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Dyma atgoffa staff a myfyrwyr y Brifysgol hwn fod hawlfraint yn gymwys ar y darn hwn ac ar y gwaith y mae'n dod ohono. Gwnaed y Copi Digidol hwn yn unol â thelerau Trwydded yr Asiantaeth Trwyddedu Hawlfraint, sy'n golygu eich bod yn cael:

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Mae'r Copi Digidol hwn ac unrhyw gopi digidol neu argraffedig a roddir ichi neu a wnaed gennych yn ôl telerau'r Drwydded hon i'w ddefnyddio yng nghyd-destun y modiwl hwn neu'r cwrs astudio hwn. Cewch gadw'r copïau hyn ar ddiwedd y cwrs, ond dim ond at eich defnydd eich hun.

Rhaid i bob copi (gan gynnