most venison and fat. More specific dating information is available for medieval England, where the season began in June and usually ended on 14 September.³²⁹ Not only was deer hunting taking place on Coupar's lands in Glenisla, then, but it was of such value as to warrant organised protection.

In this context, it is reasonable to suggest that Coupar's papal petition of 1496 for the right to excommunicate robbers and plunders in Glenisla and up to four leagues around may have had more to do with the protection of the abbey's hunting and horse breeding interests than with any purported concern for the welfare of St Ninian's chapel and the faithful.³³⁰ Evidently, later holders of Coupar's Glenisla lands had similar problems with lawbreakers. Letters of free forestry raised on 8 March 1605 by James, Master of Ogilvy, who had obtained possession of Forter, Dalvanie and Craignity with the forests of Glenbrihty, Glascorie and Glascoriebeg in the 1580s following an exchange made with Nicholas Campbell, complained that trespassers wrongly put their animals into these forests, destroyed the green wood, and hunted and

³²⁶ Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk*, p.62; Gilbert, *Hunting and Hunting Reserves*, p.220.

³²⁷ A.L. Murray (ed.), 'Accounts of the King's Pursemaster, 1539-40', *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, X (Edinburgh, 1965), p.37.

³²⁸ NRS, Papers of the Earls of Airlie, Legal Papers, GD16/41/141. 'Brokin' men were considered to live irregularly with no tenurial superior.

³²⁹ Gilbert, *Hunting and Hunting Reserves*, pp.67-8; J. Birrell, 'Deer and Deer Farming in Medieval England', *Agricultural History Review*, 40 (1992), pp.122-3.

³³⁰ W.H. Bliss, C. Johnson & J.A. Twemlow, (eds.), *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, 20 vols (London, 1893-), vol XVI, pp.356-7, no. 528.

slayed the deer, wild beasts and vension therein.³³¹ That these northern lands and forests had also been the abbey's key hunting grounds is indicated by the obligation of the tenants of Dalvanie to maintain a residence, being instructed by the monks to:

“...big and rais the vallis of the hall with sufficient lychtis, sustenand the sammin, and siklike the chalmer, puttand ane stane gawill with ane chymnay in it, with wthir howssis and asiamentis, ganand for ws at our sycht and dewyse...” (build and construct the walls of the hall with sufficient lighting, maintaining the same, and suchlike the chamber, installing a stone gable with a chimney in it , with other structures and easements, suitable for us in our oversight and design).³³²

This may be presumed to have been a hunting lodge and that at least part of the construction was in stone demonstrates the permanence of this structure. Dalvanie thus appears to have served as a gateway to the forests in the north of the parish, tenants being required to make common carriage “to our timber, hunting, and all other due service” and to maintain a leiche of hounds to be kept ready for hunting “when we or our servants please”.³³³



Photograph 3: Glenisla

³³¹ NRS, Papers of the Earls of Airlie, Lands of Craigneatie & Dalvany in the Barony of Glenisla, GD16/9/2; NRS, Papers of the Earls of Airlie, Lands of Clintlaw and Auchindory in the Lordship of Coupar, Meikle and Little Forter in the Barony of Glenisla, GD16/7/13, 18; NRS, Papers of the Earls of Airlie, Legal Papers, GD16/41/128, 131.

³³² Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, pp.260-2.

³³³ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, pp.195, 261-2.

Trade

As with all Cistercian houses, Coupar was involved in the trade of its agricultural surpluses, the proceeds of which were essential for the successful running of the house. Participation in commerce allowed the monks to acquire necessary goods which they could not produce themselves, such as spices and wine, provide the hospitality which was expected of them and could involve royalty and nobility, and undertake building projects.³³⁴ In Coupar's case, it is likely this included both raw wool and woollen cloth, woven at Kinreich, along with the produce of commercial fisheries and tanneries. At the time of its foundation, King Malcolm IV granted the abbey an exemption from tolls throughout the kingdom and free right of buying and selling, concessions later confirmed by both Kings William I and Alexander II.³³⁵ In many instances, regional trade functioned through credit, and the monks' involvement in this is shown by a further two charters of William, one of which commanded that debts owed to Coupar were to be paid promptly, and the other which forbade anyone from taking punds from the abbey for debts owed by the monks.³³⁶ By the mid-fourteenth century, Coupar's trading activities had expanded to the point that fairs were being held at the abbey itself, prompting the burgh of Dundee to complain to King David II (1324x1371), who forbade the holding of these.³³⁷ Principally though, the abbey's commerce was facilitated by the burgh network; at some point throughout its existence, Coupar held property in Perth, Dundee, Forfar, Montrose, Renfrew, Berwick and, possibly, Linlithgow. Urban property functioned primarily as a base through which the abbey could conduct business, and also as accommodation for when the monks' presence was required within the burgh for political matters.

Urban Property

Coupar gained an initial foothold in many of the aforementioned burghs through royal and noble donations, most likely due to legal restrictions on the alienation of burghal possessions damaging to a burgess' heirs.³³⁸ By the early thirteenth century, the abbey had acquired property in Perth from King William I himself; in Renfrew from Alan son of Walter, steward of

³³⁴ E.M. Jamroziak, 'Rievaulx Abbey as a Wool Producer in the Late Thirteenth Century: Cistercians, Sheep and Big Debts', *Northern History*, 40 (2003), p.205; Fawcett & Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, p.263.

³³⁵ RRS, I, no. 222; RRS, II, no. 509; *Brev.*, no. 7; RRS, III, no. 9.

<<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1809/>> [accessed: 18 July 2016].

³³⁶ RRS, II, nos. 155, 298; *Brev.*, nos. 8, 10.

³³⁷ RRS, VI, no. 121.

³³⁸ E. Ewan, *Townlife in Fourteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1990), p.94.

the king; in Forfar from Ralph, chaplain of the king; and in Dundee and Berwick from Thomas de Colville.³³⁹ This is typical of other Scottish monasteries during this period.³⁴⁰ However, burgesses evidently found their way around the restrictions on land grants. Coupar came into possession of the property of Adam White of Forfar following his death as he had appointed the monks as his heirs should he die without any.³⁴¹ Seemingly, though, they felt some insecurity in the legitimacy of their ownership, as when they granted this toft to Richard White of Dundee in 1207x1209 in return for an annual rent they were careful to stipulate that should Richard produce no heirs the toft would revert to the abbey.³⁴² This was presumably intended to safeguard against potential claims of Adam's relations. By this date, Coupar was also in possession of a further two tofts in the burgh from the gift of David Ruffus of Forfar.³⁴³ Again, it was a lack of heirs which facilitated the grant, a fact which also enabled the monks to come into possession of their holding at Kinreich from the same benefactor; evidently, David Ruffus had left behind no lawful successors to his property when he left to go on Crusade.³⁴⁴

In many cases, religious houses chose to draw a rental income from urban property in their possession. D.E. Easson views leases by Coupar as a fourteenth-century and later phenomenon, a product of the decline of the prestige of the Cistercian Order and the resultant disappearance of the *conversi*, whereby consequently the monks made the transition from 'pioneer' to landlord. He applies this interpretation to all types of property, pronouncing the abbey's lease of their toft in Renfrew in 1326 to be "the first symptom of the new vogue".³⁴⁵ However, in an urban setting, an attempt to place the monks' approach to property ownership within the context of a wider shift within the Cistercian economy associated with labour

³³⁹ Somerville, *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 163; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XIII; Stevenson, *Illustrations of Scottish History*, no. 15, *Brev.*, nos. 43, 93; W.B.D.D. Turnbull (ed.), *Liber Sancte Marie de Balmorinach* (Edinburgh, 1841), no. 31; C. Innes (ed.), *Registrum Sancte Marie de Neubottle* (Edinburgh, 1849), no. 190.

³⁴⁰ W.B. Stevenson, 'The Monastic Presence in Scottish Burghs in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Scottish Historical Review*, 60, (1981), pp.97-118.

³⁴¹ *Brev.*, no.42. Rogers transcription mistakenly states Adam, *Abbas* (abbot) de Forfar. Balfour's notebook clearly reads Adam *Albus* (White) de Forfar, an individual who appears as a witness to numerous charters elsewhere (Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, vol I, pp.lxviii, 24). It seems likely that the reference to the monks of Forfar is an error (of Balfour's) and should read Coupar, though it is possible that it refers to the monks serving in the chapel at Forfar (see Chapels section). Regardless, these were still monks of the abbey and the outcome would have been the same.

³⁴² *Ibid*, no. XX.

³⁴³ Somerville, *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 163; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XIII. David appears from 1185 onwards (see PoMs <<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/5297>>) and his other grants to Coupar occurred around 1201 so this most likely postdates Ralph's grant.

³⁴⁴ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. X, XI, LX; *Brev.*, no. 76.

³⁴⁵ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, vol I, pp.xlix-l.

availability does not hold up. In fact, the abbey's attitude towards their burghal possessions from the earliest days displays a great deal of business acumen, and seems largely unrelated to the later trend described by Easson. By the early thirteenth century, Coupar was already leasing out property in Forfar and Berwick. Far from being a reactionary response borne out of necessity, these transactions were active moves to maximise the profitability of their urban property. By this point, the monks were already in possession of several holdings in the nearby burgh of Forfar through which they could conduct their business.³⁴⁶ Wendy Stevenson describes how the increase in rents during this period rendered it uneconomical to unnecessarily retain such property in their own hands.³⁴⁷ The property leased in Berwick was their sole possession in this burgh, and the use of it would have presented considerable logistical issues for the abbey.³⁴⁸ Rents in Berwick were probably higher than anywhere else and therefore it made very good business sense to lease this property, especially when, as shall be shown, their commercial needs were being met by the far more conveniently located burgh of Perth.³⁴⁹ Moreover, the annual rent for both of these properties was paid in kind: wax, cumin and pepper. Stevenson suggests that this may have been an attempt to combat inflation and fluctuating rent levels, though it could also have been a method of utilising such urban leases to directly acquire these types of goods.

By 1304x1305, Coupar was leasing their land in Montrose to John the Barber, a burghess of the burgh, for an annual payment of 5s.³⁵⁰ It is unknown as to when or how the monks acquired this property, but the timing of the lease is significant. Alexander Stevenson argues that Montrose seems to have suffered considerable damage in the period after 1296, as seen in its "relative insignificance" in terms of trade.³⁵¹ It is perhaps significant that the terms of the lease specifically deal with safeguards for the abbey to ensure payment would be received should John or his heirs fall into poverty or be unable to pay for some other reason. The leasing of this property can therefore be seen as another shrewd move on the monks' part, converting a now much-devalued asset into monetary income. This type of revenue was soon being drawn from another of Coupar's properties. In 1326, their toft in Renfrew was leased in perpetuity to

³⁴⁶ *Brev.*, nos. 42, 43; Somerville, *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 163; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XIII, XX.

³⁴⁷ Stevenson, 'The Monastic Presence in Scottish Burghs'.

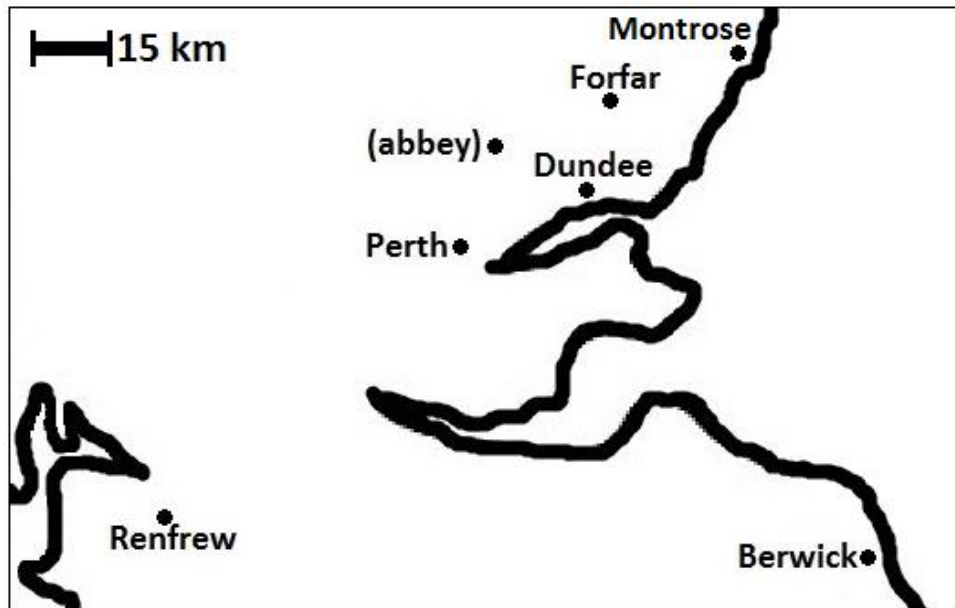
³⁴⁸ *Registrum de Neubotle*, no. 190.

³⁴⁹ W.B. Stevenson, 'The Monastic Presence: Berwick in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in M. Lynch, M. Spearman & G. Stell (eds.), *The Scottish Medieval Town* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp.104, 106.

³⁵⁰ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXXV.

³⁵¹ A. Stevenson, 'Trade between Scotland and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1982), p.249.

Nicholas, son of Peter, burgess of Renfrew, and his heirs for an annual payment of 3s on the first day of Glasgow fair.³⁵² This payment does not appear in the later rental records, and it was presumably sold at some point, perhaps to the family, but the others, with the obvious exception of Berwick, were still returning annual rents by the mid-sixteenth century.³⁵³ Coupar had thus consolidated its urban interests into a network of properties located in the surrounding east-coast burghs of Perth, Dundee, Forfar and Montrose.



Map 12: Urban property

The rental records also reveal that much investment had been made in the key burghs of Perth and Dundee where an extensive portfolio of rental properties had been accumulated, including a collection of booths. In 1542, rental income from Dundee amounted to £13 18s 4d Scots, while from Perth it totalled £26 11s 2d Scots, plus two pounds of pepper and two pounds of cumin.³⁵⁴ The monks were willing to resort to legal proceedings to protect this income, successfully pursuing judgments in their favour for a non-payment of annual rent in Perth in 1474, and the possession of a tenement in Dundee in 1481.³⁵⁵ However, Coupar's involvement in these two burghs was not solely in the role of landlord as rights of hospitality at key sites were retained, allowing for the continued commercial activity of the monks. The

³⁵² Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CVII.

³⁵³ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, pp.205-7.

³⁵⁴ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, pp.205-6; NRS, Rental 1587, CH6/2/4 (Appendix, 24, 25).

³⁵⁵ RPS, 1474/5/7 [accessed: 17 July 2016]; Thomson, *The Acts of the Lords Auditors*, p.30; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXLVIII.

abbey's *hospitium* (lodgings), the appropriately named 'Monkisholm', in Dundee was leased with the condition that the tenant would provide the usual privileges for the abbot and his officers on their arrival, which included chambers, beds with furnishings, a kitchen with cooking utensils, and sufficient stabling.³⁵⁶ As well as the obvious benefit of generating a steady stream of income, installing a tenant, and therefore maintaining a constant presence at the residence, meant that the upkeep of the property could be sustained. In 1469, it was agreed with the tenant that he would undertake the maintenance of the roofs, while the garden attached to the residence was leased separately with the stipulation that he would take responsibility for its upkeep and repairs.³⁵⁷ Moreover, the tenants of Monkisholm were required to provide the monks with two cellars, one near the gate of the burgh and one within the mansion, or otherwise both within the latter, for the storing of goods.³⁵⁸ Similarly, when the *hospitium* in Perth was leased the tenant agreed to repair and maintain the property, in addition to ensuring that the residence was equipped to provide hospitality to the monks at all times, including sleeping quarters, two cellars for provisions, and stabling for eight horses.³⁵⁹ Aside from this residence, which was located in Speygate, Coupar also possessed another in the Castle Gable of the burgh and along with a geir lodging (storage for goods and/or livestock).³⁶⁰

Wool

British Cistercian houses are well known for their role in the medieval wool trade, and Coupar was no exception. As a predominantly pastoral country, Scotland's commercial interests were highly dependent on the export of wool, the demand for which was found in the Flemish cloth industry.³⁶¹ The notebook of Italian merchant, Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, dating from the turn of the fourteenth century, records that the abbey produced thirty sacks of wool annually, as compared to Balmerino's fourteen and Melrose's fifty. As has already been noted, however, Pegolotti has been shown to have underestimated levels of production and so the figures can be considered a minimum.³⁶² The earliest explicit reference to the export of wool by Coupar

³⁵⁶ NRS, Rental 1587, CH6/2/4 (Appendix 2, 24); Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, p.145, vol II, p.205; Morgan, 'Economic Administration of Coupar Angus Abbey', vol II, p.234.

³⁵⁷ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, p.147.

³⁵⁸ Morgan, 'Economic Administration of Coupar Angus Abbey', vol II, p.234.

³⁵⁹ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, pp.64-5.

³⁶⁰ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, p.206; NRS, Rental 1587, CH6/2/4 (Appendix 2, 25).

³⁶¹ A. Stevenson, 'Trade between Scotland and the Low Countries', pp.1-4.

³⁶² Pegolotti, *La Practica della Mercurata*, p.259. Discussed in Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of*, p.430; Oram, 'A Fit and Ample Endowment', p.70. A Scottish sack of wool weighed approximately 24 stones (Gemmill & Mayhew, *Changing Values*, pp.403-4).

occurs on 11 April 1225 when the abbey was granted a licence by Henry III of England to send a vessel to Flanders laden with wool and other merchandise.³⁶³ Coupar's participation in the wool trade almost certainly pre-dates this and continued long afterwards. However, as Alexander Stevenson has identified, up until the end of the thirteenth century, the Scots favoured more passive participation in international trade, preferring to allow foreign merchants to take the risks involved in seaborne traffic.³⁶⁴ That it did occur in 1225 was part of a wider response to a situation caused by Anglo-French hostilities. The Truce of Chinon expired on 14 April 1224, talks to renew it were broken off on 5 May, and Flemish goods were seized in England that September. However, it was not the intention of the English to block the wool trade, and so the problem faced by the Flemish merchants and monasteries was therefore one of access. As a solution, the houses took charge of exporting the wool themselves. Coupar and Melrose were part of a long list of monasteries, which includes thirteen English Cistercian houses, who received licences to ship wool between June 1224 and July 1225.³⁶⁵ It was also in this context that licences were granted to the men of the abbots of Coupar and Melrose in charge of their money to pass to "parts beyond sea".³⁶⁶

Wendy Stevenson, however, proposes that the lack of evidence of Coupar trading on its own behalf after this date, along with the lease of their only property in Berwick which she believes was the primary port used by Scottish monastic exporters, means that it is probable that Melrose took charge of exporting Coupar's wool along with its own.³⁶⁷ However, there is little reason to suppose that this was the case. Disruption to the usual shipping patterns in the mid-1220s meant that the monks of Coupar had been forced to temporarily abandon their passive role in this area, but there is no reason why they would not revert back to it once normal service could resume and the export of wool by foreign merchants certainly continued. When, due to the outbreak of Anglo-French war, the goods of French merchants were seized at Dunwich and Yarmouth in 1242, they included forty one and twenty eight sacks of Scottish wool, respectively. Moreover, Duncan's suggestion that, while Melrose exported through Berwick, Coupar conducted their international trade through Perth is far more likely.³⁶⁸ In

³⁶³ H.M.S.O., *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1216-1582*, 74 vols (London, 1891-), Henry III, vol I, p.519; J. Bain (ed.), *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, 4 vols (Edinburgh, 1881-88), vol I, no. 904.

³⁶⁴ Stevenson, 'Trade between Scotland and the Low Countries', pp.16-18.

³⁶⁵ T.H. Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1977), p.16.

³⁶⁶ *Patent Rolls*, Henry III, vol I, p.460; Bain, *Calendar of Documents*, vol I, no. 880.

³⁶⁷ Stevenson, 'The Monastic Presence: Berwick', pp.110-1.

³⁶⁸ Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of*, pp.513-14.

1225, Coupar's vessel was stated to be in the charge of Robert of Perth and Brother Gilbert Faber (smith). Robert Faber, burghess of Perth, appears as a charter witness in 1219.³⁶⁹ It seems, therefore, that not only was abbey's wool being exported by a burghess of Perth, but he may also have been related to the monk that accompanied him. If so, this direct link to a burghal family was doubtless of value to the abbey in its business dealings in the burgh; moreover, Gilbert's enrolment as abbey representative indicates an active monastic presence in Perth, bringing the monks into close contact with the family.

There is no direct evidence to prove Duncan's suggestion that Coupar was in control of a collection centre at Perth for their own and other houses' wool, as Melrose may have been doing at Berwick, though it is certainly possible.³⁷⁰ At St Omer in the later thirteenth century, Scottish wool from Perth, Berwick, Aberdeen and Montrose was being differentiated by port of origin to be woven separately.³⁷¹ Wool from Perth is identified as being the most highly valued, which could suggest that a monopoly had been established there by a producer of consistently high quality wool, at least in a Scottish context, which Coupar's certainly was. A price schedule compiled in Douai in c.1270 values the abbey's wool, along with that of Melrose and Glenluce, at £35 *parisis*, which is the highest value given to the five Scottish monasteries on the list and compares favourably with many of the English houses.³⁷² Moreover, Pegolotti's figures, which include prices for fifteen different Scottish monasteries, assign the highest value amongst these to Coupar's wool; indeed, it exceeds the majority of prices listed for English and Welsh houses by the merchant.³⁷³ This would have made them a sought-after supplier as the costs involved for the merchant were based on quantity rather than quality, making it more profitable to seek out a superior product.³⁷⁴

³⁶⁹ C. Innes (ed.), *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* (Edinburgh, 1843), no. 82.

³⁷⁰ Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of*, p.513; Fawcett & Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, p.265.

³⁷¹ Stevenson, 'Trade between Scotland and the Low Countries', pp.19-20; D. Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe: The Medieval Kingdom and its Contact with Christendom, c.1215-1545* (East Linton, 2000), p.168; Ewan, *Townlife*, p.68.

³⁷² Figures quoted in J.H. Munro, 'Wool-Price Schedules and the Qualities of English Wools in the Later Middle Ages, c.1270-1499', *Textile History*, 9 (1978), p.122.

³⁷³ Pegolotti, *La Practica della Mercurata*, p.259. Figures also quoted in Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of*, p.430; Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, pp.164-5. Wool was graded into three different qualities and priced separately. Coupar's good and poor wool was priced highest, while its middle wool came a very close second to Glenluce. It is very difficult to account for relative price fluctuations since the precise dating of Pegolotti's notebook is unknown and could be anywhere between c.1275 and c.1320.

³⁷⁴ Ewan, *Townlife*, pp.73-4.

Cistercian wool in general fetched very high market prices and appears to have been considered an inherently better product than that of their competitors. Breed, climate and quality of pasture all affected the standard of wool produced.³⁷⁵ Certainly, their vast estates would have allowed a house like Coupar to ensure the latter.³⁷⁶ Superior breeding techniques asserted to have been conducted by Cistercian houses are often cited but the extant monastic records are silent on this topic.³⁷⁷ It is possible that Coupar imported breeds from south of the border, most likely from Rievaulx through their filiation link. England exported wool considered to be of the finest quality in Europe, though much inferior wool was also produced and it is not clear if breed was the all-important determinant.³⁷⁸ Colour may have been a factor; white wool, which could be dyed, was more valuable and dominated Scotland's export trade.³⁷⁹ Not all Scottish wool was white, something evident in 1357 when legislation issued by King David II pronounced that black and dun-coloured sheep would be subject to taxation while white sheep were exempt.³⁸⁰ Indeed, the majority of medieval wool remains which have been excavated in Perth and Aberdeen were coloured wools, chiefly grey, something which M. L. Ryder suggests may indicate that these types predominated among Scottish flocks. Perhaps, then, monasteries like Coupar held a controlling interest in the trade of white wool, though it is unlikely that their stock was exclusively so. Even at an abbey as rich as Fountains, a percentage of the clip was black, grey and brown.³⁸¹

There may have been another and more significant factor in raising the value of Cistercian wool. Donkin, for example, unconvinced by arguments which cast the Cistercians as expert breeders, highlighted their pre-eminence in the preparation of wool for sale, something also emphasised by others.³⁸² The highly-skilled, costly and time-consuming processes of cleansing, sorting, grading and packing were carried out in-house, meaning buyers could have confidence

³⁷⁵ Munro, 'Wool-Price Schedules', p.118.

³⁷⁶ For a discussion of pasture on and around Coupar's lands, see Functions of Granges section.

³⁷⁷ The tracing of breeds back to the medieval period is problematic. See E. Power, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History* (London 1941), pp.20-22; M.L. Ryder, 'Medieval Sheep and Wool Types', *Agricultural History Review*, 32, (1984).

³⁷⁸ Munro, 'Wool-Price Schedules', p.118; Ryder, 'Medieval Sheep and Wool Types', pp.14-28, p.23-4. The introduction of new stock into areas by monasteries is noted by Ryder at p.24.

³⁷⁹ Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, p.163.

³⁸⁰ RPS, 1357/11/2 [accessed: 18 July 2016].

³⁸¹ Ryder, 'Medieval Sheep and Wool Types', pp.24-6.

³⁸² R.A. Donkin, 'Cistercian Sheep-Farming and Wool-Sales in the Thirteenth Century', *The Agricultural History Review*, 6 (1958), pp.2-8; A.R. Bell, C. Brooks & P. Dryburgh, *The English Wool Market, c.1230-1327* (Cambridge, 2007), pp.134-5; T.H. Lloyd, *The Movement of Wool Prices in Medieval England*, *Economic History Review Supplements VI* (Cambridge, 1973), p.10.

in what they were buying and the condition it would arrive in.³⁸³ Moreover, Cistercian houses regularly exported wool produced by other local flocks, known as *collecta*, alongside their own, acting as middlemen between smaller lay producers and merchants. While this was priced lower than the best Cistercian wool, the English evidence reveals that *collecta* was often valued at higher rates than middle-grade abbey wool. Bell, Brooks and Dryburgh argue that it was the expert dressing of this wool that gave the monks the ability to broker these amounts; merchants were 'brand aware' and had faith in the quality of lay product supplied under a Cistercian house's name.³⁸⁴ If Coupar was engaging extensively in the purchase and sale of *collecta* then it may be that the vast majority of wool being exported through Perth was being subjected to this type of preparation and marketed under Coupar's 'brand'. This would better explain, than any of the points raised in the above discussion do, why wool originating at this burgh in the later thirteenth century could have been judged to be of higher value than elsewhere. That this was not also the case for Berwick may have been due to the much greater volume of trade most likely passing through this burgh during this period and the proportionally lower impact of Melrose abbey and its operations. The reputation of the locality itself may also have been an important factor. Contracts for *collecta* wool frequently specified the area from which the product must be supplied and places like Yorkshire, for example, commanded distinctly high prices.³⁸⁵ It may be, then, that wool produced in the vicinity of Perth enjoyed some repute abroad.

While Coupar may not have been routinely undertaking the independent shipment of its wool, the monks were certainly not sitting idle. The abbey regularly sent representatives to Troyes to attend the annual summer trade event held there. This information is indirectly revealed by the arrangement which was put in place for Coupar to convey the pension owed to Cîteaux from the parish church of Airlie.³⁸⁶ In January 1220, it was agreed between the abbots that the annual payments would be made on the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul (29 June) at the fair of Troyes.³⁸⁷ This procedure was repeated in 1246 when a dispute which had occurred over ownership of the church was settled.³⁸⁸ The 'hot' or 'warm' fair of Troyes was one of the

³⁸³ The process of dressing and packing wool is described by T.R. Eckenode, 'The English Cistercians and Their Sheep During the Middle Ages', *Cîteaux: commentarii cistercienses*, 24 (1973), pp.258-9.

³⁸⁴ Bell, Brookes & Dryburgh, *The English Wool Market*, pp.51-2, 148.

³⁸⁵ Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade*, pp.294-5; Bell, Brookes & Dryburgh, *The English Wool Market*, p.52.

³⁸⁶ Discussed in *Possession of Parish Churches: Airlie* section.

³⁸⁷ J. Wilson, 'Charter of the abbot and convent of Cupar, 1220', *SHR* 8 (1910-11), p.173; Idem, 'Original charters of the abbey of Cupar, 1219 – 1448', *SHR* 10 (1912-13), p.273.

³⁸⁸ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LI.

six Champagne Fairs held in this semi-autonomous region, beginning on the first Tuesday after the fortnight of St John's Day (24 June) typically lasting for fifty-two days.³⁸⁹ Attendance gave Coupar the opportunity to secure buyers for its wool, draw up contracts, arrange shipments and conduct the associated monetary transactions. During the thirteenth century, the Champagne fairs were at the peak of their importance, functioning as the key trading hubs for merchants and merchandise hailing from both northern and southern Europe; they were particularly important centres for the cloth trade, ten days of each fair being officially devoted to it. Indeed, R.D. Face argues that the entire schedule of business conducted at the Fairs was geared towards simplifying operations for northern cloth merchants.³⁹⁰ Represented at Troyes, then, was Coupar's core market for the disposal of raw wool.

James Wilson, noting that the expected point of rendezvous when travelling to Cîteaux would be Dijon, suggests that the arrangement for payment of the pension indicates that Scottish abbots took an unconventional route when journeying to the General Chapter which brought them through Troyes.³⁹¹ But it seems very unlikely that it is related in any way to Coupar's attendance at Cîteaux; if this were the case, then why not just deliver the money at the Chapter meeting itself? This was certainly the directive issued to other houses who were responsible for transmitting royal and noble donations made in support of Cîteaux and the hosting of the annual meeting; abbots travelling both west from Germany and east from Portugal were instructed to convey these payments at the General Chapter.³⁹² This was also the case in charters which record various grants made by Irish kings in the first half of the thirteenth century which stipulated that the money was to be transmitted by Irish abbots to Cîteaux at the time of the General Chapter.³⁹³ This is particularly significant considering that,

³⁸⁹ Face, R.D., 'Techniques of Business in Trade between the Fairs of Champagne and the South of Europe in the 12th and 13th Centuries', *Economic History Review*, 10 (1957-58), p.427, note 2; L. Armstrong, I. Elbl & M.M. Elbl, *Money, Markets and Trade in Late Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of John H.A. Munro* (Leiden, 2007), p.332. The fair of Lagny-sur-Marne began on 2 January; the fair of Bar-sur-Aube on the Tuesday before mid-Lent; the May fair of Provins on the Tuesday before the Ascension; the fair of St. Ayoul of Provins began on the day of the Exaltation of the Cross i.e. 14 September; and the fair of St. Remi or the 'cold fair' of Troyes began on the day following All Saints' Day, i.e. 2 November.

³⁹⁰ E.S. Hunt & J.M. Murray, *A History of Business in Medieval Europe, 1200-1550* (Cambridge, 1999), pp.28-9; Face, 'Techniques of Business in Trade'; H. Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (London, 1936), pp.100-103.

³⁹¹ Wilson, 'Charter of the abbot and convent of Cupar', pp.175-6.

³⁹² J.M. Canivez (ed.), *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab Anno 1116 ad Annum 1786*, 8 vols (Louvain, 1933-41), vol I, 1206 no.76, vol II, 1247 no.27. Aside from Coupar's arrangement, I have been unable to find any examples which stipulate payment at a location other than the General Chapter.

³⁹³ Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, nos. 12-15.

like Scottish houses, Irish abbots were only required to attend the meeting every four years, yet no alternative arrangement was made for the delivery of what were stated to be annual payments.³⁹⁴ That is not to say that the designation of Troyes as a payment delivery point is an utterly unique occurrence: during the thirteenth century, Order representatives were sent to the Champagne fairs during periods of Cistercian taxation to collect contributions.³⁹⁵ But, while not extraordinary, it certainly seems that the remission of this type of payment, made in support of the hosting of the General Chapter, to a location other than the meeting itself was not the norm. The stipulation that Coupar make payment at Troyes, then, cannot be considered some kind of standard protocol or charter formulae and must reflect the realities of Coupar's activities; there was evidently an expectation that members of the abbey, or their procurators at least, would consistently be present at the summer fair at Troyes, and presumably more regularly than they were expected to attend the General Chapter.

Inevitably, the outbreak of war with England in 1296 had serious implications for Coupar, not least in the disruption to the abbey's agricultural and economic pursuits which must have affected production levels. As Emilia Jamroziak identifies, the dangerous combination of wealth and relative defencelessness left monastic houses and their estates vulnerable to attack. In 1305, Coupar appealed to Edward I for compensation for the burning of its granges and other damage.³⁹⁶ The economic losses suffered were not only inflicted by hostile forces either. Medieval armies acquired supplies while on the move and therefore houses were also subject to the requisition of resources by what might be considered to be their 'own side'.³⁹⁷ Aside from these direct consequences, Coupar also felt the knock-on effects of the war in the serious impact on Scottish trade. In addition to the obvious obstruction of military occupation, since medieval sea-travel was largely coastal, ships sailing between Scotland and the continent followed the English coastline and customarily put into English ports.³⁹⁸ The monks of Coupar were now dependent on the good favour of the English king for foreign travel and their export activities. On 16 July 1297, Brother John of Coupar was issued with a safe conduct to go

³⁹⁴ Canivez, *Statuta*, vol I, 1157 no.62; C. Waddell (ed.), *Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter* (Brecht, 2002), 1190 no.1.

³⁹⁵ P. King, 'Coupar Angus and Cîteaux', *Innes Review*, 27 (1976), p.54; Idem, *The Finances of the Cistercian Order in the Fourteenth Century* (Kalamazoo, 1985), pp.90-1.

³⁹⁶ F.W. Maitland (ed.), *Records of the Parliament Holden at Westminster on 28 February 1305* (London, 1893), no.355, pp.203-4.

³⁹⁷ Jamroziak, *Survival and Success*, pp.167-73.

³⁹⁸ Stevenson, 'Trade between Scotland and the Low Countries', pp.165-6.

beyond seas on the abbot's business; there is little doubt that he was on his way to Troyes.³⁹⁹ This monk was again granted protection in the summer of 1303, this time stated to be travelling to Cîteaux on the business of the abbey.⁴⁰⁰ He does not appear to have been travelling to the General Chapter, considering this was attended by abbots and in any case was scheduled to take place several months later, and while his eventual destination may have been Cîteaux for whatever reason, it seems likely that he would have taken the opportunity to attend to trade affairs on the trip. Considering the abbey's reliance on English sanction to maintain links with the continent, not to mention the certain level of protection for the house and their estates they might benefit from, it is perhaps unsurprising to find evidence of the monks garnering favour with the English during this period; in January 1304, the abbot of Coupar was reporting upon the movements of the 'enemy' and offering to break down a bridge to impede them.⁴⁰¹ And it would appear that the policy met with some success. In August 1306, Edward, Prince of Wales, thanked Aymer de Valence for the protection given to Coupar, who he esteemed as his own, and begged that he see to it that no damage was done to their crops and other goods and "befriend them in all matters".⁴⁰²

But the hostility between Scotland and England was far from the only obstruction to Coupar's continental trade in the fourteenth century. The abbey's available export avenues were also greatly restricted by concurrent Anglo-French and Franco-Flemish wars which massively disrupted established trade routes.⁴⁰³ The monks of Coupar therefore turned to the trade networks utilised by Cistercian houses in England. By the later thirteenth century, Italian merchants had come to dominate the English monastic wool market, and it is to one such merchant house that a debt of Coupar of 180 marks (£120) is recorded in 1306, when an order to arrest the goods of the merchants of the Pulci-Rembertini of Florence was issued by Edward I.⁴⁰⁴ By the end of the thirteenth century, English Cistercian houses were heavily involved in a cycle of advance wool contracts and indebtedness to Italian societies: in 1282x1283, Kirkstall abbey is recorded as owing 670 marks to this particular merchant house. Coupar, along with

³⁹⁹ Bain, *Calendar of Documents*, vol II, no. 961.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid, vol II, nos. 1368, 1383, 1399b; *Patent Rolls*, Edward I, vol IV, p.150; H.M.S.O., *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1272-1509*, 47 vols (London, 1892-63), vol V, no. 46.

⁴⁰¹ Bain, *Calendar of Documents*, vol V, no. 346.

⁴⁰² Ibid, vol II, no. 1809.

⁴⁰³ J.H. Munro, 'Medieval Woollens: The Western European Woollen Industries and Their Struggles for International Markets, c.1000-1500', in D. Jenkins (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, I (Cambridge, 2003), pp.235-6; Pirenne, *Economic and Social History*, p.103.

⁴⁰⁴ *Close Rolls*, vol V, no. 426; Bain, *Calendar of Documents*, vol II, no. 1740.

Melrose abbey who also appear in 1306 with a lesser debt of 130 marks, had clearly become involved in such transactions. It may be that the sums represent loans taken out by the houses, with wool used as surety, or even advance payments made for contracted wool; while not the norm, full or partial advance payments to English monasteries did occur regularly. It is significant that the arrest order was directed to the sheriffs of Lincoln, York and Northumberland; the principal collection centres for wool were located at Boston, in Lincolnshire, and at York, while, further north, Cistercian abbeys such as Holm Cultram and Newminster delivered to Newcastle. Boston was the pre-eminent centre, attracting wool producers from great distances due to St Bodolph's Fair, an internationally-important trading event, at which Melrose abbey was active in the early thirteenth century.⁴⁰⁵ Coupar may have come into contact with Italian merchants at Troyes anyway, but thereafter seem to have capitalised on Melrose's pre-existing trading links in England, who in-turn may have gained access to such networks through Rievaulx, its English motherhouse.

Records relating to payment of the Airlie church pension are sparse but there is one further documented fourteenth-century instance where Coupar appears to have been present at the fair of Troyes to make payment: in July 1320, 100 *livres tournois* were paid as the equivalent of £20.⁴⁰⁶ The use of French currency would seem to indicate that the abbey was still conducting business transactions at the fair at this date. Moreover, on this occasion, the monks of Coupar present are named as John de Breneciro, William de Pilmor and John Clonkerdim, at least one of whom almost certainly belonged to a contemporary burgess family of Dundee.⁴⁰⁷ By this date, Dundee had superseded Perth in terms of trade and so Coupar's mercantile base appears to have shifted accordingly.⁴⁰⁸ But this would appear to be the last time the abbey ever attended the fair. A major impact of the chronic, economically debilitating European warfare of the fourteenth century was the decline in the importance of the Champagne Fairs.⁴⁰⁹ For Coupar in particular, the absence of Flemish merchants meant that their principal market was no longer represented. In 1350, it was pronounced that payment of the pension was now to be made to the abbot of Ter Doest near Bruges.⁴¹⁰ By this date,

⁴⁰⁵ Bell, Brooks & Dryburgh, *The English Wool Market*, pp.21-4, p.29 note 79, 54-8, 146, 250-1; Fawcett & Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, pp.250-1.

⁴⁰⁶ King, 'Coupar Angus and Cîteaux', p.58 no. 6

⁴⁰⁷ See Recruitment: Burgesses section.

⁴⁰⁸ Stevenson, 'Trade between Scotland the Low Countries', p.249.

⁴⁰⁹ Munro, 'Medieval Woollens', pp.235-6; Pirenne, *Economic and Social History*, p.103.

⁴¹⁰ King, 'Coupar Angus and Cîteaux', pp.61-2 no.12.

evidently representatives of Coupar were considered to be more likely to be present in Bruges on a regular basis than anywhere else, including at the General Chapter. The Scottish commercial presence was well-established at Bruges by the later thirteenth century, and by the mid-fourteenth century at least, and perhaps earlier, it had become the staple port for Scottish wool.⁴¹¹ The revised payment arrangement for the Airlie pension, then, seems to confirm that the monks of Coupar were now conducting their commercial transactions through Bruges. Unfortunately, however, no further evidence relating to Coupar's involvement in the wool trade survives and the discussion must be cut short here.

Salmon

Coupar's extensive portfolio of fishing rights must have generated catches far exceeding internal requirements and therefore must have been intended for commercial purposes. Freshwater fish were a luxury commodity which could be afforded only by the privileged few and were therefore used in demonstrations of aristocratic status, served at feasts and presented as gifts. Fish such as salmon, which were specifically referred to for almost all of the abbey's fisheries, were thus highly prized due to their cultural and social significance, generating elite demand and fetching high prices.⁴¹² Records attest to the medieval domestic trade in salmon with prices per fresh fish dictated by both size and availability, prices rising when they were scarce.⁴¹³ In this context, the potential value of Robert I's grant to Coupar of permission to fish in the close season, in four major rivers, becomes patently clear.⁴¹⁴ This grant, and its scale, is intriguing, especially considering that King Robert had reiterated the ban on salmon fishing in the close season in parliamentary legislation of 1318.⁴¹⁵ An explanation may lie in the events of the intervening years. Coming in the wake of the Great European Famine (1314-1322), Scotland was hit by a major, Europe-wide panzootic which devastated cattle numbers. The disease had likely reached the country by late 1319. As Michael Penman remarks, the huge mortality rates amongst herds, and the resultant food shortages and price fluctuations, must have represented a major socio-economic crisis which "no king or lord could ignore". Restocking, especially of dairy cattle, was a very slow process and often took

⁴¹¹ Stevenson, 'Trade between Scotland the Low Countries', pp.11, 17-18, 158-9, 253.

⁴¹² C. Dyer, 'The Consumption of Fresh-Water Fish in Medieval England', in M. Aston (ed.), *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds in England* (Oxford, 1988), pp.27-38; C.M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (London, 1999), pp.120-21; Van Dam, 'Fish for Feast and Fast', pp.321-7; Hoffmann, 'Salmo salar', pp.355-6.

⁴¹³ Gemmill & Mayhew, *Changing Values*, pp.303-4; Hoffmann, 'Salmo salar', p.361.

⁴¹⁴ RRS, V, no. 298; *Brev.*, no. 25.

⁴¹⁵ RRS, v, no. 139.

over a decade.⁴¹⁶ Perhaps then, by 1326, ongoing problems caused by a slow rate of recovery may have forced the king into action. Philip Slavin notes that salmon were an important substitute during the shortage of dairy products and meat which followed.⁴¹⁷ The original intent behind King Robert's grant to Coupar, a house which conducted large-scale commercial fishing, may then have formed part of an effort to ensure market demand was met. Indeed, perhaps the region around Perth was particularly sluggish to recover since, just a few months earlier, the king had instructed the sheriff of Perth to reserve the fishing of the loch of Blair to Scone abbey on account of his needs when resident there, perhaps indicating that the house was having trouble securing adequate provisions for his household.⁴¹⁸

Across Europe, however, the impact of human activity had taken its toll on riverine fish populations.⁴¹⁹ Analysis of fish bone evidence has indicated that c.1000 AD fishing catches went from being overwhelmingly comprised of freshwater and migratory species to being dominated by marine fish such as gadids, a fundamental change which has been labelled the 'fish event horizon'. This dramatic shift has been attributed to the damage caused to river systems by rising populations, land clearance, agricultural production and, in particular, milling.⁴²⁰ Migratory species, increasingly unable to travel upstream to spawn, went into rapid decline; the deterioration of salmon stocks by the 1200s on both the European mainland and

⁴¹⁶ T.P. Newfield, 'A Cattle Panzootic in Early Fourteenth-Century Europe', *Agricultural History Review*, 57 (2009), pp.155-190; P. Slavin, 'The Fifth Rider of the Apocalypse: The Great Cattle Plague in England and Wales and its Economic Consequences, 1319-1350', in S. Cavaciocchi, *Le Interazioni fra Economica e Ambiente Nell'Europa Preindustriale, Secc. XIII-XVIII* (Florence, 2010); M. Penman, *Robert the Bruce: King of the Scots* (New Haven, 2014), pp.211-12.

⁴¹⁷ P. Slavin, 'Warfare and Ecological Destruction in Early Fourteenth-century British Isles', *Environmental History*, 19 (2014), p.536.

⁴¹⁸ RRS, V, no. 297.

⁴¹⁹ For the following discussion, I am very grateful to Alasdair Ross for allowing me to see his unpublished forthcoming article on the topic.

⁴²⁰ J.H. Barrett, 'Fish trade in Norse Orkney and Caithness: a zooarchaeological approach', in *Antiquity*, 71 (1997), pp.616-38; Idem, R.P. Beukens, & R.A. Nicholson, 'Diet and ethnicity during the Viking colonization of northern Scotland: evidence from fish bones and stable carbon isotopes', *Antiquity*, 75 (2001), pp.145-54; I.B. Enghoff, 'Fishing in the Baltic Regions from the 5th century BC to the 16th century AD: evidence from fish bones', *Archaeofauna*, 8 (1999), pp.41-85; Idem, 'Fishing in the southern North Sea region from the 1st to the 16th century AD: evidence from fish bones', *Archaeofauna*, 9 (2000), pp.59-132; W.V. Neer & A. Ervynck, 'The zooarchaeological reconstruction of the development of the exploitation of the sea: a *status quaestionis* for Flanders', in M. Pieters, F. Verhaeghe & G. Gevaert, *Fishery, Trade and Piracy* (Brussel, 2006), pp.95-103; J.H. Barrett, A.M. Locker & C.M. Roberts, 'Dark Age Economics' revisited: the English fish bone evidence AD600-1600', *Antiquity*, 78 (2004), pp.618-36; J.H. Barrett & M.P. Richards, 'Identity, Gender, Religion and Economy: New Isotope and Radiocarbon Evidence for Marine Resource Intensification in Early Historic Orkney, Scotland, UK', *European Journal of Archaeology*, 7.3 (2004), pp.249-71; R.C. Hoffmann, 'Economic Development and Aquatic Ecosystems in Medieval Europe', *American Historical Review*, 101 (1996), pp.631-669.

in England is well-documented.⁴²¹ Further research has suggested that the event horizon was a two-stage process, initially based upon the intensification of local marine fisheries but later, as demand outstripped local supply, upon long distance trade; thus, by the thirteenth century, commercial fishing had taken over from subsistence fishing.⁴²² But in sharp contrast to the fate of many riverine fish populations elsewhere in Europe, Richard Hoffmann has identified that, from the twelfth century into the sixteenth, the extant Scottish evidence shows high economic return but no reduction in yields from Scotland's salmon rivers. This "sustainable abundance" can be attributed to a combination of both deliberate and unintentional factors. Firstly, royal legislation which placed private fisheries under public regulation was established by around 1200, the earliest of its type in Europe, putting measures in place which protected salmon stocks. Certain economic developments also inadvertently aided their sustainability. For example, Scottish mills tended to be erected upon artificial streams rather than upon major rivers, leaving the main stream open to migrants.⁴²³

Thus, the destruction of other European riverine fish populations, coupled with the commercialisation of fishing and the growth of an international market, saw Scotland emerge as a leading exporter of salmon from the fourteenth century well into the sixteenth. During this period, it became the norm to set prices by the barrel, rather than per fish. The demand for salmon on the export market was almost limitless and unending; cleaned and salted salmon packaged in large Hamburg barrels were exported in their thousands through Scottish burghs to the Low Countries (particularly Bruges and Veere), England and, slightly later, France. Markets for Scottish salmon were also to be found in places like Hamburg, Copenhagen and Gdansk.⁴²⁴ It is surely no coincidence that it is during this period that Coupar began to become embroiled in disputes, often as the aggressive party, with neighbouring lay landholders regarding fishing rights, including an incident in the 1440s when the abbey pressed its right to fish in the close season.⁴²⁵ This situation was mirrored elsewhere in Scotland; the later fourteenth century saw the commencement of a long and bitter dispute between

⁴²¹ Idem, 'Salmo salar', p.356.

⁴²² James Barrett *et al*, 'Detecting the medieval cod trade: a new method and first results', in *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 35 (2008), pp.850-61; James H. Barrett *et al*, 'Interpreting the expansion of sea fishing in medieval Europe using stable isotope analysis of archaeological cod bones', *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 38 (2011), pp.1516-24; C.C. Taylor, 'Problems and Possibilities', in M. Aston (ed.), *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds in England* (Oxford, 1988), pp.465-73.

⁴²³ Hoffmann, 'Salmo salar'.

⁴²⁴ Ibid; Idem, 'A Brief History of Aquatic Resource Use', p.25; Gemmill & Mayhew, *Changing Values*, pp.303-17.

⁴²⁵ See Fisheries section.

Cambuskenneth abbey and the inhabitants of the burgh of Stirling over salmon fisheries on the River Forth. In this case, Cambuskenneth was guilty of the illegal occupation of burgh fisheries and may have even encouraged poaching by others.⁴²⁶ These conflicts are indicative of just how valuable a commodity these fish had become. Coupar had possessed the means of salt-production since the grant of pans made by Walter Bisset in the first half of the thirteenth century.⁴²⁷ When combined with the abbey's extensive collection of fishings and well-established network of burgh properties, the monks were perfectly poised to meet both the local and European market demand for salmon and reap the profits it generated.

⁴²⁶ R.C. Hoffmann & A. Ross, 'This Belongs to Us! Competition between the royal burgh of Stirling and the Augustinian abbey of Cambuskenneth over salmon fishing rights on the River Forth, Scotland', (forthcoming).

⁴²⁷ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XLVIII.

Chapter Two: The Laity - Donations, Devotions and Dedications

This chapter investigates the ways in which the abbey interacted with wider society beyond the more basic level of landowner. This relationship is examined within the context of lay piety, patronage and the intercessory function performed by the monks. The various manifestations of this are considered, such as donations, burials, saints' cults, and also recruitment to the monastic life. Coupar played an important part in the faith of the local people, but the nature of this faith had just as big an impact on the abbey itself. Of course, the period under discussion here spans several centuries and lay piety was not a static entity. While research has highlighted the consistent vitality of popular religion right through until the Reformation, there were significant shifts in the expression of devotion, as evidenced by the increased significance of parish churches and the rise of collegiate churches.⁴²⁸ It would appear then that, to a certain extent, the monasteries found themselves out of favour after c.1350. Indeed, the nature of the documentation itself would appear to support such a view. To generalise greatly, the extant sources for the earlier period consist of charters recording property donations, while those of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are concerned with the practical aspects of landholding. But as Helen Brown notes, large land grants were not the "currency of charity" in the later Middle Ages. Instead, gifts involved smaller, more personal items such as ornaments, utensils and books, thereby "writing oneself into the monks' daily lives" at a domestic, as well as liturgical, level in a distinctive form of commemoration possible only within a monastery, as opposed to any other type of church. This shift in the character of monastic patronage has also been noted in an English context by Karen Stöber. Thus, as Brown has remarked, "if making fairly large grants of land is no longer the usual or optimal manner for the landed classes to form a relationship with a monastery, but the surviving records are largely land-based, then we will simply see less of the laity's involvement". Despite changes in the nature of lay religiosity, both Brown and Stöber have identified ongoing lay engagement with monastic houses and the continuing importance of aspects such as burial, confraternity and hospitality.⁴²⁹ Of course, the monastery itself was not unchanging either, moulding its practices to meet evolving lay expectations.

⁴²⁸ Oram, 'Lay Religiosity, Piety and Devotion'; A.B. Fitch, *The Search for Salvation: Lay Faith in Scotland, 1480 to 1560*, (Edinburgh, 2009), pp.60-102; Brown, 'Lay Piety in Later Medieval Lothian'

⁴²⁹ Ibid; K. Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons, England and Wales, c.1300-1540* (Woodbridge, 2007)

Motivations for Donations

The motivations behind donations to religious houses have been the subject of much debate.⁴³⁰ This discussion often juxtaposes the traditional image of the monks as passive recipients of random, pious donations, with a more cynical interpretation which largely rejects the religious element and alleges purposely concealed material concerns. In light of the clear evidence of Coupar's active strategy of rational land acquisition and participation in the rural property market, the modern observer may be more inclined to lean towards the latter. Indeed, it has regularly been asserted that many Cistercian charters which purport to record donations, in fact, represent 'disguised' or 'concealed' sales; the allegation is often accompanied by evidence of active solicitation on the part of the monks in support of this claim.⁴³¹ The link between the two can only be drawn, however, if it is assumed that the level of the abbey's involvement in the process is inversely proportional to the piety of the transaction. This notion is false. As Emilia Jamroziak identifies, economic expansionism was a part of the abbey's pious mission for the glorification of God; the perceived 'dualism', so often a feature of modern historiography, would have been far less apparent to contemporaries.⁴³² Indeed, it has been asserted that the belief that material and spiritual welfares were inextricably linked was basic to the Cistercian ideology; therefore, as part of their religious duty to ensure maximum returns from their holdings, the monks developed more rational and efficient management of their properties. This involved the active development and maintaining of connections with the lay world, done at the abbey's initiative.⁴³³ It is clear, therefore, that, in this context, the distinction between the economic and the religious is largely artificial.

Furthermore, the assumption that donations which show evidence of having been directed by the monks must be disguised sales presupposes that a lay person stood to gain in no way

⁴³⁰ Jamroziak has reviewed the historiography surrounding donations at length. See Idem, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context*, pp.14-18.

⁴³¹ For example see: Bishop, 'The Monastic Grange in Yorkshire', p.201; Oram, 'Prayer, Property and Profit', p.89; P.F. Gallagher, 'Conditions of Land Tenure and their Religious Implications', in J.R. Sommerfeldt, (ed.), *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History, II* (Kalamazoo, 1976), p.112; Berman, *Medieval Agriculture*, pp.36-7; Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey*, pp.4-5, 70-1, 99, 117, 211-12; B.D. Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries and their Patrons in the Twelfth Century* (Illinois, 1968), p.57; Lekai, *The Cistercians*, p.292.

⁴³² Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context*, p.134; Idem, 'Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Environment', p.71.

⁴³³ Stringer, 'Reform Monasticism and Celtic Scotland', p.146; Jamroziak, 'Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Environment', pp.257-8.

other than economically. In fact, donations represented mutually beneficial agreements, the result of an often negotiated, two-way process, whereby the abbey made economic gains and, in return, the grantor profited spiritually. The latter was no less real, or valuable, than the former to the medieval mind, for whom the reality of purgatory and potential damnation loomed large. As expressed by Christopher Daniell, “the key to medieval religion is the fate of the individual’s soul after death”. Gifts to religious houses expressed a belief in the redeeming power of the pious donation, whereby spiritual benefits were derived not only from the prayers of the monks but also from the act of the grant itself; donations thereby increased one’s chances of salvation.⁴³⁴ Thus, while we may disregard the passivity of the monks’ role implied in these charters, our interpretation of donors’ motivations should not be affected. Nowhere is this more clearly illustrated than in the resolution terms of the dispute which occurred between Coupar and William Munfichet in the early 1220s, whereby William made grants to the monks of turf, free transit and pasture rights in the vicinity of their grange of Keithick and forest of Campsie. In return, the monks agreed that William, his wife and his heirs would be buried at Coupar.⁴³⁵ That William should wish to be compensated in this way for making valuable economic concessions demonstrates that the abbey’s greatest asset in the eyes of the lay population was its spiritual currency. Likewise, in 1237x1240 the abbey was able to resolve a dispute over teinds due for Coupar’s lands in Rattray in a similar manner when Malcolm, canon of Dunkeld, retracted his complaint in return for “the prayers and benefit of the whole Cistercian order”, a statement which echoes confraternity rights.⁴³⁶ Conversely, Helen Brown has argued that grants made in the context of conflict resolution, as opposed to donations made “upon the donor’s own initiative”, can “hardly be read as an illustration of personal faith in monastic spirituality”.⁴³⁷ However, the distinction between the two can only be made if the monks are cast as ‘passive recipients’ in the latter scenario, in contrast to ‘active negotiators’ in the former, which was patently not the case. Thus, while there is no doubt that the active role of the monks in donation transactions is, in Berman’s words, obscured by the “language of donation” which depicts the lay party as the initiator,

⁴³⁴ C. Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066-1550* (London, 1997), p.153; Jamroziak, ‘Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Environment’, p.31-2, 68-9, 154-5; Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey*, pp.236-7, 241-3. Donations were further incentivised by offers of indulgences, though there is no evidence of any offered in relation to Coupar.

⁴³⁵ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XXX, XXXI; *Brev.*, no. 65.

⁴³⁶ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XLIII.

⁴³⁷ Brown, ‘Lay Piety in Later Medieval Lothian’, pp.174-6.

genuine lay piety and active monastic procurement cannot be considered mutually exclusive.⁴³⁸

That both could quite happily co-exist in donation transactions is well-demonstrated by the example of David Ruffus of Forfar. At the turn of the thirteenth century, Adam, son of Abraham, of Lour granted to David his land of Kinreich, the charter of which included the clause that should David have no heirs he would be permitted to grant the land to Coupar. Despite the phrasing of this clause, which implies a 'just in case' scenario, David bestowed the holding upon the abbey either immediately or very soon afterwards. Evidently David did, in fact, have no heirs and had foreseen the possibility that he would not produce any, since a later charter reveals that he left to go on Crusade shortly afterwards.⁴³⁹ It appears, therefore, that David was in the process of leaving sufficient worldly possessions, which also included two tofts in Forfar, to Coupar, to ensure the safety of his soul should he be slain abroad, and had obtained Kinreich with the specific intention of bestowing it on the abbey.⁴⁴⁰ Moreover, William of Meigle, stated to be 'brother of the prior of Coupar', along with his sons, Richard and Adam, and Michael of Meigle, appear among the witnesses to the grant from Adam to David. That William should be specifically referred to as such in this context, deliberately highlighting the familial link between the landholding family of Meigle and a high-ranking abbey official, is indicative of William's role, and that of the other members of the family present, in the transaction: as lay representatives of Coupar's landed interests. Coupar's acquisition of Kinreich, then, was clearly the result of negotiations involving David, Adam and the abbey itself.

Moreover, grantors also stood to gain in secular, non-financial, terms; donations could serve the dual purpose of providing for the grantor's spiritual welfare, while also making a particular public statement. Religious patronage was an important part of lordship and an expression of the donor's social rank within society. In addition, certain benefactors also exploited the symbolic power of ecclesiastical patronage and its role in establishing political power. Thus, as

⁴³⁸ Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution*, pp.171-3.

⁴³⁹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. X, XI, LX; *Brev.*, no.76.

⁴⁴⁰ Somerville, *Scotia Pontificia* no. 163; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XIII. For examples of donations made to religious houses by crusaders of the eve of departure and bequests to be left if they died (as seems to be the case here), see K. Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades, c.1000-1300* (Basingstoke, 2013), pp.119-20.

Keith Stringer articulates, the aspirations of donors “are best described as a desire for prestige and prosperity in both this world and the next”.⁴⁴¹ Landed estates were thereby amassed through a combination of political patronage and lay piety, and however strong the monks’ role in the management of this, the process was as reliant on spiritual offerings as on real-world returns.

The Urban Context

The above discussion has appeared to focus mainly on landed donations in a rural context, however it is just as applicable to grants of burgh property. While there is no doubt that Coupar conducted business of a commercial nature through the burghs, the question is whether the abbey’s contact with urban inhabitants was solely restricted to this sphere, or whether these interactions encompassed a religious element too. Throughout the thirteenth century, burgesses themselves became the more common source of monastic acquisition of urban property due to the expansion of wealth within the towns and the development of an active land market, as the legal restrictions on the alienation of burghal property did not apply to purchased land.⁴⁴² However, while acknowledging that certain property sales were recorded as just that, such as Coupar’s purchase of land in Perth from William, son of Lene, which appears in a general confirmation of King Alexander II (1198x1249), Wendy Stevenson finds it “too convenient” that abbeys should find themselves the recipient of grants of burgh property in locations where they had a clear interest and therefore repeats the familiar allegation of ‘concealed sales’. For Stevenson, the monastic presence in burghs can only have been “irksome” to the majority of the inhabitants, the monks’ purchases and leases driving up prices and rents while refusing to recognise the authority of burgh courts.⁴⁴³ It is unclear, however, why a house would have any more interest in disguising urban purchases as gifts

⁴⁴¹ D. Westerhof, ‘Celebrating Fragmentation: The Presence of Aristocratic Body Parts in Monastic Houses in Twelfth and Thirteenth-century England’, in J. Hall & C. Kratzke (eds.), *Sepulturae Cistercienses: Burial, Memorial and Patronage in Medieval Cistercian Monasteries*, special issue of *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 56 (2005), pp.27, 37; Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context*, p.214; M.H. Hammond, ‘*Hostiarii Regis Scotie*: the Durward family in the thirteenth century’, in S. Boardman & A. Ross (eds.), *The Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland c.1200-1500* (Dublin, 2003), pp.126-7; Oram, ‘Lay Religiosity, Piety and Devotion’, pp.102-3; M. Penman, “‘Sacred Food for the Soul’: In Search of the Devotions of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, 1306-1329’, *Speculum*, 88 (2013), p.5; Stringer, ‘Reform Monasticism and Celtic Scotland’ (quotation at pp.138-9); E.L. Jordan, *Women, Power and Religious Patronage in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 2006), pp.61-110; H. Pryce, ‘Patrons and Patronage among the Cistercians in Wales’, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 154, (2005), p.89.

⁴⁴² Stevenson, ‘The Monastic Presence in Scottish Burghs’; Ewan, *Townlife*, p.94.

⁴⁴³ Easson, Coupar Angus Chrs, no. XXV; *Brev.*, no.21; Stevenson, ‘The Monastic Presence in Scottish Burghs’.

than rural ones. Indeed, there seems very little reason to presume that Coupar's lay relationships within the burghs were fundamentally different those outside of them; urban benefactors stood to gain from pious donations in all the same ways as their rural counterparts did and the monks' role in securing these will have been just as active here as elsewhere. Moreover, despite the fact that, superficially, burgh property perhaps appears to be more commercial in nature, it must be remembered that, in essence, the expansion of monastic wealth through the acquisition of urban assets functioned in fundamentally the same way as that of rural possessions.

Indeed, an examination of Coupar's interactions with the residents of Perth illustrates the religious nature of relations between the abbey and the people of the burgh. It was common for urban proprietors to grant portions of the annual rent of their property to religious houses, and Coupar was the recipient of numerous examples of this.⁴⁴⁴ When Henry the Bald, a goldsmith in Perth, granted two booths to Scone Abbey in 1214x1236, the canons were required to render annually a half stone of wax to Coupar, no doubt previously piously gifted by Henry.⁴⁴⁵ In the late thirteenth century, the monks made a claim to an annual payment of twelve pounds of wax from houses and lands in Perth owned by Inchaffray abbey, which presumably had its roots in a similar type of donation made by the previous owner(s).⁴⁴⁶ In 1472, when William Frew, burghess of Perth, made a grant of land and income within the burgh to his daughter, Isabelle, various annual payments of a religious nature from this property are mentioned, including 4s to Coupar. Interestingly, 8s were due to the Cistercian nunnery of Elcho, the only other religious house on the list, perhaps indicative of the order preference of the grantor.⁴⁴⁷ At the same time, undoubtedly some of Coupar's relationships with urban inhabitants were primarily business-based. It is meaningless, however, to attempt to divide the two into separate categories; indeed, in most instances this would prove impossible. For example, an unfortunately incomplete and extensively damaged document of 1479 lists David Robert and William Berry, burghesses, amongst a large number of men appointed as bailies or proctors of the abbey.⁴⁴⁸ According to an account of 1542, rental income of 24s and 13s 4d,

⁴⁴⁴ Ewan, *Townlife*, p.101.

⁴⁴⁵ *Liber de Scon*, no.86.

⁴⁴⁶ W.A. Lindsay, J. Dowden & J.M. Thomson (eds.), *Charters, Bulls and Other Documents Relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray* (Edinburgh, 1908), no.111; C. Innes (ed.), *Liber Insule Missarum* (Edinburgh, 1847), no.49.

⁴⁴⁷ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol II, no.1648.

⁴⁴⁸ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXLVI.

respectively, was being drawn from land formerly belonging to these men.⁴⁴⁹ Therefore, while we may assume that David and William acted in an official capacity in relation to Coupar's business dealings in Dundee, it would appear that both men were also benefactors of the abbey.

Non-Property Donations

Donations of property put the monks in possession of vast landed estates and a network of urban holdings, however lay patronage could take other forms. Just as has been seen in an urban context, grants of income and goods were also common. In the mid-thirteenth century Sibbald, son of Walter, granted a half merk annually from his mill of 'Lundyne'.⁴⁵⁰ These types of gifts should not be considered as less permanent than transfers of property. Grants including that of Saer de Quincy of one merk of annual rent from the land of Gardyne, Geoffrey, son of Richard, of 20s from Glendoick, Walter Lyndsay's of 20s from Wester Inglismaldie, and Henry of Inchmartine's of two merks from Inchmartine were all still being drawn from these lands in the sixteenth century.⁴⁵¹ Transfers of the property from which such amounts were due into different hands did not release the new owners from these obligations, as we have seen in the context of payments Coupar received from various urban properties. Similarly, the abbey was responsible for continuing such payments owed to other religious houses from property which came into its possession. Around the turn of the thirteenth century, when Walter Lindsay, lord of Thurston, granted the land of Little Pert to Coupar, the monks were required to make an annual payment of a silver merk and a pound of wax to Restenneth Priory.⁴⁵² Walter himself had acquired responsibility for the payment when he had come into possession of Little Pert through the gift of his cousin, John of Kinross.⁴⁵³

In certain instances, gifts of annual rent came with specific instructions as to the purpose which the income was to be put to. The grant of Geoffrey, son of Richard, was given for the increase of the lighting of the high altar.⁴⁵⁴ Similarly, in 1234, King Alexander II granted five

⁴⁴⁹ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, p.205.

⁴⁵⁰ *Idem*, *Brev.*, no.64.

⁴⁵¹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XIX, XLIV, LXVIII, LXXXVII; *Brev.*, no. 68; *Idem*, *Rentals*, vol II, pp.206-7.

⁴⁵² Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXVIII.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid*, LXVII.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid*, XLIV; *Brev.*, no. 68.

marks for the lighting of the monastery.⁴⁵⁵ In other cases, this purpose was served even more directly through the donation of wax itself. Around 1220, William Munfichet gave a stone of wax annually for the lighting of the church.⁴⁵⁶ In the mid-thirteenth century, Robert de Mowat granted a stone of wax along with four pence annually from the rents of his land of Fern.⁴⁵⁷ Meanwhile, William of Brechin renewed his father's gift of a toft of land, adding a stone of wax for the lighting of the monastery.⁴⁵⁸ David Postles has discussed the ways in which these types of, materially minor, donations could hold great symbolic value. Gifts such as those of wax supplied the elements required for mass and therefore allowed the donor to 'participate' in the celebration of divine office in the religious house.⁴⁵⁹ This was specifically articulated in a charter of 1286 whereby Duncan Sybald granted a stone of wax and 4s annually from his land of 'Miraitymbeg' *ad lumen missae Sancta Maria* (to light the mass of St Mary).⁴⁶⁰ In this context, it is possible that the grant made by Robert de Quincy in the second half of the twelfth century of a chalder of grain to be received annually was intended to, at least partially, serve a similar function; several contemporary donations made to English houses of amounts of wheat were intended for wafers to be used during mass.⁴⁶¹

Pro Anima Clauses

Charters which recorded donations to Coupar often contained *pro anima* clauses: a specific statement that a grant had been made for the welfare of the souls of those named. It has been argued that such clauses are so prevalent in the documents that "to some extent it seems to be a stock phrase used simply because ecclesiastical property is at stake".⁴⁶² Others, however, have asserted the opposite, that the phrase is not common at all, and therefore its appearance in a charter is meaningful, denoting a specific type of transaction: one in which the lay party expected spiritual benefits in return for the donated property. While the language used may seem formulaic, the sentiments which lay behind it were not. Such charter clauses represented an articulation of the desired spiritual returns which motivated individuals to make donations in the first place; as Richard Oram identifies, their insertion reveals the

⁴⁵⁵ RRS, III, no.211 <<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2078/>> [accessed: 18 July 2016]; *Brev.*, no. 23.

⁴⁵⁶ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XXX, XXXI; *Brev.*, no. 65.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 75.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 73.

⁴⁵⁹ D. Postles, 'Small Gifts, But Big Rewards: The Symbolism of Some Gifts to the Religious', *Journal of Medieval History*, 27, (2001), pp.27-32.

⁴⁶⁰ *Brev.*, no. 74.

⁴⁶¹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XVIII; Postles, 'Small Gifts', p.27.

⁴⁶² Brown, 'Lay Piety in Later Medieval Lothian', pp.174-5.

“specific and spiritually sophisticated aims” of benefactors, demonstrating their “belief in and understanding of the theological principles of salvation, redemption and purgation”.⁴⁶³

Moreover, these clauses extended the accrued spiritual benefits generated by the grant to all named persons, and therefore an examination of those inserted into charters which record grants to Coupar provides valuable insight into the mindset of these benefactors. Many, but not all, clauses included the soul of the grantor himself, though provision was made for the individual through the act of donation itself and did not necessarily require verbalisation. Spouses do not appear as often as would perhaps be expected, though it is possible that it was simply accepted that a husband and wife formed a ‘spiritual package’, and so it was not necessary to articulate specifically that they would share in the spiritual benefits of the donation made. Nevertheless, several wives did appear in *pro anima* clauses, sometimes by name and others just as ‘my spouse’. In the thirteenth century, both John Hay of Naughton and David Strathbogie, earl of Atholl (d.1270), specifically named their late wives in clauses, displaying concern for their departed souls.⁴⁶⁴ Most women would not be in a position to provide spiritually for their husbands through grants or confirmations of land, which would be done by male heirs. However, those few powerful women who held land in their own right had the opportunity to do so. Two widowed countesses of Atholl were in such a position. Following the death of Earl Thomas in 1231, Countess Isabella made two confirmations to Coupar of land in the earldom for the welfare of her late husband.⁴⁶⁵ A decade later, Countess Forbflaith confirmed further land in Atholl for the soul of the deceased Earl David.⁴⁶⁶

By far the most common inclusion was *antecessorum et successorum meorum* (my ancestors and successors), appearing in the majority of Coupar’s charters which contain *pro anima* clauses.⁴⁶⁷ Stringer refers to this as part of an all-embracing formula designed to “get your

⁴⁶³ Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs*, pp.75-6; J. Donnelly, ‘Cult and Culture in a Medieval Community: Ayton and Coldingham, 1188-1376’, *Innes Review*, 63 (2012), pp.131-2; Oram, ‘Lay Religiosity, Piety and Devotion’, p.103, 109; E. Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England, 1066-1135* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp.153-8.

⁴⁶⁴ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XII, XLII, L, LXXXII; *Brev.*, nos. 55, 67, 87; Stuart, ‘The Erroll Papers’, no.7.

⁴⁶⁵ *Brev.*, no. 30; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXXIX.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid*, no. LII.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid*, nos. XII, XVI, XIX, XXII, XXXV, XXXVII, XXXIX, XL, XLVII, XLVIII, L, LII, LXI, LXII, LXIII, LXV, LXVIII, LXIX, LXXI, LXXIII, LXXIV, LXXVI, LXXVII, LXXVIII, LXXIX, LXXXII, LXXXIII, LXXXIV, LXXXVIII, LXXXIX, XC, XCI, XCIII, XCVII, XCVIII, CXI; *Brev.*, no. 34; RRS, V, no. 316; J. Anderson (ed.), *The Oliphants in Scotland* (Edinburgh,

money's worth", however Emilia Jamroziak identifies the deeper meaning which it expressed. The donation created a "continuum", constituting a bridge between "a community of relatives, dead, living and not yet born, and the religious house".⁴⁶⁸ This concept was emphasised by another common inclusion: the parents of the grantor, usually referred to by name.⁴⁶⁹ The most frequently included of other family members were siblings. William Hay fittingly mentioned the soul of his brother David, along with those of his father and mother, in 1237x1241 when he granted to Coupar all the land in the Carse of Gowrie which David had given to him; David was recently deceased, and it appears that this was the main motivation for the gift.⁴⁷⁰ John of Inchmartine was similarly concerned for the welfare of the soul of his deceased brother: two early fourteenth-century grants of John name the late Sir Henry of Inchmartine, along with his parents, and all his ancestors and successors.⁴⁷¹ Stephen of Blair's grant of Lethcassy in 1165x1195 included his sister specifically, along with his father, mother, and all other kindred.⁴⁷² Two further charters made mention of other family members. William Hay's grant of Ederpolles in 1189x1195 specifically mentioned his uncle, Sir Ranulph de Soules, along with his mother and father.⁴⁷³ Highly unusually, Adam of Glenballoch only named his grandfather, also Adam of Glenballoch, in his grant of Drimmie, along with all his predecessors and successors, making no mention of his parents.⁴⁷⁴

In certain cases, the specific mention of a particular individual may have been related to the wishes of the deceased expressed during their lifetime. Henry of Inchmartine's concern for his own soul had been such that he had arranged his reception into the fraternity of Coupar. Moreover, his donation of two merks of annual rent from his lands of Inchmartine and Craigdallie stipulated penalties for his heirs should the grant go unfulfilled, including the poiding of their goods.⁴⁷⁵ This can be interpreted as a clause designed to safeguard Coupar's rights, however it also safeguarded Henry's soul against the impact of non-payment by his

1879), no.3; Neville, 'The Earls of Strathearn', vol II [no.44], Add. Charters no.11; Spalding Misc ii: Stuart, 'The Erroll Papers', no.7.

⁴⁶⁸ Stringer, 'Reform Monasticism and Celtic Scotland', p.141; Jamroziak, 'Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Environment', p.72.

⁴⁶⁹ *Brev.*, nos. 35, 46, 57, 81; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XVIII, XLII, LXII, LXV, LXXI, LXXIX, LXXXII, LXXXVIII, LXXXIX, XC, XCI, XCVII; Stuart, 'The Erroll Papers', no. 7.

⁴⁷⁰ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XLII; *Brev.*, no. 51.

⁴⁷¹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XC, XCVII.

⁴⁷² *Brev.*, no. 35.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid*, no. 46.

⁴⁷⁴ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. LXIX, LXXIII; *Brev.*, no. 91.

⁴⁷⁵ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXXXVII.

heirs; his successors were bound to the agreement, should they be inclined to be lax in looking after his posthumous spiritual welfare. Henry appears to have died shortly after this grant was made. He may have known the end was nearing and been anxious to make sufficient provision; these preparations perhaps involved requesting specific mention in the *pro anima* clauses of his brother's grants. In other instances, the inclusion of a certain individual may reflect the belief that their soul in particular needed a little more help than others. In the late thirteenth century, Alexander of Abernethy made grants of the multure of his barony of Lour, twenty cartloads of peat annually from his peatery of 'Baltody', or Pitroddie, and free transit through his lands, specifically for the salvation of Hugh, his father.⁴⁷⁶ Alexander's anxiety for the welfare of his father's soul was likely caused by Hugh's role in the murder of Duncan, earl of Fife, in 1289; it is highly significant that he chose to make these donations to Coupar, the final resting place of Earl Duncan.⁴⁷⁷

Pro anima clauses were not exclusively reserved for family members and in several charters tenurial superiors were specifically named. In certain instances, this may demonstrate the influence of the superior on the grant, either indirectly or directly.⁴⁷⁸ Alternatively, in other cases, where the motivation for the donation primarily lay with the named grantor, the chance explicitly to share in the spiritual benefits accrued by the grant was likely a persuading factor in gaining consent for the alienation, which was essential to the successful transmission of the property. Sir John of Inchmartine, lord of Inchmartine, granted Morlich in Mar to Coupar in 1314x1320.⁴⁷⁹ This was done with the consent of John Cameron, lord of Baledgero, whose great grandfather had originally put the land in the possession of the Inchmartine family in dowry for his daughter, Christina, when she married Alexander, John of Inchmartine's grandfather. In his confirmation of the grant to the abbey, John Cameron was sure to stipulate that he had done so for the salvation of his own soul, as well as those of his ancestors and successors, ensuring his own share in the spiritual benefits of the grant as the consenting superior.⁴⁸⁰ Evidently, however, consent had not been gained further up the tenurial ladder and the grant went unconfirmed by the earl of Mar until 1367; in the meantime John of

⁴⁷⁶ *Brev.*, no. 81.

⁴⁷⁷ Johannis de Fordun, *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, 2 vols, (ed.) W. F. Skene, (Edinburgh, 1871-2), vol I, p.320; J. Stevenson (ed.), *Chronicon de Lanercost* (Edinburgh, 1839), p.127; Bain, *Calendar of Documents*, vol IV, no. 1815.

⁴⁷⁸ See The Impact of Tenurial Networks section.

⁴⁷⁹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XCVII; *Brev.*, no. 90.

⁴⁸⁰ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XCVIII.

Inchmartine was forced to make alternative provision to the abbey to ensure his soul would not suffer as a result.⁴⁸¹ The grant of Ness, physician to the king, of the land of Dunfallandy in Atholl was made for the welfare of the soul of David of Hastings, the late earl of Atholl, of pious memory, and his spouse Forbflaith. This land had been granted to him for his homage and service by the earl and the countess during the former's lifetime, and perhaps the countess felt that it was only appropriate that the grant make provision for the soul of her deceased husband.⁴⁸² Forbflaith then confirmed this grant as Countess of Atholl in her own right for the welfare of the souls of herself and Earl David.⁴⁸³

While the Hays may have been Coupar's leading patrons in the Carse of Gowrie, the abbey's ability to expand its interests in the area outside of the bounds of Errol required the approval of another landowner. In the thirteenth century, Richard Kai granted half of a toft and an acre in Inchtur for the welfare of the souls of Michael of Inchtur and his heirs.⁴⁸⁴ Similarly, the *Breviarium* records a charter of Richard Hay which granted a toft and an acre of land in Inchtur for the welfare of the soul of Michael of Inchtur. This grant was then confirmed by the latter, demonstrating that he was alive at the time of the grant and had consented to the alienation of his land.⁴⁸⁵ It is possible that this charter of Richard 'Hay' is a careless transcription of the donation of Richard Kai, though Hay involvement is evident regardless since the latter grant was sealed by David Hay as Richard Kai did not have his own seal. But while the Hays clearly had a strong hand in Coupar's acquisition of property in Inchtur, irrespective of whether this was two grants or one, it was made possible through the consent of an individual who was the tenurial superior in this case. Neither Michael himself nor his family were benefactors of the abbey, and so a combination of the influence of the Hays, who were, of course, very powerful local landholders, along with the promise of a significant share in the spiritual returns through specific mention in the *pro anima* clause, prompted his consent. It is not clear as to why William of Fenton's grant in 1301x1316 of the land of Auchindorie was made for the salvation of the souls of, among others, Sir Malcolm of Kettins and John, his brother, and of their heirs, however it seems likely that it stemmed from landed interests and some form of tenurial relationship.⁴⁸⁶ Malcolm and John had lived a century

⁴⁸¹ Ibid, nos. XCVII, CX; RRS, VI, no. 328.

⁴⁸² *Brev.*, no. 86.

⁴⁸³ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LII.

⁴⁸⁴ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXXVII.

⁴⁸⁵ *Brev.*, no. 59.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid, no. LXXI; *Brev.*, no. 88.

previously and that the family had interests in the area is shown by the agreement of 1212 where Sir William, bishop of St Andrews, rented the apdaine of Airlie to Coupar, reserving the cain of Sir Malcolm of Kettins and his heirs.⁴⁸⁷ Considering the proximity of Airlie to Auchindorie, it seems very likely that these heirs also held some form of claim in Auchindorie. It is interesting, though, that Malcolm and John were named specifically, while the contemporary members of the family were not.⁴⁸⁸

Clauses could also serve more secular and political purposes, though that is not to say that the element of piety was undermined. In the context of a confirmation of a previous grant, the *pro anima* clause allowed the successor to a title or lordship to draw a direct connection with his (or her) predecessor. This was particularly pertinent in scenarios where the succession had been less than straightforward. This was aptly demonstrated by David, the first Strathbogie earl of Atholl, when he confirmed the grant of Dunfallandy for the welfare of his own soul and that of his deceased wife, alongside those of David of Hastings, the late earl of Atholl, and his spouse, Countess Forbflaith, both of whom were of no familial relation to the new earl.⁴⁸⁹ While clauses for family members undeniably reflect genuine concern for the welfare of the souls of loved ones, in certain instances there may also have been a desire to draw lines of continuity of lineage with the past in political and landholding terms, to place oneself 'in context', as it were. Indeed, this was one of the functions of religious patronage generally.⁴⁹⁰ Several charters name the grantor's father specifically and omit the mother. This was a statement made by the grantor as his father's heir and successor to the family lordship.⁴⁹¹ Similarly, Henry of Inchmartine was (briefly) lord of that ilk prior to his brother inheriting the title.⁴⁹² There was also a clear political element to William Hay's mention of Ranulph de Soules. William held the position of butler to the king and this acknowledgement of his uncle, who also held this position, may have been, in part, to highlight the history, and continuance, of

⁴⁸⁷ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. X, XXI, XXXI; Raine, J., *The History and Antiquities of North Durham* (London, 1852), app., nos. 163, 177, 199, 354. Cain was a payment to a lord due in kind.

⁴⁸⁸ It is possible that '-dorie' could be read as *dewar*. If Auchindorie was the land of the hereditary relic keeper it would go some way to explaining why the same individual had interests in the apdaine. For a discussion of dewars, and the lands attached to the office, see G. Markus, 'Dewars and Relics in Scotland: Some Clarifications and Questions', *Innes Review*, 60 (2009), pp.95-144.

⁴⁸⁹ *Brev.*, no. 87.

⁴⁹⁰ Westerhof, 'Celebrating Fragmentation'.

⁴⁹¹ *Brev.*, no. 81; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. LXV, LXXIX, XCI.

⁴⁹² *Ibid*, vol I, p.161.

family prestige.⁴⁹³ This was further emphasised by the fact that Kings Malcolm and William were also named.

Kings also appear in clauses in other instances. Stephen of Blair's grant of Lethcassy in 1165x1195 named the deceased Kings David and Malcolm, and the reigning King William.⁴⁹⁴ This grant may date from the earliest days of Coupar's history, and so it perhaps seemed appropriate to provide for the architects of its foundation and their pious predecessor. Such clauses courted royal favour and made a statement regarding the prestige and social standing of the grantor. Walter Bisset's grant in 1214x1242 of his salt pans at 'Aldendonecha' named Alexander II, thereby providing for the soul of the reigning king.⁴⁹⁵ Some also included the heir to the throne. Both Walter Murdoch's confirmation in 1198x1214 of the grant made by his father-in-law, Peter of Pollok, and David Ruffus of Forfar's grant in 1201x1202 of Kinreich named King William and his son, Alexander.⁴⁹⁶ Similarly, Hugh de Eure, lord of Kettins, grant in 1292x1296 of a spring running through his land named John Balliol, king of Scotland, and Edward, his son.⁴⁹⁷ Such clauses could also imply a personal relationship and a certain level of intimacy with the royal family and, in some cases, their inclusion may have been an effort to highlight a family's proximity to the rulers of the kingdom. When Alan, son of Walter, steward of the king of Scots, granted a toft in Renfrew in 1177x1196, he named King David, King Malcolm and Earl Henry (son of King David).⁴⁹⁸ Grants of David and Thomas Hay in the first half of the thirteenth century of fishing rights on the Tay named both King William and their father, William Hay.⁴⁹⁹ As noted above, the latter had been butler to King William and his sons were clearly keen to draw attention to this royal connection. There may also have been a sense that, considering this fact, it was appropriate, and perhaps expected of them, to provide for royal souls who had chosen to bestow favour upon their families.

⁴⁹³ RRS, II, p.37; R.C. Reid, 'Some Early de Soulis Charters', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 26 (1949), pp.150-62.

⁴⁹⁴ *Brev.*, no. 35.

⁴⁹⁵ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XLVIII.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid*, nos. XI, XII; *Brev.*, no. 76.

⁴⁹⁷ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXIII.

⁴⁹⁸ Stevenson, *Illustrations of Scottish History*, no. 15; *Brev.*, no. 93.

⁴⁹⁹ Stuart, 'The Erroll Papers', no.7; *Brev.*, no. 57.

The Impact of Tenorial Networks

A key factor in the successful acquisition of land was the expansion of connections through the familial and tenorial bonds of existing benefactors, described by Emilia Jamroziak as the ‘small world phenomenon’. Political and tenorial relationships, therefore, had an important impact on the development of a house’s landed interests. This could occur in an indirect way: lords could “set a fashion for monastic benefaction” among their tenants. Tenorial superiors could also take a more direct role in ‘encouraging’ this of their subordinates.⁵⁰⁰ Numerous examples of donations made to Coupar demonstrate the influence which powerful benefactors could wield over their tenants to have grants made to their favoured houses. At the turn of the fourteenth century, John of Kinross made a substantial grant to his cousin, Walter Lindsay, lord of Thurston, of the land of Little Pert, the fishings of Northesk, and 20s of annual rent from Wester Inglismaldie, along with all easements of the marsh.⁵⁰¹ Walter Lindsay, in turn, bestowed this upon the abbey, with the consent and good will of Sir John of Kinross, who then confirmed the grant.⁵⁰² Coupar was highly favoured by John, who himself made extensive grants to the abbey, and therefore it is no surprise that he should encourage this donation.

Several other examples involved donations of land held by tenants which bordered that already granted to the abbey by their superiors, making it highly desirable to the monks. In the early thirteenth century, Thomas, earl of Atholl, put the monks in possession of the land of Tulach within the earldom. This holding was expanded by a grant of the land of Invervack, beside Tulach, made by William Oliphant. The latter grant was stated to have been made with the consent of the earl and countess, and Thomas’ confirmation charter referred to William as *miles meus* (my knight). The witness lists suggest that all three of these charters were issued on the same occasion, further emphasising the earl’s evident influence on William’s grant: all were witnessed by Alexander Seton, Robert Crawford, John of Lorraine, and ‘Dufflimiche’, and both of the earl’s charters also feature Reginald the constable and Alan, the earl’s clerk.⁵⁰³ Elsewhere, the authority of the Hay family is clearly evident in the case of two grants made of land in the Carse of Gowrie, where the monks acquired their initial holding of Ederpolles, which would become Carsegrange, from William Hay, lord of Errol, in 1189x1195.⁵⁰⁴ The

⁵⁰⁰ Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England*, pp.174-80; Jamroziak, ‘Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Environment’, pp.104, 264.

⁵⁰¹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXVII.

⁵⁰² *Ibid*, no. LXVIII.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid*, no. XXII; *Brev.*, nos. 28, 29; Anderson, *The Oliphants in Scotland*, no.3.

⁵⁰⁴ *Brev.*, no. 46.

grange was soon extended northwards by a grant of Richard de la Battelle of the land between Ederpolles and Inchmartine, no doubt at William's prompting, from whom Richard held the land. Richard's grant was stated to have been made for the welfare of the souls of his lords, William and David his heir, and those of their successors.⁵⁰⁵ Likewise, the mid-thirteenth-century grant of William Hay, lord of Aithmuir, of one ploughgate of land, which extended the grange southwards, was augmented by a grant made by Roger, son of Baudric, of bordering land.⁵⁰⁶ Roger's grant was confirmed by Gilbert Hay, lord of Errol, and stated to have been made for the welfare of the souls of Gilbert, *domini mei* (my lord), and Gilbert's spouse, Idonea.⁵⁰⁷

The authority wielded by a tenurial superior is even more apparent elsewhere. Eustace of Rattray's grant of his common of Drimmie was stated to have been made with the consent of Adam of Glenballoch.⁵⁰⁸ The donation was intended to make amends for 'injuries' done by Eustace and his accomplices to the monks, including violence perpetrated against certain lay brothers; that the grant was made as part of the official dispute resolution proceedings is shown by the presence of Keraldo, the judex. It appears though that Eustace had previously been in no great hurry to do so, as it is stated that he had for a long time been excommunicate and that this sentence was aggravated by contumacy. By 1302 though, he had clearly had a change of heart, pledging to come from the abbey gatehouse to the chapterhouse *capite discooperto tibiis et pedibus nudis et discalciatis tunica camisia et braceis solummodo vestitus sine cingulo cum virga in manu* (his head uncovered and legs and feet bare and unshod, dressed only in a tunic, shirt and breeches, ungirt, with a rod in his hand) to receive salutary penance and to make sufficient amends. This apparently sudden desire to resolve the issue was likely down to the pressuring of Adam of Glenballoch; around this time, Adam made his own extensive grant in Drimmie and likely felt uncomfortable with a scenario whereby the monks were likely to come into contact with Eustace within the context of his lordship.⁵⁰⁹ Evidently, the monks had some doubts over the sincerity of Eustace's repentance as it was stipulated that Eustace and his brother, John, would bind themselves and all their goods to be

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid, no. 50.

⁵⁰⁶ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XLVII. The description of boundaries in William's charter mention Roger's land.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid, no. LVII; *Brev.*, nos. 55, 56.

⁵⁰⁸ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXXIV; *Brev.*, no. 92.

⁵⁰⁹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXIX; *Brev.*, no. 91.

distraigned by the abbot and convent at will, under a penalty of £20 sterling, half to be paid to Coupar and half to the fabric of the church of Dunkeld for any infringement.⁵¹⁰

Charity and Hospitality

Numerous grants and confirmations made to Coupar throughout the fourteenth century of the revenues of parish churches referred to the sustenance of paupers and the provision of hospitality to guests.⁵¹¹ The financial strain caused by these responsibilities was also cited in similar grants made to other Scottish monastic houses. That the Scottish Cistercians undertook alms-giving is indirectly shown by charter references which contained specific stipulations for the relief of the poor, though no descriptions of the everyday charitable acts which houses must have performed are to be found in the extant sources.⁵¹² The provision of hospitality, meanwhile, was also a religious duty and an integral part of Cistercian life. The General Chapter imposed penalties on houses who failed to provide the proper level of care for guests and letter templates were prepared for visiting abbots to complain about, and for hosts to apologise for, poor hospitality.⁵¹³ Other than members of the Order, Cistercian abbeys received a variety of lay guests including royalty. The volume of guests received by Coupar was referred to in a papal charter of 1389 which stated “more of whom are entertained than in any other monastery in Scotland”.⁵¹⁴ This was a substantial claim and most likely a great exaggeration, since more prominent monastic houses such as Scone or Dunfermline were surely busier, but to some extent it may also have been a genuine reflection of the popularity of the house. Dedicated guest facilities were built and maintained within the inner courts of all Cistercian precincts. At Coupar, visitors were also accommodated just beyond the outer walls in the northern portion of Keithick grange. Here, stone buildings including chambers, a hall and stables were constructed. Local tenants were instructed that food and drink was to be

⁵¹⁰ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXXII.

⁵¹¹ Ibid, nos. CIII, CXIII, CXV; E. Lindsay & A. Cameron (eds.), *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1418-22* (Edinburgh, 1934), pp.49-50, 99-100; C. Burns (ed.), *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII of Avignon, 1378-94* (Edinburgh, 1974), p.147-8.

⁵¹² Veitch, ‘Extent to Which Existing Native Religious Society’, pp.239-41.

⁵¹³ J. Kerr, ‘Cistercian Hospitality in the Later Middle Ages’, in J. Burton and K. Stöber, eds., *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the Later Middle Ages* (2008), pp.28-9; E.M. Jamroziak, ‘Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction in Cistercian Houses of Northern Europe’, *Parergon: Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 27 (2010), pp.39-41; Idem, *Survival and Success*, p.64.

⁵¹⁴ Burns, *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland, 1378-94*, pp.147-8.

made available, along with bedding and food for the horses, for the convent, their servants and other travellers, including guests arriving on the sea-coast of Angus.⁵¹⁵

Coupar's large-scale deer hunting operation in Glenisla must also be viewed as a facet of the abbey's provision of hospitality. As Jean Birrell has identified, while venison was highly-prized, it was not, as a rule, produced for commercial markets. It is also extremely unlikely that it was routinely consumed as part of the monastic diet. Instead, venison had a cultural and social significance as a symbol of noble privilege and its value lay in the status attached to it. As such, it was served on feast days and other occasions when important guests were present, or was simply offered as gifts, as part of "a certain level and type of hospitality, a way of showing honour to guests".⁵¹⁶ On days when meat was not permitted, the abbey had access to a ready supply of salmon which carried a similar social prestige.⁵¹⁷ Moreover, the personal involvement of English monastic houses in hunting activities is well-documented, some even maintaining parks for this purpose; the chronicle evidence describes how these abbeys used the sport to entertain distinguished visitors and encourage their goodwill towards the house.⁵¹⁸ In Glenisla, the monks of Coupar could perhaps provide their aristocratic guests with access to a self-sufficient hunting centre on abbey lands as a way of building and maintaining relationships with the rich and powerful.

Lay Religiosity

The process of donation was fuelled by the genuine belief in the intercessory role played by religious houses, but that is not to say that the laity were content to hand complete control of the process to the monks. Benefactors frequently expressed specific preferences in terms of the spiritual services they received, something which had a very real impact on the abbey internally. The general liturgical practices of the Cistercians were greatly reduced in

⁵¹⁵ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.256, 260, vol II, pp.20-2, 74-5, 97, 98, 134-5, 167-9, 169-70, 178-80.

⁵¹⁶ Birrell, 'Deer and Deer Farming', pp.113-15, 126; C.J. Bond, 'Production and Consumption of Food and Drink in the Medieval Monastery', in G. Keevil, M.A. Aston & T. Hall (eds.), *Monastic Archaeology: Papers on the Study of Medieval Monasteries*, (Oxford, 2001), p.82; Idem, *Monastic Landscapes*, p.182; Kerr, 'Cistercian Hospitality', pp.35-6; Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians*, pp.109-16; D.H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians: Written to Commemorate the Centenary of the Death of Stephen Williams* (Leominster, 2001), pp.225-7.

⁵¹⁷ See Trade: Salmon section.

⁵¹⁸ Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, pp.172-7; C. Cross, 'Monasteries and Society in Sixteenth-Century Yorkshire: The Last Years of Roche Abbey', in J. Burton & K. Stöber (eds.), *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2008), p.231.

comparison with other orders, something which included a significant shift from individual prayers to collective commemoration in simpler, cumulative forms. Despite this, there was great demand for individual commemoration and Cassidy-Welch notes that the laity clearly felt able to dictate this on their own terms to houses.⁵¹⁹

Pittances

One way in which benefactors of Coupar sought to ensure that they would enter the thoughts and prayers of the monks on a more regular, personal basis was through pittances. These were a means to encourage individual prayers for the donor.⁵²⁰ In 1264, Alan Durward granted four merks annually from his villa of Reedie for a pittance to the convent during his lifetime on St Andrew's Day and after his death on the day of his anniversary.⁵²¹ Similarly, in 1314x1320 Sir John of Inchmartine, lord of Inchmartine, granted Morlich in Mar for four annual pittances to be made on the days of the Ascension of the Lord (forty days after Easter), Pentecost (fifty days after Easter), the Holy Trinity (or Trinity Sunday, the first Sunday after Pentecost), and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (8 September). This donation, however, went unconfirmed by the earl of Mar until 1367, delaying the abbey's receipt of the grant.⁵²² For John, this meant sufficient provision for his own soul and those of his family had not been secured, and therefore measures had to be taken to do so in the interim. In 1327 an agreement was made between himself and Coupar whereby the monks would receive an annual rent of twelve merks from John's lands of Invercrosky More, Invercrosky Beg and Morkloche in his barony of Strathardle until the confirmation could be obtained.⁵²³ If John or his heirs should accrue more than twelve merks in income from Morlich in any given year, this would be matched in the sum due to Coupar from the Strathardle lands. Should these lands fail to provide the twelve merks to Coupar, the abbot's bailies would be permitted to distrain John's barony of Dunie in Strathardle for the said sum. The dedication of John to ensuring that the monks would receive

⁵¹⁹ Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order*, pp.97-8; Idem, 'Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context', pp.204-7; J. Kerr, 'An Essay on Cistercian liturgy', The Cistercians in Yorkshire Project <http://www.cistercians.shef.ac.uk/cistercian_life/spirituality/Liturgy/Cistercian_liturgy.pdf> [accessed: 18 July 2016]; M. Cassidy-Welch *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings: Thirteenth-Century English Cistercian Monasteries* (Turnhout, 2001), pp.237-8.

⁵²⁰ Brown, 'Lay Piety in Later Medieval Lothian', p.172.

⁵²¹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXI. This was the centenary year of the abbey's foundation for which special indulgences may have been granted, though there is record of this in the extant sources.

⁵²² Ibid, no. XCVII.

⁵²³ RRS, VI, no. 328; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CX.

a like-for-like income from his lands in order to provide these pittances demonstrates the strength of his faith in their intercessory power.

Confraternity

Admittance into confraternity involved the “spiritual incorporation” of a lay person into the house.⁵²⁴ This meant that the individual could be assured that intercessory prayers on their behalf in perpetuity had been secured and, importantly, that burial within the monastery was guaranteed.⁵²⁵ The types of specialised documents which recorded confraternity membership do not survive for any Scottish monastery; for Coupar, only a handful of references survive in the charter evidence and it can be assumed that, as D.E. Easson suggests, there were many other, unrecorded, instances of benefactors being accepted into fraternity.⁵²⁶ There are only three explicit mentions in the available documentation which makes it impossible to draw any general conclusions about trends at the abbey. It has been noted elsewhere, however, that it was not necessarily the most prestigious or generous benefactors who were rewarded with confraternity.⁵²⁷ This is certainly true of the extremely limited available sample for Coupar. The only member of the Hay family recorded as having received membership was not a lord of Errol, but William, lord of Aithmuir who, around the turn of the fourteenth century, was stated as having been accepted as a brother of the chapter in life and in death, receiving full participation *in omnibus suis missis et oracionibus, ac etiam in universis suis aliis bonis operibus spiritualibus* (in all of their masses and prayers, and also in all of their spiritual good works).⁵²⁸ While this appears in a charter recording an undoubtedly valuable grant of fishing rights, William was far from the most prolific or high-status benefactor belonging to this familial group. Moreover, a charter dated around the same time recorded that Sir Henry of Inchmartine, lord of Inchmartine, had granted two merks annual render from his lands of Inchmartine and Craigdallie, in consideration of his reception into the fraternity of that house and order which entitled him to full participation in all the spiritual benefits of the Order, during his life and after his death, in all masses, devout prayers and good works.⁵²⁹ This

⁵²⁴ Brown, ‘Lay Piety in Later Medieval Lothian’, p.180.

⁵²⁵ Jamroziak, ‘Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction’, p.49.

⁵²⁶ Brown, ‘Lay Piety in Later Medieval Lothian’, p.181; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, vol I, pp.xxx-xxxi.

⁵²⁷ J.G. Clark, ‘Monastic Confraternity in Medieval England: The Evidence from the St Albans Abbey *Liber Benefactorum*’, in E.M Jamroziak & J.E. Burton, (eds.), *Religious and Laity in Northern Europe 1000-1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power* (Turnhout, 2007), pp.324-6; Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context*, pp.207-8.

⁵²⁸ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXXXII.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid*, LXXXVII.

donation is the only one on record as having been made by Henry and, in the context of some of the more lavish benefaction Coupar received, can be considered to be extremely meagre.

The third and final documented instance of confraternity membership is much later in date. A perambulation between Coupar's lands of Murthly (in Atholl) and Kyntully records that, in 1449, Thomas Stewart of Grandtully made landed concessions to Coupar on account of the monks' prayers and his confraternity in the abbey.⁵³⁰ The role that offers of confraternity could take in the maintenance of good relations and the appeasement of "quarrelsome neighbours" has also been commented upon elsewhere.⁵³¹ In Helen Brown's view, such transactions can be categorised as occurring within the context of a "largely secular" relationship between the abbey in question and the lay individual. Again, however, we must be very cautious when attempting to construct this division between the 'secular' and 'religious' spheres of an abbey's world. Fundamentally, there was no real difference between a grant of confraternity membership in exchange for more 'outright' benefaction as opposed to economic concessions made within the context of a landed dispute. On the contrary, both forms of interaction saw the monks take an active role in the process of the exchange of material assets for spiritual ones, and both demonstrate the value with which the laity regarded the latter; just as was the case with burial rights, the offer of confraternity membership could be sufficiently appealing to induce the lay individual to yield. Moreover, this particular example demonstrates that the draw of monastic confraternity was still strong enough to function as an effective negotiating tool in the fifteenth century.⁵³²

Burial

A significant aspect of the abbey's intercessory function was burial within the monastery. The earliest extant record of lay burial at Coupar dates to the first decade of the thirteenth century and the practice continued until the sixteenth century. For the lay individual, this both ensured perpetual commemoration in monastic prayers and established permanent 'residency' within

⁵³⁰ W. Fraser (ed.), *The Red Book of Grandtully*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1868), vol I, no. 11.

⁵³¹ Brown, 'Lay Piety in Later Medieval Lothian', pp.182-5; Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context*, pp.207-8.

⁵³² As late as 1522, a benefactor of Newbattle requested that the monks pray for those named in the *pro anima* clause of his charter as they did for their brothers and sisters. While there was no specific mention of confraternity, Brown notes the continuing appeal of the package of prayer which accompanied reception into confraternity, the value of which was clearly recognised by this donor (Brown, 'Lay Piety in Later Medieval Lothian', p.184).

sacred space, expressing both a desire to be immersed in the holiest of surroundings after death and indicating a belief that the sacred could be absorbed in this manner to the benefit of the soul. It was therefore highly desirable. Moreover, monastic burial could also serve the same dual purposes as donation itself did in making a particular public statement in terms of social and political status, functioning as a “manifestation of particular political and personal alliances”. For the abbey, this public declaration of lay attachment could be extremely beneficial in boosting the prestige of the house and helping to establish long-lasting connections with benefactors and their families. As Danielle Westerhof notes, since pre-existing relationships played an important role in prompting further donations, “what better proof of this than the physical presence of dead ancestors”.⁵³³

Nonetheless, the Cistercian Order’s anxiety over lay burial, at the highest level at least, is well-documented: extensive legislation issued by the General Chapter dealt with various prohibitions and restrictions of the practice.⁵³⁴ Historians such as Megan Cassidy-Welch, however, have concluded that it was not the principle of lay interment itself that concerned the Order’s officials, but their location within the house. The prohibition on burial within the church and chapterhouse was never formally lifted, despite the fact that the official Cistercian line on burial in general relaxed over time. The statutes of the General Chapter, therefore, were intended to prevent lay encroachment into restricted holy space. As would be expected, it was precisely these most sacred, and hence prestigious, of locations which were most desirable to the laity.⁵³⁵ Directives of the General Chapter were thus at odds with lay expectations and it seems inevitable that Coupar will have come under conflicting pressure

⁵³³ Westerhof, ‘Celebrating Fragmentation’, pp.28, 35-6; J. Hall, ‘The Legislative Background to the Burial of Laity and Other Patrons in Cistercian Abbeys’, in J. Hall & C. Kratzke (eds.), *Sepulturae Cistercienses: Burial, Memorial and Patronage in Medieval Cistercian Monasteries*, special issue of *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 56 (2005), pp.369-71; E.M. Jamroziak, ‘Burials and Politics of the Living and the Dead in Scotland and Pomerania in the High Middle Ages: The Case of Two Cistercian Monasteries’, in C. Krotzl and K. Mustakallio (eds.), *On Old Age: Approaching Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2011), p.217, 227; Brown, ‘Lay Piety in Later Medieval Lothian’, p.187; Jamroziak, ‘Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction’, p.50; Idem, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context*, p.210.

⁵³⁴ For all legislation see J. Hall, S. Sneddon & N. Sohr, ‘Table of Legislation Concerning the Burial of Laity and Other Patrons in Cistercian Abbeys’, in J. Hall & C. Kratzke (eds.), *Sepulturae Cistercienses: Burial, Memorial and Patronage in Medieval Cistercian Monasteries*, special issue of *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 56 (2005), pp.373-417.

⁵³⁵ Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings*, p.232; Jamroziak, ‘Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction’, pp.50-1; Idem, *Rievaulx abbey and its social context 1132-1300* (2005) p.210; Hall, ‘The Legislative Background to Burial’, p.371.

when it came to the matter of lay burial. Indeed, there is evidence of real tension among monastic communities over the issue of ‘proper’ burial practice.⁵³⁶

It is, however, generally accepted within the more recent literature regarding the Order that such official statutes cannot be taken as a description of the practice of individual houses. Emilia Jamroziak is keen to stress that, despite general trends, “lay burial ‘policy’ was highly regionalised and very individual for each house and its specific social context”. These differences were attributable to the “highly personal, and therefore difficult to regulate, character and expression” of relationships between houses and the laity.⁵³⁷ In the case of Scotland, Jamroziak suggests that the fact that extensive lay interment at Melrose abbey went unpunished by the General Chapter during a period which saw many houses on the continent disciplined may indicate that abbots of Scottish houses (and Rievaulx) did not consider this to be incorrect practice which merited the notifying of the authorities.⁵³⁸ Indeed, the last house to be punished by the General Chapter for improper church burial was Clairefontaine in 1251, leading both Hall and Jamroziak to argue that the practice had become part of the accepted tradition by the mid-thirteenth century and ‘de facto permission’ granted, despite the prohibition never being formally lifted.⁵³⁹ Moreover, Cassidy-Welch has argued that thirteenth-century Chapter rulings which aimed to drastically restrict individual commemoration, to be replaced by monthly, collective services, demonstrates that the Order was “under siege from secular requests for prayer and masses”; houses thus attempted to offset this heavy liturgical burden through offering burial in restricted space as a form of compromise.⁵⁴⁰

It is therefore important to consider the evidence relating to lay burial at Coupar abbey in its own right, rather than in the context of any alleged universal Cistercian policy laid out in the

⁵³⁶ In the twelfth century, conflict occurred over the location of the tomb of Abbot Waltheof at Melrose abbey. While interment within the monastic church had been advocated by some for this prestigious figure, others, including the abbot of Newbattle, successfully argued for burial within the chapterhouse, the customary burial place for abbots. See Birkett, ‘St Waltheof of Melrose’, pp.45-6.

⁵³⁷ Jamroziak, ‘Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction’, p.52; Idem, ‘How Rievaulx Abbey Remembered its Benefactors’, in E.M Jamroziak and J.E. Burton, (eds.), *Religious and Laity in Northern Europe 1000-1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power* (Turnhout, 2007), p.73; Idem, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context*, p.51.

⁵³⁸ Idem, ‘Making Friends Beyond the Grave’, p.335.

⁵³⁹ Hall, ‘The Legislative Background to Burial’, pp.369, 371; Jamroziak, ‘Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction’, pp.50-1.

⁵⁴⁰ Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings*, pp.239-40.

official documentation. At Coupar, there have been various discoveries of graves within the vicinity of the abbey site.⁵⁴¹ Unfortunately, these are almost impossible to contextualise due to the fact that the monastic buildings have suffered near total destruction and attempts to determine their precise location and layout have so far proved fairly unsuccessful.⁵⁴² Two of the graves were discovered under what appears to be a section of the original floor of the abbey, though nothing more specific can be said of them. Without doubt, the most valuable find was that of a grave marker discovered in the churchyard of the contemporary parish church on 26 August 1820, noted by General Hutton in one of his notebooks and accompanied by a sketch.⁵⁴³ The stone bore the engraving of a sword and the inscription 'HIC IACET WILL DE MONTE FIXO' (here lies William de Munfichet). The burial of William Munfichet at Coupar was arranged in the early 1220s as part of the resolution of a landed dispute between himself and the abbey.⁵⁴⁴ The charter provides no information on the location of the grave, though the fact that the stone was described in 1820 as being "in good preservation" perhaps indicates that William had been accorded burial within the abbey, rather than in the outdoor cemetery.⁵⁴⁵ We are reliant upon documentary evidence for further discussion of lay interment at the abbey due to the lack of physical remains. There is no doubt that the extant records for Coupar do not provide us with anything like the true figure with regards to burials, and in many instances the location of the grave is undocumented. While this makes it almost impossible to come to any firm, overall conclusions on Coupar's lay burial policy, it is possible to make some very useful observations.

Securing Burial Rights

The absence of a link between the extent of donation and interment has been noted at Fountains abbey by Joan Wardrop.⁵⁴⁶ For Coupar, it also would appear that there was no standard threshold of donation required to achieve burial rights, though many were accompanied by fairly sizeable benefaction, the most obvious example being the extensive Hay family burials, discussed below, which occurred as part of a long-term relationship which

⁵⁴¹ *Old Statistical Account*, vol XVII, p.11; Hutcheson, 'Notes of the Recent Discovery'.

⁵⁴² Morris, 'Geophysical surveys at Coupar Angus abbey'.

⁵⁴³ NLS, Hutton Notebooks, Adv MS 30.5.19, entry of August 1820, folio 18; NLS, Hutton Drawings, Adv MS 30.5.22, Angus, 14f.

⁵⁴⁴ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XXX, XXXI; *Brev.*, no. 65.

⁵⁴⁵ B. Gittos & M. Gittos, 'The English Medieval Churchyard: What Did it Really Look Like?', in M. Penman (ed.), *Monuments and Monumentality across Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Donington, 2013), p.32.

⁵⁴⁶ Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey*, pp.262-3.

was of immense importance to the abbey. Thomas, earl of Atholl, who was buried at Coupar in 1231, was responsible for putting the monks in possession of their first holding in Atholl through his own donation of Tulach and the orchestration of that of William Oliphant of the adjacent land of Invervack.⁵⁴⁷ William Munfichet and Malcolm of Dunkeld both made significant, though one-off, donations. The former granted allowances of turf, free transit and pasture rights in the vicinity of Keithick, concessions which were integral to the functioning of this key grange.⁵⁴⁸ In 1231x1243, Malcolm pledged a third of a third of the moveables belonging to not only himself but also to his heirs; should they renege upon this, the land of Murthly, which Malcolm held in hereditary feu from Coupar, would revert to the abbey.⁵⁴⁹

Conversely, the earliest surviving record of arrangements for burial at the abbey, those made by Thomas Durward in 1204x1207, appears alongside the relatively meagre grant of one merk of annual rent, the only donation on record made by Thomas to the abbey.⁵⁵⁰ Its humble nature may suggest that his burial was the result of some broader context, and that this comparatively menial grant was simply the 'final step' in some form of wider negotiation. It is also possible that Thomas, who enjoyed a long career in royal service, was of sufficient political and social standing that the abbey was prepared to accept his body for burial largely on this basis.⁵⁵¹ This certainly seems to have been the case for Duncan, earl of Fife, who was buried at Coupar in 1289, since neither Duncan, nor any of his predecessors, appear to have had any form of previous relationship with the abbey.⁵⁵² The potential advantages of being amenable to such high status burials in return for seemingly little or no immediate material gain are apparent in 1305, when the earl's widow is seen petitioning Edward I on the abbey's behalf to give in alms to Coupar the land of John of Kinross for her husband's soul.⁵⁵³

⁵⁴⁷ Stevenson, *Melrose Chronicle*, p.59; Watt, *Bower, Scotichronicon*, vol V, p.145; see The Impact of Tenorial Networks section.

⁵⁴⁸ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XXX, XXXI; *Brev.*, no. 65.

⁵⁴⁹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XL.

⁵⁵⁰ *Brev.*, no. 62.

⁵⁵¹ Hammond, *'Hostiarii Regis Scotie'*, pp.119-20. In addition to being royal doorward, Thomas also served as military leader and sheriff in the north.

⁵⁵² Stevenson, *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p.127. This burial is difficult to explain since the earls of Fife had their own Cistercian foundation at Culross.

⁵⁵³ Bain, *Calendar of Documents*, vol IV, no. 1815. This was Joan, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester.

The Significance of Grave Location

For the pious layman, the importance of grave location is clear and was the subject of a two-way negotiation process between the individual and the abbey. Thomas Durward's active role is clearly stated in the charter which records that, should he die in Scotland, his body was to be transported to Coupar and buried in the cloister before the church door *vbi locum meum elegi* (where I chose my place).⁵⁵⁴ Such a location was desirable as it ensured ample daily monastic foot traffic for the grave; moreover, the cloister, and particularly the gallery parallel to the church, was itself the site of spiritual activities including liturgical processions.⁵⁵⁵ However, that Thomas seems to have been unable to secure burial within the actual church, which, as the holiest space in the abbey and thus possessing the greatest eschatological value, was surely preferable, suggests that his choice of location had been restricted; the implication is that he had opted to be interred as close as the monks would permit. In other cases, though, they appear to have been fairly accommodating to benefactors' requests. In 1231x43, a charter of Malcolm, son of Eugenius of Dunkeld, detailed an agreement that he would be buried at Coupar in the cemetery of the monks.⁵⁵⁶ As Easson notes, it appears to have been Malcolm's intention was that he would "be buried as a kind of honorary monk".⁵⁵⁷

The first instances to be found in the extant documentation of burial within the church and chapterhouse at Coupar did not occur until the 1300s. Around the turn of the century, a charter of William Hay, lord of Aithmuir, who had been accepted into confraternity, stated that he intended his body to be buried in the chapter house of the abbey, and that this was to be done no matter where on the north side of the Forth he happened to die.⁵⁵⁸ The specific appeal of this grave location lay in the "centrality of this space for the monastic community"; the monks gathered here every morning and it was the site of liturgical and paraliturgical activities. Moreover, it placed the lay individual in the company of deceased abbots who were customarily laid to rest here.⁵⁵⁹ Again, though, the church would surely have been William's first choice had the option been available to him and it may be that he had been offered

⁵⁵⁴ *Brev.*, no. 62.

⁵⁵⁵ T.N. Kinder, *Cistercian Europe: Architecture of Contemplation* (Cambridge, 2002), pp.131-2, 137. Thomas' grave was presumably marked by a floor slab, rather than any form of tomb. A General Chapter statute of 1237 decreed that "stones that are placed over tombs in our cloisters are to be level with the ground, so passers-by do not stumble" (Hall, Sneddon & Sohr, 'Table of Legislation', p.400).

⁵⁵⁶ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XL.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid*, vol I, p.93.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid*, no. LXXXII.

⁵⁵⁹ Jamroziak, 'Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction', pp.47, 55-6.

confraternity and burial in the chapter house as part of a compromise. If this was the case, however, the monks appear to have been either unable or unwilling to deny this privilege to a more senior member of the Hay family a few decades later. In 1333, Gilbert Hay, lord of Errol, was interred in front of the altar of St Andrew, the first burial within the church at Coupar on record. The bodies of his son, David, killed at the battle of Durham in 1346, and Nicholas Hay, killed at an unnamed battle, were also later laid to rest in front of an unspecified altar.⁵⁶⁰



Photograph 4: Cloister and church door at Melrose abbey

The Importance of Burial amongst Kin

Interment amongst relatives was a key aspect of medieval burial practice and this was demonstrated by arrangements made at Coupar. Alan Durward chose to be buried at the abbey in 1275 just as his father, Thomas, had been.⁵⁶¹ Indeed, the favour shown to Coupar by Alan during his lifetime, which included a sizeable land grant at Lintrathen and a further monetary donation, was likely at least partially the result of the presence of his father's body.⁵⁶² Such concerns were also forward-looking: both William Munfichet and Malcolm of Dunkeld, made provision for the burial of their heirs at the abbey as part of their own

⁵⁶⁰ Stuart, 'The Erroll Papers', no.44. Gilbert died in April, a few months before the battle of Halidon Hill.

⁵⁶¹ Watt, *Bower, Scotichronicon*, vol V, p.403. Alan had strong royal connections. Like his father, he was doorward to the king, in addition to becoming justiciar of Scotia in the 1240s. He married an illegitimate daughter of Alexander II and acted as guardian to Alexander III during his minority (Hammond, '*Hostiarii Regis Scotie*', pp.121-3).

⁵⁶² Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. LV, LXI; *Brev.*, no. 66.

agreements. Moreover, William's early thirteenth-century charter also made provision for his wife to be buried alongside him. Considering Cistercian anxiety over female presence within their houses, it is perhaps surprising that the monks would have been willing to accept a female body for burial. However, Emilia Jamroziak argues that female interments appear to have been less controversial than visits by living women.⁵⁶³ Indeed, the evidence for Melrose abbey indicates that, from the late twelfth century onwards, the monks were certainly prepared to provide burial for women who belonged to the families of key benefactors. These interments performed social and political functions in the same way as male burials, reinforcing relations with particular familial groups. Moreover, they were not necessarily confined to less significant locations and could occur in the holiest of spaces, such as the chapter house.⁵⁶⁴ William Munfichet was far from Coupar's most prominent supporter, in terms of either benefaction or personal status, indicating that female burial at the abbey was not reserved for top-level aristocracy and opening up the possibility that many other women were buried there, either alongside their husbands or in their own right. The only other example of female burial at Coupar explicitly mentioned in the extant documentation was that of Elizabeth Gordon, countess of Errol, in 1500 but there were doubtless many more in the intervening years.⁵⁶⁵

The Hay Family

For one family in particular, Coupar would come to be the customary resting place. A table found in the Errol Charters records that up until the sixteenth century the Hay lords and, later, earls of Errol were routinely buried at Coupar, as were heirs apparent who pre-deceased their fathers and, in one instance at least, a countess.⁵⁶⁶ The patronage of the Hay family, expressed both in direct donations and in the influence they wielded over grants made by their tenurial subordinates, was fundamental in establishing and expanding Coupar's interests in the Carse of Gowrie, both within and beyond Errol. Most notably, the formation of Carsegrange was entirely dependent on the Hays, who were also responsible for Coupar's acquisition of fishing

⁵⁶³ Jamroziak, 'Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction', p.56.

⁵⁶⁴ Idem, 'Making Friends Beyond the Grave', p.326; Idem, 'Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction', p.56; Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings*, p.236. That status could far outweigh gender concerns is well illustrated by an early thirteenth century example when the monks of Strata Florida permitted Matilda de Braose, wife of the son of Lord Rhys, Gruffudd, to take the Cistercian habit and be buried in the abbey alongside her husband (A. Abram, 'Monastic Burial in Medieval Wales', in J. Burton & K. Stöber (eds.), *Monastic Wales: New Approaches* (Cardiff, 2013), p.107).

⁵⁶⁵ Stuart, 'The Erroll Papers', no.44.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid.

rights within easy access of this grange, and successive Hay lords confirmed the monks' right of free transit through their bordering lands.⁵⁶⁷ This generosity established and sustained the family's relationship with the abbey over successive generations, securing extensive burial rights at the abbey. Of course, the abbey too had a vested interest in maintaining this relationship, considering the political power wielded by the Hays and the family's links to the royal household.⁵⁶⁸

The earliest entry recorded by the table is that of Lord Gilbert (II) who was interred at Coupar in 1333. That Gilbert should have secured burial at the abbey is of no surprise considering his close relationship with Coupar. In addition to confirming the monks' possessions in Errol and their right of free transit through this land, Gilbert also made grants of the patronage of two parish churches. Genial relations between the two parties are clearly evident: the monks were in no doubt as to their indebtedness to Gilbert and his predecessors and were willing to grant him possession of the watercourse which ran through the grange and supplied his mill. In return, Gilbert relinquished his right to the grazing and fishing associated with the mill-pond.⁵⁶⁹ Despite the table's implication that the tradition of Hay burial at Coupar commenced with Gilbert, however, a 1351 papal bull of Clement VI which recalled Gilbert's grant of the church of Errol stated that the then late Gilbert had chosen to be interred at Coupar *where his ancestors were buried*.⁵⁷⁰ That the author of the table's knowledge was incomplete regarding early Hay burials within the abbey is indicated by the blank spaces left with regards to the specifics of the death of Nicholas Hay, along with the gap left for the altar dedication of the location of this burial and that of David Hay, lord of Errol, killed at the battle of Durham in 1346. He may, therefore, have had no knowledge of earlier Hay burials. The bulk of Hay patronage to Coupar long predates the fourteenth century and, considering that lay bodies were being accepted for burial at the abbey from at least c.1200, it seems safe to assume that Hay burials were a thirteenth-century phenomenon, and may even have begun with William Hay, the first lord of Errol, founder of Carsegrange.

⁵⁶⁷ See Land Acquisition and Consolidation: Granges and The Impact of Tenurial Networks sections.

⁵⁶⁸ Balfour Paul, *Scots Peerage*, vol III, pp.556-72. William, the first lord of Errol, held the position of royal butler in the twelfth century. Lords of Errol were sheriffs of Perth and Forfar in the thirteenth century, and were constables of Scotland from the time of King Robert I. Gilbert (I) was a guardian of Alexander III during his minority, while Thomas (I) married a daughter of Robert II.

⁵⁶⁹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XCIV LXXXI.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid*, no. CXIV.

A further limitation of the table is that it is specifically restricted to the lords and heirs apparent of Errol. Firstly, the possibility must be considered that the wives of these men were buried alongside them. Furthermore, while Coupar perhaps generally reserved this privilege for the most prestigious members of the family, it may be that many other Hay burials have gone unrecorded. The abbey was the recipient of the patronage of younger sons of these lords as well as of members of cadet branches of the family, and one such individual who does not appear in the table was certainly interred within the abbey. William Hay, lord of Aithmuir, was accepted into confraternity in the early fourteenth century and as such was to be buried in the chapter house. Coupar may be seen as a convenient, as well as prestigious, resting place for these local lords; however, it appears that proximity was not the chief concern. William's charter specifically stated that the burial was to take place no matter where on the north side of the Forth he happened to die and the burial table reveals that the bodies of Hay lords were transported to Coupar from all over Scotland. Indeed, the strength of their desire to be laid to rest at Coupar appears to have meant distance was no object: in 1346 David, lord of Errol's, body was transported from the battle of Durham back to Coupar, further suggesting that the tradition of Hay burials within the abbey was already well-established by the fourteenth century.

The sheer number of recorded, not to mention probable, burials makes it certain that a family mortuary chapel was at some point established at the abbey. Jamorziak argues that, by the fourteenth century, a combination of social and pious factors meant that the perceived eschatological value of burials had become strongly linked to the visibility and grandeur of the tomb, a fact most apparent in the founding of such burial chapels.⁵⁷¹ Moreover, the importance of burial amongst kin is patently manifest in "the lure of the noble family mausoleum in monasteries".⁵⁷² As Westerhof identifies, religious patronage was an integral part of lordship and deeply connected to a concept of family identity, establishing "a connection between the past and present in terms of family, social status and rank". Interment in a favoured monastery, alongside one's kin, thereby served to emphasise dynastic continuation.⁵⁷³ Since Gilbert Hay is recorded as having been interred before the altar of St Andrew in 1333, it is possible that this was the dedication of the chapel. But this would signify an unexpected break with tradition since the Hay family was closely associated with St

⁵⁷¹ Jamorziak, 'Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction', p.58.

⁵⁷² Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England*, p.101.

⁵⁷³ Westerhof, 'Celebrating Fragmentation'.

Nicholas, both before and after Gilbert's time. The parish church of Errol, which had been established by William Hay, the first lord of Errol, in the later twelfth century was dedicated to this saint, this foundation displacing the earlier church of Ecclesdouenauin, 'the church of St Benen or Benignus'.⁵⁷⁴ The introduction of the cult of Nicholas, therefore, appears to have been a Hay innovation in the parish and the family remained connected to the saint. The forename 'Nicholas' reoccurs within the family throughout the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and in 1452 a charter of William, earl of Errol, recorded that he wished a daily mass to be said and commemoration on the anniversary of his death before the altar of St John the Evangelist and Nicholas the Confessor at Blackfriars monastery in Perth.⁵⁷⁵

Perhaps then, the fact that the specific location of Gilbert's burial was recorded by the creator of the table indicates that this was itself atypical in this context. That the next entries on the list also record that David and Nicholas were buried before a particular altar, though the dedication has been left blank, perhaps suggests that the creation of the chapel post-dates these burials too. From this point onwards, individuals are recorded as being buried at Coupar with no further specifics. It seems likely, then, that the table primarily documents the individuals buried within the family mortuary chapel. This made it necessary to indicate a location for the burials which preceded its creation, but needless to do so after this point. The establishment of a Hay necropolis dedicated to St Nicholas after the mid-fourteenth century would bring it into line with developments at Melrose abbey, where in the 1380s the earls of Douglas established a burial chapel dedicated to St Bride, the patroness of the principal church of their own lordship. Jamroziak describes how this family necropolis within the monastic church served the dual purpose of strengthening the relationship between the earls and the abbey, while allowing for the continued devotion to this particular saint.⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷⁴ G. W. S. Barrow, 'The Childhood of Scottish Christianity: a Note on Some Place-Name Evidence', *Scottish Studies*, 27 (1983), p.7; Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit', pp.45-6.

⁵⁷⁵ R. Milne (ed.), *The Blackfriars of Perth* (Edinburgh, 1893), no. XIV. It is widely acknowledged that medieval naming practices were linked to engagement with saints' cults. For example see: T. Turpie, 'Scottish Saints Cults and Pilgrimage from the Black Death to the Reformation, c.1349-1560' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2011), pp.49-55; Idem, 'A Monk from Melrose? St Cuthbert and the Scots in the Later Middle Ages, c.1371-1560', *Innes Review*, 62 (2011), pp.62-4; R. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, 2013), pp.459-70; S. Boardman, 'The Cult of St George in Scotland', in S. Boardman, J. R. Davies & E. Williamson (eds.), *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World*, (Woodbridge, 2009), pp.148-9; Brown, 'Lay Piety in Later Medieval Lothian', pp.290-1.

⁵⁷⁶ *Jamroziak*, 'Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction', pp.54-5. Moreover, Richard Fawcett has suggested that the post-1385 building work at Melrose purposely made space to accommodate such chapels (via email correspondence). The fourteenth century also saw the construction of the Lady Chapel extension

This suggestion is supported by one more, circumstantial, piece of evidence. The 1452 charter of William, earl of Errol, confirmed a grant of 20s made by his ancestor, Gilbert Hay, and assigned another four pounds annually from his lands of Inchyra to the Blackfriars of Perth. In return, the charter stipulated that a daily mass was to be celebrated at the altar of St John the Evangelist and Nicholas the Confessor, where several of William's ancestors were stated to be buried, and specific instructions were given regarding which prayers were to be said and when. Significantly, a clause was inserted that, should there be no performance of the service for the space of one month, the donation could be transferred to either Coupar or the church of Errol.⁵⁷⁷ This threat, not to mention the specificity of William's instructions, seems to imply that it would be possible to carry out William's wishes at any of these three locations; that is, that the veneration of St Nicholas in the presence of Hay ancestral graves could equally be performed at either the parish church within his lordship, at Blackfriars in Perth, or at Coupar.

The longevity of the Hay burial tradition within the abbey merits comment. Again, a comparison with the Douglas earls is instructive: though two earls were buried at Melrose in the 1380s, the next was buried in 1400 at his collegiate church, founded two years previously, while in the mid-fifteenth century two earls were interred at Douglas parish church. This pattern is representative of general burial trends in the later Middle Ages, whereby lay preferences developed away from monasteries towards these types of institution.⁵⁷⁸ In this context, that the earls of Errol were consistently buried at Coupar right into the sixteenth century is significant and unusual. As Karen Stöber has noted, the motives of the small number of people who continued to choose monastic interment, "an existing, very traditional, custom against the newly emerging fashions of the time", must have been personal, linked to dynastic traditions and family relationships with the monasteries.⁵⁷⁹ Thus, more than anything, the endurance of the Hay burial tradition at Coupar is indicative of the strong ties which endured throughout the period between themselves and the house.

at Dunfermline abbey which housed the tombs of many of Robert I's relatives and key supporters (Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, p306).

⁵⁷⁷ Milne, *The Blackfriars of Perth*, no. XIV.

⁵⁷⁸ Brown, 'Lay Piety in Later Medieval Lothian', pp.189-95.

⁵⁷⁹ Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons*, pp.112-46.

Saints' Cults

The cult of the saints has been described as “one of the defining attributes of the middle ages”.⁵⁸⁰ As Robert Bartlett states, the reciprocal relationship between saint and follower was a manifestation of the principles of lordship and patronage in an otherworldly context. The role of the saint was to act as a channel between God’s divine power and the world, providing forms of intercession to those who demonstrated their reverence through prayer, offerings and the observance of feast days.⁵⁸¹ Cistercian efforts to reduce the liturgy included greatly restricting the kalendar of saints. As Waddell has identified, the earliest Cistercian kalendar was a simplification of the Molesme kalendar, whereby saints of primarily local significance were eliminated and the number of categories of feasts recognised was reduced to two: twelve-lesson Offices and commemorations. Indeed, those saints who were accorded feasts were limited to those “common to all Churches of Roman origin”. Subsequently, however, the kalendar underwent significant expansion, peaking in the thirteenth century, during which twenty nine new feasts were introduced while a further six were raised in rank. Furthermore, this century also saw a great number of concessions made to individual houses who sought permission to incorporate additional saints, often the subjects of highly regionalised cults, into their liturgy; only three of these requests were granted in the twelfth century but ninety nine were approved in the thirteenth.⁵⁸² Moreover, while the Cistercian kalendar was theoretically centrally controlled by the General Chapter, as with all aspects of Cistercian practice the official line found in the statutes cannot be taken as a description of events at all Cistercian monasteries. Indeed, it is clear that local, ‘unauthorised’ saints were absorbed into the kalendars of individual abbeys. These cults were incorporated into the material structure of certain houses through the establishment of chapels and altars within their churches.⁵⁸³

That this should be the case demonstrates, firstly, the intensity of these regional cults. As Tom Turpie notes, all saints’ cults were essentially popular movements and, as such, had the propensity to develop organically, beyond official influence.⁵⁸⁴ Secondly, participation in these

⁵⁸⁰ T.O. Clancy, ‘Columba, Adomnan and the Cult of Saints in Scotland’, *Innes Review*, 48 (1997), p.1.

⁵⁸¹ Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things*, pp.103-4, 109.

⁵⁸² C. Waddell (ed.), *The Primitive Cistercian Breviary* (Fribourg, 2007), pp.60-4; A.A. King, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders* (London, 1955), pp.113-15. For a full account of the development of the Cistercian kalendar see B. Backaert, ‘L’evolution du calendrier cistercien’, *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorem*, 12 (1950), pp.81-94, 302-16; *COCR*, 13 (1951), pp.108-27.

⁵⁸³ Kerr, ‘An Essay on Cistercian Liturgy’, pp.15-16; Jamroziak, *Survival and Success*, pp.84-5; Idem, ‘Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction’, pp.54-5.

⁵⁸⁴ Turpie, ‘A Monk from Melrose’, p.49.

unsanctioned cults by Cistercian houses is evidence of the absorption of, and integration into, local religious culture. Veitch describes this process as “a two-way cultural conduit”, whereby social interaction between the monks and the laity saw monastic practice influence the latter and native customs affect the former.⁵⁸⁵ That is not to say that local devotions were entirely at odds with official Cistercian practice. Indeed, in the early fourteenth century, Coupar was the recipient of a land grant from Sir John of Inchmartine, lord of Inchmartine, made in return for four annual pittances to be made on the days of the Ascension of the Lord (forty days after Easter), Pentecost (fifty days after Easter), the Holy Trinity (or Trinity Sunday, the first Sunday after Pentecost), and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (8 September), feasts all firmly within Cistercian tradition by the end of the twelfth century.⁵⁸⁶ However, as Matthew Hammond has shown, despite the “reformist turn” towards universal saints evident in Scotland from c.1100, the “underlying reservoir” of devotion to local and insular saints, along with related customs and traditions, endured.⁵⁸⁷ Moreover, cults which were strongly associated with local and regional identities may have held the most relevance for many.⁵⁸⁸

As a key component of lay piety, devotions to saints were thus a significant way in which local religiosity impacted Cistercian houses. That this should be the case, however, should not necessarily be viewed as the result of the passive absorption of local culture. Indeed, the Cistercians showed themselves to be more than willing to appropriate native saints. In certain cases, this even involved revising their legends in an effort to claim them as their own.⁵⁸⁹ Conversely, however, it has been argued by Alexander Forbes that the Cistercians were amongst those who led the “the complete Anglicisation of the Scottish Church which took place after the epoch of St Margaret”. In support of this he cites a kalendar of Culross abbey, dated 1305, in which “there are no Celtic entries” other than Saints Serf, Fillan and Findoc,

⁵⁸⁵ Veitch, ‘Extent to Which Existing Native Religious Society’, p.268.

⁵⁸⁶ Backaert, ‘L’evolution du calendrier cistercien’, p.121; Waddell, *The Primitive Cistercian Breviary*. The Octave of Pentecost officially became Trinity Sunday in the Cistercian kalendar in 1175. The rest feature in the earliest extant Cistercian kalendar.

⁵⁸⁷ M.H. Hammond, ‘Royal and Aristocratic Attitudes to Saints and the Virgin Mary in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Scotland’, in S. Boardman & E. Williamson, (eds.), *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp.61-86.

⁵⁸⁸ J. Higgitt, *Imageis Maid with Mennis Hand: Saints, Images, Belief and Identity in Late Medieval Scotland* (Whithorn, 2003); Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things*, pp.129-32.

⁵⁸⁹ Stringer, ‘Reform Monasticism and Celtic Scotland’, pp.136; Idem, *The Reformed Church in Medieval Galloway and Cumbria*, pp.14-15; F. Geens ‘Galganus and the Cistercians: Relics, Reliquaries, and the Image of a Saint’, in S.J. Cornelison & S.B. Montgomery (eds.), *Images, Relics, and Devotional Practices in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Tempe, 2006), pp.55-76; Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians*, pp.133, 139-40.

which he argues demonstrates that the Cistercians of Culross “very much ignored what had gone before”.⁵⁹⁰ Ian Bradley, taking his lead from Forbes, also argues that, while native saints were “enthusiastically adopted” by the new monastic orders in Ireland and Wales, this was not the case in Scotland.⁵⁹¹ That Culross abbey hosted the shrine of St Serf, to whom the house was co-dedicated along with the Virgin Mary, and its abbot was often referred to in charters as the ‘abbot of St Serf’, contradicts these assessments.⁵⁹² It is true that there are perhaps unexpected exclusions from the Culross kalendar; for Tom Turpie, the absence of St Kentigern, in particular, is surprising, considering his local significance in hagiographical tradition.⁵⁹³ However, analysis of this kalendar would surely be better placed within a wider discussion of the development of these cults within the locality. Indeed, perhaps the absence of St Kentigern is more indicative of a lack of local interest in this cult by the turn of the fourteenth century than of monastic disregard for it. Considering the amount of research still to be done in this area of study, the choice of saints included in, and excluded from, this kalendar may have something to tell us about the relative local popularity of their cults at the time of its production.

Unfortunately, the extant evidence provides nothing like a full picture of the culture of saints’ cults at the abbey of Coupar. What does survive, however, makes it clear that the house did become engaged with native devotions, including those of a highly localised nature. This should not be overstated: even by the late fifteenth century, Coupar’s kalendar was still principally ‘Cistercian’.⁵⁹⁴ But, just as has been argued above with regards to Culross, the focus of the discussion must be on those cults which were absorbed and why. There was also a great deal of common ground, of course; many saints’ cults were universal and so were likely to have been equally familiar to both the Cistercian monks and the neighbouring laity. But that is not to say, however, that local manifestations of their cults did not have particular regional characteristics. Indeed, the ways in which members of the surrounding lay community personally interacted with these cults had important implications for the abbey.

⁵⁹⁰ A.P. Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints* (Edinburgh, 1872), pp.xx-xxii.

⁵⁹¹ I. Bradley, *Celtic Christianity: Making Myths and Chasing Dreams* (New York, 1999), pp.65-6.

⁵⁹² Hammond, ‘Royal and Aristocratic Attitudes to Saints’, p.80.

⁵⁹³ Turpie, ‘Scottish Saints Cults and Pilgrimage’, p.178.

⁵⁹⁴ C. Borland, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library* (Edinburgh, 1916), pp.201-2.

Common Ground

Virgin Mary

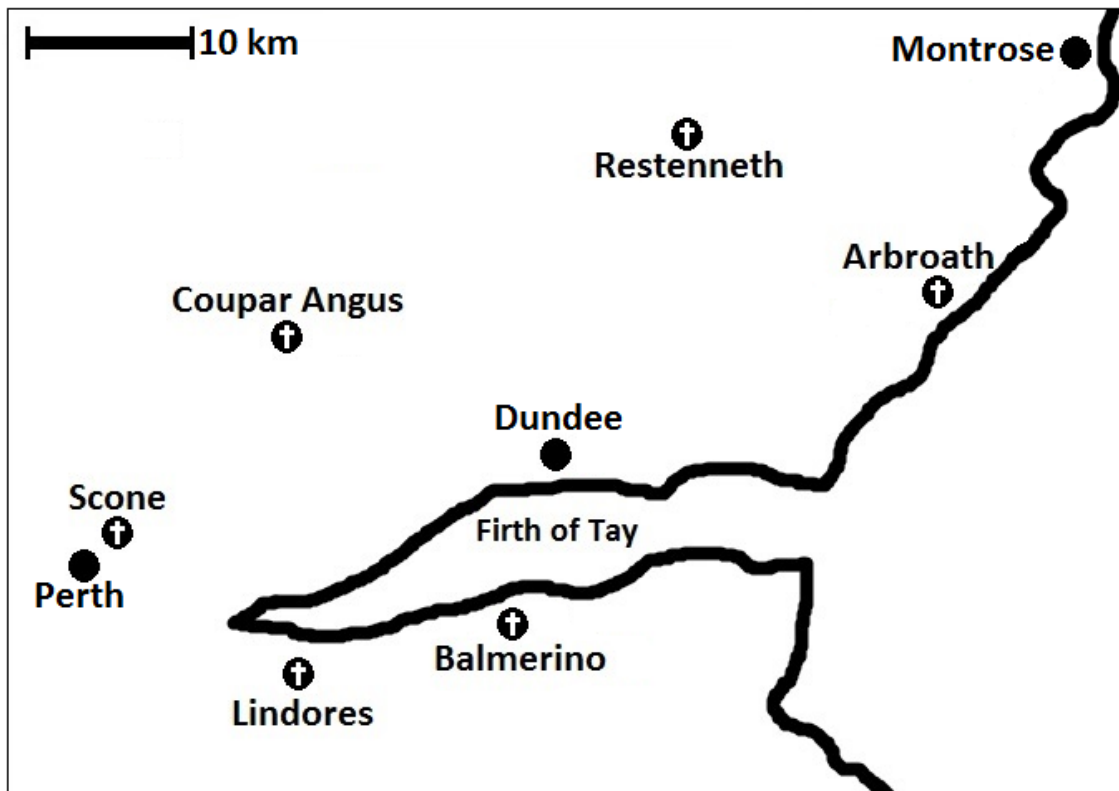
Unlike many religious institutions, Coupar does not appear to have possessed any significant relic or have been the particular focus of a popular cult which marked it out from other houses. As with all Cistercian abbeys, Coupar was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. From 1100 onwards, there is evidence at many levels of Scottish society of a renewed emphasis on this cult and a belief in Mary as the foremost saintly intercessor, something clearly evident in the monastic dedications of both royal and noble foundations. Indeed, as Matthew Hammond identifies, the prestige of the Virgin was such that it became common to pair her with other saints, to the extent that the absence of a Marian dedication is the exception to the rule.⁵⁹⁵ In light of this, it is easy to dismiss Coupar's status as a centre of this cult as unworthy of discussion, but its significance should not be overlooked. The ubiquity of these dedications was not the result of some form of cursory, standard practice, but a sign of the Virgin's genuine appeal. The cult went from strength to strength and its immense popularity is clearly apparent in the later period.⁵⁹⁶ Moreover, while most saints had only one feast day, from the seventh century the Virgin Mary possessed at least four, rising to as many as six by the later medieval period.⁵⁹⁷ The potential importance for Coupar as a focus for the cult is made apparent when examining the other monastic houses of the region. To the east, the houses of Renstenneth and Arbroath possessed dedications to St Peter and St Thomas, respectively. To the west stood Scone, referred to in charters as the church of the Holy Trinity though evidently also a centre of the cult of St Michael. The nearest houses associated with Mary were Balmerino and Lindores, both of which lay across the River Tay and combined her with another

⁵⁹⁵ Hammond, 'Royal and Aristocratic Attitudes to Saints', pp.67, 72-4, 79-80.

⁵⁹⁶ A.B. Fitch, 'Mothers and Their Sons: Mary and Jesus in Scotland, 1450–1560', in S. Boardman & E. Williamson, (eds.), *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp.159-176; Idem, 'Popular piety in Scotland prior to the Reformation: death, purity and the Blessed Virgin Mary', in *Symposium on Popular Religion and Society*, (St Andrews, 1991), pp.1-21; M.A. Hall, 'Wo/men only? Marian devotion in medieval Perth', in S. Boardman & E. Williamson, (eds.), *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp.105-124; Idem, 'Of Holy Men and heroes: the cult of saints in medieval Perthshire', *Innes Review*, 56 (2005), p.79; D. Ditchburn, "'Saints at the door don't make miracles'? The contrasting fortunes of Scottish pilgrimage, c.1450-1550', in J. Goodare & A.A. MacDonald (eds.), *Sixteenth Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch* (Leiden, 2008), p.96; Idem, 'The 'McRoberts thesis' and patterns of sanctity in late medieval Scotland', in S. Boardman & E. Williamson, (eds.), *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2010), p.181; Turpie, 'Scottish Saints Cults and Pilgrimage', p.35.

⁵⁹⁷ P. Jounel, 'The Veneration of Mary', in A.G. Martimort (ed.), *The Liturgy and Time, IV: The Church at Prayer* (Collegeville, 1986), pp.134-6, 138-9; S.R. Innes, *Is Eagal Liom Lá Na Hagra: Devotion to the Virgin in the Later Medieval Gaidhealtachd*, in S. Boardman & E. Williamson, (eds.), *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2010), p.126.

saint in a joint dedication.⁵⁹⁸ Of course, there were also numerous secular churches, chapels and altars in the vicinity dedicated to the Virgin, particularly within the surrounding burghs, indicative of the prevalence of Marian dedications throughout Scotland.⁵⁹⁹ But in terms of large monastic foundations, Coupar enjoyed something of a monopoly on the Virgin in its locality.



Map 13: Other monastic houses in the vicinity of the abbey

St Andrew

As an apostle, St Andrew was among the “common pool” of saints inherited by all Christians.⁶⁰⁰ His feast day featured in the earliest Cistercian calendars and a manuscript calendar of 1482 records that Coupar continued this observance into the late Middle Ages.⁶⁰¹ Moreover, a fourteenth-century reference reveals that an altar dedicated to the saint existed

⁵⁹⁸ Hammond, ‘Royal and Aristocratic Attitudes to Saints’, pp.71-2. Balmerino: Edward/Mary, Lindores: Mary/Andrew.

⁵⁹⁹ See search results for Mary in S. Boardman, E. Williamson & J. Davies, ‘Database of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland’, (2007), <<http://webdb.ucs.ed.ac.uk/saints>>, [accessed: 19 July 2016].

⁶⁰⁰ Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things*, p.130.

⁶⁰¹ Waddell, *The Primitive Cistercian Breviary*; Canivez, *Statuta*, vol I, p.18 (1134 no.XXV); Backaert, ‘L’evolution du calendrier cistercien’, pp.113-14, 119; Borland, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, pp.201-2.

within the abbey church, a feature which may have dated to the earliest days of the abbey's history.⁶⁰² In a Scottish context, devotion to the cult amongst the medieval lay population is to be expected. The shrine at St Andrews, one of the few outside of Rome to contain the relics of an apostle, was a pilgrimage centre of international popularity and importance from the tenth century. Infrastructure was in place to aid access to the shrine, travel from the core of Coupar's lands being facilitated by organised transportation across the Tay at two points. Moreover the diocese of St Andrews, which the abbey itself fell within the jurisdiction of, was the principal bishopric of Scotland, not to mention the richest by some margin.⁶⁰³

The actions of particular benefactors, however, reveal their engagement with the cult on a more personal level. On 28 May 1264, Alan Durward granted four merks annually from his villa of Reddie for a pittance to the convent during his lifetime on St Andrew's Day and after his death on the day of his anniversary.⁶⁰⁴ The timing of this donation was particularly significant: that summer, Alan was sent on military action to the western isles.⁶⁰⁵ His grant to Coupar can therefore be interpreted as an attempt to seek saintly intervention for his safe return, whilst also making provision for his soul should he die. 1264 was also the centenary year of the abbey's foundation for which special indulgences may have been granted. Moreover, his particular choice of St Andrew as intercessor implies that Alan associated some form of personal protection element with this cult. Interestingly, a fourteenth-century example where the divine intervention of St Andrew was sought also casts the saint within this particular role. A charter of Lindores abbey records that a grant was made to this house by the earl of Fife after his release from English captivity following the Battle of Neville's Cross, having narrowly avoiding being put to death for treason. While in prison, the earl had sought the intercession of both St Andrew and the Virgin Mary, to whom Lindores was co-dedicated, in return for this donation upon his safe release.⁶⁰⁶

This is not an attribute of St Andrew's cult in Scotland noted in the secondary literature, where the focus tends to be on the development of the saint as national patron. Indeed, Ash and

⁶⁰² Stuart, 'The Erroll Papers', no.44.

⁶⁰³ Turpie, 'Scottish Saints Cults and Pilgrimage', pp.160-2; P. Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp.55-8; G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Medieval Diocese of St Andrews', in J. Higgitt (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St Andrews* (London, 1994), pp.1-2.

⁶⁰⁴ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXI.

⁶⁰⁵ Watt, *Bower, Scotichronicon*, vol V, pp.348-9.

⁶⁰⁶ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol I, app. I no.141; Brown, 'Lay Piety in Later Medieval Lothian', pp.287-8.

Broun have argued that this process was well underway in the twelfth century, St Andrew being fully established in the role of national saint by the eve of the Wars of Independence.⁶⁰⁷ In this context, then, perhaps Alan Durward's actions can be interpreted as invoking the patron saint of the kingdom to aid the success of the military endeavour; he was, after all, leading a royal campaign against enemies of the Scottish crown. Tom Turpie, however, argues that there is little evidence of a direct association between St Andrew and the realm as a whole prior to 1286, when the image of the saint featured on the seal commissioned by the interim government set up in the wake of the death of King Alexander III (1249x1286). Indeed, Turpie asserts that, even at this date, proponents of the cults of Saints Kentigern and Columba, which both also enjoyed close connections with the royal house, would not have expected to "see their patrons sidelined". In Turpie's view, "it would be the propaganda battles of the Wars of Independence that transformed the concept of Andrew as regnal patron, into a reality".⁶⁰⁸ Moreover, such an interpretation of Alan Durward's intentions in invoking the saint in 1264 is dependent upon an assumption of the contemporary existence of a strongly developed sense of Scottish nationalism, in connection with the identity of St Andrew, which is, again, perhaps out of place in a discussion of the mid-thirteenth century.⁶⁰⁹

There is no doubt, however, that both a sense of Scottish national identity and St Andrew's position as patron saint of the realm were established by 1333, when Gilbert Hay was buried at Coupar before the altar of St Andrew. It is noteworthy that Gilbert should have chosen this saint rather than St Nicholas who was closely associated with the Hay family.⁶¹⁰ Moreover, it is unlikely to have been a coincidence that the Blackfriars of Perth, whose house was dedicated to St Andrew, appear to have been the only other recipients of Gilbert's ecclesiastical patronage aside from Coupar.⁶¹¹ Indeed, the donation made by Gilbert in 1324 of 20s to provide and maintain two lamps was the first grant made to the friary by a member of the Hay

⁶⁰⁷ M. Ash & D. Broun, 'The Adoption of St Andrew as Patron Saint of Scotland', in J. Higgett (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St Andrews* (London, 1994), p.22.

⁶⁰⁸ Turpie, 'Scottish Saints Cults and Pilgrimage', pp.153-6.

⁶⁰⁹ For discussion of the development of Scottish national identity see: D. Broun, 'Defining Scotland and the Scots Before the Wars of Independence', in D. Broun, R.J. Finlay & M. Lynch (eds.), *Image and Identity: the Making and Remaking of Scotland through the Ages* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp.4-17; F. Watson, 'The Enigmatic Lion: Scotland, Kingship and National Identity in the Wars of Independence', in D. Broun, J. Finlay & M. Lynch (eds.), *Image and Identity: The Making and Remaking of Scotland Through the Ages* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp.18-37.

⁶¹⁰ See Burial: The Hay Family section.

⁶¹¹ Milne, *The Blackfriars of Perth*, p.19.

family, and the house would receive no further Hay favour until well over a century later.⁶¹² Gilbert's personal veneration of St Andrew may therefore be explained by his political affiliations. As part of his efforts to legitimise his seizure of the throne, Robert the Bruce made conscious efforts to identify his kingship with saints of national significance; this strategy saw the veneration of St Andrew incorporated into both political and military contexts, a figure who, by the early fourteenth century, had come to be associated with the independence of the kingdom.⁶¹³ Gilbert was a firm supporter of Bruce and the cause for independence from 1306 onwards, appointed hereditary royal Constable from 1309 and serving in this role at the battle of Bannockburn in 1314.⁶¹⁴ He was most likely also present alongside Bruce at the consecration of St Andrews Cathedral in 1318. Walter Bower records that at this dedication, in the presence of "nearly all the nobles of the kingdom", King Robert gave 100 merks sterling annually in commemoration of the "victory given to the Scots at Bannockburn by the blessed Andrew".⁶¹⁵ Thus, for Gilbert, St Andrew must have held a wider ideological significance, far removed from his more traditional status as an apostle.

St Malachy

Another fourteenth-century documentary reference reveals that Malachy was another saint accorded an altar in the church of Coupar. Again, the existence of this altar within a Cistercian church is not surprising. Cistercian monasticism was introduced to Ireland under Malachy's initiative in 1142 and the personal relationship between him and Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, saw Malachy buried at this abbey when he died there on a visit in 1148.⁶¹⁶ Malachy received official canonisation in 1190 and his feast day was formally incorporated into the Cistercian kalendar in 1191.⁶¹⁷ It appears, however, that long before this, the tomb had served to institute an unofficial cult of Malachy at Clairvaux, where evidently he was regarded as a saint

⁶¹² Ibid, pp.20-2, 23-5, 49.

⁶¹³ Penman, 'Sacred Food for the Soul', p.5; Idem, *Robert the Bruce*, p.326; M. Cowan, "'The Saints of the Scottish Country will Fight Today': Robert the Bruce's Alliance with Saints at Bannockburn", *International Review of Scottish Studies*, 40 (2015), pp.1-32; Turpie, 'Scottish Saints Cults and Pilgrimage', p.157.

⁶¹⁴ See Penman, *Robert the Bruce*.

⁶¹⁵ Watt, *Bower, Scotichronicon*, vol VI, pp.413-15.

⁶¹⁶ M.T. Flanagan, 'Saint Malachy and the Introduction of Cistercian Monasticism to the Irish Church: Some Suggestive Evidence From Newry Abbey', *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, 22 (2009), pp.8-24.

⁶¹⁷ Canivez, *Statuta*, vol I, 1191 no.60; M.B. Bruun, *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order* (Cambridge, 2012), p.264. The 1482 manuscript kalendar of Coupar includes Malachy's feast.

before any official recognition of this fact.⁶¹⁸ It is regrettable that the establishment of the altar at Coupar cannot be more precisely dated, since this could provide valuable insight into the reach of the influence of Abbot Bernard and Clairvaux and the strength of links between Scottish Cistercian houses and the continent.⁶¹⁹ Alternatively, transmission of the cult was perhaps the result of influences closer to home and may be representative of Coupar's links to Galloway.⁶²⁰

Regardless, though, evidently the cult of St Malachy had reached Coupar by the early fourteenth century, no doubt accompanied by a copy of *The Life of St Malachy* written by Abbot Bernard, at which date the altar attracted the patronage of Robert I. In 1319, the king made a donation of lands to the abbey in return for:

"...unum cereum ponderis trium librarum cere ante altare beati Malachie dedicatum infra dictum monasterium in honorem ejusdem sancti ita quod cereus ardeat ad omnes vespers et matutinas missasque conventuales...unam lampadem ante idem altare in honorem ejusdem sancti pendentem et die ac nocte incessanter ardentem..." (a candle of three pounds weight before the altar of St Malachy within the said monastery burning at all vespers, matins and conventual masses...and a lamp before the same altar always burning day and night).⁶²¹

⁶¹⁸ A. Gajewski, 'Burial, Cult and Construction at the Abbey Church of Clairvaux (Clairvaux III)', in J. Hall & C. Kratzke (eds.), *Sepulturae Cistercienses: Burial, Memorial and Patronage in Medieval Cistercian Monasteries*, special issue of *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 56 (2005), pp.54-5.

⁶¹⁹ For the role of Clairvaux in the spread of the cult see J. Leclercq, 'Documents on the Cult of St. Malachy', *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, 3, (1959), pp.318-332

⁶²⁰ K.M. Murray, 'Books Beyond Borders: Fresh Findings on Boethius's Reception in Twelfth-Century Scotland', *Medievalia et Humanistica: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture*, 41 (2015), p.27. For the transfer of monastic personnel between houses, see Cistercian Networks: Internal section. For the abbey's relationship with Thomas of Galloway in the first half of the thirteenth century, see Politics and Patronage section. Malachy visited Galloway on several occasions and his *Life*, written by Bernard of Clairvaux, records that he founded a Cistercian abbey there at *Viride Stagnum*, commonly identified with Soulseat which was later the site of a Premonstratensian house. It has been suggested by both McDonald and Ewart that Malachy may have influenced Fergus, lord of Galloway, to found Dundrennan (A. McDonald, 'Scoto-Norse Kings and the Reformed Religious Orders: Patterns of Monastic Patronage in Twelfth-Century Galloway and Argyll', *Albion*, 27 (1995), pp.202-3; G. Ewart, 'Dundrennan Abbey (Summary Report): Archaeological investigation within the south range of a Cistercian house in Kirkcudbrightshire', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 75 (2001), p.161). It has also been argued that the dislodged Cistercian community of Soulseat resettled at either Dundrennan, a proposal which involves a revised dating of the founding of Dundrennan (J.G. Scott, 'The Origins of Dundrennan and Soulseat Abbeys', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 63 (1988), pp.35-44), or at Coupar Angus itself (D. McRoberts, 'A 'Continuatio Bedae' from Whithorn?', *Innes Review*, 24 (1973), pp.69-71).

⁶²¹ RRS, V, no. 145.

Despite the political nature of much of Robert I's patronage, as has been highlighted above his engagement with the cult of St Malachy was on a deeply personal level. Family tradition told that the king's great grandfather, Robert (IV) Bruce of Annandale had wronged the saint and had a curse placed upon him, something which later generations paid penance for. Indeed, Robert I's grandfather had donated land to Clairvaux in order to pay for lights at the tomb. The grant to Coupar in 1319, therefore, represented provision for the soul of his ancestor and an attempt to release the Bruce family from Malachy's displeasure. Moreover, Michael Penman suggests that Robert may also have been atoning for "fresh offense" caused to Malachy's cult during Bruce invasions of Ireland from 1315 to 1318, when extensive damage was done to various monastic houses and their lands, perhaps including Malachy's abbey at Mellifont in Louth. Penman also proposes that the grant to Coupar "may have formed part of the obsequies for Edward Bruce" who had been killed in Ireland the previous year.⁶²² It is clear, therefore, that Robert's donation represented an act of genuine piety and his private relationship with the cult of St Malachy.

St Katherine of Alexandria

One further saint who straddled the line between internationally-recognised, and officially authorised, cult and much more personal levels of devotion was St Katherine, to whom a chapel recorded as being situated *in porta monasterii* (at the gate of the monastery) at Coupar was dedicated.⁶²³ Gatehouse chapels were a common feature of British Cistercian houses from the end of the twelfth century, being constructed either just beyond the gate or contained within the gatehouse complex itself.⁶²⁴ At Coupar, it was the latter.⁶²⁵ Like the two examples above, the veneration of St Katherine is not out of place at a Cistercian house. Though she did not originally feature in the early kalendar, St Katherine was officially incorporated into the Cistercian liturgy in the early thirteenth century, a commemoration in her honour being instituted in 1207 before she was added to the Litany of Saints and accorded a feast of twelve-

⁶²² Penman, 'Sacred Food for the Soul', pp.19-20; Brown, 'Lay Piety in Later Medieval Lothian', pp.77-8.

⁶²³ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, p.207.

⁶²⁴ Hall, 'English Cistercian Gatehouse Chapels', *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 52 (2001), pp.61-70; F.H. Crossley, *The English abbey: Its Life and Work in the Middle Ages* (London, 1935), pp.54-5; W.H.St J. Hope, 'The Abbey of St Mary of Furness, Lancashire', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 16 (1900), p.236.

⁶²⁵ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, p.305.

lessons in 1214.⁶²⁶ However, that she should be chosen as the dedication of a gatehouse chapel in particular merits further attention.

The general consensus in the secondary literature is that the function of these chapels was to serve as a place of worship accessible to individuals who were restricted from entering further into the precinct; as Hall points out, it is implausible that, having been invited in, guests would be sent back out again to worship. It has variously been suggested that these individuals were primarily composed of women, the poor, pilgrims, hired workers, lay communities living in close proximity to the monastery, or some combination of all of the above.⁶²⁷ Indeed, it seems likely that at various points in the abbey's history the chapel at Coupar served all of these groups, though one perhaps held particular significance for the abbey; the presence of women beyond the gatehouse was extremely problematic for houses like Coupar. Early Cistercian legislation banned women from entering altogether, though this was soon relaxed to a certain degree to allow access to particular areas on certain occasions. The situation, however, was no doubt unpopular with high-status women such as female members of important benefactor families, and likely a source of friction for the abbey; the issue was made all the more pertinent for Coupar by the fact that the abbey was the recipient of grants made by women, in their own right, who belonged to the top strata of society.⁶²⁸ The gatehouse chapel, therefore, made spiritual provision for these noble women, giving them an outlet for their piety on site, while preserving Cistercian principles.⁶²⁹

In this context, the dedication of the chapel to St Katherine is particularly revealing; this cult was popular among medieval women and, moreover, may have held specific appeal for exactly the type of woman Coupar counted amongst its important patronage networks. English evidence indicates that female saints in general generated great interest amongst a lay female

⁶²⁶ Canivez, *Statuta*, vol I, 1207 no.1, 1214 no.56; M.A. Mayeski, "'The Right Occasion for the Words': Situating Aelred's Homily on St Katherine', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 33 (1998), p.45.

⁶²⁷ Hall, 'English Cistercian Gatehouse Chapels', pp.70, 78, 82; Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians*, p.74; M. Sternberg, *Cistercian Architecture and Medieval Society* (Leiden, 2013), pp.139-40; Hope, *The Abbey of St Mary of Furness*, p.236.

⁶²⁸ In particular, grants made by Isabella, countess of Atholl, and Marjory, countess of Atholl and daughter of Donald, earl of Mar.

⁶²⁹ For discussion of the controversial issue of women within Cistercian precincts see: Jamroziak, 'Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction', p.56; Idem, *Survival and Success*, p.65; Kerr, 'Cistercian Hospitality', pp.32-3.

audience.⁶³⁰ The specific appeal of St Katherine, particularly for highborn women, lay in what Katherine Lewis describes as “the ways in which she related to the lives of her female devotees with respect to their social and cultural standing as women”. The literature surrounding her cult presented Katherine as an “explicitly secular model”: beautiful and, importantly, noble-born, Katherine provided an example to emulate for living chastely in the midst of wealth and finery. Moreover, Katherine was also represented as highly intelligent, providing, in Christine Walsh’s view, an atypical image of a strong, intellectual woman who was the equal of the most educated of men, which Lewis suggests potentially offered “subversive possibilities to women, challenging accepted ideas about their social roles and spiritual potential”, something also commented upon by Audrey-Beth Fitch.⁶³¹ In addition, Lewis further suggests that another aspect of St Katherine’s narrative may have heightened contemporary female identification with the cult: the figure of the Empress was depicted as a devout but, crucially, *married* lay woman, thereby offering an alternative model of conduct for a pious, lay female audience who may have felt anxiety over their own status as non-virginal, married women. Thus, just as the Empress’ reverence for Katherine saw her become joined to Christ, the narrative may have been interpreted by female followers as an indication that through devotion to this saint they could reap the heavenly rewards without being required to emulate her in every way.⁶³² The dedication of the gatehouse chapel to St Katherine, therefore, functioned on two levels for the monks of Coupar. On the most basic, as a virgin martyr, Katherine provided the example which the monks wished to portray to female visitors in terms of ideal female piety. The choice of this *particular* virgin martyr, however, can be seen in terms of the appeasement of powerful women who might wish to push the issue of their entry into holier sections of the abbey.

Pre-Existing Devotions

St Medan

The above examples represent instances of overlap between ‘standard’, or at least expected, Cistercian practice and regional manifestations of lay religiosity; these saints were objects of general Cistercian veneration, while their cults were also the focus of the personal devotions

⁶³⁰ K.J. Lewis, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp.227-30.

⁶³¹ *Ibid*, pp.230, 236; C. Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe* (Ashgate, 2007), pp.143-5; A.B. Fitch, ‘Power Through Purity: The Virgin Martyrs and Women’s Salvation in Pre-Reformation Scotland’, in E. Ewan & M.M. Meikle, *Women in Scotland c.1100-c.1750* (East Linton, 1999), p.19.

⁶³² Lewis, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria*, pp.241-8.

of the indigenous laity. This was not always the case, however, and Coupar showed itself to be malleable to the immediate religious environment. The adaptability of the abbey in the face of lay expectation was demonstrated in 1273, when a petition to the General Chapter made by Coupar to host the feast of St Medan in the house with two masses was granted.⁶³³ The cult of this, apparently, Irish saint was highly localised, primarily focused, in Scotland, around Whithorn but another concentrated pocket also existed in Angus.⁶³⁴ This area was centred around the parish church of Airlie which was dedicated to Medan; St Medan's well and 'knowe', or hill, stood close by, while the nearby church of Lintrathen was also dedicated to this saint.⁶³⁵ Evidence indicates that both of these medieval churches stood on what had originally been earlier religious sites, and these dedications were likely carried over from older traditions.⁶³⁶ It appears, therefore, that the cult of St Medan had a long-standing history in the area and may have been deeply entrenched in local religious practice. That Airlie was a Celtic church site explains the existence of the apdaine of Airlie, a term which denotes an endowment of land belonging to an old church, often in its immediate vicinity, which was initially leased by Coupar from the bishop of St Andrews in 1212 and appears to have become a permanent part of the grange established at Airlie by the monks.⁶³⁷ The land of Airlie had previously been granted to Coupar by David Ruffus around the turn of the century, and the abbey also acquired further land in the vicinity at Lintrathen in the 1250s.⁶³⁸ Moreover, the church of Airlie itself came into the possession of the monks thanks to a grant made in 1219 by King Alexander II.⁶³⁹ Therefore, by 1273, the abbey had long-established landed interests in the heart of an area with a strong tradition of St Medan's cult, not to mention custody of the

⁶³³ Canivez, *Statuta*, vol III, 1273 no.53.

⁶³⁴ A. Boyle, 'Notes on Scottish Saints', *Innes Review*, 32 (1981), pp.78-9; Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p.396.

⁶³⁵ King, 'Coupar Angus and Cîteaux', p.57 no.3; J.M. MacKinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland: Non-Scriptural Dedications* (Edinburgh, 1914), p.150; Idem, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland: Scriptural Dedications* (Edinburgh, 1910), p.333; A. Jervise, 'Notices of Antiquities in the Parish of Airlie, Forfarshire', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 5 (1864), pp.350, 355; Historic Environment Scotland, Site Records, St Madden's Well <<http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/32367/details/st+madden+s+well/>> [accessed: 18 July 2016]. The *New Statistical Account* incorrectly records that the church was dedicated to John the Baptist (*NSA*, Fofar, vol XI, p.680).

⁶³⁶ Historic Environment Scotland, Site Records, Airlie Parish Church <<http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/32369/details/airlie+parish+church/>>, Lintrathen Parish Church <<https://canmore.org.uk/site/318443/lintrathen-parish-church>> [accessed: 18 July 2016].

⁶³⁷ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXI. For discussion of this term see: G.W.S. Barrow, *Scotland and its Neighbours in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), pp.121-3; Cowan & Eason, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p.53.

⁶³⁸ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XI, LV; *Brev.*, nos. 66, 76.

⁶³⁹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXVII.

church which appears to have been its focal point.⁶⁴⁰ This situation was mirrored at Cistercian houses elsewhere. In 1240, Basingwerk abbey (Flintshire) acquired St Winefride's Well, along with the patronage of Holywell church. This important Welsh cult had another centre at the Benedictine abbey of Shrewsbury, which the relics of St Winefride had been translated to in 1138. In 1253, Basingwerk, along with Buildwas abbey which was located just ten miles from Shrewsbury, successfully petitioned the General Chapter to celebrate the saint's feast day within their houses.⁶⁴¹ Closer to home, after Scone abbey acquired possession of Glamis parish church in the later twelfth century, the Augustinian canons had the relics of the church's namesake, St Fergus, enshrined in marble but removed the head to the abbey for separate veneration where it became a pilgrimage attraction.⁶⁴²

Coupar's desire to observe this relatively obscure saint's feast day, which was most certainly outwith the conventional Cistercian religious sphere, is explained by the influence which local focuses of lay religiosity had on the abbey's internal practices. Reverence of St Medan was no doubt a feature of the piety of members of Coupar's lay networks whose interests lay in and around this locality. The hosting of this feast, therefore, was likely to have been profitable for the abbey, attracting the favour of these individuals. Moreover, the resident population were surely engaged with the cult and so the location of the grange brought the abbey's *conversi* directly into everyday contact with local religious customs. Indeed, a statute issued by the General Chapter in 1198 reveals that the *conversi* were expected to follow the kalendar of the neighbouring parish church so that their workdays would coincide with those of the local inhabitants.⁶⁴³ That observance of the feast of St Medan was sustained long-term by Coupar is shown by the manuscript kalendar of 1482. This was despite the fact that Medan's cult does not appear to have gathered any type of momentum in the intervening years, however

⁶⁴⁰ In the early fourteenth century, Coupar acquired the land of Auchindorie in the parish of Airlie from William of Fenton (Ibid, no. LXXI; CA *Brev.*, no. 88). As noted earlier, it is possible that '-dorie' could be read as *dewar*, a suggestion which is strengthened by the fact that Malcolm of Kettins had interests in both Auchindorie and the apdaine of Airlie (see *Pro Anima* Clauses section). This would mean Coupar had acquired land belonging to a hereditary relic keeper, and potentially the relic itself, just a few miles from Airlie church. For a discussion of dewars and the lands attached to the office see Markus, 'Dewars and Relics in Scotland'.

⁶⁴¹ Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, p.147; C. Hayden, 'St Winifred, Bishop Fleetwood and Jacobitism', *Studies in Church History*, 47, *Saints and Sanctity* (2011), p.295; Canivez, *Statuta*, vol II, 1253 no.24. Buildwas, though not the motherhouse, held responsibility for the visitation of Basingwerk (J. Burton, 'Homines sanctitatis eximiae, religionis consummatae: the Cistercians in England and Wales', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 154, (2005), p.40).

⁶⁴² Hall, 'Of Holy Men and Heroes', pp.85-6; J.M. Mackinlay, 'Traces of the cultus of St Fergus in Scotland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 38 (1904), p.451.

⁶⁴³ France, *Separate but Equal*, p.28; Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes*, 1198 no.12.

continued local interest is evident. In 1447, Michael David, hereditary keeper of the bell of St Medan, resigned it into the hands of Sir John Ogilvy of Lintrathen at Airlie Castle, who in turn gave possession to Margaret, his spouse.⁶⁴⁴

St Adomnan

The above discussion is also pertinent for another feast which appears in the same manuscript kalendar: that of St Adomnan, the seventh-century, and probably most influential, abbot of Iona, promulgator of the 'Law of the Innocents' and author of the *Life of St Columba* and *The Holy Places*, an account of the great Christian pilgrimage centres of the time.⁶⁴⁵ In 1542, a list of chapels pertaining to Coupar recorded that a chapel of St Adomnan was located at Campsie, land which had been acquired by the abbey in the 1170s, though no indication of the provenance of this foundation is given in the extant evidence.⁶⁴⁶ There is also no record of any official sanction being given to Coupar by the General Chapter to celebrate this feast, which makes the advent of this practice difficult to date. It is clear that it pre-dated 1482 since in 1448 the tenants of Campsie were required to make provision for the monastery at the Feast of St Adomnan, however, since this reference appears in the earliest surviving rental records for the abbey, we are no closer to pinpointing its commencement.⁶⁴⁷ Evidence for the cult itself reveals an early medieval concentration of devotion to the saint within the diocese of Dunkeld, unsurprising considering the close links between Iona and Dunkeld. This includes a series of dedications which Simon Taylor convincingly argues are contemporaneous with the saint's lifetime.⁶⁴⁸ Campsie itself fell within Cargill, a detached parish of Dunkeld, and so was within Iona's *paruchia*.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁴ J. Stuart, 'Papers from the Charter Chest of the Earl of Airlie', *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, IV (Aberdeen, 1849), pp.117-19, nos. II, III; NRS, Papers of the Earls of Airlie, Lands and Barony of Airlie, GD16/1/3.

⁶⁴⁵ R. Sharpe (ed.), *Adomnan of Iona, Life of St Columba* (London, 1995), pp.43-65.

⁶⁴⁶ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, p.207. This chapel is more fully discussed in the Chapels section.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid*, vol I, p.127.

⁶⁴⁸ S. Taylor, 'Seventh-century Iona abbots in Scottish Place-Names', *Innes Review*, 48 (1997), pp.45-72; *Idem*, 'Columba East of Drumalban: Some Aspects of the Cult of Columba in Eastern Scotland', *Innes Review*, 51 (2000), pp.109-30; *Idem*, 'Place-Names and the Early Church in Eastern Scotland', B. Crawford (ed.), *Scotland in Dark-Ages Britain* (St Andrews, 1996), pp.101-3. This is more fully discussed in the Chapels section.

⁶⁴⁹ R. Fawcett *et al*, 'A Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches', (2008), Map of Dunkeld Diocese c.1300, <<http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/images/map-parishes-dunkeld.gif>> [accessed: 18 July 2016].

But while this strongly suggests that an early religious site associated with St Adomnan existed at Campsie, the chapel itself was, by the later period at least, incorporated into the abbot's residence. This is suggested in 1474 when half of the fishings of Campsie were let to Robert Pullour. Evidently, sufficient lodging and land could not be found for Robert at the time as it was decided that in the interim he would inhabit the mansion of the abbot and would also have the acre of St Adomnan for 11s, implying a link between the residence and this land.⁶⁵⁰ That the income generated by the acre was used to furnish the chapel is seen in a lease of 1542 which records that payment could, very unusually in Coupar's rentals, be made in the equivalent value of wax.⁶⁵¹ In the sixteenth century, when Alexander McBrek leased the lands of both Nether and Over Campsie from the abbey, the tenant was instructed to take charge of the upkeep of the mansion, his responsibilities, aside from the hall, chamber, kitchen, bakehouse, brewhouse and cellar, including 'the chapel'; significantly, he was also specifically instructed to provide sufficient wax to St Adomnan's light and chapel.⁶⁵² It would appear, then, that an earlier religious site and its cult had become incorporated into the material fabric of abbey life. Again, we see the impact of local religious culture on Coupar; like St Medan's at Airlie, the cult of Adomnan at Campsie was likely deeply rooted in the locality by the time Coupar obtained possession of the land. Campsie lay in close proximity to the grange of Keithick and the abbey itself and, while Campsie was not technically a grange, given that the land was utilised extensively for timber resources and was the site of very valuable fisheries, the regular presence of abbey representatives can be assumed. That the feast day remained an important date in the local calendar throughout the period is revealed by the fact that in 1508 the town of Campsie was set by the abbey on the feast of Adomnan.⁶⁵³ Moreover, Coupar's absorption of the saint may, to some extent, have been due to the influence of the bishops of Dunkeld and a desire to promote this Ionan cult. On the abbey's part, it is possible that the figure of Adomnan held real appeal for the monks as an example of an 'ideal abbot'.

⁶⁵⁰ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, p.222.

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid*, vol II, p.181.

⁶⁵² Morgan, 'Economic Administration of Coupar Angus Abbey', vol II, pp.314-17; Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, pp.68-71.

⁶⁵³ *Ibid*, vol I, p.274; T.O. Clancy, 'Scottish Saints and National Identities in the Early Middle Ages' in A. Thacker & R. Sharpe (eds.), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002), p.411.

Evolving Trends

St Duthac

One more saint whose feast was recorded in the 1482 manuscript calendar requires discussion: that of St Duthac. Again, the influence of Coupar's social and political sphere on internal practice is seen, but this time demonstrating the abbey's receptiveness to not only pre-existing devotions, but also to evolving expressions of lay piety. Prior to the mid-fourteenth century, St Duthac's cult had been of only local significance, focused largely around the shrine at Tain and associated with the earls of Ross, at a substantial distance from even the abbey's most northerly lands. By the later fifteenth century, however, his cult had expanded to a national level; in the same year as observance of the feast day was recorded at Coupar, King James III founded a chaplainry at the altar in Tain, something his father had also done.⁶⁵⁴ It is possible, then, that Coupar's engagement with the saint was an overtly political move in order to garner royal favour. But despite some level of royal patronage from the reign of James II (1437x1460) onwards, Turpie argues that royal interest was not the most influential factor in the spread of Duthac's cult since it does not appear to have ever become fashionable at court. Instead, Turpie identifies that the diffusion of the cult was the result of urban and mercantile connections, arriving firstly in Aberdeen, where devotion to the saint within the burgh had become evident by the mid-fourteenth century, along trade routes from Ross and Caithness. From Aberdeen, the cult subsequently spread along seaborne trading routes, with altars later established at Perth and Dundee. Duthac, therefore, emerged as a saint of national prominence as he became fashionable amongst the mercantile and urban elite of Scotland's east coast burghs.⁶⁵⁵ Considering Coupar's close burghal links during this period, it is perhaps no surprise to find that the abbey was impacted by such urban trends. Moreover, it may be the case that the catalyst for change was more internal than external. The extant records indicate that substantial recruitment took place during the fifteenth century of monks from the burghs, particularly Perth and Dundee.⁶⁵⁶ Considering the apparent predominance of men from the towns amongst the general population of the abbey, the incorporation of Duthac into the abbey's liturgical kalendar may attest to the influence of their personal devotions upon in-house practices. Indeed, it may be that the influence of one individual in particular proved decisive: William de Ledhouse, a monk of Coupar who became abbot in the early fifteenth

⁶⁵⁴ T. Turpie, *Kind Neighbours: Scottish Saints and Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2015), p.119.

⁶⁵⁵ Idem, 'Our Friend in the North: The Origins, Evolution and Appeal of the Cult of St Duthac of Tain in the Later Middle Ages', *Innes Review*, 93 (2014), pp.1-28; Idem, 'Scottish Saints Cults and Pilgrimage', pp.26-9, 111-39; R. Oram, *et al*, *Historic Tain: Archaeology and Development* (Edinburgh, 2009), p.25.

⁶⁵⁶ See Recruitment section.

century, shares his unusual surname with a contemporary burghess of Aberdeen.⁶⁵⁷ This abbot of Coupar therefore appears to have originated from a burgh where the popularity of Duthac was such that Aberdeen would become “something of a secondary centre for the cult”.⁶⁵⁸

Politics and Patronage

Case study: Thirteenth-Century Atholl

Coupar Angus developed significantly closer links with Atholl than any other earldom.⁶⁵⁹ Situated just twenty miles from the earldom’s caput at Rait, the abbey found itself the focus of religious patronage made for both religious and political purposes by the rulers of a territory which contained no religious house within its own bounds.⁶⁶⁰ The mid-thirteenth century saw political upheaval caused by the extinction of the native male line of earls and the resultant destabilising effects of dynastic changes, female succession, a minor heir, and the eventual vacancy of the earldom. These developments meant that the abbey found itself both the beneficiary of, and at the mercy of, politics within the earldom, though that is not to say that the monks should be considered politically inert. In the initial phase of its existence, during which the leadership of Atholl was stable and well-established, the abbey found no particular favour with the native earls. In the second half of the twelfth century, Earl Malcolm spread his patronage relatively widely: St Andrews, Dunfermline and Scone received grants of churches within the earldom at Dull, Moulin and Logierait, respectively.⁶⁶¹ The monks of Coupar, meanwhile, received rights to timber and other easements in the earldom’s forests.⁶⁶² This may have been an act of penance on the part of the earl for the atrocity he committed at the abbey in 1186; the Chronicle of Holyrood records that the peace of the holy church at Coupar was broken by Earl Malcolm when he apprehended Adam, son of Donald, the king’s outlaw. Adam’s nephew was beheaded before the altar, and fifty-eight others were burned to death in

⁶⁵⁷ F. McGurk (ed.), *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII of Avignon, 1394-1419* (Edinburgh, 1976), pp.116-17; *Liber de Aberbrothoc*, vol II, no. 41.

⁶⁵⁸ Turpie, ‘Our Friend in the North’, p.14.

⁶⁵⁹ Coupar’s experience in Atholl is reflected in the form of the abbey’s Register. See Appendix 1.

⁶⁶⁰ The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw a large number of aristocratic monastic foundations. The list includes the earls of Fife, Dunbar, Strathearn, Buchan, Ross, Menteith, and Mar. In fact, the earls of Atholl are conspicuous by their absence. See Hammond, ‘Royal and Aristocratic Attitudes to Saints’, pp.79-80.

⁶⁶¹ T. Thomson (ed.), *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia* (Edinburgh, 1840), pp.245-6; *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, no.147; Shead, *Scottish Episcopal Acta*, no.48.

⁶⁶² *Brev.*, no. 27.

the abbot's guest-house.⁶⁶³ Following the death of Malcolm, his successor, Henry, made no further religious grants and simply confirmed those of his father. The death of Earl Henry, leaving behind only daughters, Isabella and Forbflaith, however, impacted the power structure of the region in a way which resulted in Coupar being drawn into earldom politics, beginning with the succession of Thomas of Galloway, husband of Isabella.

As the first incoming outsider earl of Atholl after the failure of the native male line, Earl Thomas sought to utilise the symbolic power of patronage, cultivating links to the nearby religious house at Coupar in order to establish himself more fully within the locality, and, in turn, to benefit from the sense of stability and legitimacy which such a relationship would confer upon his lordship. The role of ecclesiastical patronage in establishing political power within a territory is well-attested to elsewhere.⁶⁶⁴ Indeed, Keith Stringer identifies that the "interdependence of monastic and secular authority" saw the patronising of Cistercian monasteries as a means of reworking local power balances in Thomas' native Galloway, including the foundation of Glenluce by Thomas' father, Roland.⁶⁶⁵ In his only grant of land in Atholl to a religious house, Earl Thomas made the monks of Coupar new landowners in the earldom, putting them in possession of a holding comprised of Tulach and Invervack.⁶⁶⁶ This move also had the effect of creating an influential, but dependent, landholder whose support Thomas could rely upon. The earl's relationship with Coupar culminated in his burial at the abbey following his death in 1231.⁶⁶⁷ Thus, just as his brother, Alan, lord of Galloway, was interred at the Galwegian Cistercian house of Dundrennan, Earl Thomas arranged his own burial at a house which lay within the sphere of his own, newly-established lordship.⁶⁶⁸ Moreover, the singling out of Coupar may have been used by Thomas to draw a more direct

⁶⁶³ Anderson, *Holyrood Chronicle*, pp.170-1, 193. For a discussion of Adam's identity, see A. Ross, 'The Identity of the 'Prisoner of Roxburgh': Malcolm son of Alexander or Malcolm MacHeth?' in *Fil Suil Nglais*, ed., by S. Arbuthnott and K. Hollo (Brig o' Turk, 2007), pp.269-82. He was of royal descent, either the son of Donald mac William, grandson of King Duncan II (d.1094), or, as Ross suggests, son of Donald mac Mael Coluim, great-grandson of Alexander I (d.1124). For this reason, or perhaps simply due to the ferocity with which the party had been dealt with, there may have been some level of guilt amongst the royal household. This may, in part, explain why Coupar attracted the favour of two men in the service of King William: William Hay and Thomas Durward.

⁶⁶⁴ There are many Scottish examples of this. For Thomas Durward in Mar, see Hammond, '*Hostiarii Regis Scotie*', pp.126-7; for the Bruce kings, see Oram, 'Lay Religiosity, Piety and Devotion', pp.102-3 and Penman, 'Sacred Food for the Soul', p.5; for the lords of Galloway, see Stringer, 'Reform Monasticism and Celtic Scotland'.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid*, pp.138-9, 142-3, 158-9.

⁶⁶⁶ See The Impact of Tenurial Networks section.

⁶⁶⁷ Stevenson, *Melrose Chronicle*, p.59; Watt, *Bower, Scotichronicon*, vol V, p.145.

⁶⁶⁸ Stevenson, *Melrose Chronicle*, p.60.

link between himself and the native line of earls, since the monks already held extensive forest rights from the earls of Atholl when Thomas succeeded. Indeed, as has been noted by Westerhof, the husbands of important heiresses often chose to associate themselves with religious houses connected to their spousal ancestors.⁶⁶⁹

The death of Earl Thomas ushered in a period of political instability and uncertainty in the earldom, during which Coupar found itself drawn into various political manoeuvres. Isabella, who became countess in her own right with the charge of her young son, Patrick, issued several charters in her own name shortly after Thomas' death, stated to have been made in her free power and widowhood, all to the benefit of the abbey. Two confirmed the grants of Tulach and Invervack, while the third contained a grant of her own making of the land of Murthly.⁶⁷⁰ That the abbey should desire confirmation of its holdings in the earldom during a period of political insecurity is to be expected and so the monks can be interpreted as the real drive behind these two charters, but that Isabella should augment their possessions with a fresh grant, made under her own authority, speaks volumes. The ways in which medieval countesses used religious patronage to enhance their political position and dispel any doubts about their rights to act in such a capacity through these public demonstrations of authority have been explored elsewhere.⁶⁷¹ Isabella's right to act as a stand-alone female proprietor of the earldom during Patrick's minority was likely being challenged by various parties, and the political statement being made is clear: not only did her position as countess provide the authority to confirm previous male grants, the lands of Atholl were within her power to alienate. While women had been involved in making grants and confirmations prior to the 1230s, Hammond argues that there had previously been no specific charter formula to indicate that they acted in their own power without the attachment of a male, and that it was at this point that dowager countesses' rights began to be "shored up by legalistic phraseology", as seen in the fact that specific mentions of widowhood in charters grew steadily in number from the 1230s onwards.⁶⁷² That Coupar should be the recipient had the

⁶⁶⁹ Westerhof, 'Celebrating Fragmentation', p.41.

⁶⁷⁰ Easson, Coupar Angus Chrs, no. XXXIX; *Brev.*, nos. 30, 32, 34.

⁶⁷¹ Jordan, *Women, Power and Religious Patronage*, pp.61-85. More broadly, in *Women of God and Arms: Female Spirituality and Political Conflict, 1380-1600* (Philadelphia, 2005), Nancy Bradley Warren has explored the various ways in which medieval women in positions of power exploited expressions of piety for political ends. Warren also notes the tendency amongst historians to cite the mixed political and pious motives of male religious activity, while attributing that of women to "uncomplicated piety".

⁶⁷² M.H. Hammond, 'Women and the adoption of charters in Scotland north of Forth, c.1150-1286', *The Innes Review*, 62 (2011), pp.16-20. Also discussed in C.J. Neville, 'Women, Charters and Land Ownership in Scotland, 1150-1350', *Journal of Legal History*, 26 (2005), pp.32-4

further symbolism embodied in the link between her immediate predecessor and the abbey, adding an extra dimension of legitimacy to Isabella's countess-ship. Moreover, the presence of Countess Margaret, wife of the late Henry, earl of Atholl, the last male ruler of the native line, among the witness lists of these charters drew attention to Isabella's parentage, a reminder that it was her lineage which had conferred upon Thomas the right to rule in Atholl. This further supports the view that Isabella's legitimate right to the earldom was being advanced through the patronage of Coupar, in an effort to protect her own status, and, in turn, that of the young heir.

The right of the heir of Earl Thomas to the earldom was certainly being contested. During this period, a claim to the title of 'earl of Atholl' was advanced by Alan Durward, though the legal basis of this is not clear from the extant evidence.⁶⁷³ Nevertheless, that the claim was in some way legitimate is demonstrated by the fact that Alan enjoyed brief royal recognition of this during 1234-35, when several royal charters referred to him as earl of Atholl.⁶⁷⁴ Matthew Hammond has argued that it is probable that a daughter of Malcolm, earl of Atholl, and sister of Earl Henry, had married Thomas Durward, Alan's father, who had arranged his own burial at Coupar by 1204x1207.⁶⁷⁵ Hammond has also argued that the apparent expressions of Isabella's legal rights as a widow were in fact a Comyn-backed move to protect Atholl from the intrusion of Alan of Durward, "in the guise of vouchsafing the rights of the widow countess-heiress".⁶⁷⁶ But regardless of whether the impetus for the issuing of these charters lay solely with Isabella herself, or if, as Hammond proposes, Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith, had a hand in it, the significance of the particular choice of the abbey of Coupar as beneficiary remains the same. The intention was to enhance Isabella's authority and heighten the sense of her legitimacy; no member of the Comyn family showed an interest in acting as patron towards Coupar in any other context.

⁶⁷³ *Liber de Aberbrothoc*, no.128. There is debate over the root of this claim. Theories include his marriage to Isabella, his purchase of the wardship of Patrick etc. However, it seems likely that Matthew Hammond is correct regarding Alan's parentage, and that he was the closest, legitimate male relative to the line of native earls through his mother.

⁶⁷⁴ RRS, III, nos. 203 <<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/factoid/24228/>>, 214 <<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/factoid/24324/>>, 216 <<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/factoid/24344/>> [accessed: 18 July 2016].

⁶⁷⁵ Hammond, '*Hostiarii Regis Scotie*', p.128; *Brev.*, no. 62.

⁶⁷⁶ Hammond, 'Women and the adoption of charters', pp.23-4.

However, the fall-out from the political situation in Atholl also had potentially adverse implications for the abbey. Another threat to Isabella's authority came from an illegitimate descendant of the native line of earls, an individual named Conan who around this time began styling himself as 'son of Henry, earl of Atholl'. Under this designation, Conan issued a charter to Coupar of the easements of *his* woods of 'Tolikyne', apparently referring to Tulach which had been granted to the monks by Earl Thomas, the implication being that Tulach was not within Thomas' power to alienate and that this act should be considered void.⁶⁷⁷ Conan appears to have been making a very clear statement regarding the legitimacy of Thomas' position, as an incomer succeeding to the earldom through marriage, as opposed to his own, as a male descendant of Henry, the last native earl.⁶⁷⁸ In this context, Conan's charter reads more like a confirmation of the grant made to Coupar by his grandfather, Earl Malcolm, of the easements of the woods of Atholl. Moreover, Conan also made a grant to Lindores abbey of rights to timber in his wood of 'Tulyhen', again most likely referring to Tulach, and therefore Coupar's rights in the forest were not even intended to be exclusive.⁶⁷⁹ The abbey's landed possessions, therefore, came under threat as Tulach became a pawn in the political conflict. Hammond has placed this dispute within the context of Alan Durward's ambitions to the earldom, arguing that the fact that Colin Durward, brother of Alan, witnessed the grant to Lindores indicates that Alan supported Conan's claim to Tulach in opposition to the monks'.⁶⁸⁰ This occurred in the context of rivalling the claim of the heir of Earl Thomas to the earldom, not as a direct attack on the abbey; however, circumstance meant that Coupar found itself at the heart of the dispute, facing the prospect that the retention of its possessions in the earldom would depend upon the outcome of this conflict. In this case, Coupar succeeded in retaining possession of Tulach; however, the episode demonstrates the potential vulnerability of the abbey in a volatile local political climate.⁶⁸¹ It should be noted that following the murder

⁶⁷⁷ *Brev.*, no. 37.

⁶⁷⁸ Hammond, 'Women and the adoption of charters', p.18. Thomas of Galloway, along with his contemporary William Comyn who married Countess Margerie of Buchan, were the first male outsiders to marry into Scottish earldoms (at least during the time period for which written charters exist).

⁶⁷⁹ J. Dowden, (ed.), *The Chartulary of Lindores Abbey* (Edinburgh, 1903), no.73.

⁶⁸⁰ Hammond, '*Hostiarii Regis Scotie*', p.129.

⁶⁸¹ The abbey did later lose control of Tulach for a period. A charter of 1434, whereby Coupar successfully pursued a complaint of dissasine of Tulach against the thane of Glentilt, reveals that the abbey had lost control of this land in the mid-fourteenth century while the earldom was in the possession of Robert Stewart, later Robert II (Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXXVII). This was a period which saw the lessening of royal and magnatial control over the lordships of the central Highlands and, as Steve Boardman identifies, the consequent "emergence of assertive, aggressive and politically semi-independent Gaelic kindreds". Boardman argues that an important element in the success of Robert was his ability to harness the power of these flourishing kindreds to his own cause. In Atholl, this included the granting of the thanage of Glentilt to an individual named Ewen, who Boardman suggests was the brother of the great west coast chieftain Ranald MacRuari of Garmoran, shortly after the

of Isabella's son, Patrick, in 1242, Coupar obtained confirmations of all of their Atholl possessions from his successor, David Hastings, husband of Countess Forbflaith (Patrick's maternal aunt).⁶⁸² There is no doubt that these charters were actively sought by a group of monks who were alarmed by continuing political developments and concerned for the protection of their property.

The political situation in Atholl remained unstable for several more decades of the thirteenth century. It would appear that the earldom was vacant from 1247 (the date of Earl David's death) until c.1260 when the Strathbogies came into possession of the title in unknown circumstances.⁶⁸³ This period coincided with the minority of King Alexander III, a time of general political instability, and the anxiety that the monks of Coupar no doubt felt over the security of their Atholl properties can only have been accentuated by the fact that Alan Durward emerged as one of the figures at the heart of the national unrest. It seems unlikely to have been coincidental that Alan apparently did a volte-face at this time in his attitude towards the abbey and became a benefactor. His donation of two davochs of land in Lintrathen made in the 1250s should be viewed within the context of his push for power; throughout this decade, Alan was involved in a struggle for dominance within the minority government, enjoying two periods of ascendancy in 1249-51 and 1255-57. As has been argued elsewhere, however, Alan was painfully aware of the limited nature of his power base, particularly in comparison to his rivals, the Comyns, and so sought to increase his territorial influence through the acquisition of an earldom.⁶⁸⁴ During the decade which saw the revival of his claim to Mar, it seems entirely possible that Alan may have seen an opportunity to resume his bid for Atholl during its period of vacancy, or, at least, the monks presumably recognised the possibility of this occurring. In an attempt to safeguard their interests in the earldom, the

Steward became earl (S. Boardman, 'Lordship in the North-East: The Badenoch Stewarts I, Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, Lord of Badenoch', *Northern Scotland* 16 (1996), pp.3, 9; A. Grant, 'Thanes and Thanages, from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth centuries', in A. Grant & K.J. Stringer (eds.) *Medieval Scotland: Crown, Lordship and Community: essays presented to G.W.S. Barrow* (Edinburgh, 1993), p.79). It seems, then, that the combined effect of the fragmentation of local power structures and the loss of the protection of the earl had left the monks of Coupar critically exposed and their landed possessions vulnerable.

⁶⁸² *Brev.*, nos. 31, 33; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. L.

⁶⁸³ A.A.M. Duncan, 'The Earldom of Atholl in the Thirteenth Century', *The Scottish Genealogist*, 7 (1960), pp.9-10.

⁶⁸⁴ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LV; *Brev.*, no. 66; A. Young, 'Noble Families and Political Factions in the Reign of Alexander III', in N.H. Reid, *Scotland in the Reign of Alexander III, 1249-1286* (Edinburgh, 1990); Idem, 'The Political Role of Walter Comyn, Earl of Menteith, During the Minority of Alexander III of Scotland', in K.J. Stringer (ed.), *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1985); Hammond, 'Hostiarii Regis Scotie', pp.131-5.

monks may have actively courted a relationship with Alan this time around if his succession to the earldom seemed possible, or even likely.

From Alan's perspective, the support of a locally powerful religious house which was an established landowner within the earldom itself can only have been welcomed. Indeed, the political role of ecclesiastical patronage in succession disputes in particular is well-documented, and was a strategy which had been implemented by Alan's father, Thomas, in the context of his own pursuit of an earldom.⁶⁸⁵ Alan was later buried at Coupar when he died in 1275.⁶⁸⁶ In patronising the abbey and arranging to have himself interred there, Alan was drawing a line of continuity with Earl Thomas and Countess Isabella, which may have seemed the smart political choice considering that denial of the legitimacy of their rule had failed him before. Moreover, if Hammond is correct in arguing that the validity of Alan's claim to Atholl derived from the identity of his mother, creating ties with the institution where his father was buried emphasised the source of his right, thus highlighting his place within the lineage of the earls of Atholl. At the very least, Alan will have benefitted from the prestige that this conferred upon his own, lesser status. Moreover, the possibility that Alan's mother may have been interred alongside her husband should also be considered. Undoubtedly, the presence of the bodies of his ancestors within the abbey would have attracted Alan's favour for pious reasons, but nonetheless, his actions demonstrate a conscious awareness of the political value of drawing attention to his maternal ancestry through the forging of ties with Coupar abbey.

Recruitment

Monks belonging to Scottish reformed monasteries, particularly in their early days, have commonly been counted amongst the ranks of the incoming Anglo-Norman elite, cast in the role of "cultural colonisers", representing an entirely foreign presence.⁶⁸⁷ For the Cistercians, there is likely some truth to this. New monasteries were founded by groups of monks from established houses and contact henceforth maintained via filiation networks; in Scotland, there is clear evidence that personnel continued to be routinely transferred between houses beyond their initial period of existence.⁶⁸⁸ For Coupar, it can be assumed that the implications

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid*, pp.126-7.

⁶⁸⁶ Watt, *Bower, Scotichronicon*, vol V, p.403.

⁶⁸⁷ See Veitch, 'Extent to Which Existing Native Religious Society', pp.140-1 for discussion of this.

⁶⁸⁸ For a discussion of this see Cistercian Networks: Personnel section.

of this were that, at the outset at least, the vast majority of the internal population was likely drawn from Melrose, its mother-house, whose personnel, in turn, may have largely come from Rievaulx in Yorkshire. What is more difficult to ascertain is for how long, if at all, did this situation persist. Stringer argues that, in Galloway at least, Cistercian houses were “slow to lose the trappings of colonialist institutions”, while Veitch argues that by 1229 Kinloss abbey was still a centre of “Anglo-Continental influence”, despite the fact that the evidence discussed in his article reveals a third of the convent to have been recruited locally.⁶⁸⁹ Putting aside the issue of ethnicity, the more pertinent questions for this present study relate to what the identities of Coupar’s monks can tell us about the abbey’s relationship with its immediate surroundings. That is, to what extent did recruits to Coupar continue to be drawn from the existing pool of Cistercian monks in Britain, and when and how did the abbey begin to attract converts from the neighbouring lay community?

It is impossible to answer this satisfactorily for the early years of Coupar’s existence since the extant evidence provides the names of no twelfth-century monks other than abbots drawn from existing Cistercian houses; this is to be expected considering the importance of experience in this role and the Cistercian desire to maintain uniformity, and should therefore not be taken as indicative of the composition of the entire convent.⁶⁹⁰ Veitch has argued that a surviving twelfth-century psalter of the abbey written in an “Irish-style hand” may indicate the presence of at least one Gaelic monk shortly after its foundation.⁶⁹¹ Elsewhere, however, it has been argued that Coupar’s possession of this, along with another twelfth-century manuscript which recorded the eighth-century succession of Whithorn bishops, is evidence of Coupar’s connections to Galloway’s Cistercian presence.⁶⁹² Despite the complete dearth of monks’ names, the identity of one twelfth-century *conversus* of the abbey has been preserved in Jocelin of Furness’ early thirteenth-century *Life of Waltheof*: that of Gillesperda, a laybrother of Coupar who sought a cure for his dropsy at the tomb of this late abbot of Melrose. As a near contemporary of Waltheof, Jocelin’s work was based on oral traditions and eyewitness testimony. Helen Birkett argues that the chronology evident from the composition of the *Life*

⁶⁸⁹ Stringer, ‘Reform Monasticism and Celtic Scotland’, pp.152-3; K. Veitch, ‘Kinloss Abbey, 1229’, *Innes Review*, 55 (2004), pp.10-33.

⁶⁹⁰ D.E.R. Watt & Norman F. Shead, *The Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland From Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries* (Edinburgh, 2001), p.43.

⁶⁹¹ H.M. Bannister, *Pagine Scelte di Due Codici Appartenuti Alla Badia di S. Maria di Coupar-Angus in Scozia*, [*Specimen Pages of Two Manuscripts of the Abbey of Coupar-Angus in Scotland*] (Rome, 1910); Veitch, ‘Extent to Which Existing Native Religious Society’, p.163.

⁶⁹² McRoberts, ‘A ‘Continuatio Bedae’ from Whithorn’.

indicates that Gillesperda's miracle occurred relatively soon after the death of Waltheof in 1159, during the early development of the cult.⁶⁹³ It would appear, therefore, that the *conversi* of Coupar included men of Gaelic origin. This tallies with the traditional view of the lay brethren as peasant converts, a supposition confirmed by James France's findings in his dedicated study of the Cistercian lay brotherhood that the vast majority were drawn from the rural poor.⁶⁹⁴ What is not clear is whether this tells us anything about the religiosity of the laity or their relationship with the abbey on a pious level.

To attempt to answer this, an effort must first be made to ascertain under what circumstances Gillesperda became a member of Coupar's *conversi*. Various explanations have been advanced as to what the impetus was behind peasant entrance into the lay brotherhood, from the image of the voluntary convert, either drawn by religious zeal or driven by economic pressure, to Berman's argument that, not at liberty to "desert holdings at will" in order to "arrive at the gates to be admitted", the main source of 'recruits' comprised the dependant peasantry absorbed into the ranks of the *conversi* when land which came into Cistercian possession.⁶⁹⁵ France, meanwhile, acknowledges all of the above factors in *conversi* recruitment.⁶⁹⁶ We are therefore left with the impression that the process was very much dependent on local and regional circumstances. In a Scottish context, Veitch has argued that the personal names of mid- to late-twelfth and early-thirteenth-century *conversi* of Melrose abbey, also recorded in Jocelin's Life of Waltheof, indicate that the 'catchment area' for these converts extended beyond the locality of the abbey into northern England "from whence its original convent of choir monks had come". Veitch links this recruitment to "religious awareness" and the recognition of the opportunity for salvation amongst an "otherwise excluded peasantry".⁶⁹⁷ It can perhaps be cautiously advanced, then, that, similarly, the *conversi* of Coupar were not necessarily coerced into this occupation. Indeed, the case of Gillesperda seems to support this. Gillesperda was evidently engaged with the cult at Melrose, apparently in the very early days

⁶⁹³ H. Birkett, *The Saints Lives of Jocelin of Furness: Hagiography, Patronage and Ecclesiastical Politics* (York, 2010), pp.115, 123-4; France, *Separate but Equal*, p.197. Gillesperda translates as 'servant of Sperda/Perda'. I am unable to offer a plausible suggestion for the identity of this individual.

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid*, pp.1-35.

⁶⁹⁵ For example see: Berman, *Medieval Agriculture*, pp.53-6; Lekai, *The Cistercians*, p.338; Ekelund, *Sacred Trust*, p.44; Veitch, 'Extent to Which Existing Native Religious Society', pp.171-2; J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994), p.65.

⁶⁹⁶ France, *Separate but Equal*, pp.1-35.

⁶⁹⁷ Veitch, 'Extent to Which Existing Native Religious Society', pp.169-72.

of its development and prior to the tomb becoming associated with healing miracles, surely demonstrating precisely the type of religious awareness referred to by Veitch.

The dearth of available evidence prevents this discussion from being taken further; however, later records do allow an examination of the nature of the abbey's recruitment in the following centuries. While Gillesperda is the one and only of Coupar's *conversi* known to us by name, from the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards the extant evidence which records the personal names of monks is far more extensive. There are, of course, limitations; the list is far from complete and, as one might expect, many more names are available for the later period than the earlier and so we must be cautious when projecting conclusion backwards in time. Moreover, the identities of monks who occupied higher positions were far more likely to be recorded and so this may skew this evidence if these ranks were dominated by a particular social group, perhaps obscuring monks of a 'lesser' background. Certain patterns, however, can be discerned in order to identify the particular social groups from which Coupar's monks were drawn and the nature of their relationship with the abbey.

Rural Neighbours and Tenants

The abbey's landholding brought it into contact with the neighbouring laity from an early date. Recruitment from this community had begun by at least the turn of the thirteenth century when the prior of Coupar is recorded as having been the brother of William of Meigle, land which lay in close proximity to the monks' grange at Balbrogie. The two came to border each other when Simon, son of Euard, made a grant of the land between the grange and Meigle at an unknown date. This grant, and that of Michael of Meigle made in 1203x1210 of the right in half of his marsh, must be considered in the context of the familial link between the landholding family of Meigle and a high-ranking abbey official.⁶⁹⁸ Indeed, proximity to a grange in particular can be shown to have been a factor in attracting recruits from local landholders. In 1320, a monk of Coupar is named as John 'Clonkerdim', perhaps Cloquhat which bordered the grange of Drimmie and was rendered 'Clenkatyn' in 1224 in a perambulation of the boundary between these lands.⁶⁹⁹ Another monk, Richard of Balgersho, was recorded in

⁶⁹⁸ *Brev.*, nos. 70, 71; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XVI.

⁶⁹⁹ King, 'Coupar Angus and Cîteaux', p.58, no.6; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXXIV.

1331.⁷⁰⁰ The land of Balgersho appears in the rental records in the hands of the abbey and most likely became integrated into the grange of Keithick; however, the date of acquisition is unknown and it is probable that at the time Richard entered the monastery Balgersho simply bordered important abbey lands. Of course, it is possible that Richard donated the land himself. On the other hand, if it had already come into abbey's possession then Richard may have been a member of the sitting peasantry who were incorporated into the workforce of the grange, which could have important implications for the interpretation of the social background of the monks of Coupar. Another inhabitant of land bordering Keithick grange also became a member of the abbey: John de Kettins was almost certainly a monk before becoming abbot in 1395.⁷⁰¹ Similarly, the proximity of the land of Moncur, near Inchturre, to Carsegrange may account for the presence of two more individuals at Coupar: David Moncur, who joined the abbey in the mid-1430s, and Andrew Moncur who appears as a monk in 1545.⁷⁰²

Coupar also attracted recruits who seem to have originated at a much greater distance from the abbey's core lands. An individual referred to as Robert of Mar joined the abbey c.1415 and was subprior by 1466.⁷⁰³ The territorial designation 'of Mar' is perhaps unexpected. In the context of Kinloss abbey, Veitch argues that a monk referred to as 'Serlo of Angus' may have had a connection to the comital family of this earldom, possibly a member of the household of Joanna, daughter of Earl Malcolm of Angus, brought north to Moray when she married Freskin de Moravia.⁷⁰⁴ A similar scenario may account for Robert's designation and his presence at Coupar. At the time Robert joined the abbey, Margaret Stewart, Countess of Angus in her own right, was the widowed second wife of Thomas, earl of Mar. Following her husband's death in 1374, various lands and rights in Mar were assigned as her terce.⁷⁰⁵ She then became sole heiress to her father in Angus in 1379 when her sister Elizabeth resigned her right, and various

⁷⁰⁰ Bliss, Johnson & Twemlow, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, vol II, p.502. This may also be the Richard recorded in 1327 (King, 'Coupar Angus and Cîteaux', p.59 no.8).

⁷⁰¹ Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses*, p.44.

⁷⁰² Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. CLI, CXC, CXCI, CXCII, CC, CCIV, CCXVII, CCXXII, CCXXIII, CCXXVIII, CCXXXV, CCLVII, CCLXXXVI.

⁷⁰³ *Ibid*, nos. CXLI, CLI.

⁷⁰⁴ Veitch, 'Kinloss Abbey', p.23.

⁷⁰⁵ W. Fraser (ed.), *The Douglas Book*, 4 vols (Edinburgh, 1885), vol III, pp.24-5 no.29. A widow's terce was the liferent of one third of her late husband's lands, held in her own right. Steve Boardman argues, however, that Margaret may have derived very little personal benefit from these rights after 1388 (S. Boardman, 'Lords and Women, Women as Lords: The Career of Margaret Stewart, Countess of Angus and Mar, c.1354-c.1418', in S. Boardman & J. Goodare (eds.), *Kings, Lords and Men in Scotland and Britain, 1300-1625: Essays in Honour of Jenny Wormald* (Edinburgh, 2014), pp.37-58).

charters refer to her as Margaret, countess of Mar and Angus until her death c.1418.⁷⁰⁶ Another possibility is that Robert may have been a tenant of Morlich, the abbey's only holding in Mar, or of neighbouring land, which was likely the case for Thomas Coull who was a monk by 1539 and was later appointed under-cellarer and the charge of "out-door matters".⁷⁰⁷ Another of Coupar's recruits also appears to have been drawn from the area surrounding Morlich. William Strachan was a monk of Coupar by 1459 when he was appointed coadjutor to Thomas Livingstone, commendator of the abbey.⁷⁰⁸ In 1357, Thomas, earl of Mar, had granted the land of Glenkindie to Adam Strachan.⁷⁰⁹ A decade later, Coupar finally succeeded in having the earl confirm John of Inchamrtine's grant of Morlich to them, and became the immediate neighbours of this branch of the Strachan family. In 1487, the abbey leased Morlich to Margaret Charteris and her two sons, John and Alexander Strachan.⁷¹⁰ A reference in 1504 to Margaret Charteris, lady of Glenkindie, in the records of the sheriff court of Aberdeenshire confirms that this lease had been made to their neighbours in Mar.⁷¹¹

Burgesses

While rural landholders clearly made up a percentage of the internal population of Coupar, the extant evidence suggests that the most common source of recruits to the abbey was the burghs. The prevalence of monks drawn from the burgh class is a phenomenon noted by Mark Dilworth.⁷¹² While Dilworth's work focuses on the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in the case of Coupar the observation appears to apply in the earlier period too. From the abbey's point of view, urban recruits were valuable in that they were a way of establishing firm links with burgh communities, and also in terms of their potential skillset and experience in relation to commercial and business matters. This may have encouraged the abbey to take a more active role in their recruitment than they perhaps did in other contexts; indeed, Veitch argues that "urban properties should be viewed not just as important trading bases but as

⁷⁰⁶ Fraser, *The Douglas Book*, vol III, pp.37-8 no.44, 44-6 no.51, 362-3 no.294, 398 no.332, 400-1 no.341; Robertson, *Illustrations of Aberdeen and Banff*, vol IV, pp.732-4; Balfour Paul, *Scots Peerage*, vol I, p.171

⁷⁰⁷ CA Charters CLXXIII; CLXXIV, CLXXVI; CA Rent II pp.110-11.

⁷⁰⁸ J. Kirk, R. Tanner & A.I. Dunlop (eds.), *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1447-1471* (Glasgow, 1997), no.741; Bliss, Johnson & Twemlow, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, vol XI, p.388.

⁷⁰⁹ J. Robertson (ed.), *Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff* (Edinburgh, 1843), p.618.

⁷¹⁰ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.239-40; Robertson, *Illustrations of Aberdeen and Banff*, vol IV, pp.427-8.

⁷¹¹ D. Littlejohn (ed.), *Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeenshire*, 3 vols (Aberdeen, 1904), vol I, p.10.

⁷¹² M. Dilworth, 'The Social Origins of Medieval Monks', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 20 (1980), pp.202-9; Idem, *Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1995), pp.51-2.

informal recruiting offices as well'.⁷¹³ A rare thirteenth-century example where the name of an individual monk of Coupar occurs is in a 1225 licence to ship wool to Flanders granted to Coupar by Henry III, where the vessel was stated to be in the charge of Robert of Perth and a monk named Gilbert Faber.⁷¹⁴ That Robert Faber, burgess of Perth, appears as a charter witness in 1219 strongly suggests a familial link between the two.⁷¹⁵ This instance, therefore, demonstrates the monks capitalising on this connection for the benefit of their commercial ventures in enlisting a burgess such as Robert to take a leading role in the abbey's overseas shipping activities. Moreover, it was likely Gilbert's burghal credentials which caused him to be selected for this task, since presumably his upbringing had given him experience of such matters.

By the early fourteenth century, Dundee had superseded Perth in terms of trade and Coupar's mercantile base had shifted, something which is evident in the identities of those who are recorded acting on the abbey's behalf.⁷¹⁶ In July 1320, three of Coupar's monks present at the 'warm' fair of Troyes, an international trade event, were named as John de Breneciro, John Clonkerdim and William de Pilmore.⁷¹⁷ Another member of this last family, John de Pilmore, monk of Coupar, received a safe conduct in 1321 from Edward II to travel into England to act as an envoy for Robert the Bruce.⁷¹⁸ The Pilmore family were burgesses of Dundee during this period.⁷¹⁹ Moreover, charter evidence reveals that John de Pilmore, the monk, was the uncle of John de Pilmore who was bishop of Moray from 1326-62.⁷²⁰ Robert Keith (d.1757) refers to a charter in the possession of the antiquarian Walter Macfarlane (d.1767) which records that Bishop John was the son of Adam de Pilmore, burgess of Dundee, making it likely that John, the monk, was a brother of Adam, the burgess.⁷²¹ Interestingly, Bishop John had close links

⁷¹³ Veitch, 'Kinloss Abbey', p.22.

⁷¹⁴ *Patent Rolls*, Henry III, vol I, p.519; Bain, *Calendar of Documents*, vol I, no.904.

⁷¹⁵ *Liber de Scon*, no. 82.

⁷¹⁶ Stevenson, 'Trade Between Scotland and the Low Countries', p.249; see Trade: Wool section.

⁷¹⁷ King, 'Coupar Angus and Cîteaux', p.58 no.6. For a discussion of Coupar's involvement at Troyes see Trade: Wool section.

⁷¹⁸ *Patent Rolls*, Edward II, vol III, p.552; T.D. Hardy, *Syllabus, in English, of Rymer's Foedera*, 3 vols (London, 1869), vol I, p.210.

⁷¹⁹ NRS, Papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie, Additional Papers, GD45/27/115; *Registrum de Panmure*, vol II, pp.151-2; *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol II, no. 3717; NRS, Henderson Collection, GD 76/148.

⁷²⁰ *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*, no.117; D.E.R. Watt & A.L. Murray, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi Ad Annum 1638* (Edinburgh, 2003), p.279.

⁷²¹ R. Keith, *An Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops Down to the Year 1688* (Edinburgh, 1824), p.140.

with an individual named John Rede who, in 1367, delivered a payment of sixty gold francs to the college of St Bernard in Paris on behalf of Coupar.⁷²² Another contemporary burghess family also provided recruits to the abbey. Walter de Dundee appears as a monk of Coupar in 1326 when he delivered letters to Adam, dean of Christianity of Angus and Mearns, from William, bishop of St Andrews, concerning exactions from the church of Meathie-Lour.⁷²³ In 1344, Nicholas de Dundee was present at Melrose abbey, along with two other monks of Coupar, John de 'Tartallis' and Robert Seton, in order to calculate a debt owed by the abbey to Cîteaux.⁷²⁴ Both of these Dundee families appear to have had links to the wool trade: in 1292, Ralph de Dundee and Roger de Pilmore appeared as cautioners for a debt of seventeen sacks of wool owed by William of Maule, lord of Panmure, to Geoffrey, lord of Vennal.⁷²⁵ Individual names appear extremely sporadically in the earlier period of the abbey's history; the five examples given above which reveal burghal origins are part of a group of only eleven named monks of Coupar who appear in the sources pre-1350.⁷²⁶ It is tempting to infer larger conclusions from this, though it must be borne in mind that the very fact that an urban background could provide useful skills and experience may in fact account for the prevalence of burghal monks in the records. Individual names were far more likely to be recorded for posterity where the monk was acting in some form of official capacity, and therefore monks from such a background may have predominated in such positions to a greater extent than they did amongst the general population of the abbey.⁷²⁷

There is far more extensive available evidence for monks' identities in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. While only a certain amount of these individuals are identifiable, and even then generally not with absolute certainty, the evidence does suggest that burghal inhabitants were recruited in sizeable numbers; moreover, as would be expected, it was from the key burghs of Perth and Dundee, where Coupar maintained by far the most active presence, that

⁷²² King, 'Coupar Angus and Cîteaux', p.62 no.13; D.E.R. Watt, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to AD 1410* (Oxford, 1977), p.467.

⁷²³ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CIX.

⁷²⁴ King, 'Coupar Angus and Cîteaux', p.60 no.10.

⁷²⁵ NRS, Papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie, Additional Papers, GD45/27/115; Registrum de Panmure, vol II, pp.151-2.

⁷²⁶ The eleven are: ? of Meigle, John Clonkerdim, Richard Balgersho, Gilbert Faber, John de Breneciro, William de Pilmore, John de Pilmore, Walter of Dundee, Nicholas of Dundee, John de Tartallis, Robert Seton.

⁷²⁷ Burgesses were often selected to perform these types of official roles in a royal context, acting as administrators and ambassadors or envoys, particularly in scenarios where the handling of money was involved. See E. Ewan, 'The Burgesses of Fourteenth-Century Scotland: A Social History (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1984), ppp.270-3.

the vast majority of these men were drawn from. As Kenneth Veitch identifies in the context of Kinloss abbey, urban recruits reflected the close economic relationship between the abbey and burgh.⁷²⁸ Walter Bunch first appears on record as a monk of Coupar in 1470.⁷²⁹ The Bunch family were burgesses of Perth in the mid-fifteenth century and Alexander Bunch served as burgh commissioner to parliament in the 1460s and 1470s.⁷³⁰ A contemporary of the same name was a monk at Balmerino; this abbey also held property within the burgh.⁷³¹ Walter Gent (Ghent?) is recorded as a monk of Coupar in 1500.⁷³² This appears to be an unusual surname, but a contemporary reference exists to the late John Gent, *tinctoris* (dyer) in Perth.⁷³³ Alexander Spens was cellarer of Coupar by 1501/2 and, briefly, abbot from 1524 until 1526 when his election was revoked.⁷³⁴ A family bearing this name were burgesses of Perth throughout the fifteenth century.⁷³⁵ Other examples include William Bell, who is first recorded as a monk of Coupar in 1418, and David Barry, who first appears in 1500; both of these surnames belonged to contemporary Dundee burgesses.⁷³⁶

Just as was the case with benefactors, Coupar's relationship with particular urban families could be sustained for several generations and involve numerous types of interaction. In this way, the abbey was an integrated, functioning participant in burghal networks, which was likely both a cause and an effect of the prevalence of urban recruits to the abbey. John Brown, a monk of Coupar, first appears on record in 1466, by which point he was cellarer, and is

⁷²⁸ Veitch, 'Kinloss Abbey', p.20.

⁷²⁹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XCIV; entry in G.F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland, their origin, meaning and history* (New York, 1962), p.115: "A surname peculiar to Perth and neighbourhood, and found in Perth as early as the first half of the fourteenth century".

⁷³⁰ J.P. Lawson, *The Book of Perth* (Edinburgh, 1847), pp.13-14, 62; *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol II, nos. 910, 1090, 1648; RPS, 1468/1/1, 1478/6/4, 1478/6/79, 1478/11/2 [accessed: 18 July 2016].

⁷³¹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXLIII.

⁷³² *Registrum Brechinensis*, vol I, p.220.

⁷³³ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol II, no. 2544. Individuals bearing the designation 'de Ghent' were burgesses of Perth in the fifteenth century (NRS, Records of King James VI Hospital, Perth, Charter House, GD79/2/17).

⁷³⁴ Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses*, p.46.

⁷³⁵ Lawson, *Book of Perth*, pp.46, 61; *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol II, no. 187; RPS, 1478/6/52 [accessed: 18 July 2016].

⁷³⁶ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXXIV; *Registrum Brechinensis*, vol I, p.220. W. Robertson records a charter belonging to the reign of Robert III which refers to Robert Bell, burghess of Dundee, who appears again in 1419 (Robertson, *Index of Charters*, p.137 no.6; W. Hay (ed.), *Charters, Writs, and Public Documents of the Royal Burgh of Dundee, the Hospital, and Johnston's Bequest: 1292-1880, with Inventory of the Town's Writs Annexed* (Dundee, 1880), app. p.xxxi). The Barry family were burgesses of Dundee in the later fifteenth century (*Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol II, nos. 1339, 1456, 2395, 2538; RPS, 1479/10/37, 1479/10/38 [accessed: 18 July 2016]).

recorded in 1486 as being around sixty years old.⁷³⁷ The Brown family were burgesses of Perth and tenants of Coupar in the burgh.⁷³⁸ In 1474, Gilbert Brown was commanded to pay Coupar 40s of annual rent owed in arrears for the last two years from his tenement in Perth. Gilbert was also instructed that, in future, he should keep and fulfil the arrangements and conditions made regarding the said tenement between his ancestors and Coupar.⁷³⁹ In 1492, Coupar purchased a booth in Perth from Andrew Currou, stated to be in the land of the late Gilbert Brown, suggesting that Andrew had inherited it.⁷⁴⁰ The family connection is further suggested by a charter of 1444 which refers to land in the possession of Gilbert which formerly belonged to John Currou.⁷⁴¹ The relationship between the abbey and the Brown family continued into the sixteenth century. In 1521, Robert Brown, monk of Coupar, is recorded, while, in 1549, Coupar leased its *hospitium* in Speygate to George Brown, perfumer and burghess of the burgh.⁷⁴²

Coupar's active involvement in urban society was also evident in Dundee. John Clerk, a monk of Coupar, was the son of Paton Clerk, a burghess of Dundee. Coupar came into possession of land in the burgh formerly belonging to Paton, stated to now pertain to the abbey by reason that John was Paton's nearest heir. In 1473 the abbey let this land to Andrew Davidson, burghess of Dundee, in return for a yearly payment of nine merks and 4s, quitclaiming him of any payment due to John, who, of course, as a member of the monastery was not permitted to hold private property.⁷⁴³ Andrew is described in this document as kinsman and friend of the then abbot, David Bane. The Bane family were also burgesses of Dundee in the fifteenth century.⁷⁴⁴ Prior to becoming abbot in 1461, David Bane appears as cellarer of the abbey in 1452/3 as witness to a notarial transumpt. This document was also witnessed by Robert Bane, burghess of Dundee.⁷⁴⁵

⁷³⁷ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XLIII, CXL, CXLI, CXLII, CXLVI, CLI; Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, p.304.

⁷³⁸ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol II nos. 275, 1435, 1648; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXLIII; Lawson, *Book of Perth*, pp.36, 46, 54, 60.

⁷³⁹ RPS, 1474/5/7 [accessed: 18 July 2016]; Thomson, *Acts of the Lords Auditors*, p.30.

⁷⁴⁰ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, p.254.

⁷⁴¹ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol II, no.275.

⁷⁴² Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, pp.64-5.

⁷⁴³ *Ibid*, vol I, p.175.

⁷⁴⁴ Hay, *Charters, Writs, and Public Documents*, p.21.

⁷⁴⁵ Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses*, p.45; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXXXVI.

In other instances, the abbey may have interacted with a family in both an urban and a rural context. Monks bearing the designation Blair appear consistently on record throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. William Blair was first documented as a monk of Coupar in 1414 when he was provided as the abbot of Kinloss. William later returned to Coupar, now as abbot of that house, in 1429.⁷⁴⁶ David Blair is recorded as cellarer of the abbey in 1468, another William Blair was lord cellarer in 1492, and the surname continues to appear among the monks of Coupar at regular intervals from then until 1558/9.⁷⁴⁷ Moreover, William Blair of Bagillo appears as bailie of Coupar in a record of an abbey court held in 1542.⁷⁴⁸ The Blairs were local landholders and the abbey held a portion of land within Blair, and it was no doubt through this avenue that the monks first interacted with the family.⁷⁴⁹ However, ties between the two were strengthened and sustained by the prominence of the Blair family in Dundee from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards. James Blair was provost of Dundee in 1463 and numerous members of the family appear as burgesses over the following hundred years.⁷⁵⁰ A similar example is that of the Rattray family. George Rattray appears as bailie of the abbey in a record of the abbey's court in 1484, while David Rattray was first recorded as a monk of Coupar in 1521.⁷⁵¹ The abbey would have come into contact with the family on two fronts. Firstly, the Rattrays were neighbouring landholders of Coupar's land of Drimmie. Secondly, members of the Rattray family held property in Perth. John Rattray was a burgess of Perth in 1467 and bailie of the burgh in 1500.⁷⁵² Furthermore, records show that Silvester Rattray, lord of Rattray, held property in the burgh by the 1490s.⁷⁵³

While the vast majority of urban monks came from Perth or Dundee, there were also several examples of men recruited from burghs apparently outside of Coupar's sphere of influence. William de Ledhouse, a monk of Coupar who became abbot in the early fifteenth century, and

⁷⁴⁶ McGurk, *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII*, p.305; Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses*, pp.45, 132.

⁷⁴⁷ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, p.142, 304, vol II, p.110; J. Stuart (ed.), 'Miscellaneous Charters and Contracts from Copies at Panmure House', *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, V (Aberdeen, 1852), no.32; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. CLXXIII, CLXXIV, CLXXV, CLXXVI, CLXXXIX, CXC, CXCI, CXCII, CCIV, CCXVII, CCXXII, CCXXIII.

⁷⁴⁸ Turnbull, *Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica*, app. VI, no.5.

⁷⁴⁹ RRS, III, no.222 <<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2088/>> [accessed: 18 July 2016]; Anderson, *The Oliphants*, no.4; *Brev.*, no.20.

⁷⁵⁰ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol II, nos. 757, 972, 1056, 2031, 3798, vol III, nos. 946, 2683; RPS, 1478/6/53 [accessed 18 July 2016].

⁷⁵¹ Turnbull, *Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica*, app. VI, no.2; Stuart, 'Miscellaneous Charters and Contracts from Copies at Panmure House', no.32.

⁷⁵² *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol II, 910, 2568.

⁷⁵³ Lawson, *Book of Perth*, pp.18, 19.

John Frog, who is on record as a monk during the first half of the sixteenth century, appear to have originated from burgh families of Aberdeen and Edinburgh respectively.⁷⁵⁴ In 1549, Thomas Hamilton, a monk of Coupar, inherited two pieces of property in Linlithgow as heir to his late brother, James Hamilton.⁷⁵⁵ The Hamiltons were a prominent family in Linlithgow by this point.⁷⁵⁶ Thomas received permission from the abbot and convent on 29 March to pursue actions for civil affairs relating to all goods movable and immovable that he had inherited, and was therefore present in Linlithgow when the instruments of sasine were issued on 20 May.⁷⁵⁷ The first possession, consisting of a tenement of land with garden and tailrig on the south side of the High Street, was resigned by Thomas, again with the abbot and convent's permission, in favour of Richard Jamieson, his nephew. However, the second piece of property, consisting of a tenement, garden and rig lying outside the East Port on the north side of the street was placed into Thomas' possession by Henry Forrest, provost of the burgh, by "placing the enfeoffee's right hand on the hasp of the door of the fore-house".⁷⁵⁸ That Thomas retained ownership of this second holding is shown by an instrument of sasine dating to 1552/3 which refers to a tenement of land lying outside the East Port, between the lands of Alexander Suerd on the west and the lands of Thomas Hamilton on the east.⁷⁵⁹

There are two possible interpretations of these events. The first is that Thomas' acquisition of personal property can be taken as an indication of the secularisation of monastic practice which had taken place by the sixteenth century. However, that Thomas appears to have required official sanction at every step suggests that the abbey had a strong hand in the process. In particular, the fact that Thomas needed permission to resign the first tenement suggests that the retention of the second was also done at the abbey's directive. The selection may be explained by the description of the first tenement as "lying wasted and ruined". A property in Linlithgow does not appear in the rental records of Coupar, though in July 1551

⁷⁵⁴ *Liber de Aberbrothoc*, vol II, no. 41; C.B.B. Watson (ed.), *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild Brethren, 1406-1700* (Edinburgh, 1929), p.194; G. Donaldson (ed.), *Protocol Book of James Young, 1485-1515* (Edinburgh, 1952), nos. 33, 34, 38, 39, 306, 497, 814 etc.

⁷⁵⁵ Discussed by Easson in *Coupar Angus Chrs*, vol II, p.199-200.

⁷⁵⁶ There are extensive references to Hamiltons and their property in J. Beveridge & J. Russell (eds.), *Protocol Book of James Foulis, 1546-1555 and Nicol Thounis, 1559-1564* (Edinburgh, 1927) and Idem, *Protocol Books of Dominus Thomas Johnsoun, 1528-1578* (Edinburgh, 1920).

⁷⁵⁷ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXCI; NRS, B48/18/8.

⁷⁵⁸ Protocol Book of James Foulis (SRS) No.14; CA Charters CXCI; NRS, Records of Linlithgow Burgh, Writs and Papers, B48/18/10.

⁷⁵⁹ Beveridge & Russell, *Protocol Book of James Foulis*, no. 208.

Thomas named Richard Jamieson as procurator in his inherited property.⁷⁶⁰ It is possible, therefore, that Thomas was permitted to retain this residence in Linlithgow, making it available as lodgings when required, as the abbey had no other holdings in the burgh.

That monks with urban roots continued to be valuable assets to the abbey in the later period of its history is further demonstrated by another sixteenth-century example. Silvester Ireland appears on record as a monk of Coupar from 1521.⁷⁶¹ The Ireland family were burgesses of Perth during the fifteenth century, and Walter Ireland was bailie, provost and sheriff of the burgh in the 1490s.⁷⁶² As a monk, Silvester was designated *notarium* on several charters.⁷⁶³ D.E. Easson notes that it is very unusual for a religious to be described as a notary, and it is very likely, therefore, that Silvester had gained a legal education and had acted in this profession prior to joining the abbey.⁷⁶⁴ The available evidence would indicate that only a very small number of notaries were active in the burgh at any one time, and therefore the likelihood is that the monks or their representatives had personally encountered Silvester or even employed his services; notaries fulfilled an important role in medieval burghs and, as a significant property owner in Perth, Coupar would have required their expertise. Silvester, therefore, brought valuable professional experience and skills he had acquired in a previous life to the abbey. Notaries from nearby burghs were regularly employed by local landowners; the monks of Coupar had one in their midst.⁷⁶⁵ In 1539, he appears alongside two other notaries of Dunkeld and St Andrews on a notarial instrument which recorded an agreement between the abbey and former abbot Alexander Spens. Having had his election revoked and been put to the horn, Spens had evidently retired to Dundrennan and was accused of removing jewels, vestments, ornaments and other property of Coupar. The agreement involved a pension to be paid to Spens, his pledge to aid in the recovery of this property, and, perhaps the most pressing issue in the minds of the monks, a promise to deliver Coupar's account books to the abbey.⁷⁶⁶ Silvester could therefore offer legal expertise and

⁷⁶⁰ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXCIV; NRS, Records of Linlithgow Burgh, Writs and Papers, B48/18/11.

⁷⁶¹ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, p.318; Stuart, 'Miscellaneous Charters and Contracts from Copies at Panmure House', no.32.

⁷⁶² *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol II, nos. 18, 400, 1648, 2178, 2182, 2217.

⁷⁶³ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. CLXXII, CLXXVI, CLXXX; Morgan, 'Economic Administration of Coupar Angus Abbey', vol II, p.266.

⁷⁶⁴ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, vol II, p.150.

⁷⁶⁵ H.W. Booton, 'Burgesses and Landed Men in North-East Scotland in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Social Interaction' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1987), pp.223-32.

⁷⁶⁶ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CLXXII.

representation for the abbey in this most serious of disputes. Another rare example of a monk acting in this type of capacity occurs in two sixteenth-century charters which record Ralph Hudson, a monk of Melrose, as a notary in the context of abbey business related to land disputes.⁷⁶⁷ In Ralph's case, however, it was stated that he acted *ob defectum alterius notarii publici* (due to the absence of another notary public); this was evidently not the case for Silvester who appeared alongside several other notaries, indicating that his role was deeper than expedient necessity.

Throughout the centuries, urban recruits played a key role in the functioning of the house. Their presence amongst the monastic population was both a symptom and a cause of Coupar's integration into urban society. It was an economic necessity that the abbey maintain an active burghal presence and these recruits created direct links to urban communities, affording intimate access to networks which could be exploited to the benefit of the abbey's commercial and business ventures. Moreover, as a product of their background, the monks themselves provided the abbey with a pool of valuable skills and experience to draw upon. These men were to be found representing the abbey in various types of official capacity, often far beyond the precinct.

⁷⁶⁷ J. Durkan, 'The Early Scottish Notary', in I.B. Cowan & D. Shaw (eds.), *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in Honour of Gordon Donaldson* (Edinburgh, 1983), p.34.

Chapter Three: The Abbey and the Religious World

Part One: The Scottish Church

The Secular Church Hierarchy

Cistercian abbeys enjoyed a large degree of autonomy from the secular church in the form of financial immunities and exemptions from episcopal authority. The Order's privileges prevented local bishops from conducting visitations of Cistercian houses or interfering in abbatial elections. But as Emilia Jamroziak has identified, while relations may have been more distant than in the case of houses of other orders, bishops were important allies to have. Positive relations with the Church could be a significant factor in the success of a house and in certain instances Coupar was willing to compromise in order to maintain these.⁷⁶⁸ Moreover, while the abbey claimed exemption from participation in many aspects of the secular church, Coupar was also more than happy to acquire rights in parish churches and thus access to the very teind revenues which it sought to avoid contributing to in the first decades of its existence.

Teind Exemption

In 1132, Pope Innocent II granted exemption from the payment of teinds to the entire Cistercian Order. In reality, houses commonly made agreements with parish churches for some form of compensation to be paid instead.⁷⁶⁹ That even the popes recognised that the exemption was largely nominal is evident by a papal bull of Celestine III in 1191x1198 which granted that Coupar was to be exempt from teinds on lands cultivated by their own hands or at their expense, both land and uncultivated land, and their gardens, woodlands, fisheries and foodstuffs of their animals, while simultaneously confirming the agreements already in place by this date with two parish churches.⁷⁷⁰ In certain instances, the local church appears to have been quick to secure compensation for the teinds of lands acquired by Coupar. The agreement

⁷⁶⁸ Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order in Medieval Europe*, p.27; Idem, *Survival and Success*, pp.140-66. For a discussion of the role of local bishops in the fate of one particular house see B.P. McGuire, *Conflict and Continuity at Om Abbey: a Cistercian experience in Medieval Denmark* (Copenhagen, 1976).

⁷⁶⁹ G. Constable, *Monastic Tithes: From Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (London, 1964), pp.241-2, 271-2; Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context*, pp.195-8; Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey*, (1987) pp.95, 98.

⁷⁷⁰ Somerville, *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 163.

between the abbey and the church of Errol in 1189x1198, whereby Coupar would pay two merks yearly for all the teinds of the land of Ederpolles, the core lands of Carsegrange, was made soon after the grant made by William Hay, lord of Errol.⁷⁷¹ Similarly, the agreement made with the church of Cargill over the teinds of Keithick (1182x1203), whereby the abbey would pay one merk yearly, was likely put in place shortly after the grant of King William to the abbey.⁷⁷² In other cases there would appear to have been more of a delay. King William's grant of two ploughgates in Rattray, made at some point after 1177, appears in the papal confirmation of the 1190s, unlike the corresponding agreement with the parish church, by which Coupar was required to pay 10s 5d for the teinds of the land, which must post-date the bull, occurring perhaps as late as 1203.⁷⁷³ In 1203x1209, it was agreed with the church of Blair that Coupar would pay one stone of wax annually towards the lighting of the church for all the teinds of the lands of Letcassy and Persie.⁷⁷⁴ The grant of Letcassy may have been made by Stephen of Blair as early as 1165.⁷⁷⁵ The grant of Persie by King William, however, is likely far closer in date to the teind agreement, perhaps indicating that Coupar's possession of Persie represented a more significant loss in teind revenue than that of Letcassy did and had prompted the church into action.⁷⁷⁶

Alternatively, it may have had more to do with the degree of parish development and organisation. As can be seen, these teind agreements were very much a late twelfth, early thirteenth-century phenomenon, coinciding with the period which saw, in the view of Ian Cowan and John Rogers, the establishment of the parishes of Scotland as a generally well-defined and clearly understood system.⁷⁷⁷ All pre-date 1215, however, when the Fourth Lateran Council decreed that the Cistercians would in future be required to pay teinds on all new acquisitions, with the exception of uncultivated land from which no teinds had previously been paid.⁷⁷⁸ After this date, therefore, Coupar paid teinds on lands granted just as any other lay landowner would have and no new agreements were entered into. Those which were

⁷⁷¹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. III; *Brev.*, no. 46.

⁷⁷² Shead, *Scottish Episcopal Acta*, no. 50; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. VII; RRS, II, no. 148; *Brev.*, no. 5.

⁷⁷³ RRS, II, no. 222; *Brev.*, no. 13; Somerville, *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 163; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. VI, XIII; Shead, *Scottish Episcopal Acta*, no.49.

⁷⁷⁴ Stevenson, *Illustrations of Scottish History*, no. 11.

⁷⁷⁵ *Brev.*, no. 35.

⁷⁷⁶ RRS, II, no. 397; *Brev.*, no. 6.

⁷⁷⁷ Cowan, *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, pp.1-11; Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit', pp.42-4.

⁷⁷⁸ Constable, *Monastic Tithes*, p.306.

already in place, however, were not static and could be subject to dispute and revision. This was something also experienced by houses elsewhere, which Jamroziak has linked to the Order's loss of papal support for its 'special position' by the early thirteenth century coupled with the growing resentment of secular church officials over loss of income.⁷⁷⁹ Some members of the Scottish Church clearly felt that Coupar's agreed payments were insufficient, and in the late 1230s Malcolm, a canon of Dunkeld, complained to the pope regarding the teinds of Coupar's land in Rattray. The original terms of the agreement with the parish church were upheld by the judges of the case, though in return the monks granted to Malcolm the prayers and benefit of the whole Cistercian order.⁷⁸⁰ Elsewhere, the considerable expansion, and likely improvement, of Carsegrange by 1248 saw Coupar's payment to the church of Errol increased from two merks to three and a half and two pounds of incense.⁷⁸¹ Coupar's arrangement with this church evidently stood long after the thirteenth century, since fifteenth- and sixteenth-century documents indicate that the teinds of Carsegrange belonged to the abbey, not Errol parish church.⁷⁸²

Further acquisition of lands in Cargill also saw the agreement with the parish church modified. In the later twelfth century, John, bishop of Dunkeld, granted the land of Cambusadon, with the teinds of the same, to the abbey.⁷⁸³ The terms of this grant initially stood, and Celestine III's bull of 1191x1198 confirmed the grant of the land while stating that the agreement with the church of Cargill concerned the teinds of Keithick only.⁷⁸⁴ In 1225x1230, however, this was revised by Hugh, bishop of Dunkeld, to include the proviso that, should the monks lease the land of Cambusadon and its fisheries, an additional pound of wax would be due yearly to Cargill. The bishop was also careful to safeguard the rights and dues of the parish church, stipulating that the inhabitants of the leased land would receive the sacraments and pay mortuaries and other offerings to the church.⁷⁸⁵ This same charter also confirmed the monks' possession of the land of Ardbreck in the parish, but included no similar conditions for the teinds of this land. Ardbreck was also granted by Bishop John in the later twelfth century, the charter stating that the land had been given free and quit of the payment of teinds and all

⁷⁷⁹ Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context*, pp.197-8; Idem, *Survival and Success*, pp.163-4.

⁷⁸⁰ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XLIII.

⁷⁸¹ Ibid, no. LIV.

⁷⁸² Turnbull, *Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica*, app. VI, no.2; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CCXLIX.

⁷⁸³ *Brev.*, no .94.

⁷⁸⁴ Somerville, *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 163; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XIII.

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid, no. XXVIII; *Brev.*, no. 97.

service and secular exaction pertaining to the bishop and his successors, in return for a yearly rent of five merks.⁷⁸⁶ Unlike Cambusadon, Coupar did avoid becoming liable for teind obligations to the church of Cargill for the land of Arbreck at a later date, though this may reflect the fact that an annual rent to Dunkeld was already due for Ardbreck, unlike Cambusdaon. Moreover, an agreement made in 1203x1209 stating that Coupar would pay a pound of incense yearly to the church of Dunkeld, in recognition of the approval of the canons regarding the donation of Ardbreck, perhaps suggests that its continued omission from teind obligations had come at a further cost to the abbey.⁷⁸⁷

Nevertheless, there was one portion of abbey land within the parish of Cargill which the abbey does appear to have held completely free of exactions. In 1173x1178, King William granted the land of Campsie, being the king's chase and all the *wastina* (wasteland) belonging to it.⁷⁸⁸ There is no indication that payment of any kind was made for this land either to the church of Cargill or directly to Dunkeld and the rental records indicate that the teinds of Campsie pertained to the abbey.⁷⁸⁹ Moreover, an extremely interesting sixteenth-century rental entry notes that Campsie was leased with the teinds "because ye teindis war neur disseuerit fra ye stok" (because the teinds were never separated from the 'stok'), a statement which indicates that the entire produce of the land had always pertained to the same party.⁷⁹⁰ It may be that the reference to Campsie as 'waste', or at least untenanted land, is relevant; while there is little doubt that the landscape was in some way managed for the purposes of hunting activities, these are the only lands discussed here which can potentially be considered in any way *novalia*, or uncultivated land, which may have ensured their exempted status. John Rogers argues that boundary disputes concerning the abbey's land of Campsie and the holdings of neighbouring landowners in the first half of the thirteenth century points to the recent development of waste with ill-defined boundaries. Indeed, one of these perambulations of Campsie involved defining the boundary between Cargill and Cambusmichael parishes.⁷⁹¹

⁷⁸⁶ Shead, *Scottish Episcopal Acta*, no. 43; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. IX.

⁷⁸⁷ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XV.

⁷⁸⁸ RRS, II, no. 154; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. II.

⁷⁸⁹ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.121, 220-1, vol II, pp.68-71, 204.

⁷⁹⁰ NRS, Rental 1587, CH6/2/4 (Appendix 2, 2). The stok was the net land produce remaining once the teind had been deducted. Thus, together the 'teind and stok' represented the gross produce of the land.

⁷⁹¹ Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit', pp.166-7; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XXIV, XXX, XXXI; *Liber de Scon*, no. 57.

Relations with Bishops

While there is little evidence of overt hostility towards Coupar with regards to the teind exemption, it is clear that twelfth- and early thirteenth-century bishops were firm in their defence of the income of parish churches within their remit and not prepared to allow the house to invoke its Cistercian privileges unchallenged. Coupar's agreements with the churches of Rattray and Cargill were made before John, bishop of Dunkeld (1182/3x1203), while that with the church of Errol was made in the presence of Roger, bishop-elect of St Andrews (1189x1198). Moreover, the agreement with the church of Blair was made in the presence of Master Ranulf, archdeacon of St Andrews (1199x1209), and Laurence, official of St Andrews (1203/4x1224), in the Synod at Perth.⁷⁹² That is not to say, however, that relations between the secular church and the abbey were characterised by enmity. It is difficult to discern personal relationships between individual officials and the abbey from the surviving documentation, but Coupar does seem to have benefitted from particularly favourable relations with John Scot, bishop of Dunkeld from 1182/3 until his death in 1203. John evidently had a particular affection for the Order generally, since both Walter Bower and Alexander Myln record that he died at Newbattle abbey and was buried in the choir there, having taken the Cistercian habit. Moreover, William de Binin, prior of Newbattle and later abbot of Coupar, appears to have written a, now lost, Life of the bishop.⁷⁹³

Bishop John made grants to Coupar of the lands of Cambusadon and Ardbreck in the parish of Cargill.⁷⁹⁴ The former was given with the teinds of the same while the latter was given free and quit of the payment of teinds, and neither lands feature in the agreement over teind payments made between the abbey and the parish church of Cargill, the creation of which, in any case, seems to have been dictated by Bishop John.⁷⁹⁵ That the arrangement was considered disproportionately favourable to the abbey while detrimental to the parish church, and the bishopric to which the church was appropriated to, by John's less sympathetic successors is seen in the revision of this agreement from 1225x1230 whereby Coupar's exemption from the payment of teinds in Cambusadon would be considered void should the abbey choose to lease

⁷⁹² Shead, *Scottish Episcopal Acta*, nos. 49, 50; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. III, VI, VII, XXIX; Stevenson, *Illustrations of Scottish History*, no. 11.

⁷⁹³ Watt & Murray, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, p.123; Watt, *Bower, Scotichronicon*, vol III, p.393; C. Innes (ed.), *Alexander Myln, Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum* (Edinburgh, 1831), p.8; Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses*, p.44.

⁷⁹⁴ *Brev.*, no. 94; Shead, *Scottish Episcopal Acta*, no. 43; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. IX.

⁷⁹⁵ Shead, *Scottish Episcopal Acta*, no.50; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. VII, XIII; Somerville, *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 163.

these lands, and in a separate agreement made in 1203x1209 whereby Coupar agreed to render yearly a pound of incense to the church of Dunkeld in recognition of the canons' approval and agreement regarding the donation.⁷⁹⁶ That the agreement made between the abbey and the parish church of Rattray, itself a prebend of Dunkeld, also presided over by Bishop John, likewise seems to have been considered unacceptable to his successors is seen in the complaint later made to the papacy by Malcolm, canon of Dunkeld, regarding the teinds of Coupar's lands in this parish.⁷⁹⁷

Coupar did find favour with at least one other official of Dunkeld, however. In the mid-1240s, Geoffrey, bishop of Dunkeld (1236x1249), took it upon himself to offer the abbey vigorous support in their dispute with Cîteaux over the ownership of Airlie church, writing an impassioned defence of Coupar's rights in a letter to the abbots of Rievaulx, Fountains and Beaulieu, judges in the case. This act appears more personal in nature since neither the abbey nor this church stood in his diocese, both pertaining to St Andrews.⁷⁹⁸ Indeed, that Coupar maintained closer relations with Dunkeld than St Andrews can perhaps be seen in the fact that the abbey acquired land in the villa of the former in the earliest years of its existence, receiving a grant from William of 'Ougilby', *serviens tesararium (sic) de Dunkelden* (servant of the treasurer of Dunkeld).⁷⁹⁹ This property was still in Coupar's possession in the mid-sixteenth century when it was leased with an obligation to provide hospitality.⁸⁰⁰ The abbey did own a house in St Andrews by this stage from which a rental income was being drawn, though there is no record of its acquisition or of any rights of hospitality retained.⁸⁰¹ The bishops of St Andrews were supportive of Coupar's landed aspirations, though. In 1212, the abbey increased the extent of the grange at Airlie through a grant of the apdaine made by Bishop William in return for an annual render of two bezants, ten stones of cheese and twelve Scottish sacks of barley.⁸⁰² Others were similarly sympathetic. In 1232, Andrew, bishop of Moray, orchestrated Coupar's acquisition of Tullochcurran in Strathardle, a piece of land which the abbey was evidently anxious to obtain. In order to facilitate this, the bishop was required

⁷⁹⁶ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XV, XXVIII, LVI; *Brev.*, no. 97.

⁷⁹⁷ I.B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1967), p.169; Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit', pp.37-8; Shead, *Scottish Episcopal Acta*, no. 49; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. VI, XXIX, XLIII.

⁷⁹⁸ *Ibid*, no. XLIX; Wilson, 'Original charters of the abbey of Cupar', pp.278-79.

⁷⁹⁹ *Brev.* nos. 39, 40, 41; RRS, II, no. 275.

⁸⁰⁰ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, pp.67-8.

⁸⁰¹ *Ibid*, vol II, p.207.

⁸⁰² Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXI.

to grant all his land in Dallas (Moray) to the existing proprietor in exchange for the land, so as to allow him to place it in Coupar's possession for a yearly rent of three merks sterling.⁸⁰³

In later centuries, however, it would appear that Cistercian exemptions had become problematic. In 1517, an envoy of Cîteaux came into conflict with Andrew Forman, archbishop of St Andrews, who claimed the right of visitation in Cistercian houses in his diocese, of which Coupar was one.⁸⁰⁴ Coupar's records are silent on this matter, but another issue was clearly a source of protracted antagonism between the abbey and the secular church. From the later fifteenth century, Coupar was forced to make a concerted effort to defend its immunity from episcopal subsidies. This was evidently under particular threat during the 1480s. On 1 February 1485/6, upon the request of the abbey, John, bishop of Brechin, issued a letter certifying that neither he nor his predecessors had been wont to exact a subsidy from the church of Glenisla or from Coupar's church land in his diocese.⁸⁰⁵ On 17 June 1486, a notarial instrument recorded the testimony of some of the eldest members of the monastery, bearing witness to the fact that an episcopal subsidy exacted by the bishops of Dunkeld for the church of Bendochy had originated with John Railston, bishop from 1447 until c.1452, and had no prior precedent.⁸⁰⁶ A day later, another notarial instrument collated charters issued between 1477 and 1479 by the bishops of Dunkeld, Brechin, Dunblane and St Andrews recognising Coupar's exemption from the payment of episcopal subsidies from the parish churches of Bendochy, Glenisla, Fossoway, Meathie-Lour and Airlie in their possession.⁸⁰⁷ Through to the mid-sixteenth century, Coupar continued to fend off challenges to this immunity. In 1555, the abbey successfully appealed against a charitable subsidy of £433 6s 8d Scots imposed upon its churches of Methie-Lour and Airlie by John Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews.⁸⁰⁸ Coupar was not the only Cistercian house who found their formal exemptions from episcopal authority under attack from this particular official. That same year, Archbishop John summoned the abbot of Newbattle to compare in Edinburgh to answer a charge made against him, to which

⁸⁰³ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXXVIII; *Registrum Moraviensis*, no. 79.

⁸⁰⁴ M. Dilworth, 'Franco-Scottish Efforts at Monastic Reform, 1500-1560', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 25 (1994), p.217.

⁸⁰⁵ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXLIX.

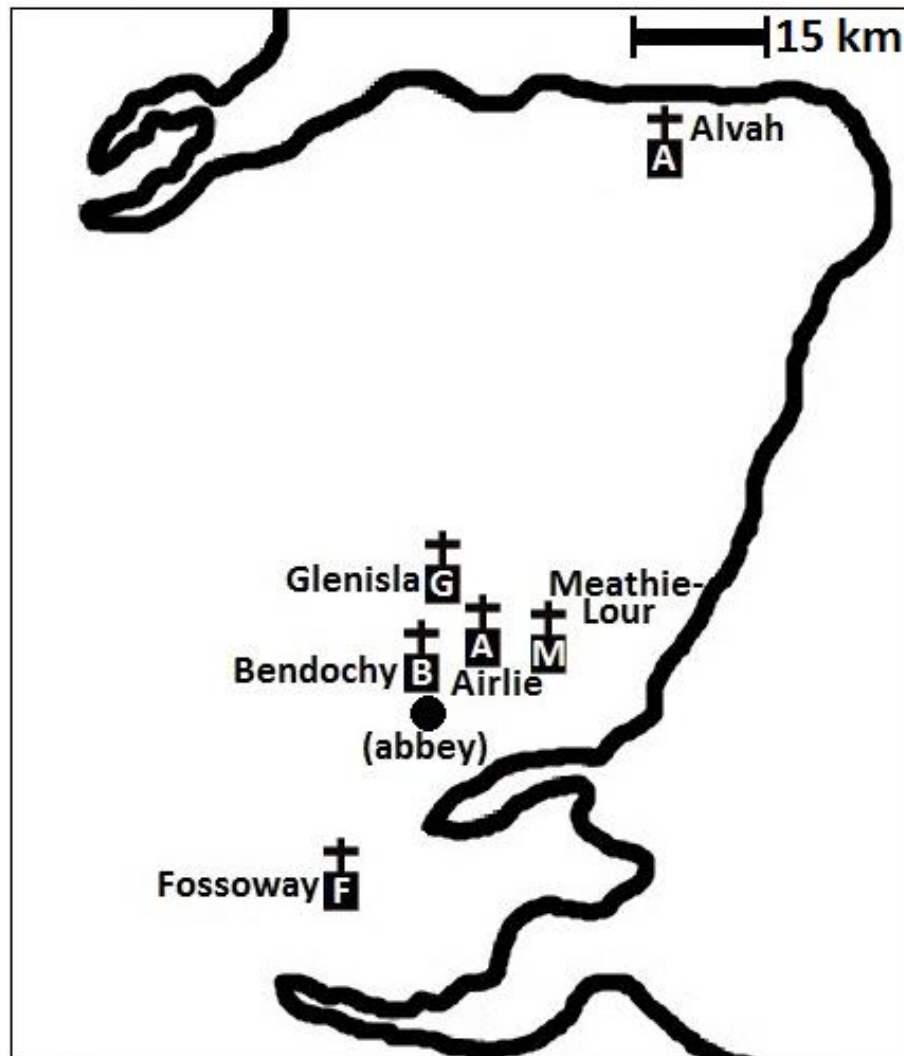
⁸⁰⁶ *Ibid*, no. CLI. He is mistakenly referred to in the charter as Thomas Railston.

⁸⁰⁷ *Ibid*, no. CL.

⁸⁰⁸ *Ibid*, no. CXCIV.

the abbot responded that the archbishop was not his superior and therefore lacked the authority to compel him to do so.⁸⁰⁹

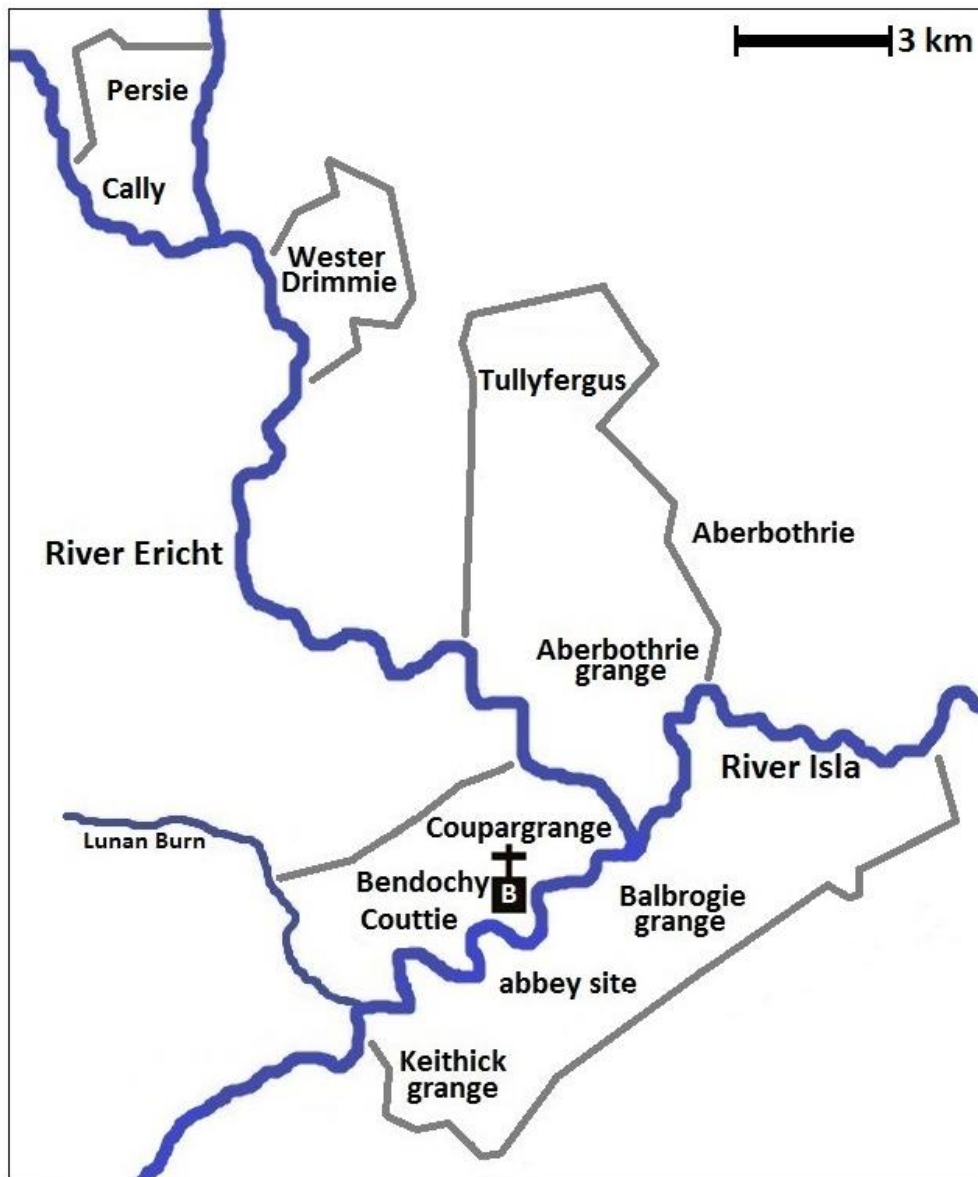
Possession of Parish Churches



Map 14: Parish churches held by the abbey

⁸⁰⁹ M. Dilworth, 'Walter Malin: Diplomatic Agent and Monastic Reformer', *Innes Review*, 51 (2000), p.160.

Bendochy



Map 15: Bendochy parish at the Reformation

One of the earliest churches to come into Coupar's possession was that of Bendochy. The circumstances surrounding this are complex. In c.1220, Coupar raised a dispute against Dunfermline abbey regarding the church of Bendochy *et rebus aliis* (and other things). The monks of Dunfermline failed to appear before the judges and Coupar was thus placed in temporary possession of the lands of Bendochy and Couttie. When Dunfermline persisted in its contumacy, Coupar was awarded 'true' possession of these lands, though the opportunity

to contest this was left open to Dunfermline.⁸¹⁰ Evidently they did just that and a final settlement was made, the terms of which restored these lands to Dunfermline. However, it was agreed that the church of Bendochy, with all its pertinents, would be held by Coupar in return for an annual render of two and a half silver merks to Dunfermline.⁸¹¹ The charter also established both abbeys' respective rights in the peatmoss at Monkmyre and Coupar's right of transit through the lands of Bendochy and Couttie. The church of Bendochy remained in Coupar's possession until the abbey's dissolution, at which date its parish stretched from Keithick in the south, to Balbrogie in the east and to Tullyfergus in the north, along with two detached portions comprising Wester Drimmie and the river confluence with contained Cally and Persie.

John Rogers argues that the dispute of the 1220s had stemmed from the raising of Bendochy church to parochial status by Dunfermline abbey, provoking the action of the monks of Coupar who "cannot have relished the fact that their central estate lay within the parochial jurisdiction of another abbey". The episode raises two important questions, however, to which this presentation of events does not provide satisfactory answers. Firstly, it is decidedly unclear on what basis Coupar could have asserted a claim to this church or these lands. In 1145x1153, Andrew, bishop of Caithness, had granted to Dunfermline the church of Holy Trinity of Dunkeld along with everything which rightfully belonged to it, including Bendochy and Couttie. While no mention is made of a church at Bendochy, and indeed the church does not appear at all in the documentary record until the thirteenth century, the place-name 'Bendochy', meaning (place of) blessing, indicates that this was an early ecclesiastical site. Moreover, as Rogers has demonstrated, the evidence indicates that a very large proportion of the parish churches of Perthshire were the successors to earlier, and still functioning, local churches on the sites, their elevation to parochial merely involving a change in their status rather than any innovation. The early church at Bendochy was therefore likely a dependent of the Celtic church of the Holy Trinity of Dunkeld (which never became parochial itself).⁸¹² At some point, these ties were severed and Bendochy became the head church of the later parish. This leads to our second question: if this had occurred prior to the time of the dispute in the 1220s and the parish of Bendochy, as we know it, was already in existence by this date, why would Dunfermline consider the rather paltry sum of two and a half silver merks to be

⁸¹⁰ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXXII.

⁸¹¹ *Registrum Dunfermelyn*, no. 217; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXXIII.

⁸¹² Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit', pp.73-84, 143-6

adequate compensation for the loss of an entire parish-worth of teinds? Moreover, why would, most unusually, no mention be made in this charter of Coupar's responsibilities regarding adequate provision to the parish church?

A Parish of Coupar?

In order to address these issues, the evidence for the earlier organisational structure of this area must be examined. As Rogers has demonstrated, the development of the parish system in Perthshire and the forms these units took was intimately related to the pre-existing pattern of secular territorial and administrative organisation, particularly in terms of multiple estate units. Found throughout Europe, these were the standard local units of lordship, consisting of a principal settlement, or caput, with a number of dependent settlements. Their arrangement within the landscape was determined by resource exploitation, and so their geographical forms were often somewhat irregular and could include areas detached from the core body of the estate. During the twelfth century, in the vast majority of cases, existing estate units and their churches were translated into a new role as parishes and parish churches.⁸¹³ This pattern of development was not exclusive to Perthshire. For example, Alasdair Ross has established that the parishes of Moray, Caithness, Sutherland, Ross and the northern Hebrides were superimposed onto the pre-existing davoch pattern, conforming to established boundaries and incorporating the detached portions of 'scattered' davochs.⁸¹⁴ Elsewhere, within the earldom of Gowrie, four royal 'manors' were referred to during the time of King David I: Scone, Longforgan, Strathardle and Coupar.⁸¹⁵ Rogers has shown that the first three estates provided the territorial basis for the form of the parishes of the same names.⁸¹⁶ The situation regarding the manor of Coupar is more complicated, but its composition can be identified through the initial endowment of Coupar abbey. King Malcolm's charter referred to his 'whole' land of Coupar and also made mention of the abbey's unnamed granges. A later charter reveals that these granges, gifted by Malcolm, were located at Balbrogie, Tullyfergus and Drimmie (ie. Wester Drimmie).⁸¹⁷ Rogers therefore convincingly argues that the manor of Coupar consisted of the caput at Coupar itself, later Coupargrange, with the church within,

⁸¹³ Ibid, pp.125-7, 410.

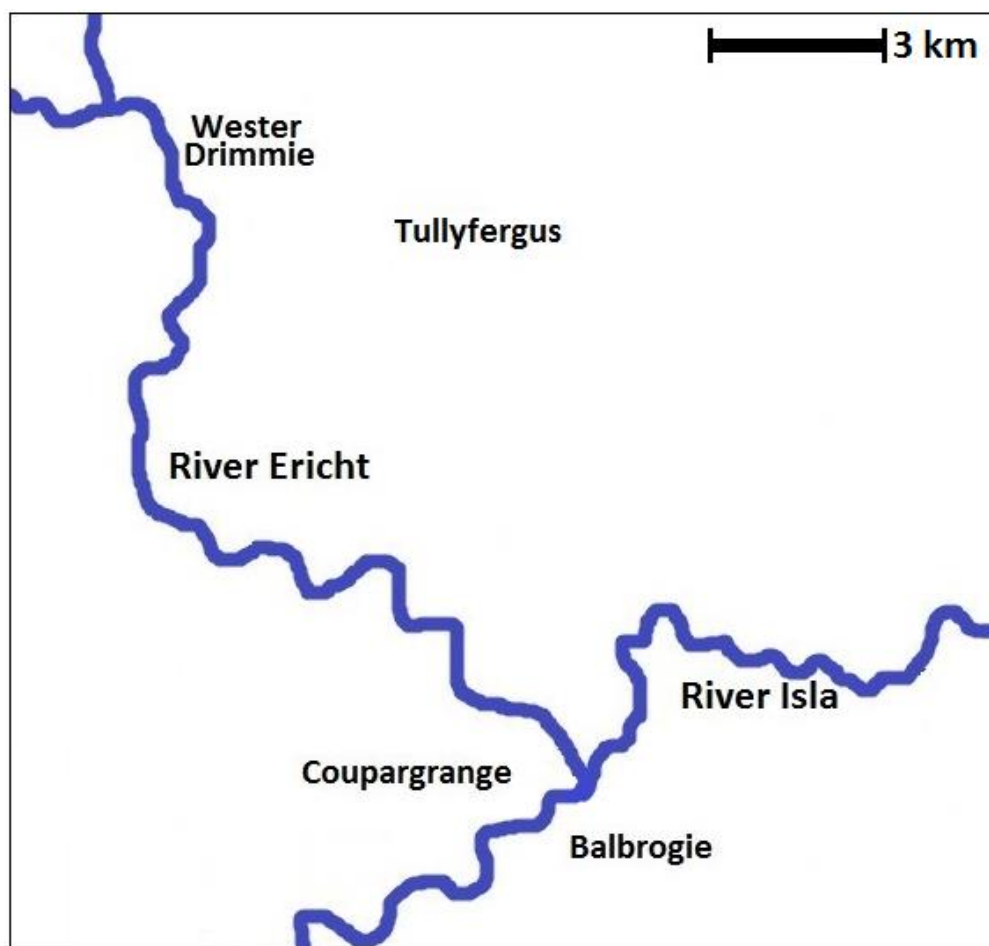
⁸¹⁴ A. Ross, *Land Assessment and Lordship*, pp.66-150; Ibid, 'The Province of Moray, c.1000-1230' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Aberdeen, 2003), vol I, pp.119-22. A davoch, or *dabhach*, was a unit of land assessment based upon access to natural resources.

⁸¹⁵ RRS, I, no. 57.

⁸¹⁶ Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit', pp.127-38, 146-51.

⁸¹⁷ RRS, I, no. 282; Somerville, *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 163; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XIII.

along with its dependent settlements at Balbrogie, Tullyfergus and Drimmie.⁸¹⁸ This would certainly explain why Malcolm's grant of the land of Coupar was accompanied by pasture rights in his forest of Drimmie for the monks' animals, some distance from the land of Coupar(grange) itself.



Map 16: Coupar manor as granted to the abbey

The expectation would be that, just as occurred almost universally throughout Perthshire, this estate would translate to a parish of the same name. Instead, these lands made up a substantial portion of the medieval parish of Bendochy. There are several reasons, however, for suggesting that the parochial arrangement that had come to be by the thirteenth century was not that which was in place in the twelfth. Firstly, as Rogers identifies, reference to the teinds of the royal manor of Coupar in the twelfth century would seem to indicate that the church of Coupar, referred to in King Malcolm's grant to the abbey, had been raised to

⁸¹⁸ Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit', pp.141-3.

parochial status, or something approximating it, at an early date.⁸¹⁹ Moreover, had these lands always lain within a parish of Bendochy, it would be wholly reasonable to expect to find evidence of an agreement over the teinds of these lands made between Coupar abbey and the parish church, especially considering the sheer proportion of the later parish of Bendochy which they encompassed. Both Cowan and Rogers argue that by c.1200 the establishment of the parish system was virtually completed and certainly, by the early thirteenth century such agreements were in place with the churches of the surrounding parishes of Rattray, Cargill and Blair for other twelfth-century grants of land to the abbey in this vicinity, and also slightly further afield at Errol.⁸²⁰ Bendochy church is conspicuous in its absence from this list, which cannot be explained by the involvement of the king or by the fact that these were grange lands, since the other agreements were in place for grants both royal and noble, both grange and not.

It seems logical, then, to argue for the existence of a twelfth-century parish, or at least proto-parish, of Coupar, headed by the church situated on the land at Coupar(grange), the originally-intended site of the abbey.⁸²¹ As Cowan remarks, the term *parochia* only gradually assumed its precise, current definition as “an area within the jurisdiction of a baptismal church”, just as the parochial system itself only gradually took shape, and in the time of King David I could still simply denote “areas of jurisdiction enjoyed by a mother church”. In several instances, parishes in the fullest sense of the word were brought into existence through grants of lands to religious houses.⁸²² As Rogers identifies, Kings David I, Malcolm IV and William I were all closely involved in the development of parishes on royal estates, which Gowrie was, and moreover all seem to have taken a particular interest in the see of Dunkeld.⁸²³ King Malcolm’s actions in his establishment of Coupar abbey and the nature of its endowment therefore echo those of David I, whose Cistercian foundation at Melrose superseded the existing church of Melrose from the outset, the abbey serving a parochial function from its inception and its landed endowment forming the parish itself.⁸²⁴ This was apparently also the case at both Newbattle and Dundrennan, while the Cistercians of Balmerino, Culross, Glenluce and Sweetheart all served in the churches of the respective parishes in which their houses were

⁸¹⁹ Ibid, pp.47-8.

⁸²⁰ Cowan, *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, p.9; Rogers, ‘The Formation of the Parish Unit’, pp.42-4.

⁸²¹ Discussed in The Foundation Site section.

⁸²² Cowan, *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, pp.1-2, 9.

⁸²³ Rogers, ‘The Formation of the Parish Unit’, pp.47-52.

⁸²⁴ Fawcett & Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, p.255; Cowan, *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, p.9.

located.⁸²⁵ The situation at Coupar, then, was far from unusual and perhaps could even be considered the norm.

Form of Coupar 'Parish'

While this early 'parish' of Coupar was then later incorporated into a parish headed by Bendochy church, the configuration of the former is clearly evident in the eventual form of the latter. That the abbey site itself lay within the boundaries of Bendochy parish can only have been due to the abbey's control of the church, and most likely it had previously been incorporated into 'Coupar parish'. As Rogers notes, that King William specifically granted a half-ploughgate of land for the relocation of the site of the abbey in 1173x1178 indicates that this land was not within the original manor, or 'parish', of Coupar. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that the later parish of Bendochy, which encompassed these lands, was in the diocese of Dunkeld while the abbey site was in St Andrews, and even more so by the fact that the boundary between the shires of Perthshire and of Angus (or Forfar) divided the site of the abbey from the rest of the parish.⁸²⁶

At Drimmie, the Easter and Middle portions were in the lordship of Glenballoch which lay within the parish of Rattray.⁸²⁷ King William's grant to the abbey of an extra two ploughgates of land, adjacent to the grange lands at Wester Drimmie granted by King Malcolm, thus elicited a teind agreement with the church of Rattray.⁸²⁸ This arrangement covered William's grant only and made no mention of Wester Drimmie, which evidently did not lie in Rattray parish. In the late nineteenth century, Wester Drimmie was joined to the parish of Blairgowrie.⁸²⁹ This did not reflect the parochial arrangement in place in 1203x1209, however, when an agreement made between Coupar and the church of Blair covered only the teinds of the lands of Lethcassy and Persie held by the abbey within the parish.⁸³⁰ As later evidence

⁸²⁵ Fawcett & Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, p.254; Cowan, *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, p.74; Veitch, 'Extent to Which Existing Native Religious Society', pp.233-4.

⁸²⁶ Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit', pp.142-3; NLS, 'Herman Moll's County Maps of Scotland, 1745', <<http://maps.nls.uk/mapmakers/moll.html>>, The Shire of Angus or Forfar, The South Part of Perth Shire Containing Perth, Strathern, Stormount and Cars of Gourie [accessed: 19 July 2016].

⁸²⁷ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXIX, LXXIII; *Brev.*, no. 91; Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit', p.189.

⁸²⁸ Shead, *Scottish Episcopal Acta*, no. 49; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. VI.

⁸²⁹ H. Shennan, *Boundaries of Counties and Parishes in Scotland as Settled by the Boundary Commissioners appointed under the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1889* (Edinburgh, 1892), pp.68-70.

⁸³⁰ Stevenson, *Illustrations of Scottish History*, no.11.

shows, Wester Drimmie formed a detached portion of Bendochy parish.⁸³¹ The New Statistical Account describes the portion as consisting of the 'estate of Drimmie', half a mile below the junction of the Ardle and the Blackwater, the parish of Rattray forming part of its boundaries. Thus, while the whole land of Drimmie later came to belong to the abbey, the rental records show that only the tenant of Wester Drimmie made payment to Bendochy church.⁸³²

In 1166x1171 King William granted to the abbey a portion of the lands of Aberbothrie, constituting the segment which joined Tullyfergus to Coupargrange and Balbrogie.⁸³³ Evidently, the grant required no corresponding agreement with a local parish church and the monks' grange of Aberbothrie later formed the boundary between Bendochy and Alyth parishes, the remainder of the lands of Aberbothrie being situated in the latter.⁸³⁴ While this scenario is not utterly unique, it is difficult to account for a division of the lands of Aberbothrie between parishes based on the boundaries of abbey lands, and even more so for a detached portion of Bendochy parish consisting solely of the abbey's grange lands of Wester Drimmie, if we do not suppose a close association between the pre-existing territorial organisation of the early endowment of the abbey and the later form of Bendochy parish.

If this interpretation is correct, then an explanation must be offered for the, potentially very problematic, fact that Scone abbey held from King David I the teinds of his prebenda, of his oats and of his cain of cheeses and hides from the manor of Coupar.⁸³⁵ Scone's rights in the parish had evidently not been superseded by the founding of Coupar abbey, since the grant was confirmed several times, long afterwards.⁸³⁶ There is, however, a credible explanation. In 1225, shortly after Coupar's acquisition of Bendochy church, an agreement was made whereby Scone granted to Coupar all the lesser teinds and offerings of the villeins and servants of Banchory, Cloquhat and Creuchies. In return, Coupar would render a stone of wax yearly in recognition of the rights of Scone, and Scone would be free to take the greater teinds from

⁸³¹ *Old Statistical Account*, vol XIX, p.336; *New Statistical Account*, vol X, p.1178.

⁸³² Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, pp.132-4.

⁸³³ RRS, vol II, no. 10; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. I; *Brev.*, no. 4.

⁸³⁴ Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit', pp.140, 157 (maps of Bendochy and Alyth parishes).

⁸³⁵ RRS, I, no.57.

⁸³⁶ *Liber de Scon*, nos. 18, 103, 129; RRS, V, no. 291.

these lands.⁸³⁷ This agreement indicates a recognition by both parties of overlapping rights in this area.

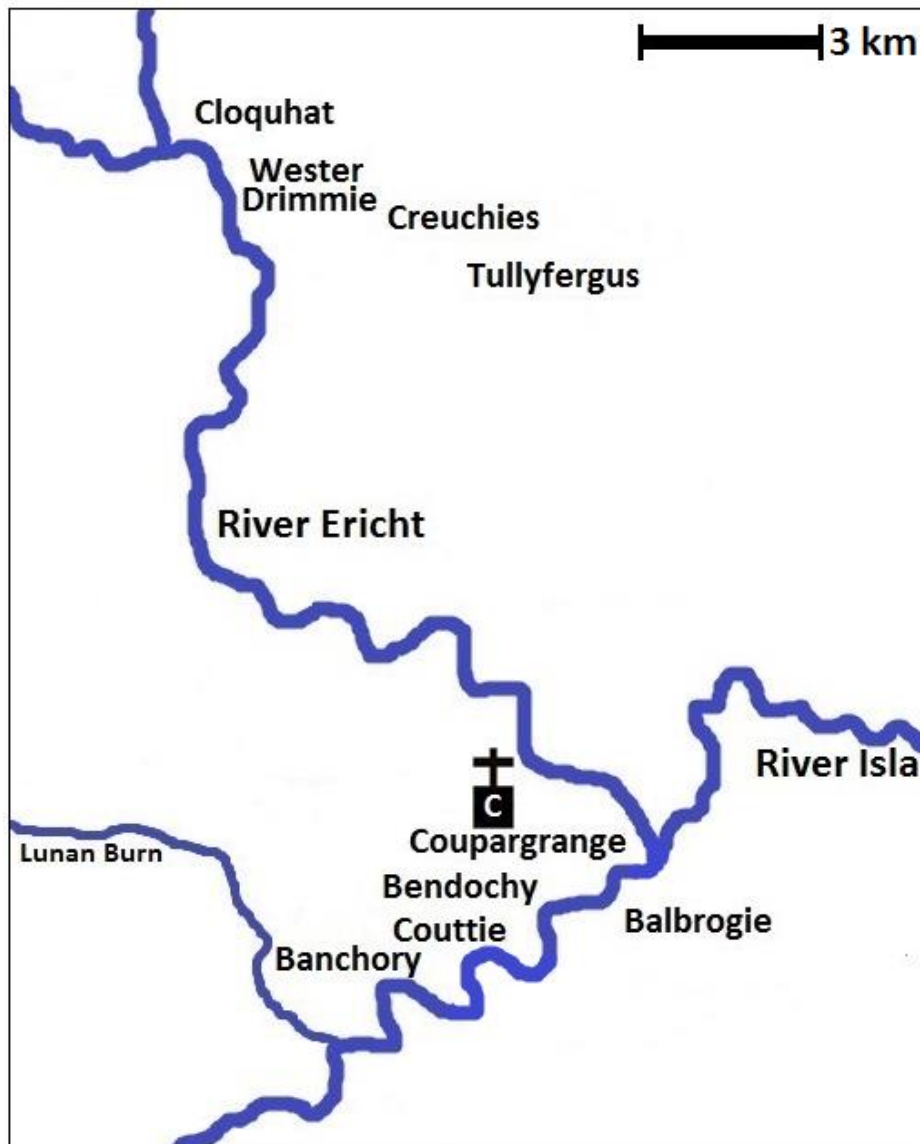
The land of Banchory bordered Couattie. While Couattie was in the possession of Dunfermline abbey, Rogers argues that the earlier form of this place name, 'Cupermacculin', meaning 'Coupar of the sons of Ultan', indicates that Couattie had originally been part of the larger estate of Coupar and had become detached by the twelfth century. He also suggests that the same was true of the land of Bendochy, which separated Couattie from Coupargrange. King Malcolm's grant of the 'whole land' of Coupar to the abbey should thus be viewed as "the residue of the original estate by the date of the grant".⁸³⁸ It is perhaps logical, then, to assume that Banchory had also been a part of Coupar estate, considering that the Lunan Burn forms a natural boundary around these lands where it meets the River Isla. In light of this, it is surely not a coincidence that both Creuchies and Cloquhat border lands which were definitely a part of the estate of Coupar and the later parish of Bendochy, Tullyfergus and Wester Drimmie, forming something of a parcel of land in themselves. Again, it is possible that both had also originally been part of Coupar estate, but had become detached upon their granting to the monks of Scone. The dates of the grants of Creuchies and Cloquhat are unknown, but Banchory at least had been in their possession since the time of King Alexander I (1107x1124).⁸³⁹ Perhaps, then, we can take King David's grant to mean the teinds of the lands *held* by Scone in the manor of Coupar during his reign. The 1225 agreement thus represents an acknowledgement on the part of Scone that, as portions of Coupar estate, these lands should rightfully have lain in the 'parish' of Coupar, now the parish of Bendochy. Correspondingly, Coupar acknowledged that the earlier royal grant had placed the teinds of those lands in the possession of Scone. Thus, a compromise was reached between the two houses due to conflicting teind rights within the estate proper of Coupar. Indeed, in the previous year (1224) a perambulation made by the king's justiciar, William Comyn, earl of Buchan, had set the boundaries between the lands of Cloquhat and Wester Drimmie, and thus between the parishes of Blair and Coupar/Bendochy, surely signifying that preparations were being made by the two abbeys to come to this agreement.⁸⁴⁰ Moreover, it indicates royal involvement in the process of establishing the boundaries of the parish, and thus the rights of Coupar abbey.

⁸³⁷ *Liber de Scon*, no. 83.

⁸³⁸ Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit', p.144; Watson, *The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, p.238.

⁸³⁹ *Liber de Scon*, no. 1.

⁸⁴⁰ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXXIV.



Map 17: Probable earlier form of Coupar manor

During the 1220s, therefore, the monks of Coupar were evidently engaged in a process of consolidating the teind rights of their parish, based on the earlier form of Coupar estate. That the lands of Bendochy and Couttie had been a part of this provided the basis for Coupar's claim to these lands, the teinds of which evidently pertained to Bendochy church. The eventual settlement, therefore, left Dunfermline in (rightful) possession of the lands themselves, but brought their teinds into the parish which was under the jurisdiction of the monks of Coupar. This explains why two and a half silver merks was considered adequate reimbursement for Dunfermline, since the payment represented compensation for the teinds of the lands of Bendochy and Couttie alone, not for the entirety of the territory which would later be known as Bendochy parish. For Coupar abbey, then, the outcome of the dispute

should not be viewed as the acquisition of the parish church of the lands of their core estate, as proposed by Rogers, but as the assimilation of these lands and their teinds into Coupar parish. This also explains why the official dispute resolution focused almost solely on the respective rights of the abbeys in terms of land boundaries and access to common resources, while the transfer of possession of the church receives only brief, almost passing, mention. Indeed, as Rogers notes, the reference to rights in the peatmoss suggests an early common moor of the estate of Coupar and further implies that Bendochy and Couttie had lain within it.⁸⁴¹

Evidently, however, it was decided shortly afterwards, c.1225, that Bendochy would assume the role of head church of this parish. This was not a unique development. In fact, in this same decade, there were two other Scottish examples of parish centres shifting to new sites, both involving a name-change of the parish, one in Moray and one in the north of Fife, where Taylor suggests that perhaps practical considerations had come to outweigh religious ones.⁸⁴² The explanation for the move to Bendochy lies in the fact that this was a preferable option for several reasons. In terms of practicality, the relocation of the abbey site meant that the original church of Coupar was now situated within a grange. There are many other contemporary instances where parish churches disappeared when the surrounding lands were superseded by Cistercian granges.⁸⁴³ The abbey itself, meanwhile, lay across the River Isla, restricting accessibility.⁸⁴⁴ Moreover, there may have been a desire amongst the monks of Coupar to protect the closed nature of their house and restrict lay access. Thus, while Cowan states that the abbey superseded the church of Coupar and “thereafter its parochial existence was co-existent with it”, the abbey itself in fact held no parochial status and the church of Coupar(grange) became defunct and disappears from the record, replaced by the nearby church at Bendochy.⁸⁴⁵

⁸⁴¹ Rogers, ‘The Formation of the Parish Unit’, p.145.

⁸⁴² S. Taylor, ‘The Medieval Parish in Scotland’, *Journal of Scottish Name Studies*, 8 (2014), pp.103-4.

⁸⁴³ Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, p.237.

⁸⁴⁴ In 1618, this reason would be cited in the establishment of a separate parish of Coupar (Rogers, ‘The Formation of the Parish Unit’, p.139).

⁸⁴⁵ Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, p.36; Rogers, ‘The Formation of the Parish Unit’, p.139. As noted above, the modern parish of Coupar Angus is a post-Reformation division of Bendochy parish based on the inconvenience caused by the river and thus completely unrelated to the discussion here.

Extra Lands Incorporated into the Parish

The abbey's development of its parochial jurisdiction continued and the parish also came to include the monks' land at Keithick, granted in 1172x1178 by King William I, to be held by the marches which it had in King David's time.⁸⁴⁶ This referred to a division of the lands of Keithick which had existed during the reign of this king. The land of Little Keithick belonged to Dunfermline abbey, while Keithick and the Mains of Keithick constituted the land granted to Coupar by King William.⁸⁴⁷ During the twelfth century, the entirety of the lands of Keithick fell within the bounds of the parish of Cargill, and an agreement was thus made whereby Coupar would pay one merk annually to the church for all the teinds of their portion. This arrangement was confirmed by John, bishop of Dunkeld, in 1182x1203.⁸⁴⁸ By the time of the Reformation, however, Coupar's land of Keithick was in Bendochy parish.⁸⁴⁹ Furthermore, surprisingly, the sixteenth-century Books of Assumption record that the lands of Keithick and 'Ardbraik' were feued to the abbot of Coupar by the bishopric of Dunkeld for £4 Scots. Bishop John had granted Ardbreck, in the parish of Cargill, to Coupar in 1182x1203, specifically free of teind obligations, for a yearly rent of five merks, and the combined total of six merks due for these lands was the equivalent of £4.⁸⁵⁰

Since Keithick was a royal grant, however, it seems very odd that Dunkeld would have considered it 'feued' by themselves. Moreover, the sum of one merk paid to the church of Cargill for the teinds of the land had apparently become payment to the diocese for the abbey's 'feu' of this land. Indeed, the thirteenth-century episcopal confirmations of the payment agreement reveal that this seems to have been by the case by 1225, when a charter issued by Hugh, bishop of Dunkeld, ostensibly confirmed the arrangement already in place but this time with some very important differences in the wording. Unlike the earlier charter of Bishop John, mention of the land as within the parish itself was omitted and the stipulation made that the payment for the teinds of Keithick should be made to 'our *camere*', apparently referring to the episcopal treasury.⁸⁵¹ This was similarly confirmed in 1245x1273, again

⁸⁴⁶ RRS, II, no. 148; *Brev.*, no. 5.

⁸⁴⁷ Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit', p.163.

⁸⁴⁸ Shead, *Scottish Episcopal Charters*, no. 50; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. VII.

⁸⁴⁹ Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit', pp.163-5. Numerous leases of later subdivisions of land which had been part of Keithick grange mention payments due to the church of Bendochy. See Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, pp.74-5, 75-7, 95, 103-4, 113, 123, 134-5, 174-5, 167-9.

⁸⁵⁰ Shead, *Scottish Episcopal Charters*, no. 43; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. IX.

⁸⁵¹ *Ibid*, no. XXVIII, vol I p.64.

stipulating that payment was to be made to the chancery of the bishops of Dunkeld.⁸⁵² That these charters would state that payment was to be made directly to the bishopric, rather than the parish church, is not wholly incongruous since the church itself was appropriated to the episcopal mensa; however, it is striking that the same documents also contained the stipulation that Coupar would be liable to render an annual stone of wax to the church of Cargill for the teinds of the land of Cambusadon, further land in the parish acquired by Coupar, rather than also to the bishopric.⁸⁵³ Moreover, it is significant that the issuers of these charters should have felt the need to explicitly state that the inhabitants of Cambusadon would be required to receive the sacraments and pay mortuaries and other offerings to the church of Cargill, conditions which would have applied to all parish lands.⁸⁵⁴ This can be explained if, by 1225, Coupar's land of Keithick was in fact not considered to be within Cargill parish anymore, unlike the land of Cambusadon.⁸⁵⁵ This would also fit in with what we know of Coupar's drive in the first half of this decade to extend the boundaries of its parochial jurisdiction.

One final portion of abbey lands became incorporated into the parish at the impetus of Coupar. The lands of Persie, with a portion of Cally, had been granted to the abbey by King William I in 1195x1206.⁸⁵⁶ These lands were in the parish of Blair, and shortly afterwards Coupar came to an agreement with the parish church regarding payment for the teinds.⁸⁵⁷ At a later date, however, Persie was transferred to Bendochy parish through an agreement made between Coupar and Scone, presumably after Scone had acquired the church of Blair in 1356, Coupar's lands of Persie and Cally thus forming a detached portion of Bendochy parish.⁸⁵⁸ This transaction is known only through mention in a charter of Henry, bishop of St Andrews, dating to 1429, which (unsuccessfully) attempted to annul the decision, and so full details of the agreement are unknown. It seems very likely, though, that it was part of a wider agreement

⁸⁵² *Ibid*, no. LVI.

⁸⁵³ Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, p.27; Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit', pp.38-9.

⁸⁵⁴ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXVIII; *Brev.*, no. 97.

⁸⁵⁵ The last entry in the *Breviarium* (no. 98), which records that Bishop Richard (1251x1272) confirmed to Coupar the teinds of Keithick, would seem to confirm this theory. The entry also appears to state, however, that the teinds pertain to the church of Cargill, though it seems likely that in the original document this statement was in the past tense. The entry appears at the end of a series of very brief summaries of charters relating to lands and rights in Cargill (nos. 94-98), none of whose meaning is entirely clear.

⁸⁵⁶ RRS, II, no.397; *Brev.*, no. 6.

⁸⁵⁷ Stevenson, *Illustrations of Scottish History*, no. 11.

⁸⁵⁸ This type of 'teind exchange' arrangement can be found elsewhere. In 1312, the *davoch* of Erchless was in the diocese of Moray but the earldom of Ross, while Crochail was in diocese of Ross and the earldom of Moray (Ross, 'The Province of Moray', pp.14-15).

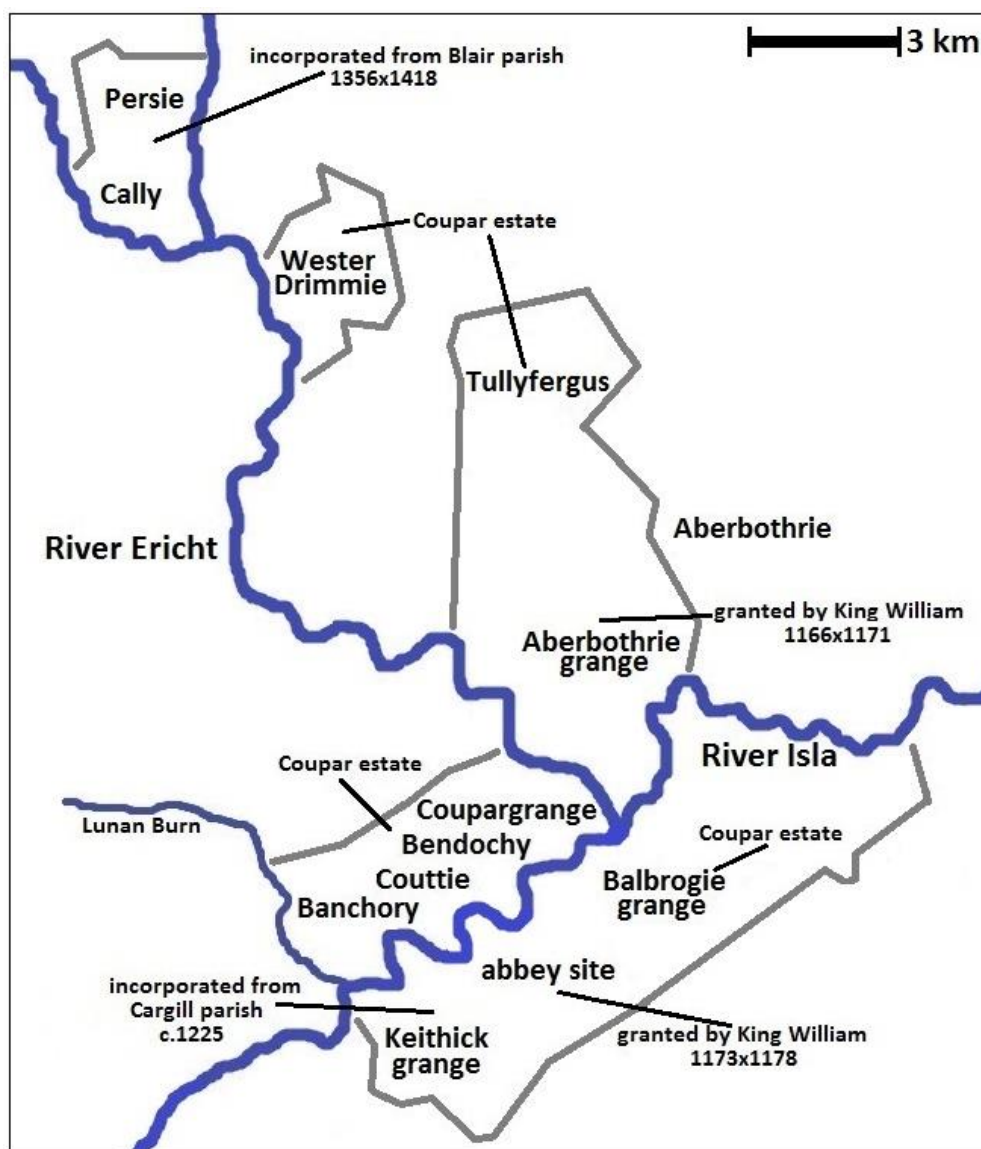
made between Scone and Coupar abbey, whereby Persie was transferred to Bendochy parish, and, in return, the lands of Banchory, Creuchies and Cloquhat, as discussed above, were transferred to Blairgowrie parish. At some point after 1225, Banchory and Cloquhat had become incorporated into the main body of this parish, while Creuchies formed a detached portion. Rogers suggests that these lands may have been part of a long-term dispute between Bendochy and Blairgowrie parishes dating back to their establishment; however, it seems more likely that a mutually beneficial rationalisation agreement between the abbeys of Scone and Coupar had simply been made following Scone's acquisition of the church of Blair in 1356, whereby the lands pertaining to each house were now incorporated into the parishes under their respective control.⁸⁵⁹

That this was indeed the case is corroborated by a charter of 1418 which links the issues of the teinds of both sets of lands. The charter concerned a dispute raised by the monks of Coupar as to whether the spirituals of the land of Persie should belong to themselves or to Scone. The decision issued by the arbiters was that Scone should pay to Coupar the annual pension due from them for the past terms, and should continue to pay this in future.⁸⁶⁰ The endorsement of the charter reveals that this referred to an annual pension due from Scone to Coupar for the small teinds of the lands of Banchory, Creuchies and Cloquhat, as agreed in 1225. D.E. Easson thus suggests that the teind payment for these lands had at some point been commuted to an annual payment from Persie.⁸⁶¹ A better explanation, however, may be that as part of the transfer of lands between parishes, a pension from Scone had been agreed in order to make up for a disparity in respective values.

⁸⁵⁹ *Liber de Scon*, no. 209; Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit', pp.157-61; *Old Statistical Account*, vol XIX, p.336; *New Statistical Account*, vol X, pp.1178. Persie and Cally continued to form a detached portion of Bendochy parish until the later nineteenth century when it was incorporated into the parish of Kirkmichael (Shennan, *Boundaries of Counties and Parishes*, pp.68-70).

⁸⁶⁰ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXXIV.

⁸⁶¹ *Ibid*, vol II pp.14-15.



Map 18: Probable construction of Bendochy parish

Airlie

Special circumstances also surround another parish church which came into the abbey's possession at an early date. While a comparatively large amount has been written regarding Coupar's acquisition of the church of Airlie, the given chronology is rather confused. It is necessary, therefore, to give an account of the events. Ian Cowan records that in 1220 the abbey leased the church from Robert Hay, who appears to have been lay-rector of Airlie, for his lifetime at a yearly rent of forty silver merks. Following this, according to Cowan, the church was granted to Coupar by King Alexander II c.1226.⁸⁶² This sequence of events is also

⁸⁶² Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, pp.4-5.

relayed by D.E. Easson, who argues that in 1219/20 the king had made a donation to the abbey of Cîteaux of an annual subsidy for the General Chapter, to be delivered by Coupar. King Alexander then made the grant of the church of Airlie to Coupar c.1226 as the source from which this figure was to be drawn. In Easson's view, it was no accident that this should have been the case; indeed, he argues that the king was "conniving at the monks' stratagem", whether knowingly or not. In order to circumvent the Cistercian ban on the appropriation of churches, the abbey was willing to act nominally as the king's agent so as to achieve its true objective: the acquisition of the church of a parish where it was "bent on founding a grange". The payment of the subsidy was thus an "incubus" for the monks, and something which they sought to evade when possible.⁸⁶³

The evidence, however, suggests far more strongly that the royal grant pre-dated the lease agreed with Robert Hay. In a charter dated only as 3 October, King Alexander gave the church of Airlie to Coupar, stipulating the annual £20 payment to Cîteaux towards the expenses of the fourth day of General Chapter, reserving to Robert Hay tenure of the church for life.⁸⁶⁴ In January 1220, corresponding letters were issued by the abbots of Coupar and Cîteaux, acknowledging Alexander's monetary gift, for which Coupar were stated to have been given full compensation by the king, and making arrangements for payment of the subsidy, though not specifically mentioning the church itself.⁸⁶⁵ In May 1221, Pope Honorius III confirmed the gift of Airlie church made by the king and the bishop of St Andrews.⁸⁶⁶ The bishop's charter, which must date to some point between Alexander's grant and this papal confirmation, also reserved the tenure of Robert Hay for his lifetime.⁸⁶⁷ The rights of Robert also appear in the confirmation issued by Simon, prior of St Andrews, before 1225.⁸⁶⁸ It is clear, then, that the grant of Airlie church to Coupar cannot date to c.1226. At the very latest, it must have occurred prior to May 1221, and there seems no reason at all not to date Alexander's charter to October 1219, a few months before payment arrangements were agreed between Coupar and Cîteaux, and the lease was agreed with Robert Hay.

⁸⁶³ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, vol I pp.xxxix-xliii.

⁸⁶⁴ RRS, III, no. 48 <<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1860/>> [accessed: 19 July 2016]; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXVII.

⁸⁶⁵ Wilson, 'Charter of the abbot and convent of Cupar', p.173; *Ibid*, 'Original charters of the abbey of Cupar', p.273; King, 'Coupar Angus and Cîteaux', pp.57-8, no.4.

⁸⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p.57 no.3.

⁸⁶⁷ *Ibid*, pp.56-7, no.2.

⁸⁶⁸ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXXVI.

Various impetuses were at play in the making of this grant. It has been suggested that the Scottish king was prompted by the events of 1216x1218 and the role played by the Cistercians in fighting the interdict imposed on the kingdom by the papal legate, Guala Bicchieri, and his deputies.⁸⁶⁹ The abbot of Cîteaux himself had gone to Rome in order to make a papal appeal, something which the Chronicle of Melrose places a great deal of emphasis on in terms of the eventual absolution.⁸⁷⁰ It does indeed seem likely that King Alexander would have wished to recognise his indebtedness to the Order; moreover, it is very possible that the king's expression of gratitude to Cîteaux was not entirely unprompted. Flanagan states that, from the early thirteenth century, Cîteaux was actively involved in a policy of securing financial support towards the cost of the General Chapter by approaching the monarchs of territory in which Cistercian monasteries were situated.⁸⁷¹ By this time, nearly 500 abbots potentially attended the General Chapter and, unsurprisingly, the expense of hosting had gone far beyond the means of Cîteaux.⁸⁷² That King Alexander's grant had been formally 'encouraged' is supported by the fact that grants by Irish kings began to be made shortly afterwards (1224-1254), also in financial support of the fourth day of the General Chapter. As Flanagan notes, the uniformity in the diplomatic of these Irish charters strongly suggests that "the initiative lay with Cîteaux for drafting a pro forma text".⁸⁷³ It is not much of a stretch, therefore, to imagine that King Alexander had also been approached by the mother-house. Incentive for Alexander to make such a grant in support of the Cistercian General Chapter also lay in the political statement it would serve to make. By 1219, Cîteaux was already in receipt of gifts made by the kings of France, Portugal and Leon. Most importantly, Richard I of England had granted the church of Scarborough in 1189 to cover the cost of the first three days of the annual meeting, a gift renewed by his immediate successors.⁸⁷⁴ Alexander, no doubt, wished to elevate his standing to the same level as these European monarchs. While his grant fell short of that of

⁸⁶⁹ Wilson, 'Charter of the abbot and convent of Cupar', pp.176-7; *Ibid*, 'Original charters of the abbey of Cupar', p.274.

⁸⁷⁰ Stevenson, *Melrose Chronicle*, pp.49-54; R. Oram, *The Reign of Alexander II, 1214-1249* (Leiden, 2005), pp.53-4.

⁸⁷¹ M.T. Flanagan, 'Irish Royal Charters and the Cistercian Order', in M. T. Flanagan & J.A. Green (eds.), *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland* (Basingstoke, 2005), p.134; *Ibid*, *Irish Royal Charters*, p.233.

⁸⁷² C.H. Talbot, 'Cîteaux and Scarborough', *Studia Monastica*, 2 (1960), p.95.

⁸⁷³ Flanagan, 'Irish Royal Charters and the Cistercian Order', p.134; *Ibid*, *Irish Royal Charters*, nos.12-15, pp.225-35.

⁸⁷⁴ Talbot, 'Cîteaux and Scarborough', app., p.117 no. I; Flanagan, 'Irish Royal Charters and the Cistercian Order', p.134; King, *The Finances of the Cistercian Order*, pp.36-7.

the English king, a list drawn up in the mid-fourteenth century indicates that the Scottish subsidy was amongst the General Chapter's highest sources of income.⁸⁷⁵

Certainly, none of this precludes the possibility that possession of the church had been actively sought by the monks of Coupar. It is highly unlikely to have been coincidental that the rectorship of the church chosen to provide this subsidy was in the hands of the Hay family, and that the selected abbey was Coupar. But while there is no doubt a large degree of truth in Easson's assessment of the attractiveness of Airlie church to the monks, it is not necessary to cast the abbey in the avaricious and deceitful light which Easson does. The monks of Coupar no doubt fully encouraged donations in support of their Order. Moreover, that the king of Scots funded the hosting of the General Chapter would have been known to all assembled abbots and was therefore as much a source of pride for the Scottish houses as a boost to the status of the monarchy.⁸⁷⁶ For Coupar in particular, that the abbey had been given charge of conveying this money, rather than the more senior house of Melrose, surely carried a certain amount of prestige. It therefore seems unlikely that payment of the subsidy was viewed by the monks as an unwelcome burden which had only been notionally agreed to in order to facilitate the acquisition of Airlie church. Furthermore, the idea that the abbey would need to employ such a device in order to obtain possession of a parish church, in "breach of their rule", is at odds with contemporary developments, both on the continent and in Scotland specifically. On an Order-wide level, Cistercian possession of parish churches and control of their teinds was a twelfth-century development.⁸⁷⁷ Indeed, by the time of the grant of Airlie church, Melrose abbey was already in possession of more than one parish church, including that of Melrose itself which had been held from the time of the abbey's founding.⁸⁷⁸ Nevertheless, Peter King has argued that Coupar sought to conceal the true nature of the source of the subsidy from Cîteaux. No mention is made of Airlie church in the letters issued in 1220 by the abbots of the two houses, and, in King's view, a dispute which occurred regarding the grant between the abbeys during the 1240s was likely the result of Cîteaux's discovery of deceit on Coupar's

⁸⁷⁵ King, 'Coupar Angus and Cîteaux', pp.54-5.

⁸⁷⁶ Canivez, *Statuta*, vol II, 1241 no.10. A statute that prayers to be said for the king and queen of Scots, among others, who had donated alms that year to the General Chapter.

⁸⁷⁷ Jamroziak, 'Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Environment', pp.217-18; Bouchard, 'Cistercian Ideals versus Reality', pp.224-5.

⁸⁷⁸ Fawcett & Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, pp.254-8.

part.⁸⁷⁹ This too seems fairly unlikely, considering Cîteaux's acceptance of the gift of Scarborough church some thirty years previously.

It is not clear as to exactly what did cause this dispute, but the suggestion made by both James Wilson and Easson that the timing likely coincided with the death of Robert Hay, prompting a disagreement over what the terms of the royal grant had been, is convincing.⁸⁸⁰ It is very unlikely that both the forty merk pension to Robert and the thirty merk payment to Cîteaux were ever due at the same time, especially considering that the church of Airlie was valued at only fifty merks in the thirteenth century, and therefore payment to Cîteaux would only have come into force upon Robert's death.⁸⁸¹ A General Chapter statute of 1241 decreeing that prayers were to be said for the king and queen of Scots, among others, who had donated alms that year to the General Chapter, would seem to indicate that this had occurred by this date.⁸⁸² In 1243, the abbots of Fountains, Rievaulx and Beaulieu were appointed to arbitrate the case between Coupar and Cîteaux.⁸⁸³ Regardless of the source of the dispute, Coupar evidently held the rightful claim. Geoffrey, bishop of Dunkeld, took it upon himself to intervene on Coupar's behalf. In a letter directed to the English judges, the bishop denounced Cîteaux's suit, which "greed seems to carry on, not justice", and implored the abbots not to go against the abundant evidence in favour of Coupar's rightful ownership of Airlie, Cîteaux's only claim on the church being the £20 yearly payment.⁸⁸⁴ Ultimately, the case was settled precisely thus, the judgement being declared by Matthew, abbot of Melrose, at the General Chapter of 1246.⁸⁸⁵ With this matter resolved, Coupar was finally free to begin extracting revenue from the church. This quickly brought them into conflict with Arbroath abbey, to whom the neighbouring parish church of Kirriemuir was appropriated.⁸⁸⁶ On 14 November 1246, a dispute between Arbroath and Coupar over the teinds of a certain part of the land of Auchindorie, which lay on the boundary between Airlie and Kirriemuir parishes, was settled, it

⁸⁷⁹ King, 'Coupar Angus and Cîteaux', p.52.

⁸⁸⁰ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, vol I, pp.lii; SHR X p.278.

⁸⁸¹ Wilson, 'Original charters of the abbey of Cupar', p.275; *Registrum Dunfermelyn*, p.210.

⁸⁸² Canivez, *Statuta*, vol II, 1241 no.10.

⁸⁸³ *Ibid*, vol II, 1243 no.44.

⁸⁸⁴ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XLIX; Wilson, 'Original charters of the abbey of Cupar', pp.278-79.

⁸⁸⁵ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LI.

⁸⁸⁶ *Liber de Aberbrothoc*, vol I, no. 44.

being agreed that the teinds would continue to pertain to Coupar but who would pay to Arbroath 20s annually.⁸⁸⁷

Other Churches

In several other cases, Coupar acquired control of the patronage of a parish church from the lay landholder who held it. In 1198x1199 possession of the church of Meathie-Lour was granted by Roger, bishop of St Andrews, to William, son of Adam, a family who held the lordships of Lour and Nevay.⁸⁸⁸ In 1265, however, the land of Lour passed into the hands of the Abernethy family through a grant of King Alexander III made to Hugh of Abernethy.⁸⁸⁹ This grant evidently gave Hugh control of the patronage of the church of this parish, which he subsequently granted to Coupar.⁸⁹⁰ In the late twelfth century, Gilbert, earl of Strathearn, granted the land of Fossoway to Malcolm, son of Earl Duncan of Fife, who had married Gilbert's daughter, Matilda.⁸⁹¹ By the later thirteenth century, however, this land had come into the possession of the Hay family, as had control of the patronage of the church which stood upon it. In 1270x1296, Nicholas, son of Nicholas, lord of Errol, appears as rector of the church.⁸⁹² Around the turn of the fourteenth century, Gilbert Hay, lord of Errol, granted the patronage of Fossoway church to Coupar, along with two acres of land near the church on the west side.⁸⁹³ The grant was confirmed by Malise, earl of Strathearn, probably earlier than 1303/4, and subsequently by both Robert I and Nicholas, bishop of Dunblane.⁸⁹⁴ In 1306x1308 Marjory, widow of John, earl of Atholl, granted to Coupar the patronage of the church of Alvah. Marjory was the daughter of the late Donald, earl of Mar, and lady of Strathalvah.⁸⁹⁵ This grant was confirmed by the reigning Donald, earl of Mar and lord of Strathalvah, nephew of Marjory and then twice by Earl Thomas in 1353x1355 and 1362x1371.⁸⁹⁶

⁸⁸⁷ Ibid, vol I, no. 365; In *Scotia Sacra*, Hay also notes another charter recording a later agreement in 1347 between Galfridus abbot of Arbroath and John abbot of Coupar regarding these teinds (NLS, Richard Augustine Hay, Adv. MS 34.1.8, *Scotia Sacra*, p.299). This is repeated by Hutton (NLS, Hutton Notebooks, Adv MS 30.5.7, folio 14).

⁸⁸⁸ Shead, *Scottish Episcopal Acta*, no. 254.

⁸⁸⁹ RRS, IV, no.55.

⁸⁹⁰ Ibid, no. 327.

⁸⁹¹ Neville, 'The Earls of Strathearn', vol II, no. 27.

⁸⁹² Stuart, *The Erroll Papers*, no. 17; Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, app. III, no.6.

⁸⁹³ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXXXV.

⁸⁹⁴ Ibid, no. LXXXVI; Neville, 'The Earls of Strathearn', vol II, no. 70 (for discussion see vol I, pp.123-9 and vol II p.135); RRS, V, no. 3; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XCII.

⁸⁹⁵ Ibid, no. XCV.

⁸⁹⁶ *Brev.*, no. 24; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XCV, CXV.

All of these grants of patronage were later extended to the full appropriation of the parish church to Coupar by the relevant bishop, though the officials were careful to ensure that the abbey would honour certain financial obligations pertaining to these churches. On 28 January 1314/15 Henry, bishop of Aberdeen, granted full possession of the church of Alvah to Coupar. Aside from making provision for a suitable vicar, the abbey would be required to give six merks sterling annually, later increased to ten, to support a perpetual chaplain celebrating divine service in Aberdeen Cathedral. Coupar were also to provide this chaplain with “a decent vestment for use in the choir”.⁸⁹⁷ When possession of the church of Fossoway was granted by Maurice, bishop of Dunblane, in the 1320s, the bishop reserved the quarter of the revenues which pertained to his bishopric.⁸⁹⁸ In the case of the church of Meathie-Lour, the terms were far more favourable to the abbey. At some point after 1300, when Adam of Monifieth, rector of the church of Meathie-Lour, appears as a charter witness, but prior to 1326, William Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews, granted this church to Coupar. In the latter year, a charter records that Bishop William had given to the monks the annual payment of three merks which had previously been due to him for the cain of the church of Meathie, and therefore the bishop directed Adam, dean of Christianity of Angus and Mearns, to exact only two merks from Coupar in annual procurations for the church.⁸⁹⁹

The situation surrounding the church of Glenisla was slightly more complicated. On 12 September 1311, an agreement was made between Coupar and Cambuskenneth abbey, whereby the canons granted to Coupar the patronage of the church of Glenisla, with the lands and other rights belonging to it. In return, Coupar would pay a yearly pension of £10 from the church, which had been assigned to Cambuskenneth by the late Gregory, bishop of Brechin, but which had been in arrears for several years.⁹⁰⁰ A papal confirmation of 1195 records that King William I granted to Cambuskenneth *ecclesiam de Glenisla cum omnibus pertinenciis suis* (the church of Glenisla with all its pertinents).⁹⁰¹ Though this would appear to grant full possession to the canons, as Ian Cowan notes, there was often a lack of distinction made by

⁸⁹⁷ C. Innes (ed.), *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, 2 vols (Aberdeen, 1845), vol I, pp.41-3; Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, pp.26-7, 39-41 124-6, 139-41; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CI.

⁸⁹⁸ *Ibid*, no. CIII.

⁸⁹⁹ *Ibid*, nos. LXVIII, CIX, CXII. The precise date of the grant of the church is unknown, though a papal confirmation of 1419 records that it had been made over a hundred years before (Lindsay & Cameron, *Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1418-22*, pp.99-100).

⁹⁰⁰ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XCVI; W. Fraser (ed.), *Registrum Monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth* (Edinburgh, 1872), no.105.

⁹⁰¹ *Ibid*, no.25.

early charter terminology between grants which conveyed the patronage of a church and those which granted full appropriation.⁹⁰² The charter which records the agreement of 1311 reveals that this king's grant had covered the patronage of the church only, and makes no mention of any further rights Cambuskenneth held in the church other than the annual £10 from the fruits granted by Bishop Gregory.⁹⁰³ A charter dating to 1218x1246 preserved in a fifteenth-century notarial instrument, however, states that this bishop had extended this grant so Cambuskenneth now held the church *in usus proprios* (in their own use), with the lands, teinds and offerings, and all things rightly pertaining to the said church.⁹⁰⁴ No mention was made of this second grant in 1311, and the fact that the church of Glenisla appears in Bagimond's Roll, the accounts of the papal tax collector, in 1274 indicates that it had not been successfully appropriated to Cambuskenneth. It would appear, therefore, that the bishop's grant had instead been replaced by the annual pension. By 1404, however, Coupar had successfully converted control of the patronage of the church into full possession, and the church was being served by a vicar by 1405, though there is no record as to exactly when or how this became the case.⁹⁰⁵

Unsuccessful Grants

Grants relating to parish churches were not always successful, however. In 1331x1333, Gilbert Hay, lord of Errol, granted to Coupar the patronage of the parish church of Errol, along with all the lands belonging to it, and its dependent chapel at Inchmartine.⁹⁰⁶ In 1351, Pope Clement VI confirmed the appropriation of the church and chapel at the request of John, king of France, and Joan, queen of Scotland, wife of King David II, and it was stated that Coupar was to come into possession of the church upon the departure or decease of the current rector.⁹⁰⁷ It is not clear as to why the queen, during her husband's captivity in England, had taken an interest in this matter, though the involvement of the king of France may have been at the request of

⁹⁰² Cowan, *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, p.16.

⁹⁰³ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XCVI; Fraser, *Registrum Cambuskenneth*, no. 105.

⁹⁰⁴ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXXVII.

⁹⁰⁵ Fawcett *et al*, 'A Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches', <<http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/>>, Glenisla Parish Church [accessed: 19 July 2016]; SHS Misc vi p.53; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXXI; McGurk, *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII*, p.142.

⁹⁰⁶ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXIII. If this grant was made in 1333 (before Gilbert's death in April) it was possibly related to centenary celebrations for the dedication of the church (1233) and perhaps associated indulgences, though no documentary evidence survives of this.

⁹⁰⁷ Bliss, Johnson & Twemlow, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, vol III, p.397; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXIV.

Cîteaux. The papal documents record that the church had been given by Gilbert Hay, however they provide the only evidence that Gilbert had increased his initial grant. Indeed, in 1358, David II inspected and confirmed Gilbert's grant of the patronage of Errol church, but made no mention of any further extension of the abbey's rights.⁹⁰⁸

Both Ian Cowan and D.E. Easson argue that neither the grant of the patronage nor the appropriation of the church to Coupar was effective due to subsequent references to rectors of Errol.⁹⁰⁹ More recently, however, it has been suggested that the mention in 1380 of Robert Kann, perpetual chaplain of the church of Errol, could indicate that the abbey had, temporarily, successfully gained possession of the church. Moreover, shortly afterwards Simon of Kettins was referred to as rector of the church; the proximity of Kettins to Coupar abbey has been cited as possible evidence that Simon had been provided by the abbey.⁹¹⁰ Nevertheless, in 1408 the church was described as being "in lay patronage".⁹¹¹ It is difficult to account for Coupar's failure to secure rights in Errol, though lengthy delays between a grant being made and actual acquisition by the recipient were not unknown. The grant of the church of Alvah was made to Coupar in 1314/15 and, as in the case of Errol, was to take effect upon the retiring or decease of the current rector.⁹¹² Cowan and Easson argue that the abbey did not actually gain this possession until c.1370, and the first mention of a vicar presented to Alvah by Coupar appears in 1376.⁹¹³

Regardless, any hope which Coupar had of gaining or retaining rights in Errol church were ended by King James I in 1429 when the king granted possession of the church to the Charterhouse at Perth. In the words of Michael Brown, James was a king "capable of making and enforcing arbitrary demands on his individual subjects in pursuit of his prized projects", and the rights of several other religious houses also suffered through his grants to the Charterhouse.⁹¹⁴ The monks of Coupar do appear to have resisted for a short time, but in

⁹⁰⁸ RRS vol VI, no. 177; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXVI.

⁹⁰⁹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, vol I, p.xliv; Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, p.62.

⁹¹⁰ Burns, *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII*, pp.47, 52; Fawcett *et al*, 'A Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches', <<http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/>>, Errol Parish Church [accessed: 19 July 2016].

⁹¹¹ McGurk, *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII*, p.187.

⁹¹² *Registrum Aberdonensis*, vol I, pp.41-3; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CI.

⁹¹³ *Ibid*, vol I, p.219, no. CXVIII; Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, p.6.

⁹¹⁴ M. Brown, *James I* (East Linton, 2000), pp.124-5; W.N.M Beckett & J. Hogg, *The Perth Charterhouse before 1500* (Salzburg, 1988), p.15.

1434/5 formally resigned all their rights in the church.⁹¹⁵ It was not only the abbey, however, who felt aggrieved by the king's actions. In 1446, after James' death, the Hay family sought to recover their rights in Errol church, which they deemed to have been unjustly usurped by King James through compulsion and fear.⁹¹⁶ Acknowledgement that this had indeed been the case came in 1450, though the church of Errol was not restored. Instead, James II granted the right of the patronage of the church of Turriff.⁹¹⁷ There is no evidence, though, that Coupar similarly pursued a claim to Errol church.

Errol was not the only example of a grant of a parish church to Coupar which the monks were unable to actualise. The church of Turriff was in the control of Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan, in 1273 when the earl granted the church to the uses of his newly-established almshouse at Turriff.⁹¹⁸ Both came under royal control upon the forfeiture of the family by Robert I which saw the earldom divided, one half being brought under royal control while the other went to Margaret Comyn and her husband John of Ross, brother of Hugh, earl of Ross.⁹¹⁹ On 17 October 1379, Robert II granted both the parish church and the almshouse to Coupar, along with the patronage of the church and the right of presentation of the master of the almshouse.⁹²⁰ It is possible that Coupar may have enjoyed possession of this church for a few short years, but this was undoubtedly lost following the death on 30 February 1382 of Walter Leslie, husband of Euphemia, countess of Ross. The subsequent power vacuum in the region was swiftly moved into by Alexander Stewart, son of King Robert II and so-called 'Wolf of Badenoch', who quickly married the widowed countess. The transfer of Euphemia's estates into Alexander's control, which took place on 22 July 1382, included the northern portion of the old earldom of Buchan. Two days later, Alexander was officially made earl of Buchan.⁹²¹ Coupar had also reacted speedily to the developing political situation and on 21 July a papal confirmation was issued of Coupar's possession of the church of Turriff, but apparently to no avail.⁹²² Alexander Stewart's conflict with Alexander Bur, bishop of Moray, in the later

⁹¹⁵ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXXXI.

⁹¹⁶ Robertson, *Illustrations of Aberdeen and Banff*, vol II, pp.340-1.

⁹¹⁷ *Ibid*, vol II, pp.342-3.

⁹¹⁸ *Registrum Aberdonensis*, vol I, pp.30-4.

⁹¹⁹ A. Young, *Robert the Bruce's Rivals: the Comyns, 1212-1314* (East Linton, 1997), p.206. This latter half later became the baronies of Kingedward and Philforth.

⁹²⁰ Burns, *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII*, p.80.

⁹²¹ S. Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings. Robert II and Robert III, 1371-1406* (East Linton, 1996), pp.77-8.

⁹²² Burns, *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII*, p.80.

fourteenth century makes it clear that the former was more than willing to defy ecclesiastical authority.⁹²³

By 1389, however, the situation had changed. In December 1388, the earl of Fife replaced his brother, the earl of Carrick, as guardian of the kingdom and began a coordinated attack on Alexander Stewart's domination of the north, where Fife himself had a range of territorial and political interests. In the face of hostile royal authority, Alexander's empire began to collapse.⁹²⁴ Sensing an opportunity to finally secure control of Turriff church, the monks of Coupar again sought papal support and their possession was confirmed for a second time on 26 July 1389.⁹²⁵ It seems likely, however, that Coupar's claim to Turriff had never enjoyed the support of the bishops of Aberdeen. Bishop Adam de Tynningham had been engaged during the 1380s in a determined campaign to reassert the fiscal and property rights of the bishopric, so may not have been enamoured with the idea of alienating the revenues of a parish church to a distant monastery.⁹²⁶ The second papal confirmation was again ineffective and in 1412 Bishop Adam's successor, Gilbert Greenlaw, erected the hospital of Turriff and the annexed church into a prebend of Aberdeen cathedral, the right of patronage reserved to John Stewart, earl of Buchan, and his heirs.⁹²⁷

The monks of Coupar unsuccessfully sought possession of one further parish church. The church of Kettins was appropriated to the hospital of St Edward at Berwick in the early thirteenth century, through charters of Queen Ermengarde, wife of King William I, and William, bishop of St Andrews.⁹²⁸ In 1386, the Papal Schism prompted Robert II to attempt to remove the church from the English friars' possession and provide his own clerk, David of Stirling, canon of Glasgow to the church.⁹²⁹ This was successfully challenged by the Trinitarians the following year, however, when Master John de Lichton, official of the court of St Andrews, appointed to hear the case by Walter, bishop of St Andrews, issued judgement that the church

⁹²³ R. Oram, 'Alexander Bur, Bishop of Moray, 1362-1397', in B.E. Crawford (ed.), *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp.202-8.

⁹²⁴ Boardman, 'Lordship in the North-East: Alexander Stewart', p.16.

⁹²⁵ Burns, *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII*, pp.147-8.

⁹²⁶ Boardman, 'Lordship in the Northeast: Alexander Stewart', pp.13-14.

⁹²⁷ Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, p.202; *Registrum Aberdonensis*, vol I, pp.213-14, vol II, p.253.

⁹²⁸ C.C.H. Harvey & J. Macleod (eds.), *Calendar of writs preserved at Yester House, 1166-1625* (Edinburgh, 1930), nos. 9, 11, 12.

⁹²⁹ Burns, *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII*, p.112.

rightfully pertained to the friars.⁹³⁰ The charter which records this decision also informs us that a third party had made a further opposing claim for possession of the church: Coupar abbey. There is no indication as to what the basis of this claim could have been, however evidently the abbot of Coupar had failed to compear, either in person or through appointee. It may be that this was a case of simply opportunism on the part of Coupar, hoping to benefit from the apparent confusion and acquire a church which lay in such close proximity to the abbey.⁹³¹

Chapels

Aside from the above parish churches, a rental of 1542 also lists eight chapels belonging to Coupar.⁹³² One of these was the chapel of St Katherine built into the gatehouse of the abbey. Such chapels were a common feature of Cistercian architecture throughout Europe.⁹³³ Another was a chapel dedicated to St Margaret of Scotland and stated to be located at Forfar. In 1234, King Alexander II granted ten merks yearly to Coupar to support two monks of the abbey in celebrating divine service forever in the chapel of Holy Trinity on the island in the Loch of Forfar. These monks were also to have rights to fuel and common pasture in the nearby land of Torbeg.⁹³⁴ That these two Forfar chapels were one and the same is shown by a charter of 1563 which referred to “the isle anciently called of the chapel of the Holy Trinity but now called St Margaret’s the queen, lying in the loch of Forfar”.⁹³⁵ This is the modern-day St Margaret’s Inch. The remaining six chapels listed in 1542 were situated on abbey lands: three dedicated to the Virgin Mary, at Carsegrange, Balbrogie and Cally, St Ninian’s at Keithick, St Adomnan’s at Campsie, and St Findoc’s at Tullyfergus.⁹³⁶

⁹³⁰ *Writs at Yester House*, no.36.

⁹³¹ In 1456, Robert Clugston, a monk of Coupar, sought papal provision to the church, something which he was ultimately successful in obtaining, but his promise to convert to become a Trinitarian friar indicates his personal motives in seeking this, rather than any benefit to Coupar (Bliss, Johnson & Twemlow, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, vol XI, pp.47-8; Kirk, Tanner & Dunlop, *Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1447-1471*, nos. 1081, 1484).

⁹³² Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, p.207.

⁹³³ Kinder, *Cistercian Europe*, p.369; Hall, ‘English Cistercian Gatehouse Chapels’, p.63; Hope, ‘The Abbey of St Mary of Furness’, p.236.

⁹³⁴ RRS, III, no. 211 <<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2078/>>, [accessed: 19 July 2016]; *Brev.*, no. 23. Torbeg is marked on the Pont Maps adjacent to St Margaret’s Inch in the loch of Forfar: NLS, ‘Pont Maps of Scotland, c.1583-1614’, <<http://maps.nls.uk/pont/>>, Map 26: Lower Angus and Perthshire East of the Tay [accessed 21 July 2016].

⁹³⁵ Blair Castle Archive, Box 26, Parcel 4, no.14. The ‘island’ is partially artificial, having been built up upon a natural gravel ridge within the loch. It would appear that this pre-dates the foundation of the chapel (J. Stuart, ‘Note of recent excavations at St Margaret’s Inch, in the Loch of Forfar’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 10, (1872-4), pp.31-4).

⁹³⁶ The chapel was located at St Fink, though this is not specified in the list unlike the others (Historic Environment Scotland, Site Records, St Fink

Two further chapels on abbey lands would appear to be missing from the list of 1542.⁹³⁷ In 1496, the chapel of St Ninian in Glenisla, described as annexed to the abbey, appeared in a petition made by Coupar to the pope.⁹³⁸ The parish church of Glenisla was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, in close vicinity to the Lady Well, and so evidently this referred to a dependant chapel in the region.⁹³⁹ It is entirely possible that this chapel was defunct by the time of the rental, since the abbey's complaint in 1496 recounted that, on account of the lawlessness of the area, the surrounding area was uninhabited and the chapel could not be visited without great perils. The monks were therefore petitioning for extra authority to punish the offenders in order to encourage the faithful to return to the chapel, a request which was granted.⁹⁴⁰ While this appeal was likely at least partially related to the Coupar's desire to ensure law and order was upheld in the region where it conducted a large-scale hunting operation, it is also appears to have been a true representation of the chapel's fortunes. This abandonment by the laity and the corresponding cessation of offerings therefore meant that, by 1542, the chapel did not warrant being listed amongst the abbey's possessions.

An entry in the rental records raises the possibility that there was also a chapel on the abbey's land at Kinreich. In 1546, a quarter of the grange of Kinreich was let to "our familiar chapellane and seruitour", Sir Thomas Andrew, "for the thankfull seruice done and for to be done to ws". Thomas is referred to in the heading above this entry as chaplain of Kinreich. It is more difficult to account for the absence of a chapel at Kinreich from the list since this reference would seem to indicate that it was functional.⁹⁴¹ It is possible, however, that this sole, apparent, reference to a chapel at Kinreich can be attributed to scribal error. The document itself is a lease of a quarter of the grange of Kinreich to Thomas Andrew, referred

<<http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/30816/details/st+fink/>>, [accessed: 19 July 2016]). A 1550 lease of the abbey's land of Tullyfergus gives this description of its boundaries: "the northwest part the lands pertaining the abbey of Scone, at the north east part the lands pertaining the lord of Bamff, at the east part with the lands of Alyth, pertaining to James Ogilvy of Cloway, and at the south part with our own proper lands of Chapelton and Muirton" (Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, pp.94-5). This places St Fink, along with the Hill of St Fink, within the boundaries of Tullyfergus.

⁹³⁷ It should be noted that an inventory of 1292 records a letter whereby Coupar obliged itself to build a chapel on the island of 'Karnelay in Arkadia' to celebrate divine service for the soul of the late Alexander II, who died at Kerrera in Argyll (printed in T. Thomson & C. Innes (eds.), *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, 12 vols (Edinburgh, 1814-75), vol I, App. to Preface, 10). There is no evidence that this took place (Cowan & Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p.82).

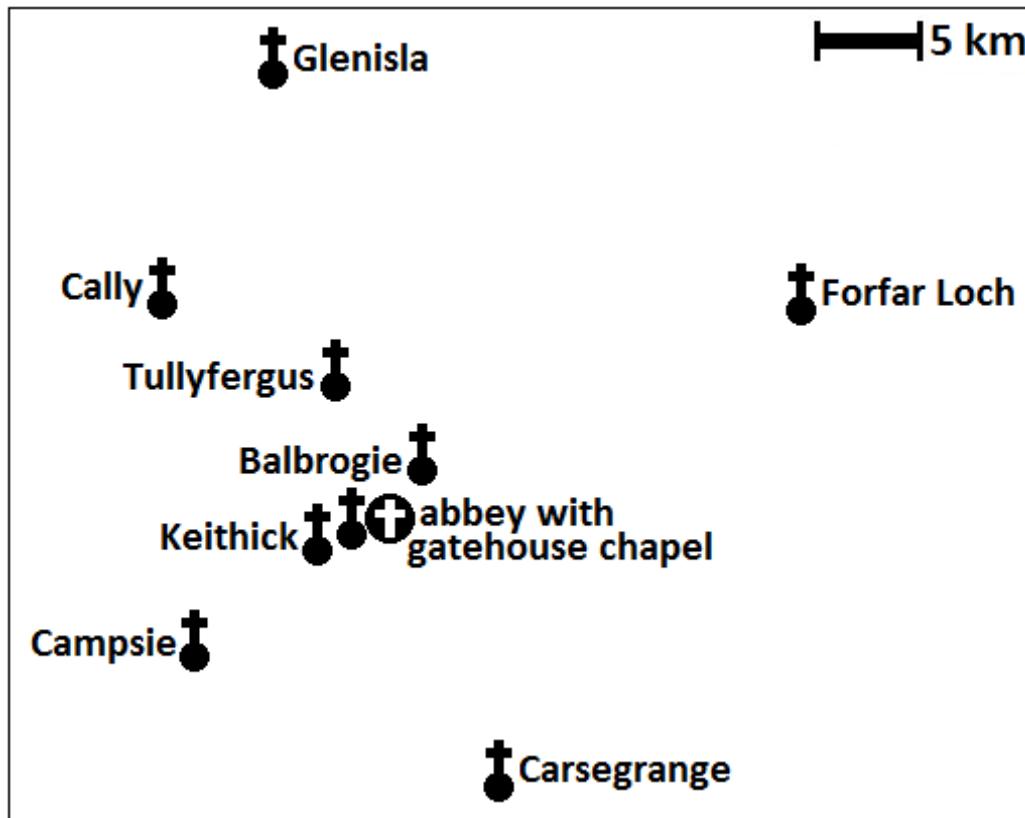
⁹³⁸ Bliss, Johnson & Twemlow, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, vol XVI, p.528.

⁹³⁹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CL; A.J. Warden, *Angus or Forfarshire, the Land of the People: Descriptive, Historical, Topographical, and Antiquarian*, 5 vols (Dundee, 1880-85), vol III, p.349.

⁹⁴⁰ Bliss, Johnson & Twemlow, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, vol XVI, p.528.

⁹⁴¹ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, pp.36-7.

to as chaplain but not of where; as already stated, his identification as chaplain of Kinreich comes from the heading above. That this was indeed an error is supported by the fact that Thomas, again referred to as chaplain, received a lease of half of Newbigging in Carsegrange the following year.⁹⁴²



Map 19: Chapels

Origins

Unfortunately, the provenance of most of the chapels in Coupar's possession is impossible to determine with any certainty due to the complete absence of surviving documentation concerning their erection or early history. There is no doubt that the loss of the episcopal cartularies of both Dunkeld and St Andrews constitutes a serious blow in this regard.

Moreover, chapels in Scotland have received only minimal attention from historians making this task all the more difficult. It will be possible, however, to discuss various possible scenarios to account for how these chapels came to be in Coupar's possession.

⁹⁴² Ibid, vol II, p.50.

In Scotland, the pre-parochial religious landscape consisted of a large amount of churches, chapels, shrines and other holy sites. The course of the twelfth century saw certain of these pre-existing foundations raised to the status of parish churches with assigned territorial jurisdictions and rights.⁹⁴³ This did not signal the inevitable demise of those lesser churches which did not achieve this status. The dependent chapels of parish churches were often stipulated in Scottish charters, though this was not the case for any of the chapels in Coupar's possession.⁹⁴⁴ It must be assumed, however, that no universal or comprehensive system was in place and that the rights and status of chapels within parishes was subject to a great deal of local and regional variation. Indeed, Nicholas Orme states that these ancient foundations existed by "prescriptive right" and could have most of the features of a parish church.⁹⁴⁵ Certainly, Coupar did acquire lands which contained earlier religious foundations; the charters relating to grants of the lands of Coupar(grange), Keithick and Aberbothrie all record pre-existing churches.⁹⁴⁶ While those at Coupar and Aberbothrie had evidently fallen into disuse by 1542, there is no reason not to associate the chapel of St Ninian with the twelfth-century church at Keithick; as Tom Turpie has demonstrated, Ninian's early cult was widespread in Scotland.⁹⁴⁷ Moreover, the dedications of two other of Coupar's chapels would appear to indicate that these were also early ecclesiastical sites. Simon Taylor has argued extensively that the concentration of Adomnan commemorations in Atholl is evidence of the contemporary presence in that area of the man himself, or at the very least his close associates. Many of these sites, along with several which commemorate Coeti, the bishop of Iona during Adomnan's time who does not appear to have enjoyed any great fame after his death, occur along the route from Iona to Dunkeld.⁹⁴⁸ If this route is continued eastwards along the River Tay past Dunkeld, it arrives at Campsie, before eventually arriving at the Firth of Tay. Indeed, Campsie fell within Cargill, a detached parish of Dunkeld diocese, and so was within Iona's *paruchia*.⁹⁴⁹ Thus, while the later chapel of Adomnan was incorporated into the

⁹⁴³ Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit', p.29; G.W.S. Barrow, 'Badenoch and Strathspey, 1130-1312, part 2: The Church', *Northern Scotland*, 9 (1989), p.1.

⁹⁴⁴ Discussed extensively for Perthshire in Rogers, 'The Formation of the Parish Unit'. Examples elsewhere given in I.G. MacDonald, 'The Church in Gaelic Scotland before the Reformation', in T. Ó hAnnracháin & R. Armstrong (eds.), *Christianities in the Early Modern Celtic World* (Basingstoke, 2014), p.19.

⁹⁴⁵ N. Orme, 'The Other Parish Churches: Chapels in Late Medieval England', in C. Burgess & E. Duffy (eds.), *The Parish in Late Medieval England* (Donington, 2006), pp.82-3.

⁹⁴⁶ RRS, I, no. 226; *Brev*, no. 1; Somerville, *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 163; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XIII.

⁹⁴⁷ Turpie, 'Scottish Saints Cults and Pilgrimage', pp.60-3.

⁹⁴⁸ Taylor, 'Seventh-century Iona abbots in Scottish Place-Names'; Idem, 'Columba east of Drumalban'; Idem, 'Place-Names and the Early Church in Eastern Scotland', pp.101-3.

⁹⁴⁹ R. Fawcett *et al*, 'A Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches', Map of Dunkeld Diocese c.1300,

abbot's residence at Campsie, the evidence strongly suggests that the association of Campsie with this saint was of a very early date indeed.⁹⁵⁰ Similarly, at Tullyfergus the dedication to St Findoc likely also indicates the early origins of the chapel.

Not all chapels, however, were of such early provenance and they continued to be established throughout the period under consideration here. This, of course, required a patron. In some instances these founders were royal, such as in the case of St Monan's chapel in Fife built by King David II. In others, they were members of the nobility. While many of these noble chapels were incorporated into domestic residences and intended for the private use of the household, this was not always the case. In the fifteenth century, Colin Campbell, earl of Argyll, founded a chapel dedicated to St Ninian "in which Christ's faithful, especially of that district, might pour out prayers...and hear divine offices".⁹⁵¹ This raises the possibility that, as a landowner, Coupar itself might have been responsible for establishing chapels.

Indeed, in a Cistercian context, a distinct category of chapel must be considered: the grange chapel. Four of Coupar's chapels were located on grange lands, at Carsegrange, Keithick, Balbrogie and Tullyfergus. Despite being a common feature of Cistercian granges, as David Williams notes, little reference tends to be made to these chapels in Cistercian records and they remain understudied.⁹⁵² James France states that the intended purpose of these chapels was to provide for the private devotions of lay brothers living on the granges, though not for the celebration of Mass for which the *conversi* were required to travel back to the abbey; thus, in 1153 the General Chapter decreed that chapels could be erected on granges but that these were not to contain altars. That the practice of saying Mass on granges was widespread by the later twelfth century, however, is clear from the various attempts made by the General Chapter to legislate against it and the thirteenth-century evidence relating to numerous granges attests to this. Both France and Colin Platt argue that this development was due to the

<<http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/images/map-parishes-dunkeld.gif>> [accessed: 19 July 2016].

⁹⁵⁰ See Saints' Cults: St Adomnan section for discussion of this chapel.

⁹⁵¹ MacDonald, 'The Church in Gaelic Scotland before the Reformation', p.19; R. Fawcett, 'The Architectural Framework for the Cult of Saints: Some Scottish Examples', in D.H. Strickland (ed.), *Images of Medieval Sanctity: Essays in Honour of Gary Dickson* (Leiden, 2007), p.72; Kirk, Tanner & Dunlop, *Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1447-1471*, no. 1106.

⁹⁵² D.H. Williams, 'Cistercian Grange Chapels', in T. Kinder (ed.), *Perspectives for an Architecture of Solitude: Essays on Cistercians, Art and Architecture in Honour of Peter Fergusson* (Turnhout, 2004), p.221.

acquisition of distant grange lands and also the increased presence of monks, both factors which created a requirement for divine service to be celebrated on these lands. Indeed, Platt takes this further and argues that the construction of grange chapels, as opposed to the existence of, in his words, 'primitive oratories' which were sufficient for the *conversi*, occurred only on granges where the abbot or convent developed a habit of residing there. These chapels therefore formed part of the corresponding accommodation that had to be provided for these visits.⁹⁵³

This view of chapels on grange lands, as structures which served the purposes of resident lay brethren or visiting monks, depicts them as novel foundations which came into existence upon the creation of the grange. Moreover, the oft-repeated stricture in the charter evidence that the neighbouring laity were not to hear Mass within these chapels and must continue to attend the parish church strengthens this impression of them as purpose-built Cistercian institutions.⁹⁵⁴ The chapel at Carsegrange, for example, fits Platt's model; this was an important grange located at a distance from the abbey where the presence of monks, as distinct from the *conversi*, is attested to by the charter evidence.⁹⁵⁵ The lack of evidence for a chapel at Kinreich, Coupar's most distant grange, however, appears to undermine this interpretation. Indeed, Constance Berman argues that, in a French context, there is no evidence that chapels on granges were constructed by the Cistercians. Instead, these were pre-existing structures inherited by the Order along with the land they stood upon, in certain instances the land donor stipulating that the chapel was to be maintained.⁹⁵⁶ David Williams also gives several Welsh examples where Cistercian abbeys came into the possession of chapels which were "part and parcel" of land acquired.⁹⁵⁷ While the Cistercians no doubt did erect chapels where necessary, it is entirely possible that any of the chapels recorded on Coupar's granges were already standing when the abbey acquired the land. While those located at Coupargrange and Aberbothrie had clearly fallen out of use, at least by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the pre-existing chapel at Keithick survived throughout the period. Additionally, as noted above, the dedication of the chapel at Tullyfergus to St Findoc strongly suggests that this was an early religious foundation.

⁹⁵³ France, *Separate but Equal*, pp.133-5; Williams, 'Cistercian Grange Chapels', pp.213-15; Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, pp.197, 199; Platt, *The Monastic Grange*, pp.24-9.

⁹⁵⁴ Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, p.199.

⁹⁵⁵ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. LXXXII.

⁹⁵⁶ Berman, *Medieval Agriculture*, pp.33-4, 62.

⁹⁵⁷ Williams, 'Cistercian Grange Chapels', p.213; Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, pp.202, 274.

Moreover, the creation of the grange did not necessarily dictate that such chapels were thenceforth in the sole use of the *conversi*. Indeed, the issue raised in the charters time and time again with regards to grange chapels and the laity was not the presence of the latter but their participation in Mass. For example, in 1339, the abbey of Strata Florida in Wales made an agreement with the local bishop whereby lay inhabitants would receive the Sacraments at the parish church but were free to make oblations at Capels Madog and Peulin.⁹⁵⁸ It is likely, then, that Cistercian acquisition instigated a transformation in function, whereby early chapels which had operated as centres of informal worship saw the introduction of divine service. It is entirely logical that, following the disappearance of the *conversi* from Coupar's grange lands, the laity would have continued in their religious veneration at these sites, as they had done both before and during their presence. This model of the grange chapel is exemplified by a Welsh case. In the twelfth century, Margam abbey acquired the land of an earlier Christian site known as the Hermitage of Theodoric and established a grange there. This development did not see the previous focus of devotion extinguished; the site continued to attract pilgrims and in 1470, when the grange was leased to lay tenants, the abbey stipulated that access was to be provided on the feast of St Theodoric the Priest.⁹⁵⁹ It may be that this type of scenario was replicated on Coupar's granges, even in cases such as the chapels of the Virgin Mary at Carsegrange and Balbrogie where the dedication would appear to imply a Cistercian origin. Madeleine Gray has argued that the shrine of the Virgin at Llantarnam abbey's grange of Penrhys may have been an early holy site, perhaps re-dedicated before being established as a grange chapel and becoming an important pilgrimage destination.⁹⁶⁰

The possibility must also be considered that a chapel may be neither an early site nor a product of the system of grange agriculture, and may in fact belong to the later period which saw the widespread leasing of abbey lands. D.E. Easson argues that it is probable that the chapels described as belonging to Coupar came into existence as abbey land ceased to be worked by *conversi* and became occupied by employees and tenants.⁹⁶¹ In light of the above discussion, this general statement is inaccurate for many, if not most, of the abbey's chapels,

⁹⁵⁸ Ibid, p.199.

⁹⁵⁹ Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Glamorgan, IV: Domestic Architecture from the Reformation to the Industrial Revolution*, Part II: *Farmhouses and Cottages* (Cardiff, 1988), p.271; K. Hurlock, 'Pilgrimage', in J. Burton & K. Stöber (eds.), *Monastic Wales: New Approaches* (Cardiff, 2013), p.155.

⁹⁶⁰ M. Gray, 'Penrhys: The Archaeology of a Pilgrimage', *Morgannwg*, 40 (1996), pp.10–32.

⁹⁶¹ Easson, Coupar Angus Chrs, vol I p.xlv.

though perhaps not all. Easson, however, gives no indication as to what he believes the circumstances were surrounding their erection and Platt's statement that the Cistercians had no reason to provide chapels for their tenantry is difficult to argue with.⁹⁶² This raises the prospect that the tenants themselves were responsible. Indeed, Nicholas Orme has suggested that some of the small rural chapels of later medieval England may have been established through "the initiative of a group of local people acting (although not necessarily organised) as a guild". In the English countryside, these religious guilds made up of local people supported "those devotions which were in any sense additional to that parochial worship which was common to all" and, as such, were heavily involved in the maintenance of chapels. This extended to securing papal indulgences for pilgrims and even to the restoration of ancient, ruined chapels.⁹⁶³ Did the general lay impetus which saw the proliferation of altars and chantries in later medieval Scotland extend to the erection of new free-standing chapels in the countryside? The surviving Scottish evidence for guilds is restricted to the trade and craft associations of the burghs, who, aside from their commercial function, certainly were involved in corporate religious benefaction.⁹⁶⁴ If rural guilds did exist in some form, they appear to have been low level enough to escape all documentation and it therefore seems unlikely that any had the means to found chapels, though they may have supported their upkeep. Even in England the majority of 'country' guilds had humble objectives, such as the maintenance of a light burning before the image of a saint.⁹⁶⁵ Nevertheless, in the face of a lack of evidence, the possibility that certain of Coupar's chapels were later foundations cannot be ruled out.

Status within the Parochial System

Carsegrange Chapel

In 1474, the chapel at Carsegrange became the subject of a dispute between Coupar abbey and the Charterhouse at Perth.⁹⁶⁶ At the heart of the conflict was the status of the chapel within the parochial system; the Charterhouse laid claim to the chapel's income on the basis of

⁹⁶² Platt, *The Monastic Grange*, p.29.

⁹⁶³ Orme, 'The Other Parish Churches', pp.83-5; P.E.H. Hair, 'The Chapel in the English Landscape', *The Local Historian*, 21 (1991), p.6; H.F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Mediaeval England* (London, 1919), p.60; V.R. Bainbridge, *Gilds in the Medieval Countryside: Social and Religious Change in Cambridgeshire c.1350-1558* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp.127-8; D. Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power: Religious Gilds in Late Medieval Yorkshire, 1389-1547* (Woodbridge, 2000), p.37.

⁹⁶⁴ Oram, 'Lay Religiosity, Piety and Devotion', pp.114-18; Ewan, *Townlife*, pp.58-63, 132; E.P.D. Torrie, 'The Guild in Fifteenth-Century Dunfermline', in M. Lynch, M. Spearman & G. Stell (eds.), *The Scottish Medieval Town* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp.255-6.

⁹⁶⁵ Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Mediaeval England*, pp.60-1.

⁹⁶⁶ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXLIII.

their ownership by this date of the church of Errol, within the parish of which the chapel was physically located, while the monks of Coupar contended that the chapel pertained directly to themselves. The settlement put in place, however, whereby the offerings were to fund the improvement of the chapel and subsequently the maintenance of the chaplain, suggests that the clear right of either monastic house had been unable to be established, nor of the parish church, and instead the chapel was treated as an independent institution, its revenues retained by, and for the good of, itself. This is perhaps not the outcome one would expect; in the case of another fifteenth-century example, the oblations brought by the laity to the chapel of St Boysilius, situated within the bounds of the parish of Lessedwyne, Glasgow diocese, clearly belonged directly to the parish church.⁹⁶⁷ In this context, the wording of a lease of the lands of Carsegrange made in 1478 is of interest, the terms of which reserved to the abbey the two acres of land and the toft which were “assignyt to the chapel fre”. This could be interpreted as meaning ‘assigned freely to the chapel’, though the other possibility is that ‘chapel fre’ was a phrase in itself. In the absence of relevant research in a Scottish context it is difficult to know exactly how to interpret this, but certainly in England the term ‘free chapel’, which appears often during the later Middle Ages, described a chapel which was ‘extra-parochial’, that is, not a dependent of the local parish church. This type of chapel was therefore ‘free’ from the parish, though not necessary from episcopal jurisdiction, while having no parochial function of its own.⁹⁶⁸ This certainly seems to accurately describe the chapel at Carsegrange.

While the agreement of 1474 ostensibly placed the income generated by the chapel out of Coupar’s hands, that the offerings, which were to be collected and kept by a certain “trusty person” chosen by the abbot of Coupar, should be listed as pertaining to the abbey in 1542 is not surprising. The chaplains of Carsegrange were also both appointed and sustained by the abbey. As noted above, in addition to two acres of land of the ‘Lang Langlands’ of Inchmartine granted by David Ogilvy of Inchmartine in 1480, the chaplain also held a further two acres of land in Carsegrange from the abbey.⁹⁶⁹ At the time of the Reformation, an assessment of the abbey stated that the “infetment to ane chaplain of the Carsegrange” was valued at £7 6s 8d

⁹⁶⁷ A.I. Dunlop & I. Cowan (eds.), *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1428-1432* (Edinburgh, 1978), p.255.

⁹⁶⁸ J.H. Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels 1100-1300: A Constitutional Study* (Manchester, 1970), pp.8-9; N. Orme, ‘Church and Chapel in Medieval England’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6 (1996), pp.78-9.

⁹⁶⁹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXLVII; Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, pp.211-12, 250, 276, vol II, pp.202-3.

Scots.⁹⁷⁰ On top of this landed endowment, the abbey is also recorded as having paid a yearly pension to the chaplain of Carsegrange.⁹⁷¹ No doubt favourable appointments to the position, such as that in 1496 of Robert Schanwell under the abbacy of John Schanwell, had allowed Coupar to divert the offerings made to the chapel to itself in return for payment of this pension.⁹⁷² Coupar's control over the chapel and its assets is evident from the fact that the charter recording David Ogilvy's gift of land to the chaplain was preserved amongst the abbey's records; even more tellingly, King James IV's confirmation of this grant in 1495 was issued at Coupar itself.⁹⁷³

Other Chapels

The case of Carsegrange chapel raises the question of the status within the parochial system of other chapels on abbey lands. Of course, the issue was somewhat irrelevant for the majority since they lay within the parishes of churches which were in the possession of the abbey anyway, the revenues of both church and chapel accruing to Coupar.⁹⁷⁴ Other than that of Carsegrange, which appears to have succeeded in detaching itself from the parish system altogether, only two other chapels listed as pertaining to the abbey were situated within parishes outwith Coupar's ownership: the chapel of St Margaret at Forfar, and the chapel of St Adomnan at Campsie. Significantly, these are the only two chapels for which *oblaciones congregatas* (offerings of the congregation) are not recorded in the list of 1542. For the chapel at Forfar, the rental simply records oblations while at Campie offerings of any kind are not mentioned.

Campsie: A 'Household Chapel'

Elsewhere it has been suggested that this omission for Adomnan's chapel may indicate that the chapel was defunct by 1542.⁹⁷⁵ That this was not the case is clearly demonstrated by

⁹⁷⁰ J. Kirk (ed.), *The Books of Assumption of the Thirds of Benefices: Scottish Ecclesiastical Rentals at the Reformation* (Oxford, 1995), p.409.

⁹⁷¹ *Ibid*, p.370.

⁹⁷² Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I p.250; Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses*, p.45.

⁹⁷³ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol II, no. 2290.

⁹⁷⁴ Bendochy Parish: abbey gatehouse, Balbrogie, Keithick, Tullyfergus, Cally (post-1356); Glenisla Parish: Glenisla, Meathie-Lour Parish: Kinreich (as shown in R.J. Adam, 'Meathie-Lour: a parish exploration', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 25 (1993), pp.41-67).

⁹⁷⁵ D.G. Adams, 'Holy Trinity Chapel, Forfar Loch: an unrecognised Cistercian cell', *Innes Review*, 49.1 (1998), p.83.

contemporary references to the provision of wax for the lighting of the chapel.⁹⁷⁶ Instead, it can be explained by the fact that, by the later period at least, this was a household chapel incorporated into the abbot's residence at Campsie.⁹⁷⁷ In this regard, this chapel fits Platt's model of the grange chapel perfectly; while Campsie was never formally referred to as a grange, it was certainly as strictly managed and extensively exploited as one. The private or domestic chapel in medieval Scotland has received minimal scholarly attention, though John Major's comment in the early sixteenth century that "even the meanest lord keeps one household chaplain" would appear to indicate that such institutions were ubiquitous.⁹⁷⁸ Indeed, a dedicated study of this type of chapel in England concluded that private chapels appear to have been a "basic concomitant of lordly status", all gentle and noble households, lay and ecclesiastic, maintaining some form of household chapel. Their purpose was to provide religious provision for a social group which "could not easily be served by the parochial system", either due to the "itinerant character" of such households or on account of their social distinction from parish communities. Moreover, Rawlinson found that private chapels were "maintained in an institutional and uncontentious manner, alongside parochial churches".⁹⁷⁹ The chapel of St Adomnan, then, should not be considered as existing 'outside' of the parish system, as the chapel at Carsegrange appears to have done. At the same time, the chapel at Campsie belongs to a different class of chapel than the public chapels in Coupar's possession which generated *oblaciones congregatas*; this was a private, household chapel, seemingly not accessible by the local lay population and thus without a 'congregation'.

Forfar Loch Chapel

It is harder to discern what the distinction was between these public chapels and St Margaret's chapel in Forfar Loch.⁹⁸⁰ It is possible that the omission in 1542 of the word *congregatas* when describing the offerings made to this chapel was a simple scribal error. Alternatively, it may represent a narrower definition of the income of this chapel which pertained to the abbey. As Easson states, Coupar's chapels "were not parochial chapels in the ordinary sense, situated in an outlying part of the parish and linked to its mother-church, but, apparently, independent

⁹⁷⁶ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, pp.68-71, 181.

⁹⁷⁷ See *Saints Cults*: St Adomnan section.

⁹⁷⁸ A. Constable (ed.), *John Major, A History of Greater Britain, 1521* (Edinburgh, 1892), p.30.

⁹⁷⁹ K. Rawlinson, 'The English Household Chapel, c.1100-c.1500: An Institutional Study' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham, 2008), quotes at pp.81, 257-8.

⁹⁸⁰ Adams has argued that the chapel at Forfar was in fact a Cistercian cell established by Coupar prior to 1234 and that Alexander II's grant was merely a confirmation of this arrangement but there is no reason to believe this was the case (Adams, 'Holy Trinity Chapel, Forfar Loch').

and anomalous ecclesiastical foundations".⁹⁸¹ Orme classifies these types of institutions as 'cult chapels', forming a separate category from 'chapels of ease' which functioned to provide supplementary centres of worship for parish communities. Nonetheless, Orme acknowledges that, in reality, such distinctions were far less clear and there was a large amount of overlap between these categories.⁹⁸² It is entirely possible that, other than at Campsie and in Forfar Loch, the references to the *congregatas* of Coupar's other chapels indicate that certain parochial duties were performed on an intermittent basis; as noted above, no party had any reason to obstruct such activities within parishes which were under Coupar's control. This was not the case for St Margaret's chapel which falls within the modern parish of Forfar, formerly Restenneth, though that Richard de Dun, monk of Coupar and keeper of the island in the loch of Forfar, was involved in teind negotiations with Arbroath abbey in 1367, to whom the church of Glamis pertained, perhaps indicates that it had previously been part of this neighbouring parish.⁹⁸³ Perhaps then, the description of Coupar's revenues as drawn from the oblations of this chapel indicates that this was strictly revenue generated through veneration of St Margaret's cult and the chapel performed no other function which would have brought it into conflict with the parish church and its monastic rector.

Forms of Worship: Cult Chapels

Of Coupar's chapels, only those at Carsegrange and Forfar are recorded as being staffed by permanent chaplains, and even these sites had no formal parochial role.⁹⁸⁴ Thus, despite the possibility that some form of sporadic pastoral care occurred within Coupar's chapels, it is clear that, in the main, worship would have taken place on an informal, individual basis. But that is not to say that they did not play an important role in lay religiosity; indeed, in many ways the following discussion is just as relevant to the examination of local lay piety found in the previous chapter. That the chapels should have been listed in the rental records amongst Coupar's proprietorial assets indicates that they held monetary value: the offerings made by the laity to them, based on veneration of the chapel's patron saint.⁹⁸⁵ Oblations in some form

⁹⁸¹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, vol I pp.xlv-vi.

⁹⁸² N. Orme, 'Popular Religion and the Reformation in England: A view from Cornwall', in J.D. Tracy and M. Ragnow (eds.) *Religion and the Early Modern State* (Cambridge, 2005), p.354.

⁹⁸³ Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, pp.68, 73. St Margaret's Inch is on the modern boundary between these two parishes. Unfortunately this charter survives only in a very brief note in Richard Augustine Hay's, *Scotia Sacra* (NLS, Adv. MS 34.1.8, p.299. Repeated in NLS, Hutton Notebooks, Adv MS 30.5.7, folio 14).

⁹⁸⁴ Kirk, *The Books of Assumption*, p.370.

⁹⁸⁵ Orme, 'Church and Chapel in Medieval England', pp.88-90; Idem, 'Popular Religion and the Reformation', p.359; Hurlock, 'Pilgrimage'.

are recorded as pertaining to the abbey for all the chapels listed in 1542 other than that at Campsie, as previously discussed. If we assume that the chapel of Glenisla was omitted from this list on account of its abandoned state, we must also assume that those which do appear on the list were still active places of worship. That the others did not suffer a similar fate surely indicates that they were actively maintained, though the extent of the abbey's role in this is unclear. In all likelihood, the majority of chapels can have had only a local profile, but that is not to say that the traffic they generated should be underestimated. For most ordinary people, journeys to major pilgrimage sites, often located abroad, would have been impossible and so local cult chapels provided a practical alternative.⁹⁸⁶ There is no surviving evidence to indicate any actual figures of income generated by Coupar's chapels, but the fact that these offerings merited their rental record entry suggests that they represented a level of regular, if fluctuating, revenue. As Orme notes, the frequenting of such cult chapels, in addition to the parish church, was on a voluntary basis and thus the best indicator of the potential draw of these chapels is to be found in the popularity of their respective cults.⁹⁸⁷

Carsegrange, Balbrogie and Cally

While most saints enjoyed only one, from the seventh century there were at least four Marian feast days, subsequently rising to as many as six, something which must have greatly increased visitation of her chapels.⁹⁸⁸ Certainly, the oblations of the chapel of the Blessed Mary at Carsegrange were valuable enough to come under dispute between Coupar and the Charterhouse at Perth in the fifteenth century.⁹⁸⁹ Moreover, the decision of the arbiters that the offerings were to be allocated for the building and improvement of that chapel, in order that it be sufficiently constructed and supplied with ornaments within, indicates that donations to the chapel were of a high enough level to cover the costs of such a project. Once this had been completed, the offerings were to be assigned for the upkeep of a priest or priests celebrating divine service therein forever "for the good estate of both monasteries and all the faithful quick and dead". That the chapel should have generated this volume of revenue is indicative of the well-attested strength of the Marian cult in the later Middle Ages, the shrines of which were thriving pilgrimage destinations in fifteenth and sixteenth century

⁹⁸⁶ Orme, 'Church and Chapel in Medieval England', p.84; Idem, 'The Other Parish Churches', p.86; Lewis, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria*, p.104.

⁹⁸⁷ Orme, 'Popular Religion and the Reformation', p.358.

⁹⁸⁸ Jounel, 'The Veneration of Mary', pp.134-6, 138-9; Innes, 'Devotion to the Virgin in the Later Medieval Gaidhealtachd', p.126.

⁹⁸⁹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXLIII.

Scotland.⁹⁹⁰ Indeed, the offerings collected by an important cult centre of Mary at Whitekirk in Lothian spawned a similar dispute in the fifteenth century between Holyrood abbey and the hermit appointed by the canons to act as guardian of the church. The supplication made to Pope Martin V in 1427 described how “alms from Christ's faithful are disbursed and also lights are wont to be received” indicating, in Helen Brown’s words, a well-regulated pilgrimage site where offerings in cash and wax were presented to the attendant.⁹⁹¹ The sheer scale of the operation at Whitekirk is revealed by an early seventeenth source which reports that a papal enquiry recorded 15,653 pilgrims “of all nations” had visited the site in 1413 bringing offerings totalling 1,422 merks, though its income had apparently halved by 1540 to 750 merks.⁹⁹² There is, of course, no way to assess accurately how much visitor traffic the chapel at Carsegrange drew, but the chapel was of sufficient profile that in 1480 it attracted an endowment from David Ogilvy of Inchmartine of two acres of land of the ‘Lang Langlands’ of Inchmartine for the increase of divine worship.⁹⁹³ Two of Coupar’s other chapels, at Balbrogie and Cally, were also dedicated to the Blessed Mary, though their almost complete absence from the documentary record would appear to indicate that these were operations on a considerably smaller scale, likely only attracting the devotion of the laity in their immediate vicinity.

Forfar Loch

Of Coupar’s chapel in the loch of Forfar, it is clear that by the sixteenth century both the chapel and the inch itself had become firmly associated with St Margaret. What is not clear is exactly when or how this had come about, though a charter of 1563 which referred to “the isle anciently called of the chapel of the Holy Trinity but now called St Margaret’s the queen” would suggest that the change was not at all recent.⁹⁹⁴ King Alexander II’s grant of 1234 made no mention of Margaret but, of course, Margaret was not yet canonised at the time of the

⁹⁹⁰ Fitch, ‘Mothers and their sons: Mary and Jesus’, 159-176; Idem, ‘Popular piety in Scotland’, 1-21; Hall, ‘Wo/men only? Marian Devotion in Medieval Perth’, 105-124; Ditchburn, ‘Saints at the door don’t make miracles’, p.96; Ditchburn, ‘The ‘McRoberts thesis’ and patterns of sanctity’, p.181; Turpie, ‘Scottish Saints Cults and Pilgrimage’, p.35; Hall, ‘Of Holy Men and Heroes’, p.79.

⁹⁹¹ Brown, ‘Lay Piety in Later Medieval Lothian’, pp.271-6.

⁹⁹² P.H. Waddell, *An Old Chronicle, Being a History of Auldham, Tynninghame and Whitekirk in East Lothian, from Session Records, 1615-1850* (Edinburgh, 1893), pp.138-140; M. Penman, ‘The Economics of Faith: Approaches to Monastic Saints’ Cults in Medieval Scotland’, in F. Ammannati F (ed.), *Religion and religious institutions in the European economy, 1000-1800* (Florence, 2012), pp.765-78, p.766.

⁹⁹³ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXLVII.

⁹⁹⁴ Blair Castle Archive, Box 26, Parcel 4, no. 14. Adams has argued that the Inch had been the site of a hermitage patronised by Queen Margaret, largely based on local traditions (Adams, ‘Holy Trinity Chapel, Forfar Loch’). This is unsupported by any documentary evidence, though the site is less than a mile from Forfar Castle, a very important twelfth-century royal residence.

king's grant and so an official dedication of the chapel to her would have been inappropriate.⁹⁹⁵ As Hammond has identified, however, Margaret had been venerated as a saint for at least a century prior to 1250 by the Scottish aristocracy and it is very likely that the same was true of the royal family, "even if they were wary of declaring this officially in charters".⁹⁹⁶ Indeed, the dedication of the chapel to the Holy Trinity is significant since Margaret was buried at her own foundation of the Priory Church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline, later Dunfermline abbey, the location of her shrine and centre of her cult. Considering the leading role which King Alexander II seems to have taken in the campaign for her canonisation, it is probable that the chapel held some unofficial association with Margaret from its inception, perhaps in the form of an image or some other artefact. This would have made the chapel highly popular amongst the local laity, particularly in the wake of the healing miracles which were reported at Dunfermline.⁹⁹⁷ It is highly likely, then, that the chapel was renamed shortly after official recognition of Margaret's sainthood was granted in 1250 in order to establish it more firmly as a pilgrimage destination.

In 1508, Alexander Turnbull was appointed to the chaplainry of the chapel of the Isle of St Margaret, Queen of Scots, on the condition that he make personal residence in the ministry of the chapel. That the chapel was attracting noble visitors at this date is revealed by the order given to Alexander that he would not receive "temporal lords or ladies" to stay there without the permission of the abbot.⁹⁹⁸ For the upper section of society, therefore, it is clear that the appeal of the cult of the "saintly matriarch of the royal dynasty" had persisted. Turpie has argued that Margaret's cult had stagnated by the later Middle Ages as evidenced by the lack of new altar dedications during this period, however continued devotion to her is certainly also evident, particularly through depictions in late medieval prayer books.⁹⁹⁹ Moreover, the specific mention of female visitors to the chapel, which was reiterated again reminding Alexander to ensure "that no women dwell there", is also significant. Later medieval shrines

⁹⁹⁵ RRS, III, no.211 <<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2078/>>, [accessed: 19 July 2016]; *Brev.*, no. 23.

⁹⁹⁶ Hammond, 'Royal and Aristocratic Attitudes to Saints', pp.77-8.

⁹⁹⁷ M. Penman, 'Royal Piety in Thirteenth-Century Scotland: the Religion and Religiosity of Alexander II (1214-49) and Alexander III (1249-86)', in J. Burton, P. Schofield & B. Weiler (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England XII* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp.19-20; R. Bartlett (ed.), *The Miracles of St Aebbe of Coldingham and St Margaret of Scotland* (Oxford, 2003); Ditchburn, 'Saints at the door don't make miracles', p.72; Turpie, 'Scottish Saints Cults and Pilgrimage', pp.22.

⁹⁹⁸ Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, p.272.

⁹⁹⁹ Turpie, 'Scottish Saints Cults and Pilgrimage', pp.42-4, 66; Fitch, 'Mothers and Their Sons: Mary and Jesus', p.160; C. Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots: A Life in Perspective* (New York, 2013), p.133; Higgitt, *Imageis Maid with Mennis Hand*.

were visited by pregnant women seeking saintly intercession in childbirth, something Margaret's cult was particularly associated with; the relic of her 'birthing sark' was used by queens of Scotland during the births of Kings James III, IV and V.¹⁰⁰⁰ Indeed, Margaret's popularity amongst women may have been a much earlier feature of her cult. Robert Bartlett has argued that the proportion of male to female participants in the miracles of St Margaret, which number twenty seven men to seventeen women, indicates that her cult was "as dominated by men as most other cults" in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁰⁰¹ However, if we consider that twelve of these men were either monks, most likely of Dunfermline itself, or members of the secular clergy, this leaves a ratio amongst the laity who experienced miracles at the hand of the saint of fifteen men to seventeen women.¹⁰⁰² Moreover, Catherine Keene has argued that the mid-thirteenth century saw a new emphasis on idealised marital chastity, as evidenced by the canonisation of Elizabeth of Hungary and Hedwig of Silesia, in 1235 and 1267 respectively, both of whom "bear a striking resemblance to Margaret in terms of her interpreted piety". These women were swiftly embraced by the Cistercian Order as a way of "staking its claim" to female lay sanctity, in response to the spread of lay saints associated with the Mendicant orders.¹⁰⁰³ Thus, while Dunfermline itself was Benedictine, the monks of Coupar may have been actively involved in the promotion of Margaret's cult as part of a wider Cistercian policy. Aspects of Margaret's cult which drew visitors to the chapel in the sixteenth century, then, may have been just as appealing in the earlier period.

Gatehouse Chapel

St Katherine's chapel belongs to a slightly different category than the others. The general consensus in the secondary literature is that gatehouse chapels served as places of worship accessible to individuals who were restricted from entering further into the precinct. As previously discussed, the cult of St Katherine held specific appeal for medieval noble women and, indeed, the dedication of the gatehouse chapel can be seen in terms of their appeasement with regards to the constraints placed upon female access to the holiest internal

¹⁰⁰⁰ Ditchburn, 'Saints at the door don't make miracles', p.73; Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots*, p.133; Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, pp.232-3; Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things*, p.246.

¹⁰⁰¹ Bartlett, *The Miracles of St Aebbe and St Margaret*, pp.xxxviii-xxxix, xl-xli.

¹⁰⁰² S. Lee, 'The Development of Dunfermline Abbey as a royal cult centre c.1070-c.1420' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Stirling, 2014), p.31.

¹⁰⁰³ Ailred of Rievaulx used a version of St Margaret's Life in his own writings, while a version of her *Vita* is derived from a manuscript originally at the Cistercian abbey of Vaucelles in northern France (Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots*, pp.128-9).

areas of the abbey.¹⁰⁰⁴ The diversion of Coupar's wealthy, female visitors to St Katherine's chapel no doubt saw a number of lucrative offerings made to this saint. That is not to say, however, that the chapel was frequented by this group exclusively. As Jackie Hall notes, Cistercian gatehouse chapels were "a point of pastoral contact between lay people and the Cistercian monastic world", serving both those who travelled there and the lay communities who lived in their vicinity.¹⁰⁰⁵ Hall's investigation of gatehouse chapels in England found that most performed an informal parish function. The construction of these chapels could therefore be seen as a pastoral response to growing lay settlement "at the gates", providing for the cure of souls though the tithes of these communities were paid elsewhere.¹⁰⁰⁶ Indeed, there is no record of any tithes attached to the chapel of St Katherine at Coupar, but the rental records do reveal settlement in very close proximity to the precinct boundary itself.¹⁰⁰⁷ As Hall identifies, such parochial-type activity would have brought these abbeys into conflict with the local parish church, as indeed in some instances the documentary evidence reveals was the case. In the case of St Katherine's chapel, however, the abbey was the local church rector. The income generated by the chapel, then, even if it did divert revenue from the church, had no reason to become a source of conflict.

Cistercian gatehouse chapels were also pilgrimage destinations. Hall has suggested that the location of such chapels made them "peculiarly suitable" for this function, "occupying symbolic space between world and devil on the outside and heavenly Jerusalem represented by the monastery inside".¹⁰⁰⁸ That the chapel of Furness abbey was a minor pilgrimage centre is revealed in 1344 when the bishop of Lincoln granted indulgences to those who came to venerate an image of the Virgin Mary. A chapel of more significance was to be found at Kingwood abbey, "to which many blind and lame come from England, France, Ireland and Scotland", and in 1364 the pope granted indulgences for those who gave alms. In 1361 at Merevale abbey, where "a great multitude of the faithful, for the expiation of their offences, pour almost daily to the chapel built beside the gateway of your monastery", the bishop of Lichfield found it necessary to grant to the monks "power to absolve those of our subjects who, while on pilgrimage to the aforesaid chapel, find themselves at the point of death and

¹⁰⁰⁴ See *Saints Cults*: St Katherine section.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Hall, 'English Cistercian Gatehouse Chapels', pp.90-1; Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians*, p.74; Sternberg, *Cistercian Architecture and Medieval Society*, pp.139-40.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Hall, 'English Cistercian Gatehouse Chapels', pp.75-80.

¹⁰⁰⁷ See Map 4: Keithick grange for lands bordering the precinct.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Hall, 'English Cistercian Gatehouse Chapels', pp.90-1.

wish to make full confession to you".¹⁰⁰⁹ While these documentary examples all pertain to English houses, there is no reason why this should not have also occurred in Scotland. Certainly, the popularity of St Katherine's cult should have been enough to draw visitors to Coupar's gatehouse chapel. While the particular appeal of this cult to noble women has been discussed, as Katherine Lewis notes, Katherine must have held universal appeal to have become so widely venerated; the cult could hardly have achieved the status it did had it only been of relevance to women.¹⁰¹⁰ In Scotland, it enjoyed a wide geographical distribution coupled with centuries of popularity. In the late medieval period, in particular, there is strong evidence of devotion to virgin martyrs, expressed chiefly through monetary offerings and donations of ornaments and vestments made by Scots to existing foundations.¹⁰¹¹ Two other Scottish sites associated with St Katherine received papal indulgences in the first half of the fifteenth century, while another chapel dedicated to the saint was founded by George Brown, bishop of Dunkeld (1483-1515), on the island in the loch of Clunie, less than ten miles from Coupar. A reference in the accounts of the granitar at Clunie refers in 1507 to "those visiting this place on the day of St Katrine and chanting".¹⁰¹² Thus, St Katherine's chapel at Coupar combined a dedication to a very popular saint with the prestige of being incorporated into the fabric of a Cistercian abbey. These dual attributes surely attracted sizeable numbers of visitors. In this context, we must consider the possibility that, just as was the case for other monastic cult centres, the extensive provision of visitor accommodation near to the precinct of Coupar may have, in part, lodged pilgrims.¹⁰¹³

Keithick and Glenisla

The chapels at Keithick and Glenisla were dedicated to St Ninian. That two foundations on Coupar's lands established at some distance from each other, perhaps both in chronological and geographical terms, possessed a dedication to this saint is indicative of the long-term popularity of this cult. As Turpie has identified, prior to the late thirteenth century, interest in this saint was already widespread.¹⁰¹⁴ The twelfth-century chapel at Keithick was a

¹⁰⁰⁹ Ibid, pp.80-3; Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians*, p.74.

¹⁰¹⁰ Lewis, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria*, pp.58, 62-3.

¹⁰¹¹ Fitch, 'Power Through Purity', pp.16-17; H.S. Brown, 'Saint Triduana of Restalrig? Locating a saint and her cult in late medieval Lothian and beyond', in D. Strickland (ed.), *Images of Medieval Sanctity: Essays in Honour of Gary Dickson* (Leiden, 2007), pp.64-5.

¹⁰¹² Turpie, 'Scottish Saints Cults and Pilgrimage', p.36; R. Kerr (ed.), *Rentale Dunkeldense: being accounts of the bishopric, A.D. 1505-1517*, (Edinburgh, 1915), pp.169-71, 312.

¹⁰¹³ Hurlock, 'Pilgrimage', p.155; Gray, 'Penrhys: the archaeology of a pilgrimage', pp.14-15. See Charity and Hospitality section.

¹⁰¹⁴ Turpie, 'Scottish Saints Cults and Pilgrimage', pp.60-3.

manifestation of this and Ninian's status as an object of local lay veneration. Following the outbreak of the Wars of Independence in 1296, the cult took on a new function as the saint became associated with 'rescue miracles', whereby Scots were saved from harm at the hands of the English through the intervention of Ninian.¹⁰¹⁵ This newly developed protectionist element gave the cult immediate significance for all those affected by the prolonged warfare and, as Michael Penman notes, prayers for protection, peace and salvation would naturally intensify in such circumstances.¹⁰¹⁶ It is highly likely, therefore, that the chapels of Keithick and Glenisla saw a great surge in interest throughout the fourteenth century as Ninian's cult adapted to contemporary events. Moreover, the appeal of these chapel will almost certainly have mirrored the wider expansion in devotion to the saint throughout the later Middle Ages as Ninian emerged as "the most popular non-scriptural saint in Scotland".¹⁰¹⁷ It is possible, then, that both drew visitors from outside of their immediate vicinity. Indeed, other chapels dedicated to St Ninian at Kinfauns, Dunmore and somewhere "in the wilderness" of Argyll were minor pilgrimage sites in this period.¹⁰¹⁸ In Glenisla, however, external factors took their toll on the success of the chapel and an apparent breakdown of law and order had rendered it largely defunct by the later fifteenth century. Evidently, this development represented enough of a blow, perhaps financially, to the abbey that it warranted complaint to the pope and the subsequent granting to Coupar of the right to excommunicate criminals in the region. The description in 1496 of the surrounding area as uninhabited alongside the assertion that the chapel could not be visited "without great perils" indicates that, by this date, this chapel was neither a site of worship for the local population nor a pilgrimage destination for those further afar.¹⁰¹⁹ The chapel at Keithick, meanwhile, was still in operation in 1542 and probably thriving off the back of the success of St Ninian's cult on the national stage.

Campsie

As noted above, St Adomnan's chapel was incorporated into the abbot's residence at Campsie and no offerings made to it are recorded in the rental of 1542. But while the chapel would not have been generally accessible to the laity, the Old Statistical Account records the ruins of "an old religious house, dependent on the Abbey of Cupar" at Campsie from which stones bearing

¹⁰¹⁵ Higgitt, *Imageis Maid with Mennis Hand*; Clancy, 'Scottish Saints and National Identities', pp.403-4; Turpie, 'Scottish Saints Cults and Pilgrimage', pp.100-101.

¹⁰¹⁶ Penman, 'Sacred Food for the Soul', pp.1-2.

¹⁰¹⁷ Turpie, 'Scottish Saints Cults and Pilgrimage', pp.63-101.

¹⁰¹⁸ *Ibid*, pp.37-8.

¹⁰¹⁹ Bliss, Johnson & Twemlow, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, vol XVI, p.528.

the arms of the Hay family had been recovered, which would appear to be evidence of benefactor commemoration within the chapel.¹⁰²⁰ If this is the case, it demonstrates a clear interest in the cult among the most important members of Coupar's social sphere, something which may have been a factor in the abbey's decision to host Adomnan's feast day.¹⁰²¹ Access to the chapel, then, appears to have been reserved for the abbot's guests, who may indeed have chosen to make offerings to the saint, though the greater value of this chapel was no doubt the role it played in maintaining the abbey's relationship with high ranking members of lay society. Moreover, Coupar's embracing of Adomnan would have proved a useful tool in garnering favour with the bishops of Dunkeld considering the close links between the bishopric and Iona.¹⁰²²

Tullyfergus

Considering the highly localised nature of the cult of St Findoc, it is to be expected that patrons of the chapel at Tullyfergus were drawn from its immediate vicinity. There is no reason to presume, however, that local interest in the cult faded during our period. Cults associated with local or regional identities likely held the most relevance for many people.¹⁰²³ Elsewhere, Findoc's cult was significant enough to warrant the inclusion of this saint in a kalendar of Culross abbey dating to 1305.¹⁰²⁴ While Findoc was apparently an obscure figure to the compilers of the sixteenth-century Aberdeen Breviary who included no life of this saint, it was noted that Findoc was venerated in the diocese of Dunblane, presumably referring to the church at Findo Gask.¹⁰²⁵ Indeed, that the cult was still active in this area is seen in 1511 when nearby Dunning was erected into a burgh of barony and it was stipulated that annual public fairs were to be held on St Findoc's day and on the octave of the same, something repeated in a charter of 1540.¹⁰²⁶ The cult was also active at its other main centre: in 1529, a grant of land made by Archibald, earl of Argyll, contained the instruction that the recipient was to sustain the chapel of St Findoc on the isle of Inchald (or Inishail) with a weekly mass to be performed for the souls of King James V, the late earl and countess of Argyll, Archibald's mother and

¹⁰²⁰ *Old Statistical Account*, vol XIII, p.534.

¹⁰²¹ Borland, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, pp.201-2.

¹⁰²² For discussion of the relationship between the two, see J. Bannerman 'Comarba Coluim Chille and the Relics of Columba', *Innes Review*, 44 (1993), pp.14-47.

¹⁰²³ Higgitt, *Imageis Maid with Mennis Hand*; Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things*, pp.129-32.

¹⁰²⁴ Turpie, 'Scottish Saints Cults and Pilgrimage', p.18.

¹⁰²⁵ Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p.352.

¹⁰²⁶ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol II, no. 3634, vol III, no. 2145.

father, and Archibald himself.¹⁰²⁷ It can be assumed that the veneration of Findoc was also sustained on a local level at Tullyfergus, though the fact that Findoc's feast day does not appear in the abbey's kalendar of 1482, unlike St Adomnan's, is perhaps indicative of a lack of engagement with the cult on the part of the local nobility, its devotees being further down the social scale and of less significance to the abbey.

Part Two: Cistercian Identity

International Networks

The concept of a collective Cistercian identity is a common theme in the secondary literature. This sense of belonging to a larger organisation, or "great congregation", functioning on both a national and an international level, was sustained by the network of filiation and system of visitation which served as a conduit for both ideas and manpower, spreading and maintaining the Cistercian ethos. As Janet Burton identifies, these ties were capable of withstanding "local cross currents" and relationships between houses endured in England and Wales up until the Dissolution.¹⁰²⁸ In a Scottish context, twelfth-century accounts of events recorded in the Melrose Chronicle reveal that the strong identification of the monks of this abbey with their Cistercian brethren was unrestricted by political borders.¹⁰²⁹ Fundamental to sustaining this organisational structure and the cohesive identity of the order was the General Chapter meeting hosted annually by Cîteaux.

Attendance at the General Chapter

Emilia Jamroziak argues that the abbots of Melrose first attended the General Chapter in the 1170s, and this may also be the case for Coupar though there is no evidence to support this.¹⁰³⁰ The first mention of Coupar in the statutes occurs in 1195, when a complaint made by

¹⁰²⁷ Ibid, vol IV, no. 1025.

¹⁰²⁸ Burton, *Homines sanctitatis eximiae*; E.M. Jamroziak, 'Cistercian Identities on the Northern Peripheries of Medieval Europe from Twelfth to Late Fourteenth Century', in A. Müller & K. Stöber (eds.), *Self-Representation of Medieval Religious Communities: the British Isles in Context* (Berlin, 2009), p.209; Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians*, pp.82, 96-7; Jamroziak, 'Cistercian Identities in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Scotland', pp.178-80; Veitch, 'Kinloss Abbey', p.10.

¹⁰²⁹ Jamroziak, 'Cistercian Identities in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Scotland', p.181.

¹⁰³⁰ Ibid, pp.178-9.

the abbot was referred to the abbot of Clairvaux.¹⁰³¹ We are on slightly firmer ground in the thirteenth century. The attendance requirement for abbots of Scottish houses was reduced in 1179 from annually, as was standard, to every four years, and the statutes record that on two occasions, in 1273 and 1281, eight years apart, the abbot of Coupar was officially excused from attending the Chapter meetings of these years.¹⁰³² Based on this, we can assemble a provisional list of years when Coupar was expected to be at Cîteaux, from the turn of the thirteenth century until the outbreak of war with England in 1296:

1201 | 1205 | 1209 | 1213 | 1217 | 1221 | 1225 | 1229 | 1233 | 1237 | 1241 | 1245 | 1249 | 1253 | 1257 | 1261 | 1265 | 1269 | 1273 | 1277 | 1281 | 1285 | 1289 | 1293

While it is extremely unlikely that this represents a consistently adhered to schedule, there are some indications that it may be roughly correct. In 1227, the abbot of Coupar was instructed to inspect the proposed endowment for the establishment of Melrose's daughter-house at Balmerino, along with the abbot of Rievaulx.¹⁰³³ The foundation could not take place until the results of the inspection were reported to the General Chapter. If the above table is correct, following the issuing of these instructions the next Chapter meeting at which the abbot of Coupar would be present was that held in the September of 1229; accordingly, the party from Melrose set out for Balmerino on 13 December of that year.¹⁰³⁴ Hammond has argued that approval for the foundation had been secured in 1227 and the lag until the end of 1229 was due to the construction of the abbey buildings.¹⁰³⁵ There is likely a large degree of truth in this assessment, but it seems likely that the sending of the community from Melrose was delayed until the abbot of Coupar had attended the General Chapter and secured official permission. While this was evidently all but the final step in the foundation process, it is likely to have been a crucial element. The same may also be true of the earlier foundation at Culross. In 1214, the abbots of Coupar, Newbattle and Kinloss had been assigned the task of inspecting the site.¹⁰³⁶ The Chronicle of Melrose records that the monks from Kinloss set out for Culross on 23 February '1217'. This has generally interpreted as 1217/18, taking place prior to the

¹⁰³¹ Canivez, *Statuta*, vol I, 1195 no.57; Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes*, 1195 no.54. Waddell suggests that the fact that this was referred to Clairvaux indicates that it was either a matter of great importance or that it involved Melrose.

¹⁰³² Dated to 1157 by Canivez (Canivez, *Statuta*, vol I, 1157 no.62) but Waddell indicates that it was 1179 or shortly before (Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes*, p.38); Canivez, *Statuta*, vol III, 1273 no.39; *Ibid*, vol III, 1281 no.54.

¹⁰³³ *Ibid*, vol II, 1227 no.39.

¹⁰³⁴ Stevenson, *Melrose Chronicle*, p.59.

¹⁰³⁵ M.H. Hammond, 'Queen Ermengarde and the Abbey of St Edward, Balmerino', in T. Kinder, (ed.), *Life on the Edge: the Cistercian Abbey of Balmerino, Fife (Scotland)* (Forges-Chimay, 2008), pp.17-18.

¹⁰³⁶ Canivez, *Statuta*, vol I, 1214 no.49.

medieval New Year, and would therefore fit with the attendance of the Scottish abbots at the General Chapter five months prior in September 1217. This cannot be definitively stated, however, since the Chronicle often begins the New Year in January, but is certainly possible.¹⁰³⁷

There is evidence that Coupar attended the General Chapter outside of the years proposed above, though in these cases extenuating circumstances apply. The Chronicle of Melrose records that in 1218 nearly all the abbots of England, Wales and Scotland set out for the General Chapter at the order of the abbot of Cîteaux in order to discuss certain matters of importance. The context for this was the general interdict which had been placed upon the kingdom of Scotland by the papal legate, Guala Bicchieri, in 1216 and had been defied by the Cistercian houses who claimed exemption under the privileges of the order and therefore considered it invalid. As a result, while the interdict began to be lifted in early 1218, the Scottish Cistercians were singled out to remain excommunicated. The abbots of Melrose, Newbattle, Coupar, Kinloss and Culross went south to plead their case with the legate but were wholly unsuccessful and forced to adhere to the interdict until they were absolved that summer. There is no doubt that these events were the topic of discussion at the Chapter meeting of 1218, following which the Chronicle records that the abbots of Cîteaux, Clairvaux and seven others set out for Rome to appeal to the pope against Guala's attack on the Order.¹⁰³⁸ The abbot of Coupar was again at the General Chapter in 1243; the Melrose Chronicle records that he died on the journey home and was buried at Saint Remy.¹⁰³⁹ In this instance, the abbot's presence was due to a serious dispute which had occurred between Coupar and Cîteaux regarding ownership of the church of Airlie.¹⁰⁴⁰

The Scottish abbots do not appear to have been present, however, in 1249 when the General Chapter decreed that the abbot of Coupar, "who, by deliberate lying, bore his testimony to a certain monk under [his] seal that he was a monk of Cîteaux when he was no such thing will do penance for a slighter fault for three days, one of them on bread and water and for twenty days will be out of the abbots' stall".¹⁰⁴¹ The circumstances surrounding this are obscure, not

¹⁰³⁷ Cowan & Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p.74; Stevenson, *Melrose Chronicle*, p.49.

¹⁰³⁸ *Ibid*, pp.53-4; Oram, *The Reign of Alexander II*, pp.53-4.

¹⁰³⁹ Stevenson, *Melrose Chronicle*, p.69.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Canivez, *Statuta*, vol II, 1243 no.44. Discussed in Possession of Parish Churches: Airlie section.

¹⁰⁴¹ *Ibid*, vol II, 1249 no.53.

to mention intriguing, and the abbot's impersonation of a member of Cîteaux surely occurred outside of Scotland; however, that news of the punishment was to be relayed to Coupar by the abbot of Newminster, a Northumbrian abbey, indicates that neither Coupar, nor probably any other Scottish house, was present at the General Chapter in 1249. In this case, their absence may be explained by the death of King Alexander II on 6 July that year, shortly before the abbots would have set out for Cîteaux. Practical circumstances may also explain the requests made by Coupar in 1273 and 1281 to stay away once from the Chapter meeting, the latter of which was stated to have been granted out of reverence to the king of Scotland.¹⁰⁴² Andrew de Buchan, who was abbot of the house from 1272, had an active political career: in 1284, he acted as envoy of the Scottish king to England and his abbacy ceased in 1297 when he was consecrated as bishop of Caithness.¹⁰⁴³ These absences should not be interpreted as a loosening of ties between Coupar and Cîteaux; in 1273 the abbey also petitioned for permission to host the feast of St Medan, clearly indicating that the monks considered obtaining official sanction to deviate from standard practice as essential.¹⁰⁴⁴ Indeed, the authority wielded by the General Chapter in Scotland in the second half of the thirteenth century was such that, at the meeting of 1267, the abbot of Melrose's decision to depose the abbot of Holm Cultram was overturned and the head of this house reinstated. In punishment, the abbot of Melrose himself was deposed while the abbots of Newbattle, Coupar and Calder, who had sealed the deposition of the abbot of Holm Cultram, were to be "out of the abbot's stall for forty days and perform a three days' penance for a slighter fault, one of these [days] on bread and water".¹⁰⁴⁵

From the end of the thirteenth century, however, warfare and political turmoil caused the severe disruption of Coupar's links with the continent. The outbreak of war with England in 1296 meant that the monks were reliant on the good will of King Edward I to allow their passage abroad or even into England. A safe conduct for the abbot of Coupar granted by the English king on 16 May 1296 was not intended for travel to the General Chapter; on 28 August

¹⁰⁴² Ibid, vol III 1273 no.39, 1281 no.54.

¹⁰⁴³ RRS, IV, no. 146; Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses*, p.44.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Canivez, *Statuta*, vol III, 1273 no.53.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Ibid, vol III, 1266 nos. 51, 52; Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses*, pp.150-1; D.M. Smith & V.C.M. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales, II: 1216-1377* (Cambridge, 2001), p.285.

the abbot paid homage to Edward at Berwick-upon-Tweed.¹⁰⁴⁶ Another safe conduct of the following year for the abbot and his retinue returning to Scotland also did not relate to attendance at Cîteaux, it being issued on 11 July.¹⁰⁴⁷ Indeed, even English houses were barred from attending the General Chapter without the kings' special licence and in 1308 seven abbots were detained at Dover having travelled to the meeting without official permission.¹⁰⁴⁸ The abbot of Coupar did manage to attend in 1304, however, when a safe conduct was issued in late July for him and the members of his household travelling to Cîteaux.¹⁰⁴⁹ Ongoing conflict with England coupled with the Hundred Years War would seriously impair the ability of Scottish abbots to travel until the mid-fifteenth century and indeed Coupar does not appear in the statutes of the General Chapter from 1281 until 1439, other than in 1410 when the abbot's absence was noted.¹⁰⁵⁰ Moreover, the Papal Schism saw Roman popes Urban VI and Boniface IX stipulate that houses situated in countries loyal to them were to have no contact with Cîteaux, who supported the Avignon papacy, meaning the General Chapter was "effectively unworkable for a generation". In 1433, when the abbots of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales were reprimanded for deviating from official Cistercian practice, this was blamed on their inability to attend Chapter meetings.¹⁰⁵¹

That is not to say, however, that Scottish abbeys were utterly isolated from their foreign counterparts during this period. It is known that the prior of Kinloss attended the General Chapter in 1371, while the abbot of Balmerino was at Dijon in 1408 making payment to Cîteaux, on Coupar's behalf, in respect of the payment due from the church of Airlie.¹⁰⁵² Indeed, the evidence relating to the Airlie pension reveals that contact must have been maintained between Coupar and the continental Cistercian network throughout the fourteenth century. In 1324, the money was delivered to the abbot of Cîteaux on Coupar's behalf by Guidonis de Alacrimonte, a monk of the French abbey of Preuilley, at the Cistercian

¹⁰⁴⁶ Bain, *Calendar of Documents*, vol II, no. 741; T. Thomson (ed.), *Instrumenta Publica, Sive Processus Super Fidelitatibus et Homagiis Scotorum Domino Regi Angliae Factis, 1291-1296* (Edinburgh, 1834), pp.116-17.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Bain, *Calendar of Documents*, vol II, no. 961.

¹⁰⁴⁸ L.A. Desmond, 'The Statute of Carlisle and the Cistercians 1298-1369', in *Studies in Cistercian Medieval History: presented to Jeremiah O'Sullivan* (Shannon, 1971), pp.141-3, 150-1.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Bain, *Calendar of Documents*, vol II, no. 1574c; *Patent Rolls*, Edward I, vol IV, p.242.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Canivez, *Statuta*, vol IV, 1410 no.37.

¹⁰⁵¹ Kerr, 'Balmerino Abbey: Cistercians on the East Coast', pp.49-50; Canivez, *Statuta*, vol IV, 1433 no.37.

¹⁰⁵² Kerr, 'Balmerino Abbey: Cistercians on the East Coast', p.50; Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXXIII; Wilson, 'Original charters of the abbey of Cupar', pp.283-4.

college of St Bernard in Paris which was often used by the Order as a financial collection centre in the later Middle Ages.¹⁰⁵³ In 1327, payment was made by Richard, a monk of Coupar, though the location is not recorded.¹⁰⁵⁴ Cistercian envoys were in England in 1343 when subsidies were collected from Rievaulx, Revesby, Kirkstall, Woburn and Stanley abbeys.¹⁰⁵⁵ Evidently, English matters were not the only business which this party intended to attend to and on 3 February 1344 Servadus de Cribano, monk and procurator of Cîteaux, was present at Melrose abbey where he met with Nicholas of Dundee, John de 'Tartallis', cellarer, and Robert Seton, monks and procurators of Coupar, to officially record the level of debt owed by Coupar to Cîteaux.¹⁰⁵⁶ In June 1348, Brother Lambert, procurator of Coupar, made payment at La Trappe abbey in France.¹⁰⁵⁷ This same monk of Coupar was again, or perhaps still, present in France in 1350, when it was pronounced that payment of the pension was now be made to the abbot of Ter Doest near Bruges.¹⁰⁵⁸ In 1367, though, sixty gold francs were paid, again at the college of St Bernard, on behalf of the abbey by John de Rode Scoti (John Rede the Scot).¹⁰⁵⁹ In 1368 and 1371, John de St John, monk and procurator of Cîteaux, collected pension payments at Coupar abbey itself.¹⁰⁶⁰ That such varying arrangements were made for the delivery and collection of this money indicates that communication between Coupar and their monastic associates on the continent was maintained. Moreover, the monks clearly felt obligated to make significant efforts to ensure that these payments in support of the motherhouse and the hosting of the General Chapter were made, regardless of the difficulties faced. This is revealing of internal attitudes at Coupar in terms of their place within the wider Cistercian context and a continued sense of collective monastic identity.

The Later Medieval Period

It has been argued, however, that contact between Scottish houses and the central Cistercian administration had broken down to such an extent that a situation had arisen whereby monks in Scotland identified "more readily with their fellow countrymen – past and present - than

¹⁰⁵³ King, 'Coupar Angus and Cîteaux', pp.54, 58-9 no.7; Idem, *The Finances of the Cistercian Order*, p.111.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Idem, 'Coupar Angus and Cîteaux', p.59 no.8.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Idem, 'Cistercian Financial Organisation, 1335-1392', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 24 (1973), pp.132-3.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Idem, 'Coupar Angus and Cîteaux', p.60 no.10.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Ibid, p.61 no.11.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Ibid, pp.61-2, no.12.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Ibid, p.62 no.13.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Idem, pp.62-3 nos. 14 and 15.

with their Continental brethren".¹⁰⁶¹ In particular, a series of events which unfolded throughout the 1530s has received considerable attention from historians. In 1530, the General Chapter deposed Andrew Durie, abbot of Melrose, as the Order's visitor for Scotland for his negligence and appointed Walter Malin, abbot of Glenluce, in his place, who went about this task with zealous commitment. King James V (1512x1542) intervened and requested a new visitor be provided. The General Chapter complied and appointed Simon Postel, abbot of Chaalis, who was in Scotland by September 1531 and whose directives for reform turned out to be even stricter. Despite the king's protestations, the Chapter of 1533 confirmed the enactments and appointed Malin and Donald Campbell, abbot of Coupar, to carry them out. They did so with vigour but were met by a surge of protest from Melrose, Newbattle and Balmerino.¹⁰⁶² In Julie Kerr's view, this was an indication that the collapse of communication with the continent and the consequential lessening of the General Chapter's authority in Scotland had led to a situation where, by the sixteenth century, attempts made to reform their practices were perceived by the Scottish houses as alien and novel.¹⁰⁶³

In contrast, Mark Dilworth has argued that the events of the 1530s have been afforded more attention than is warranted due to the high survival rate of documentation relating to them. Rather than being viewed in isolation, therefore, the episode should instead be considered as part of "ongoing ordinary efforts to maintain monastic observance".¹⁰⁶⁴ In 1352, the abbots of Whalley and Oxford were appointed by the General Chapter as visitors for three years to all houses in England, Scotland and Wales, while in the early fifteenth-century visitation of Scottish houses was undertaken by the abbot of Pontigny.¹⁰⁶⁵ Moreover, heads of Scottish houses including abbots of Coupar were actively involved in these actions. In 1439, the abbots of Melrose and Coupar were given responsibility for the carrying out of the Order's statutes in Scotland.¹⁰⁶⁶ In 1491, the General Chapter appointed the abbots of Coupar, Melrose and Culross as visitors of Scottish houses of both sexes.¹⁰⁶⁷ John Schanwell, abbot of Coupar, enthusiastically embraced this role as "reformer general", confirming the election of Andrew

¹⁰⁶¹ Kerr, 'Balmerino Abbey: Cistercians on the East Coast', pp.55-6.

¹⁰⁶² Canivez, *Statuta*, vol VI, 1530 no.67, 1533 nos.14 and 47, 1535 no.32; Dilworth, 'Walter Malin', pp.153-5; Idem, 'Franco-Scottish Efforts at Monastic Reform', pp.218-20; Fawcett & Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, pp.57-8; Kerr, 'Balmerino Abbey: Cistercians on the East Coast', pp.53-4.

¹⁰⁶³ Ibid, pp.55-6.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Dilworth, 'Franco-Scottish Efforts at Monastic Reform', pp.216-17.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Kerr, 'Balmerino Abbey: Cistercians on the East Coast', pp.49, 53; Dilworth, 'Franco-Scottish Efforts at Monastic Reform', p.215.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Canivez, *Statuta*, vol IV, 1439 no.32.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Ibid, vol VI, 1491 nos. 23, 33.

Mason, a monk of Culross, to the abbacy there while deposing the abbots of Melrose, Dundrennan and Sweetheart, actions which may have been related to the intrusion of external candidates into these houses.¹⁰⁶⁸ Therefore, while there is no doubt that strong objections were raised by certain abbeys against the reforms of the 1530s, the level of compliance amongst the Scottish houses should not be overlooked. The abbots of Coupar and Glenluce gave their full obedience to the General Chapter throughout the affair, while in 1537 the abbots of Kinloss and Glenluce visited Deer and the community there accepted the proposed modifications. Dilworth argues that this was also likely the case at other houses but is not recorded by the surviving documentation.¹⁰⁶⁹ In the eyes of the General Chapter there was certainly a need for the reform of the practices of several Scottish houses, but the Order's filiation networks, both national and international, which allowed this to be carried out were clearly intact and functioning.

Domestic Networks

The above discussion highlights the importance of regional filiation links to the maintenance of the collective identity of Cistercian houses. The evidence relating to these networks in Scotland is perhaps not as extensive as would be expected considering the presumed regularity of interaction, though Emilia Jamrozak notes that the scarcity of source material relating to ordinary contact between houses is due to the routine nature of these activities and should not be taken to indicate that they were not taking place.¹⁰⁷⁰ Despite this, the surviving documentation provides clear evidence of the cohesive nature of the regional filiation to which Coupar belonged.

As previously noted, the abbot of Coupar was actively involved, along with those of Kinloss, Melrose, Newbattle and Rievaulx, in the founding of Culross and Balmerino.¹⁰⁷¹ When Laurence of Abernethy quitclaimed the rights of himself and his heirs in the lands forming the core estates of Balmerino abbey in exchange for a payment of 200 merks as mandated by

¹⁰⁶⁸ Bliss, Johnson & Twemlow, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, vol XVI, pp.42-3; J. Campbell, *Balmerino and its Abbey: A Parochial History* (Edinburgh, 1867) p.108 (citing J. Morton, *The Monastic Annals of Teviotdale* (Edinburgh, 1832), p.238, citing Harleian manuscript 2363). These houses were involved in disputed elections around this time: see Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses*, pp.65-6, 152-3, 209.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Dilworth, 'Franco-Scottish Efforts at Monastic Reform', pp.219-20; Idem, 'Walter Malin', p.155.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Jamrozak, 'Cistercian Identities on the Northern Peripheries', p.211.

¹⁰⁷¹ Canivez, *Statuta*, vol I, 1214 no.49, vol II, 1227 no.39.

Queen Ermengarde, present at the issuing of the charter were the abbots of Melrose and Coupar.¹⁰⁷² Groups of Cistercian abbots often appear among lists of witnesses of charters of their fellow houses. Two land grants made to Melrose abbey in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries were witnessed by the abbots of Kinloss and Coupar and by the abbots of Rievaulx, Newbattle, Holm Cultram and Coupar, respectively.¹⁰⁷³ The witnessing of these charters is evidence of gatherings of groups of houses, both Scottish and English, within the same filiation, in these instances at Melrose abbey. These meetings were no doubt held to deal with specific Cistercian business. In c.1200, the abbots of Melrose and Newbattle were both present to witness the bishop of St Andrews confirm the grant of the church of Airlie to Coupar for which an annual render was to be made to Cîteaux for the costs of the General Chapter.¹⁰⁷⁴

In many cases, the abbots were clearly assembled as a show of solidarity for the protection of a fellow house's rights. On 30 March 1180, the settlement of a landed dispute between the monks of Melrose and Richard de Moreville was witnessed by the abbots of Rievaulx, Newbattle, Coupar and Dundrennan.¹⁰⁷⁵ The abbots of Newbattle and Coupar were again present on 9 May 1204 when an agreement was reached between Melrose and Kelso abbeys regarding disputed boundaries between their lands.¹⁰⁷⁶ In the early 1220s, an agreement made between Coupar and local landholder William Munfichet saw the latter make crucial concessions of common resource rights and free transit in the vicinity of the grange of Keithick and the abbey's timber resources at Campsie in return for burial at Coupar. This important settlement was sealed by the abbots of Melrose, Newbattle and Holm Cultram.¹⁰⁷⁷ On 20 September 1229, what was evidently a long and protracted battle between the abbey of Kinloss, on one side, and the archdeacon and precentor of the church of Moray and the rectors of the church of Keith, on the other, regarding the teinds due from abbey lands was settled.¹⁰⁷⁸ The agreement involved payments due for leased land and exemptions for land retained in the hands of the monks of Kinloss, and as such echoed the revision of an earlier agreement between Coupar and the church of Cargill which occurred around this time

¹⁰⁷² *Liber de Balmorinach*, no. 7.

¹⁰⁷³ *Liber de Melros*, nos. 64, 69.

¹⁰⁷⁴ King, 'Coupar Angus and Cîteaux', pp.56-7, no.2.

¹⁰⁷⁵ RRS, II, no. 236.

¹⁰⁷⁶ *Liber de Melros*, no. 145.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXX.

¹⁰⁷⁸ *Registrum Moraviensis*, no. 77; Stuart, *Records of Kinloss*, pp.116-9.

(1225x1230), whereby payment obligations would come into effect should the abbey lease the land of Cambusadon.¹⁰⁷⁹ Present at Kinloss abbey, where the charter was issued, and attaching their seals were no less than the abbots of Melrose, Newbattle, Coupar, Culross, Deer and Balmerino.¹⁰⁸⁰

The involvement of the abbots of Rievaulx and Holm Cultram on multiple occasions in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries demonstrates that the filiation network to which Coupar belonged was not constrained by the border between Scotland and England. Indeed, Rievaulx's influence was such that in 1261 the abbot of Melrose was deposed in his absence by the abbot of the motherhouse, "without counsel or knowledge of any living soul in Scotland".¹⁰⁸¹ Political events of the fourteenth century, however, would conspire to sever these ties. The outbreak of war between England and Scotland was followed by Papal Schism, which saw Scottish and English houses adhere to rival popes, and there is no further evidence of interaction between Coupar and either of these northern English houses. Filiation links between the Scottish houses, however, continued to be cohesive. The abbot of Melrose was present at Coupar in 1314x1320, perhaps carrying out a visitation, when he witnessed a grant of land in Mar.¹⁰⁸² In both 1368 and 1371, when a monk of Cîteaux visited Coupar to collect partial payment for the debt owed from the church of Airlie, the abbot of Newbattle was present to witness the recording documents.¹⁰⁸³ In 1431, the abbots of Melrose and Coupar were given a papal mandate to handle a dispute between Balmerino and its lay neighbours regarding land boundaries, and to compel these 'molesters' of the abbey to desist by monition or, if necessary, excommunication.¹⁰⁸⁴ In the early sixteenth century, a dispute between Kinloss and Deer over teinds was settled by an assembly of all the Scottish Cistercian abbots.¹⁰⁸⁵ In 1539, when Coupar granted to James, Lord Ogilvy of Airlie and his heirs male, the office of bailiary on all their lands in the sheriffdom of Perth and Forfar, other than those in

¹⁰⁷⁹ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXVIII; *Brev.*, no. 97.

¹⁰⁸⁰ It is interesting to note that the General Chapter was going on at this time and evidently none of these abbots were present.

¹⁰⁸¹ Broun, 'Melrose Abbey and its World', pp.3-4.

¹⁰⁸² Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XCVII, XCVIII.

¹⁰⁸³ King, 'Coupar Angus and Cîteaux', pp.62-3, no.14; p.63, no.15.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Bliss, Johnson & Twemlow, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, vol VIII, p.371.

¹⁰⁸⁵ A.W. Leith, *Ferrerio, Historia Abbatum de Kynlos, Una Cum Vita Thomas Chrystalli Abbatis* (Edinburgh, 1839), p.69; Dilworth, 'Franco-Scottish Efforts at Monastic Reform', p.217.

the earldom of Atholl, it was done with the consent of the abbot of Balmerino and Andrew Butour, subprior of Balmerino and commissary of the abbot of Melrose.¹⁰⁸⁶

Personnel

Monks

Close relationships between houses are also evidenced by transfers of monastic personnel. For example, at Kinloss abbey in 1229 the number of monks whose topographic designations reveal a Yorkshire background indicates that Rievaulx was continuing to provide houses within its filiation network with recruits. Moreover, several others appear to have originated at Coupar.¹⁰⁸⁷ It is likely that Coupar itself frequently acquired members from other houses, and the monks' names reveal various probable examples of this. In some instances, the families in question had close ties to a particular house. James Masterton first appears as a monk of Coupar in 1539.¹⁰⁸⁸ David Masterton is recorded as syndic of Culross abbey in 1506 and when the lands of Culross abbey were annexed to the crown in 1587 it was recorded that the Masterton family held various lands and rights in feu from the abbey.¹⁰⁸⁹ A similar case was that of John Fogo, who was a monk of Coupar by 1539, and a second individual of the same name who had joined by 1553.¹⁰⁹⁰ Melrose abbey held land in Fogo, which was in the Scottish Borders, from the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁹¹ Adam of Fogo was a monk of Melrose by 1291 and there were two Fogo abbots of Melrose, one in the fourteenth century and one in the fifteenth.¹⁰⁹² Given that Melrose was Coupar's motherhouse, the transmission of recruits between the two is to be expected and there were likely numerous other unrecorded examples of this. It is perhaps also to be expected that the same would be true for Coupar and Balmerino, considering their proximity to each other. Thomas of Lochmalony, the land of which lies in close proximity to Balmerino, first appears on record as a monk of Coupar in 1521 and is described as subprior in 1522.¹⁰⁹³ A similar example is that of James of Pitlour, who appears on record as a monk of Coupar in 1479.¹⁰⁹⁴ Other individuals seem to have come from

¹⁰⁸⁶ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXLV.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Veitch, 'Kinloss Abbey', pp.22-8.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CLXXIII.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol II, no. 2971; Douglas, 'Culross Abbey and its Charters', pp.81, 83.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CLXXIII; Rogers, *Rentals*, vol II, p.110.

¹⁰⁹¹ *Liber de Melros*, nos. 329, 365.

¹⁰⁹² *Ibid*, no. 353; Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses*, p.151.

¹⁰⁹³ Stuart, 'Miscellaneous Charters and Contracts from Copies at Panmure House', no.32; Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, p.303.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CXLVI.

further afield. Robert Clugston was a monk of Coupar by 1456.¹⁰⁹⁵ The land of Clugston was located at Wigtown and so it is likely that Robert had joined one of the Gallowegian houses. Personnel also seem to have been drawn from the northern Scottish houses. Adam of Dufftown, who had joined Coupar by 1392 may have been a monk of Kinloss, while Robert Dumbreck, who was a monk by 1521 may have been a recruit from Deer Abbey.¹⁰⁹⁶

Abbots

The sharing of personnel, of course, also occurred at the highest level. The Cistercian system of filiation facilitated the provision of experienced personnel to senior offices in other houses.¹⁰⁹⁷ From 1164 until the turn of the thirteenth century, Coupar's abbots were all provided externally. Four of these five abbots came from Melrose and included the subprior and the master of laybrothers, while the fourth had been the prior of Newbattle.¹⁰⁹⁸ The first certain evidence of internal promotion at Coupar came in the mid-thirteenth century when Gilbert, a monk of the house, succeeded to the abbacy in 1240, though it seems likely that the true primary occurrence of this was much earlier since in 1224 a monk of Coupar was considered sufficiently qualified to become abbot of Deer.¹⁰⁹⁹ The system was also flexible enough to deal with unforeseen developments. William, master of laybrothers at Melrose, became abbot of Coupar in 1200 but was recalled to his former house just two years later when Abbot Radulf of Melrose was made bishop of Down in Ireland by a papal legate.¹¹⁰⁰ When Abbot Gilbert died at Saint Remy, perhaps unexpectedly, on the return journey from the General Chapter in 1243, just three years after his promotion, William de Binin, prior of Newbattle was quickly assigned to take his place once the news had reached Scotland from the continent.¹¹⁰¹ William later resigned his position in 1258 and was replaced by the cellarer of the house.¹¹⁰² In the late fourteenth century, Adam de Duffton, a monk of Coupar, became abbot of Balmerino while in 1414, William de Blare, another monk of Coupar, became abbot of

¹⁰⁹⁵ Bliss, Johnson & Twemlow, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, vol XI, pp.47-8, 116.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Burns, *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII*, pp.175-6; Rogers, *Rentals*, vol I, p.318; Stuart, 'Miscellaneous Charters and Contracts from Copies at Panmure House', no.32.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Veitch, 'Kinloss Abbey', pp.27-8.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Anderson, *Holyrood Chronicle*, pp.143-4, 190; Stevenson, *Melrose Chronicle*, pp.16, 26, 29, 30, Watt and Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses*, p.43.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Stevenson, *Melrose Chronicle*, pp.58, 65; Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses*, pp.44, 54.

¹¹⁰⁰ Stevenson, *Melrose Chronicle*, pp.30, 31; Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses*, p.150.

¹¹⁰¹ Stevenson, *Melrose Chronicle*, p.69.

¹¹⁰² *Ibid*, p.92.

Kinloss. William was then recalled to Coupar as abbot in 1429 when Abbot Thomas de Furd resigned just four years into his abbacy.¹¹⁰³

Outside Interference in Elections

This system came under serious threat during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as both kings and popes interfered in abbatial appointments. Provision to monasteries had been reserved to papal disposal by Pope John XXII (1316x1334) but, despite this, it has been noted that papal involvement “rarely went beyond the formal provision of the chapter nominee”.¹¹⁰⁴ Throughout the fifteenth century, while Coupar sought papal confirmation of its internally elected candidates, the convent retained a large degree of control over its appointments.¹¹⁰⁵ Almost all fifteenth-century abbots of Coupar were monks of the house when they were promoted. The only exceptions were William de Blare, elected in 1429, who had previously been so before becoming abbot of Kinloss, and a brief commendatorship under Thomas de Livingstone, appointed in 1457.¹¹⁰⁶ Livingstone, however, was in ill-health and nearing the end of his life, and in 1459 the abbey succeeded in having a monk named William Strachan appointed as his coadjutor.¹¹⁰⁷ The right of popes to provide candidates to monasteries was challenged by successive Scottish kings from the reign of James I (1394x1437) onwards, but again there appears to be no evidence of such crown interference in abbatial elections during the fifteenth century at Coupar, where the records are silent as to disputed elections. This was certainly not the case for all Scottish Cistercian monasteries. At Melrose, for example, the abbacy was “squabbled over like a choice bone thrown to hungry dogs”.¹¹⁰⁸ At other houses, continual disputes are recorded as the monks fought against having external, often secular, candidates intruded upon them.¹¹⁰⁹

¹¹⁰³ Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses*, pp.44-5; Burns, *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII*, p.175; McGurk, *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII*, p.305.

¹¹⁰⁴ Cowan & Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp.17-18; M. Dilworth, ‘The Commendator System in Scotland’, *Innes Review*, 37 (1986), p.54; Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses*, p.viii.

¹¹⁰⁵ For example: A.I. Dunlop (ed.), *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1423-1428* (Edinburgh, 1956), pp.102-3; Kirk, Tanner & Dunlop, *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1447-1471*, no. 803; Bliss, Johnson & Twemlow, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, vol XI, p.416.

¹¹⁰⁶ Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses*, pp.44-5, 132; McGurk, *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII*, p.305. Though not stated by Watt and Shead, William de Ledhouse was also a monk of Coupar (*Ibid*, pp.116-17).

¹¹⁰⁷ Bliss, Johnson & Twemlow, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, vol XI, p.388.

¹¹⁰⁸ Fawcett & Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, pp.50-3.

¹¹⁰⁹ Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses*, pp.13-15, 56-7, 132-3, 152-4.

While such conflict is not recorded at Coupar itself during the fifteenth century, members of the abbey certainly involved themselves in elections elsewhere. John Floter had been provided to the abbacy of Kinloss in 1431.¹¹¹⁰ In October 1439, Henry Butre, a monk of Coupar, supplicated the pope that Abbot John engaged in public concubinage and committed incest, dilapidating the goods of the monastery “to the very great scandal of religion, whereby not only the religious of the whole order in Scotland suffer great shame, but also religion in the said house is so confounded that some of the religious therein have concubines and others are thieves of its goods”. Henry asked, therefore, to be provided to the abbacy and Abbot John deprived.¹¹¹¹ Litigation continued between the two into the next decade, and in 1443 it was recorded that, “with consent of the greater part of the convent”, Henry had “despoiled John of the administration and intruded himself”.¹¹¹² While the suit between the two was still pending, Henry had papal support for his official provision on 11 January 1444.¹¹¹³ By 13 May, however, both John and Henry had renounced their claims to the abbacy of Kinloss into the hands of the abbot of Melrose, and John de Ellem, then cellarer of Culross, had been “postulate amicably by the convent” to the monastery.¹¹¹⁴ The outcome, therefore, saw a candidate chosen internally at Kinloss take control of the abbey. Around the same time, in March 1441, Alexander Brady, a monk of Coupar, supplicated the pope to provide him to the abbacy of Dundrennan in the place of Thomas Livingstone, on the basis that the latter continued to adhere to the Council of Basle. Alexander was already at Dundrennan and appears to have taken up charge of the abbey prior to this action.¹¹¹⁵

It would appear, therefore, that around 1440 the abbey of Coupar had sent two of its monks to take control of the houses of Kinloss and Dundrennan. It is surely not coincidental that, in 1439, the abbot of Coupar had been given responsibility for the carrying out of the Order’s statutes in Scotland, and these actions may represent an effort on the part of the convent of Coupar to bring these houses back under internal Cistercian control.¹¹¹⁶ The struggle against outside interference in house elections was one undertaken on an Order-wide basis. In 1489,

¹¹¹⁰ Ibid, p.132.

¹¹¹¹ A.I. Dunlop, *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1433-1447* (Glasgow, 1983), no.626; Bliss, Johnson & Twemlow, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, vol IX, p.48.

¹¹¹² Ibid, vol IX p.352.

¹¹¹³ Dunlop, *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1433-1447*, no.984.

¹¹¹⁴ Ibid, no.1014; Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses*, p.132.

¹¹¹⁵ Dunlop, *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1433-1447*, nos.751, 756, 757; Bliss, Johnson & Twemlow, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, vol IX, p.226.

¹¹¹⁶ Canivez, *Statuta*, vol IV, 1439 no.32.

John Hirdman, a monk of Coupar, was acting on behalf of Melrose at the papal curia in “certain urgent and necessary causes, for the defence of the rights and liberties of the Order”. In aid of this, James de Breuquet, procurator general of the Cistercians at the curia, had obliged himself for a bank loan of 6,000 ducats.¹¹¹⁷ The litigation was the result of rival claims to the abbacy made from 1486 onwards by Bernard Bell, a monk of Melrose elected by the convent, and David Brown, who had been provided as administrator initially and thereafter abbot.¹¹¹⁸ While the General Chapter was evidently anxious to ensure that Melrose should either clear or take responsibility for the debt themselves, and the abbot of Coupar was deputed to ensure that this happened, the episode is a clear example of unified Cistercian action. Cîteaux also became involved in a disputed election at Glenluce in the early sixteenth century, where the convent had elected one of its own but the crown had nominated a commendator. In 1518, the General Chapter wrote to the Scottish Lords of Council reprimanding them for expelling the elected monk and demanding that he be reinstated.¹¹¹⁹

The sixteenth century also saw the beginning of overt crown interference in Coupar’s own elections. Alexander Spens, who was cellarer of Coupar by 1501/2, had been elected by the convent and confirmed by the abbot of Melrose by February 1524.¹¹²⁰ The Lords of Council then ordered that this be revoked and the abbots of Melrose, Newbattle, Dundrennan and Culross, along with the sheriffs of Forfar and Perth, were sent to replace Spens with the crown nominee, Donald Campbell, brother of the earl of Argyll; should the monks of Coupar refuse, the community was to be dispersed to other abbeys and replaced.¹¹²¹ It is clear that considerable resistance was anticipated and this did indeed occur. Again, in October 1526, the monks of Coupar were ordered to renounce this election and Spens was put to the horn along with fifteen others but the monks appear to have persisted in their litigation at the papal curia in his support until January 1530.¹¹²² Despite being forced to comply with the crown, other houses were evidently sympathetic and Spens retired to Dundrennan. Moreover, he had

¹¹¹⁷ Ibid, vol V, 1489 no.73.

¹¹¹⁸ Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses*, pp.152-3.

¹¹¹⁹ Dilworth, ‘Franco-Scottish Efforts at Monastic Reform’, p.217; Ibid, ‘Walter Malin’, p.153.

¹¹²⁰ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CLVII.

¹¹²¹ Lauder, J., G. Donaldson & C. Macrae (eds.), *St Andrews Formulare, 1514-1546*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1942), vol I, no.46; R.K. Hannay (ed.), *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501-1554* (Edinburgh, 1932), p.197.

¹¹²² Ibid, p.252; Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses*, p.46.

taken with him the abbey's account books, no doubt severely hindering the new regime, and their return was not negotiated until 1539.¹¹²³

¹¹²³ Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. CLXXII.

Conclusion

The monks of Coupar Angus had a strong sense of collective identity and of their place within the Order. The house played a role in the spread of Cistercian foundations in Scotland, inspecting potential sites and reporting to the General Chapter. Charter witness lists reveal that Coupar was often among groups of Cistercian abbots, in many cases assembled as a show of support for a particular house, revealing the cohesive nature of the regional filiation network to which Coupar belonged. This extended across the border to include Rievaulx and Holm Cultram. From the late thirteenth century onwards, ties to English houses were largely lost and Coupar's attendance at the General Chapter became extremely problematic through war, both foreign and domestic, and papal schism. But by no means did the abbey become insular in its perspective. The inhabitants of Coupar maintained their sense of Cistercian identity and integrity into the sixteenth century, carrying out the bidding of the General Chapter with a view to reforming other houses while attempting to resist outside interference in their own elections. The abbey's involvement in continental networks is evident throughout its history, from its international trading activities, including attendance at the fair of Troyes, to the varied arrangements made for delivery of the pension payment to Cîteaux, and there is no doubt that the house had a European outlook. But just as with other houses throughout Europe, it was also highly enmeshed in and profoundly influenced by its locality. Coupar was a Cistercian abbey, but it was a Cistercian abbey which maintained a private chapel dedicated to St Adomnan within an abbot's residence. It hosted feasts for this saint along with Medan and Duthac, and paid to permanently staff a chapel dedicated to St Margaret. A, most likely pre-existing, chapel dedicated to St Findoc stood within one of its granges, still an active place of worship by the mid-sixteenth century. Close engagement with local culture and piety was common to all religious institutions, but recognition of this when it comes to Cistercian houses is sometimes obscured by discussions of uniformity. Coupar was very much a Scottish monastery.

The abbey's relationship with the local laity was at the heart of its existence. As the monks' experience in thirteenth-century Atholl demonstrates, the house could not afford to be disengaged from local politics and power structures. Coupar drew recruits from neighbouring landowners and tenants to both monkhood and the lay brotherhood from a very early date. These men embedded the abbey firmly in the community, establishing important ties and

integrating Coupar into local networks. Thus, at the turn of the thirteenth century, we find a brother of William of Meigle in the position of prior of the abbey, at a time when his family was helping to expand Coupar's grange at Balbrogie. Of particular importance was the abbey's success in attracting converts from the towns. The prevalence of monks whose families were inhabitants of Perth and Dundee was both a cause and a consequence of the abbey's active presence within these particular burghs. These men brought valuable skills and experience gained from an urban background, often representing the abbey in business and commercial matters far beyond the precinct. But while such practical considerations were important, it was piety which formed the basis of Coupar's relationship with lay society. The faith of the population in the monks' intercessory power saw the house attract large donations of landed property and rents, and also smaller endowments such as wax for the lighting of the church, given for the benefit of their own souls, those of loved ones and of their social superiors. Patronage could serve various political ends, but the genuine pious element was always present. The monks were active participants in the process. Donations represented mutually beneficial arrangements, whereby the abbey received economic gains while the grantor profited spiritually. In the eyes of laity, these eschatological benefits were the greatest asset the abbey had to offer and could be used as a means of persuasion in the settling of conflicts. Individuals arranged burial within the abbey in order to secure permanent immersion in the sacred, negotiating their grave locations to ensure the greatest efficacy, despite early attempts by the monks of Coupar to keep lay graves out of these holiest, restricted spaces. Thus, in the thirteenth century, we find Thomas Durward buried in the cloister before the church door, the place he had chosen, and Malcolm, son of Eugenius of Dunkeld, buried in the cemetery of the monks. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, lay graves are documented in the church and chapterhouse. Such developments were common to Cistercian houses elsewhere.

Over the centuries, the nature and manifestations of lay piety evolved and, for many, monasteries lost their place as the pre-eminent institutions they had been. But in the mid-fifteenth century, an offer of monastic confraternity was still appealing enough to function as an effective negotiating tool in a landed dispute. That Coupar retained its status within the local religious landscape is evidenced by the enduring tradition of Hay family burial at the abbey within a mortuary chapel that appears to have been established in the second half of the fourteenth century. The abbey maintained numerous chapels on its lands, and one in its own gatehouse, which attracted offerings from the laity who gathered there to venerate their saints far into the sixteenth century. Three of these were dedicated to the Virgin Mary, the

patron of the abbey itself, including one at Carsegrange which appears to have been a thriving pilgrimage centre in the later fifteenth century, capable of financing its own building projects, to the extent that it caused conflict with the local parish church, something indicative of the well-attested strength of the Marian cult in the later Middle Ages. Hospitality continued to be a vital component of the abbey's relationship with the laity in the late medieval period. The guest facilities within the precinct were apparently insufficient and extra accommodation was made available just beyond the walls. That Coupar regularly played host to the rich and powerful is evidenced by the fact that a ready supply of venison was secured through the establishment of a carefully organised, self-sufficient hunting centre on abbey lands in Glenisla, a site which the aristocracy themselves may have been provided access to. The house built and maintained its ties to the lay community through the entertainment of these distinguished guests. Coupar had not lost its place in lay society; instead, these connections appear to have merely diversified.

Coupar also impacted on its locality in other, more tangible ways. The abbey created large, consolidated landed holdings, assembling these sites through coherent land grants and rights of pasture, fuel and free transit. Their resources were closely managed and skilfully exploited. The abbey's pasture lands sustained substantial numbers of sheep whose high quality wool was exported to continental buyers. Similarly, Coupar's extensive portfolio of fisheries supplied the demand for salmon on both the domestic and international markets. A network of urban properties in east coast burghs facilitated this participation in trade. Meanwhile, forest land was systematically utilised for timber and game. Mills were constructed on waterways for the purposes of both grinding grain and for industrial functions. In Glenisla, the mill at Pitlochrie powered a smithy, while a fulling mill stood at Kinreich, just one example of the types of specialised function which granges performed. In these ways, the abbey had a significance impact on the local environment and economy. The evidence would suggest that these properties were worked by the same people they always had been, but they now found themselves under the direction of *conversi* overseers. By the fifteenth century, the vast majority of these lands were in the hands of tenants, but Coupar was no distant landlord. The abbey retained strict control over its valuable landed assets and tenants were in no doubt as to their obligations and responsibilities. The surrounding laity certainly felt the impact of the abbey's presence as landed rights came under dispute from the earliest days of the abbey's existence right up to the sixteenth century, the monks often employing charter evidence to press ancient entitlements to the detriment of their neighbours. These conflicts related to

property ownership, rather than anything specifically pertaining to Coupar's monastic identity; in this context, a religious house like Coupar was just another major landowner.

As an institution, the abbey also played an important role in the organisational structure of the secular church in the area. When King Malcolm IV founded Coupar abbey, the site he provided contained a pre-existing church which was already the head of an early parish, though perhaps not yet in the fullest sense of the word, based on the multiple estate unit of Coupar. The majority of this estate, or 'parish', formed the initial endowment of the abbey, though certain portions of land and their teinds had been lost due to earlier grants made before the house was founded. In the 1220s, the abbey set about rectifying this situation, reconstructing the teind rights of their parish based on the earlier form of Coupar estate through agreements made with Dunfermline and Scone abbeys. This scenario, whereby a Cistercian abbey essentially took charge of a parish, echoes the foundation of Melrose by King David I, where the abbey superseded the existing church, serving a parochial function itself, and its landed endowment formed the parish. This was evidently also the case at both Newbattle and Dundrennan. Of course, the eventual outcome for Coupar was somewhat different: the abbey moved site across the river and the land of Coupar became a grange, and thus both the house and the earlier church now presented issues of practicality. But a solution was at hand. Another, non-parochial, church stood within the parish at Bendochy, a dependent of the Celtic church of the Holy Trinity of Dunkeld. If this tie still existed, it was now severed and Bendochy was raised to head of the parish. This convoluted story raises intriguing questions. Was the abbey merely acting in self-interest, consolidating the teind income of a church in its possession, or was this a royally sponsored endeavour whereby the house was enlisted to aid the refinement of the parish system? And, indeed, do the corresponding examples of other houses demonstrate that this was a function of all Scottish Cistercian abbeys?

The above cannot be answered without dedicated research and demonstrates precisely why Cistercian houses need individualised attention. These abbeys were part of an international monastic order, a fact that they were intimately aware of, but the scale of this organisation is precisely why its history does not lend itself to Order-wide generalisations. A shared sense of collective identity and purpose does not automatically translate to an entirely common experience. Until further research is done we cannot know if the nature of Coupar's experience was even replicated at all Scottish houses, though the indications are that there

were important parallels, just as there were throughout the Order. The aim of this thesis was to explore the history of one particular house in order to expand our understanding of Cistercian monasticism in both Scotland and the rest of Europe. What has been identified are the many, varied ways in which the abbey as an institution participated in local society, of which it was a fully integrated member. Coupar Angus was shaped by, and also helped to shape, its surrounding environment. A Cistercian house and a Scottish abbey.

Appendix 1: Summary of Breviarium Antiqui Registri Monasterii de Cupro in Aneagus¹¹²⁴

Royal

Malcolm IV

*Folio 1*¹¹²⁵

1. Grant of the whole land of Coupar (1161x1162)
2. Grant of certain easements of all forests of Scotland, and charcoal (1161x1162)

William I

3. Confirmation of all donations of King Malcolm (1165x1171)

Continued on folio 2

4. Grant of the land of Aberbothrie (1166x1171)
5. Grant of the land of Keithick (1172x1178)
6. Grant of the lands of Persie and part of Cally (1195x1206)

Folio 3

7. Grant of freedom from tolls and the free right of selling and buying throughout the kingdom (1165x1214)
8. Grant of immunity from pouding for debts owed or the injury of anyone (1173x1178)
9. Grant of freedom from secular exactions (1165x1169)
10. Command that debts to CA be paid promptly (1189x1199)
11. Charter in favour of CA regarding searching for goods stolen from them (1165x1166)

Folio 4

12. Grant of a half-ploughgate of land for the site of the abbey, and also Campsie, that is the king's chase and the waste land belonging to it (1173x1178)
13. Grant of two measured ploughgates of land in the territory of Rattray, adjacent to the monks' land (1177x1204)

¹¹²⁴ NLS, James Balfour of Denmilne, Adv MS 33.2.9, printed in C. Rogers, (ed.), *Rental book of the Cistercian abbey of Cupar Angus*, 2 vols (London, 1879-80), vol I, pp.319-51. The numbering of grants is done for reference purposes and is consistent with Rogers' volume.

¹¹²⁵ Folio numbers are those noted by Balfour.

14. Grant of the whole of his marsh in the territory of Blair, belonging to king's demesne of Blair (1198x1202)

Alexander II

15. Grant in endowment when the church was dedicated of the following lands of Glenisla: Bellaty, Freuchie, Craignity, Inverharity and Forter, held in free forest (1233)

Folio 5

16. Command that fugitive neyfs of Glenisla be returned to the abbey (1248)
17. Command to sheriffs of Forfar and Perth to compel payment of all debts owed to CA without delay (1244)
18. Grant of the church of Airlie (1219)
19. Grant that the abbey may have a way through king's forest of Alyth to their land of Glenisla (1234)

Folio 6

20. Grant of two and a half measured ploughgates of land in the feu of Great Blair, in exchange for the monks' rights of common on moor of Blair (1235)
21. Confirmation of the donations of Kings Malcolm and William: land of Coupar given by Malcolm IV, 'Abbthyn'¹¹²⁶ given by William; two percatas of land in Perth which the monks bought from William son of Lene; land of Ederpolles given by William Hay; land between Ederpolles and Inchmartine given by Richard de la Battelle; donation which Stephen Blair gave; donation which Thomas Durward gave; donation which David Ruffus gave to the monks, whom he made his heirs in the land of Kinreich (1214x1238)¹¹²⁷

Folio 7 and 8

22. Grant discharging *Airimam Waytingam*¹¹²⁸ which the abbey owed to falconers of the king's predecessors from the land of Ardbreck (1215)
23. Grant of £10 which king used to receive annually from the abbot of Coupar for the land of Glenisla, ten merks yearly to support two monks of abbey celebrating divine

¹¹²⁶ There is no indication of where this apdaine was located, nor are any of King William's known grants ever referred to as such.

¹¹²⁷ Issues with the dating of this charter are discussed in Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, vol I, pp.54-5.

¹¹²⁸ DSL, <<http://www.dsl.ac.uk>>, Weyting entry: Entertainment, hospitality owed by a vassal; food-rent [accessed: 21 July 2016].

service in the chapel of Holy Trinity on the island in the king's Loch of Forfar, and five merks for the lighting of monastery. Also common pasture for six cows and one horse in his land of Torbeg,¹¹²⁹ and fuel there (1234)

Donald, earl of Mar¹¹³⁰

24. Confirmation of the donation given by Marjory countess of Atholl of the patronage of the church of Alvah (1329x1332)

Robert I

25. Grant of permission to catch salmon in the close season in the Rivers Tay, Isla, Ericht and North Esk (1326)

Papal

Pius II¹¹³¹

26. Bull to David abbot of Coupar, permission to wear the mitre and bless the church and cemeteries (1464)

Atholl (I)

Forest easements, Invervack, Murthly

Folio 10

27. **Malcolm, earl of Atholl** – Grant of rights to gather wood and other easements in all of the forests of Atholl, near and far (1164x?)
28. **William Oliphant** – Grant of Invervack beside Tulach (1210x1231)
29. **Thomas of Galloway, earl of Atholl** – Confirmation of no. 28 (1210x1231)
30. **Isabella, countess of Atholl** – Confirmation of no. 28 (1231x1233)

¹¹²⁹ Marked on the Pont Maps adjacent to St Margaret's Inch in the loch of Forfar: NLS, 'Pont Maps of Scotland, c.1583-1614', <<http://maps.nls.uk/pont>>, *Map 26: Lower Angus and Perthshire East of the Tay* [accessed 21 July 2016].

¹¹³⁰ Donald's mother was Christian Bruce, sister of Robert I. In addition, his paternal aunt, Isabella, was this king's first wife (but not the mother of Robert's successor, David II).

¹¹³¹ The *Breviarium* reads 'Paul' but this bull was issued by Pius II (Bliss, Johnson & Twemlow, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, vol XII, p.222).

Folio 11

- 31. **David Hastings, earl of Atholl** - Confirmation of no. 28 (1242x1247)
- 32. **Isabella, countess of Atholl** – Grant of the land of Murthly (1231x1233)
- 33. **David Hastings, earl of Atholl** - Confirmation of no. 32 (1242x1247)
- 34. **Isabella, countess of Atholl** - Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith, and Countess Margaret, wife of Earl Henry [of Atholl], and Robert de Muhaut, and Duncan son of Sibald, and Geoffrey del Bois, bear witness to no. 32 (1232x1233)

Letcassy*Folio 12*

- 35. **Stephen of Blair** – Grant of the land of Letcassy (1165x1195)
- 36. **King William I** – Confirmation of no. 35 (1183x1195)

Atholl (II)Forest easements

- 37. **Conan, son of Henry, earl of Atholl** – Grant of easements of the woods of Glen Errochty and Tulach (1235x1242)
- 38. **Ewen, son of Conan, son of Henry, earl of Atholl** – Confirmation of no. 37 (?)

Dunkeld

- 39. **William of 'Ogilby'**¹¹³² – Grant of a half part of his land in the eastern part of the villa of Dunkeld (1164x1178)
- 40. **Richard, bishop of Dunkeld** – Confirmation of no. 39, for an annual rent to the bishop and his successors of 9d sterling yearly (1170x1178)

Folio 13

- 41. **King William I** - Confirmation of no. 39 (1177x1190)

¹¹³² Perhaps Ingelby or Ogilvie.

Forfar

42. **Adam Albus de Forfar** - Appoints the monks of Forfar [*sic?*, Coupar] as his heirs if it happens that he dies without issue (?)

Folio 14

43. **Ralph, chaplain of the king** – Grant of a tenement in the burgh of Forfar (1184)

Lour (I)

44. **Hugh of Abernethy** – Grant of two acres of arable land in his territory of Lour in ‘le undflate’, in the north part beside the road which leads to Forfar (1273)
45. **King Alexander II** – Confirmation of no. 44 (1271x1274)

Carse of Gowrie (I)Carsegrange and immediate vicinity*Folio 15*

46. **William Hay** – Grant of the land of Ederpolles (1189x1195)
47. **King William I** – Confirmation of no. 46 (1187x1195)
48. **David Hay** – Confirmation of no. 46, reserving his mill pond (1189x1199)

Folio 16

49. **King William I** – Confirmation of no. 48 (1195x1214)
50. **Richard de la Battelle** – Grant of land between the land of Ederpolles and Inchmartine (1178x1201)
51. **William Hay [of Aithmuir]** – Grant of all of his land in the Carse of Gowrie which his brother David Hay gave him (1237x1263)
52. **Gilbert Hay** – Confirmation of no. 51 (1237x1263)¹¹³³

Folio 17

53. **King Alexander II** – Confirmation of nos. 51 and 52 (1241)

¹¹³³ The entry reads: “one ploughgate of land which William, his uncle, gave”. Extant charters record that William Hay of Aithmuir granted one ploughgate in the Carse called ‘le Murhouse’ (modern: Muirhouses), which his brother, David Hay, had given him (Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, nos. XLII, XLVII).

54. **David Hay** – Grant of a net upon the River Tay between ‘Lornyn’ and the marches of Ranulf Hay[‘s land] (1214x1241)
55. **Roger, son of Baudric** – Grant of one oxgang of his land in the Carse, at the southern part of the grange (1252x1263)

Folio 18

56. **Gilbert of Hay** – Confirmation of no.55 (?)
57. **Thomas Hay** – Grant of a net upon the River Tay (?x1241)¹¹³⁴
58. **Adam, son of Angus** – Grant of an acre of land in the territory of ‘Balgalli’ (?)¹¹³⁵
59. (i) **Richard Hay (sic?, Kai)** – Grant of a toft and an acre of land in the villa of Inchtur in the territory of the Carse (1224x1241)¹¹³⁶
- (ii) **Michael of Inchtur** – Confirmation of (i) (?x1241)¹¹³⁷

Continued on folio 19

60. **John Giffard of Powgavie** – Grant of the road that extends through his land from the bridge that is between Powgavie and the monks’ land of Carse, as far as to Inchtur (1204x1214)
61. **John de Gillebar** – Grant of a full toft with one oxgang of land in the territory of Kinnaird (?)

Lundie

Folio 20

62. **Thomas [Durward], son of Malcolm of Lundie** – Grant of one silver mark annually from his land of ‘Balelmyremath’, along with arrangements for his burial at Coupar (1204x1207)
63. **King William I** – Confirmation of no. 62 (1196x1207)
64. **Sibbald, son of Walter** – Grant of a half silver mark annually from his mill of ‘Lundyne’ (?)¹¹³⁸

¹¹³⁴ Perhaps a confirmation of no. 54.

¹¹³⁵ Probably Balgay.

¹¹³⁶ This dating is on basis that this records the charter of Richard Kai (Easson, *Coupar Angus Chrs*, no. XXXVII).

¹¹³⁷ These grants appear under the same number in Rogers’ volume (though there is nothing in Balfour’s transcription to warrant this) and so the same has been done here for the sake of consistency.

¹¹³⁸ Probably Lundie.

Cargill

65. **William de Munfichet** – Grant of common pasture in Cargill (1220x1222)

Lintrathen*Folio 21*

66. **Alan Durward** – Grant of two davochs of land in his territory of Lintrathen, namely Clintlaw and Balcashy (1250x1256)

Naughton

67. **John Hay of Naughton** – Grant of a yair on the River Tay and a toft in the territory of Naughton, namely The Gauldry (1230x1266)¹¹³⁹

Carse of Gowrie (II)Glendoick

68. **Geoffrey, son of Richard** – Grant of 20s annually from the land of Glendoick (1200x1230)
69. **John, son of Richard** – Confirmation of no. 68 (1220x1241)

Balbrogie

70. **Simon, son of Euard** – Grant of the land between the grange of Balbrogie and Meigle (?)

Continued on folio 22

71. **Michael of Meigle** – Grant of the marsh of Meigle (1203x1210)

¹¹³⁹ Note that this charter is positioned separately from the other Hay family grants, occurring in a different geographical location.

'Inverkoy'¹¹⁴⁰*Folio 23*

72. **Henry of Brechin, son of Earl David [of Huntingdon]** – Grant of the toft in 'Inverkoy' which Walter the Cook held, for an annual render of 2 horses and one halter (1200x1245)¹¹⁴¹
73. **William de Brechin** – Confirmation of no. 72, along with a new donation of a stone of wax for the lighting of the monastery (1244x1263)

'Miraitymbeg'

74. **Duncan Sybald** – Grant of a stone of wax and 4s to light the mass of St Mary, received annually from his land of 'Miraitymbeg' which lies between the church of 'Loed' and his land of 'Mochelwath' (1286)¹¹⁴²

Fern

75. **Robert de Mowat** – Grant of one stone of wax and 4d annual rent from his land of Fern (?)¹¹⁴³

*Continued on folio 24***Lour (II)**Kinreich and immediate vicinity (and Carsegrange)

76. **David Ruffus of Forfar** – Grant of the whole land of Kinreich (1201x1202)
77. **Adam, son of Abraham of Lour** – Confirmation of no. 76 (1201x?)

Folio 25

78. **Henry of Nevay, son of Adam [of Lour]** – Grant of two silver merks from the tenement of Kinreich (1257)

¹¹⁴⁰ Perhaps Inverquiech.

¹¹⁴¹ Rogers transcribes this as '*cupistium*' but Balfour's notebook reads *capistrum* (halter).

¹¹⁴² None of these place-names can be identified.

¹¹⁴³ It may be of note that nos. 73-75 all record grants of wax.

79. **Alexander of Abernethy, lord of Abernethy** – Confirmation of no. 76 (1297x1304)¹¹⁴⁴

Folio 26

80. **King John Balliol** – Confirmation of no. 79 (1298x1303)¹¹⁴⁵
81. **Alexander of Abernethy, lord of Abernethy** – Grant of free transit by all the roads and paths of his land; all the multure and renders of the mill of the barony of Lour; twenty carts of peat received annually in the peatery of Baltody at the focale of the grange of Carse Grange (?)

Glenisla

Folio 27

82. **John of Kinross** – Grant of his whole land of Cammock in Glenisla (1301x1309)
83. **John of Kinross** – Grant of his whole land of Doonies and Alrick in Glenisla (?)

Folio 28

84. **John of Kinross** – Grant of two marks of annual rent from his land of Auchinleish (?)
85. **John of Kinross** – Grant of free transit through his lands (?)

Atholl (III)

86. **Ness, physician to the king** – Grant of the land of Dunfallandy (1244x1247)

Folio 29

87. **David Strathbogie, earl of Atholl** – Confirmation of no. 86 (1251x1270)

Auchindorie

88. **William of Fenton** – Grant of the whole land of Auchindorie in the tenement of Reedie (1301x1316)

¹¹⁴⁴ The entry states that Alexander granted the whole land of Kinreich in the barony of Lour. The Abernethy family acquired the barony of Lour in 1265 (RRS, IV, no. 55) and this charter can be considered a confirmation of the earlier grant of Kinreich, which was already firmly in the abbey's possession.

¹¹⁴⁵ Given in King John's name rather than issued by the king himself.

Folio 30

89. **William of Fenton** – Grant of free passage (1307x1317)

Morlich (Mar)

90. **John of Inchmartine** – Grant of the whole land of Morlich in Mar (1314x1320)

Drimmie*Folio 31*

91. **Adam of Glenballoch, lord of Glenballoch** – Grant of his land of Drimmie in his territory of Glenballoch (1300x1304)
92. **Eustace of Rattray, lord of Rattray** – Grant of his whole right in the territory of Drimmie in the tenement of Glenballoch (?)

Renfrew

93. **Alan son of Walter, steward of the king of Scots** – Grant of one full toft in his burgh of Renfrew and a fishing net for salmon in the River Clyde (1177x1196)

Continued on folio 32

Cargill ParishCambusadon and Keithick¹¹⁴⁶

94. **John, bishop of Dunkeld** – Grant of the land of ‘Cambusadon’ and the teinds of same, saving the teinds belonging to the church of Cargill (1182x1203)
95. **Osbert, bishop of Dunkeld**¹¹⁴⁷ – Confirmation of no. 94 (1226x1231)¹¹⁴⁸

¹¹⁴⁶ This series of entries appear to deal with a fairly complex scenario and their incredibly brief, vague nature is extremely regrettable. For discussion of developments in the parish, see Possession of Parish Churches: Bendochy section.

¹¹⁴⁷ There was no Bishop Osbert of Dunkeld and this presumably a mis-transcription of Dunblane.

¹¹⁴⁸ Dating based on the above.

96. **Richard, bishop of Dunkeld** – Confirmation of the land which King William I gave in Cargill,¹¹⁴⁹ and John, bishop of Dunkeld, confirmed (1203x1210)
97. **Hugh, bishop of Dunkeld** – Confirmation of no. 94, which John, bishop of Dunkeld, Osbert and Richard confirmed (1225x1230)
98. **Richard, bishop of Dunkeld** - Confirmation of the teinds of Keithick, which pertain to the church of Cargill which John, bishop of Dunkeld, gave, and Osbert (*sic*), Richard, John, Hugh and Gilbert confirmed (1251x1272)

Comments on the Arrangement of Material

As is usual in monastic cartularies, royal charters are grouped together at the beginning and arranged by reign, starting with King Malcolm's grant of the land of Coupar, though confirmations of lay grants are dispersed throughout. Interestingly, Earl Donald (II) of Mar's fourteenth century (1329x1332) confirmation charter of Coupar's possession of the church of Alvah (no. 24) is included amongst the royal material, between that of Alexander II and Robert I. Donald certainly had royal blood, his mother being Christian Bruce, sister of Robert I, while his paternal aunt, Isabella, was this king's first wife.¹¹⁵⁰ There are no charters of Alexander III, David II or any of the Jameses, which seems to confirm that these kings made no fresh grants to the house. The royal charters are followed by the only papal bull included: that of 1464 whereby Abbot David and his successors were granted permission to wear the mitre and bless the church and cemeteries (no. 26).

The rest of the content is largely arranged geographically, rather than strictly by familial/tenorial groups. A clear instance of this is the grouping together of the extensive material relating to Carsegrange and the immediate surrounding area (nos. 46-61), while John Hay's grant on the other side of the River Tay occurs separately (no. 67). Physical location is not the definitive factor in the arrangement of the Register, however. Charters relating to Glendoick, also in the Carse of Gowrie, though unrelated to the grange, are found elsewhere (nos. 68-9). Moreover, all five charters relating to the land of Kinreich appear together (nos. 76-80), alongside Alexander of Abernethy's grant of the mill and multure of barony of Lour

¹¹⁴⁹ Presumably Keithick.

¹¹⁵⁰ But not the mother of Robert's successor, David II.

(no. 81), within which this grange was situated; meanwhile, Alexander's father's grant of two acres of land in Lour, along with Alexander II's confirmation, appear elsewhere (nos. 44-5).

The most interesting aspects relate to Coupar's lands in Atholl.¹¹⁵¹ Earl Malcolm's twelfth-century grant of forest easements is recorded alongside charters which relate to the later grants of the lands of Invervack and Murthly (nos. 27-34), both given during the era of his granddaughter, Countess Isabella, and located within the earldom though at some distance to each other. Charters which record separate grants of forest rights made by members of an illegitimate line of the earls, appear nearby but, nonetheless, separately (nos. 37-8).¹¹⁵² Those relating to the land of Dunfallandy, meanwhile, obtained during the time of Countess Forbflaith, sister of Isabella, are noted at quite some distance away (nos. 86-7). This can be explained by the less than straightforward succession of the earldom during the period when these grants were made, suggesting these dynastic upheavals were viewed by the monks of Coupar as the more significant element of demarcation between these lands than their geographical location. The land of Tulach, meanwhile, is mentioned nowhere within the *Breviarium*. This is particularly striking considering that it not only bordered Invervack, but that the grants of these lands were closely linked.¹¹⁵³ Considering that Coupar appears to have lost possession of Tulach around the mid-thirteenth century, recovering it in 1434, this is perhaps our best indication of a date range for the creation of the Register, or portions of it at least. The papal bull mentioned above, which post-dates this, may be a later insertion.

¹¹⁵¹ For a full discussion of the politics of thirteenth-century Atholl and the impact on the abbey see Politics and Patronage section.

¹¹⁵² This line descended from Conan, half-brother of Isabella and illegitimate son of Earl Henry, son of Malcolm.

¹¹⁵³ This is discussed in The Impact of Tenurial Networks section.

Appendix 2: Rental of the temporal lands, teinds and annuals of Coupar

Abbey, 1587¹¹⁵⁴

1

Rentale of the temporall

landis of ye abbacie of Coupar

As yai pay primo octobris 1587

And siclyk the rentall off the teindis off the

said abbacie off Cupar and anuellie yairof

1587

2

Margin: Fra ye rede croce

west witht

Campsy

Rentale of ye malis and customes oft

ye temporall landis of ye abbacie oft

Coupar as ye samyn pais instantlie videlicet

primo octobris 1587

Campsy witht ye fischeing

and teindis and Woulfhill with ye teindis

¹¹⁵⁴ NRS, CH6/2/4. Contractions have been expanded and personal and place-names capitalised and page numbers have been added for the sake of clarity.

becaus ye teindis war neur disseuerit fra ye
stok

Nethir Campsy witht samen tennentis akir fishear
and cadgear croft fischeings yairof teyndis
shayves of ye samen and of ye landis of
Wulfhill callit Over Campsy all set in few
to Johne erle of Atholl & James
Makbrek his spous and sone hauand
lyvrentis yairof and pais of yerlie deutie
for malis teindis hors corn and pultar – xli lib

Ower Campsy callit ye Woulfhill by ye
teindis set to Johne Craigo quhilk pais
Of maill – x lib viii s
Of hors corn – ii bollis
Of pultre – xxiiii

Bruntyhill and Kempfill
Of yeirlie maill - xviii lib xii s
for hors corn pultre and carrege

Summa latens in maill - iii xx x lib
Of hors corn – ii ... (*water damage*)
Of pultre – xx iiiii ... (*water damage*)

3

Coubyre of Soutarhouss

Williame Alsehondor of yeirlie maill – iii lib xvi s

And for pultre corn carrege

Soutarhouss

Of yeirlie maill for Soutarhouss and four akirs of land in Calsayend – x lib

Of hors corn – iiii bollis

Of caponis – xx iii

Witht syruice use and wont

Keithik witht ye milnis

Mr Nicoll Campbell for sevin aughtan parts

of Mekle Kethik corn and valk milnis yairof

Of yeirlie maill – xx iii lib iii

Of ferm bere for Sanct Ninianis akir – ii bollis ii firlottis

Of hors corn – xiiii bollis

Of geis – xx viii

Of caponis – vi dusoun

Of pultre – xi dusoun vi

Witht syruice use and wont

Thomas Campbell for ane aughtan part

of Kethik and Ester Coultvard of maill – viii lib iiii

Of hors corn – ii bollis

Of pultre – xxx

Witht syruice use and wont

Arthure Umle for ane croft callit

Turnnbullis croft – ii s

Margin: Nota ye silver compt

is [*blank*] and aucht shilling

mair

Summa latens in maill - iii xx ix lib is viii

Of hors corn – xx bollis

Of geis – xlviii

Of caponis – iiiix xli

Of pultre – viii xx viii

Of ferm bere oter set for siluir - ii bollis ii firlottis

4

Calsayend

Jane Ruthtuene Ladie Mekillor for vi akirs

oft land in ye Calsayend oft siluir mail

and for pultre and carrege – iii lib xviii s

Johne Ray for ane croft callit

Bulisbank of siluir maill – xxxiiii s viii d

Witht syruice use and wont

Williame Gourlaw for four akirs of

land yair of siluir maill – xlvii s viii d

Of pultre – xii

Witht syruice use and wont

Bessie Wallis for twa akirs

of land yair – xiii s iiiii d

Alexander Leslie for twa akirs of

land yair – xiii s iiiii d

Baitsheill

Alexander Leslie for v akirs of lands and

toft callit ye Boghall witht ye pek

akir customes of ye market of Coupar

and Akoun Bog of maill – iiiii lib iii s iiiii d

Williame Campbell for ye Bait of Ilay

and Baitland yairof of maill – v lib xl d

Of pultre – xxxli

Summa latens - xviii lib xiii s viii d

Of pultre – xlviii

5

Robert Jak for twa akirs of land in

ye Baitcheill of maill – xx s

Of pultre – vii y

Henrie Thom for Mr Rais akirs – xxx s

Of pultre – xii

Henrie Thome for his awin akirs – x l vi s iii d

Of pultre – xii

Thome Andersone for peddis akirs

for maill and pultre – xxxvii s iii d

Cristene Authinlek for Walter Baxteris

akirs of maill and pultre siluir - xliii s

Williame Writhtis akirs of maill – xv #

Of pultre – vi

David Pilmour for his akirs - xvi s viii d

Of pultre – vi

Waltir Pilmour for ye est end of ye

Akoun Bog and toft yairof - xxi s

The med Hayhous croftis West

Parkis cwynynghair and

Fergus Parkis

Johne erle of Atholl of yeirlie maill – v lib

Summa latens in maill - xv lib x s iiiii d

Of pultre – xliiii y

6

Neucalsay

George Campbell for twa akirs and

half ane rude of land callit

Lanteis croft for iii bollis ferm bere – xxv s

Walter Pilmour for his twa croftis yair - xxvi s viiid

Marione Gilruf for ane toft at ye

fische markat – iii s iiiii d

Ane toft at ye brig end of Coupar

Quhilk Thomas Scrymger litstar

summtyme occuput of yeirlie maill – vi s viiii d

The utir yard perteing to Bernard

Leslie in few – iiii lib iii s iiii d

Coubyre

Johne Boyd for ye thrid part yairof

quhilk he occupits of yeirlie maill – xxx iiii s viii d

Of ferm beir - xvii bollis

Of hors corn – ii bollis

Of caponis – xii

With syruice use and wont

Johne Perie for ane vthir third part siclike in all

Thomas Perie for ane vthir third siclike in all

Andro Blair for Makcarbreis land – xxvi s

Of pultre – iii

Summa latens in maill - xiii lib xv s

Of ferm oter set for siluir - li lib

Of hors corn – vi bollis

Of caponis – xxxvi

Of pultre – iii

Z

Balgirschie

Andro Blair of yeirlie maill – xviii lib v s

For hors corn pultre syruice and all

Gallowraw Carronlandis and

croftis ester and wester

Cristene Blair for ferm bere hors corn

caponis pultre and syruice - vii lib v s i d

Mirabell Rollok and Patrick Rede hir

spous for ferm bere hors corn caponis

pultre and syruice - vii lib v s i d

Alexander Alshonder for ferm bere hors corn

caponis pultre and syruice - ix lib viii s viii d

Summa perticule in maill - xlii lib iii s xd

Summa totalis fra ye rede croce

west witht Campsy in maill - ii c xlix lib xi s x d

Of ferm bere – liii bollis ii firlottis

Of hors corn – xxviii bollis

Of geis – xlvi

Of caponis – vi xx xii

Of pultre – xiiii xx vi y

8

Rentale of ye malis and fermis
of ye landis of Coupar fra ye rede
croce est

Wester Denhede

Johne Turnnbull of siluir maill for yis
and ye quart of Arthorstane – xvi lib I s
Hors corn – xviii bollis
Of pultre – xlvi
Witht carrege use and wont

Ester Denhede

David Campbell for Estir Denhede ane
quarter of ye west syde of Galloray
of yeirlie maill and for hors corn
pultre augmentationn and syruice - xx i lib ii s

Wester Balbrogy

The auchtan partis of ye west syde
of Balbrogy occuput be Robert Jak
William Hutoun and James Haliburtoun
witht ane quart of ye vest syde yairof
occiput be Arthur Campbell set in
few to my lord of Argyle

of yeirlie maill and for hors

corn pultre & syruice yairof – xxiii lib ix s vii d

Ane auchtan part of ye west syde of

Balbrogy set in few to Colyne Campbell

Of yeirlie maill – iiiii lib

Of hors corn – v bollis

Of pultre xii

Witht syruice use and wont

Summa latens in maill - iii xx iiiii lib ... (*water damage*)

Of hors corn – xx iii bollis ... (*water damage*)

Of pultre – iii ... (*water damage*)

9

Ane vthir auchtan part of ye west syde

of Balbrogy witht ane quart of ye est syde

yairof set in few to John Ogiluy of maill x lib iiiii d

Of hors corn – xi bollis ii firlottis

Of pultre – xxviii

Witht syruice use and wont

Ane vtthir auchtan part of ye west syde

of Balbrogy witht ane quart of ye est syde

yairof set in few to Jon Fallay of maill – x lib iiiii d

Of hors corn – xl bollis ii firlottis

Of pultre – xxviii

Witht syruice use and wont

Ane quart of ye west syde of

Balbrogy set in few to Robert Montgomery

quhilk pais of yeirlie maill – v lib xvii s v d

Of hors corn – vi bollis ii firlottis

Of pultre – xvi

Ower Balbrogy

James Bissait ye half yairof

of yeirlie maill hors corn

pultre and syruice - vi lib

Johnne Hendersone alias Patie

ye vthir haulf - vi lib

Summa latens in maill - xxxviii lib xviii s l d

Of hors corn – xxix bollis ii firlottis

Of pultre – iii xx xii

10

Crvnan

George Campbell for aite mail

hors corn pultre siluir augmentatioun

and syruice - xxiiii lib xix s

Arthourstane

Robert Aysoun for thrie quartis

yairof of maill pultre siluir hors

corn and syruice - xviii lib viii s

Ye sed quart comptit of befoir

Witht vestir denhede

Margin: ferm bere and mele

Over Balmyle

Ane sixt part quhilk George Campbell

hes in few for ferm bere ferm mele

hors corn caponis pultre syruice - ix lib xviii s x d

Vthir four sixt partis of Balmyle set to

my lord of Argyle quhilk is occiput

be David Farquharstone & Robert Baxter

for ferm bere ferme mele hors corn

caponis pultre and syruice - xxxvii lib x s v d

Ane vthir sixt part of Balmyle set

in few to John Bell for ferm bere

ferm mele hors corn caponis

pultre siluir and syruice - ix lib xviii s x d

Summa latens in maill - i c lib xv s iiii d ... (*water damage*)

Summa totalis fra ye rede cruce est in maill - ii c iii lib v s l d ... (*water damage*)

Of hors corn – ii bollis ii firlottis

Of pultre – vi xx xii ... (*water damage*)

11

Rentale of ye malis of ye

landis aboun ye watteris of

Ilay and Areitht

Margin: ferm bere

Coupargrange

Set in few to John Campbell of

Caldar quhit pais for xl chaldaris

liii bollis iii firlottis bere xxxl bollis aittis

tuelft dusoun of caponis &

for ye aite maill of ye

said toun in all – ic x lib

and yis by syruice

Milnhorn

Williame Jak and James

Sowter equalie betuix yaime of

yeirlie maill – vi lib

Item of caponis – thrie dusoun

Item ane fed bair

Ledcassie

Johne Perie of few maill – viii lib xiii s iiiii d

Summa latens – ic xxiiii lib xiii s ... (*goes into the binding*)

Of caponis – iii dusoun

And ane fed bair

12

Graimge of Abirbothtre

Item sax auchtan partis and ye third

of ane vthir auchtan part landis yairoff

set in few to my lord of Atholl qlk

pais yeirlie for siluir maill hors

corn caponis and syruice - xxxviii lib xvi s viii d

Polcak

Item ye landis of Polcak witht ane

auchtan part and twa part of ane vthir

auchtan part landis of ye grainge of
 Abirbothie set in few to David Rollok
 quhit pais of mailis for hors corn
 caponis pultre & syruice - xxii lib ii s I d

Blaklaw witht ye miln
 and cotzardis ester
 and vester
 John Drummond fewar yairof pais
 of yeirlie maill and for hors
 corn caponis pultre & syruice - xli lib i s iiii d

Summa latens in maill - ic ii lib i d

13

Cheppeltoun
 Isobell Ramsa relict of umquhile
 David Rattra of Craighall
 for ye thrid yairof of maill – vi lib x s
 Of hors corn – ii bollis
 Of pultre – xii
 Witht syruice use and wont
 George Campbell for ane
 vthir third part sicklike in all

George Drummond for ane

vthir third part comptit

heireftir

Tullifergus and

inwir townisis

George Drummond of Blair for

ye landis of Tullifergus over

inwar toun neyir inwar toun and

thrid of Cheppeltoun set to him

in few of aite maill and

for hors corn pultre and

syruiice yeirlie – xlv lib

Summa latens – lviii lib

Of hors corn – iiii bollis

Of pultre – xxiiii

14

Ester Drummy

Andro Turmbull of yeirlie maill – xi lib v s iiii d

Of pultre – iiii dusoun

Witht syruiice use and wont

Middill Drummy

George Drummond of Blair of yeirlie
maill and for pultre and syruice - vi lib xvi d

Wester Drymmy cum moleidino et
decimis garbalibus que a trunco
nunquam sepeate fuerunt

Set in few to Johne erle of
Atholl for ye yeirlie maill of – xxxi lib iiiii s

Caillie cum decimus
garbalibus et molendino

Margin: Of yis oter part
during ye lyvrenters
lyvtymes iii lib
yeirlie

Set in few to Andro
Hering of Glasclune for – xxi lib iiiii s

Summa latens – iii xx ix lib xiiii s viii d
Of pultre – xlviiii

15

Perseis cum decimus

garbalibus

Isobell Ramsa relict of umquhile

David Rattrra of Craighall for

Ester Persey witht ye teindis – ix lib vi s viii d

Archibauld Campbell for Wester

Persey and ye teindis – viii lib xvi s viii d

Summa perticule - xviii lib iii s iii d

Summa aboun ye watis of Ylay

and Areytht witht Perseis Caillie

and Drumeis in maill - iiic iii xx xii lib xi s v d

Of hors corn – iiiii bollis

Of caponis – xxxvi

Of pultre – iii xx xii

And ane fed bair

Rentaill of ye landis pertening

to Coupar withtin ye erldome of Atholl

Innervak

Johne erle of Atholl – iiiii lib

Tulloch

Johne erle of Atholl – iii lib

Summa perticule – vii lib

16

Dafallinthy in Atholl

Duncan Campbell of Glenurquhay – xi lib

Moirtully

Archibald Campbell of maill – xi lib

Murthlie in Mar

Johne Forbes of Tolleis of maill – xi lib vi s viii d

Summa perticule – xxxiii lib vi s viii d

Summa of siluir malis withtin

Atholl and Mar – xl lib vi s viii d

17

Rentale of the landis of

Glenya

Cambok Ovir Authinleishe Nether Authinleishe

Over Eirik Neyir Eirik Downy Dalmacabok kirktis

Pitlochrie and Bellite thrie quartis of Ester
 Imeirarite miln yairof and fyve auchtan parts
 of Westir Inneirarite set in few to ye
 erle of Argyle and his aris qlkis pais
 yeirlie of maill – iiiii xxx lib xv s viii d

The landis of Dalnany Craignate
 Mekill Forthir Litill Forthir Clintlaw
 and Auchindoury witht ye hors corn
 geis capnois pultre and syruice yairof
 set in few to James lord Ogilvy
 and his aris quhilk pais
 yeirlie of maill – xlvii lib

Margin: (water damage) ... by yis yeirlie
 maill yat is allowit
 ye said lord for
 his baillie for
 xx merkis yeirlie

Item thrie auchtan parts of Wester
 Inneirarite and Breulandis of
 Authinleishe set in few to Daud
 Campbell qlk pais yeirlie – v lib xii s
 Item ane quart landis of Ester

Inneirarite set in few to George

Campbell and pais yeirlie – iii lib xx d

Item ye landis of Kirkhilloks

set in few to ye laird of Inner

Quharrile and pais yeirlie – xxx s

Of geis – i

Of pultre – ii

Summa latens in maill - ic xxxvii lib xix s

Of geis - i

Of pultre – ii

18

Newtoun Freuquhy miln and miltur

yairof and quarter of Glenmarky

yat pertenis to John Ogilvy in few

pais yeirlie of maill – xxvii lib

Of geis – xxii

Of pultre – xxii

Carnaclot - xx s

The Breuland be west ye burn

Of maill – xl s

The smyddy land – xiii s iiii d

Westir Bogsyde – xlvi s viii d

Of pultre - xii

Maill of ye lap of Fornethy

My lord Ogilvy - viii s

The laird Ruthtuenis – viii s

Grange of Arlie

George and George Spaldingis

Of yeirlie maill – vii lib

Of hors corn – iiii bollis

Of caponis – xxiiii

Blakstoun

The laird of Balgillo of maill – viii lib xiii s iiii d

Summa latens in maill - I lib viii s

Of hors corn – iiii bollis

Of geis – xxii

Of caponis – xxiiii

Of pultre – xxxiiii

19

Rentale of ye landis of

Kyncreith

Grange of kyncreyt

Johne Michelsoun ane quart

Of maill – vii lib iii s iiii d

Of hors corn – ii bollis

Of caponis – xii

Witht carrege of hard fishe

James Buschert for ane vthir quart

sicklike in all

Johne Lyoun of Cossynis for

ye haulf of ye grange of maill – x lib xiii s i d

Of hors corn – iiii bollis

Of caponis – xxiiii

Witht carrege of hard fishe

Miln of Kyncreyt

Johne Lyoun for ye half yairof – iii lib vi s viii d

Of caponis – xviii

Allexander Bushert for ye vthir half – iiii lib xi s

Of caponis – xviii

Glenboy

Archibauld Mcfarlaine for ye

half yairof yeirlie of maill – vii lib iii s iii d

Of hors corn – ii bollis

Of pultre – xii

Patrik Wauth for ye vthir half

yairof siclike in all

Summa latens in maill - xlvii lib iii s

Of hors corn – xii bollis

Of caponis – iii x iii

Of pultre – xxiiii

20

Valk miln of Glenboy

William Walkar of yeirlie maill – iii lib xi s viii d

Alwetht and Innryny

witht ye fisheings yairof

George Ogilvy of Dunlugus – xx lib

Summa perticule - xxiiii lib xi s viii d

Summa of ye landis of Glenyla grange

of Arlie Kyncreyt Glenboy Alwet and

Innerytny in siluir - ii c iii xx lib iii s iii d

Of hors corn – xvi bollis

Of caponis – v xx viii

Of geis – xxiii

Of pultre – iii x d

Rentale of ye landis

of Carsgrange

Bogmln

Robert Trumbull for ye Bogmiln

and auchtan part of ye grange – xv lib xv s vii d

Of hors corn – ii bollis iii firlottis ii pertis

Of caponis – xx iiiii

Of pultre – xxx ii

Witht syruice use and wont

James Jaksoun for ye landis of

Watterybuttis west quarter occuput

be Elizabetht Hay and Allexander Ogilvy

hir spous half of Neubiggine

occupits be Thomas Robsoun

twa akirs yat wmqhile

Christen Millar occiput and

twa akirs yat Sir William Law

occiput of few maill – xxx lib xviii s ix d

Of hors corn – x bollis ii firlottis ii pertis

Of pultre – ix dusoun & aucht

Witht syruice use & wont

Summa particulie in maill - xlvi lib xiiii s iiiii d

Of hors corn – xiii bollis ii firlottis

Of caponis – xx iiiii ... (*water damage*)

Of pultre – vii xx ... (*water damage*)

21

Ane aughtan part of ye grainge yat

Pantoun Jaksone occupits of yeirlie maill – vii lib xv s

Of hors corn – ii bollis iii firlottis ii pertis

Of pultre – xxxii

Witht syruice use and wont

Ane aughtan part of ye grange callit

ye half of ye west quart yat Robert

Jaksone occupits of yeirlie maill – vii lib xv s

Of hors corn – ii bollis iii firlottis ii x pertis

Of pultre – xxx i

Witht syruice use and wont

Ane aughtan pt of ye grainge callit

ye half of Newbiggyne yat Thomas

Cok occupits of yeirlie maill – vii lib xl s

Of hors corn – ii bollis iii firlottis ii pertis

Of pultre – xxxii

Witht syruice use and wont

The landis of Mwrhouss yat John

Jaksone occupits of few maill – ix lib xiiii s ... (*goes into binding*)

The preistis land yat he occupits – xii s

Of hors corn – iiiii bollis i firlottis

Of pultre – iii xx viii

Witht syruice use and wont

Westhorne yat James

Broun occupits of yeirlie maill – viii lib xiii s iii d

Of hors corn – iiiii bollis i firlottis

Of pultre – xlviii

Witht syruice use and wont

Summa latens in - xlii lib iiiii s viii d

Of hors corn – xvii bollis ii x pertis

Of pultre – x xx xii

22

The orcheart of ye Carsgrange and
 armitaige witht ye fischeng perteing
 to Patrik Hay apperand of Meginche
 in few of yeirlie maill – xiiii lib

The sevin akirs of Carsgrange quhilk
 Henry Chalmir sumtyme occiput perte-
 nyng in few to Robert Trumbull of Bog-
 miln of yeirlie maill – iii lib xiii s iiiii d
 And for pultre & syruice

The four akirs of land in ye grange
 and akirs of ye brigend yat Johne
 Powry occupits of yeirlie maill – iii lib xli s viii d
 Of pultre - viii
 Witht syruice use and wont

The twa akirs yat James Gallowa
 occupits of yeirlie maill – xli s viii d
 Of pultre - viii

The braid rig yat James Jaksone
 Smitht occupits of yeirlie maill – viiii s iiiii d

Summa particulie in maill - xxii lib xv s

Of pultre – xvi

Summa of ye haill landis of ye

Carsgrainge in maill – ic xi lib xiiii s

Of hors corn – xxx bollis ii firlottis ii pertis

Of caponis – xxiiii

Of pultre – xviii xx xvi

23

Litill Pertht

Mr David Lindesay minister of Leyt

for ye haulf yairof of few maill – xii lib

Of hors corn – iiii bollis

Of caponis – xxiiii

Margin: Of yis to Restennet

oft ane allegit

annuell - xx s

Robert Montgomery for ye vthir half

yairof of few maill – xii lib

Of hors corn – iiii bollis

Of caponis – xxiiii

Summa of Litill Pertht – xxiiii lib

Of hors corn – viii bollis

Of caponis – xlviii

Wyndeaige

The laird of Drumlochy – xx s

Bruntymiln

My lord Drummond and his

tennentis of yeirlie annuell - xx s

Fodrance

Robert Summall of yeirlie annuell - xxxiii s iiiii d

Summa Mergettis Ynche

of Forfar

my lord Atholl of few maill – iiiii lib

Summa perticule by Litill Pertht – vii lib xiii s

24

Annuellis and few mailis

withtin ye burght of Dundee

in use of payment

Mr Alexander Wodderburn for ye mailis of
ye grene land in Argylisgait – iii ib vi s viii d

John Ferrymens acris of annuell for his
land in ye said gait – xxv s

William Rollok for ye malis of ye
Monkisholm witht hospitalitie conform
to his infestment – xiii s iiiii d

David Cokburn of annuell fuit of
his land in ye flukar gait – x s

James Lonellis acris of anuellis fuit
of Spaldingis land & Clogstownis land – xxviii s

And yis by denyit annellis withtin
ye said burght not in use of
payment

Of annuell out of ane land in Dunkeld – vi s viii d

Summa of ye annuellis withtin Dundee and Dunkeld – vii lib ... (*water damage*)

25

Few malis and annuellis fuit of ye

burght of Pertht and Forfar as is consessit

The geir lugding beside ye croce

yat Andro Stollip occupits of few maill – x lib

The spey lugding yat William Tyry occu-

pits of few maill – iiiii lib vi s viii d

Mr Nicoll Dagleishe land – xxvi s viii d

John Maxtownis acris for toddis land - xxvi s viii d

John Marshell for land at ye castell

gayvill of annuell – vi lib vi s

Bliens acris for barnettis land at

ye vest port oft annuell – xx s

Thom Monypeneis land – xli s viii d

John Clerkis land in ye hie gait – xxli s viii d

Cristene Creus land in ye Watergait – x s

Patrik Rais land – x s

Thom Symmis acris for ye land – iii s

Augustaine Merlynis land – xiii s iii d

Summa of ye annuellis in Pertht – xxviii lib vi s viii d

26

Annuellis withtin ye burght of Forfar

John Dysart fuit of his land yair – v s

The Ladie Halkinstoun fuit of

hir land yair – iii s

Wed Andersone and hir sone yair – iii s

William Dikkesone yair – xii d

Walter Lindesay fuit of his land yair – xviii d

William Thomsoun fuit of his land yair – xl d

David Ramsa fuit of his landis yair – xii d

Henry Arlie fuit of his land yair - viii d

Gelis Forbes fuit of hir land yair – ii s viii d

Ane masoun callit [*blank*]

fuit of his land yair – ii s

Ane vthir masoun callit [*blank*]

fuit of his land yair – viii d

And yis by denyit

anuellis not in use of

payment

Summa of ye annuellis withtin Forfar – xxvi s vi d

27

Rentale of ya kirkis of ye ... (*water damage*)

as yai pay primo octobris 1587

The teyndis of ye kirk of Bennethie

quhilk extendis in victuall to thrie scor

aitht chaldirris or yairby thrie part

and ane twa part mele set in

lang takkis to John erle of Atholl

for vi s viii d ye boll and ye
 teynd quheit of ye Carsgrange
 quhilk extendis to sevin chaldir
 threttene bollis quheit lykwais
 set in lang takkis to ye said erle
 for viii s iiiii d ye boll witht ye
 vicaraige of Bennethtie quhilk
 extendis in maill to – iiiii c xxi lib ... (*water damage*)

The teindis of ye kirk of Arlie
 quhilk extendis to xxviii chaldis
 xiiii bollis mele and ellevin chalder
 iiiii bollis bere or yairby of Couper met

The vicaraige of Arlie set in takks
 to James Spalding in ye grainge for – vi lib x ... (*water damage*)

The kirk of Mathie Baytht parsonaige
 and vicaraige set to John Blar of Balgillo
 in lang takkis for – iii xx vi ... (*water damage*)

The kirk of Glenyla baytht parsonaige
 and vicaraige set for – iiiii xx ... (*water damage*)

Ye abbot of Coupar by ye deutie
 all and fuit of ye samyn to Brechin

and Cambuskynnet

28

The kirk of Fossoquhy set for – iii xx vi lib ... (*water damage*)

The kirk of Alwetht set for – iii xx x ... (*water damage*)

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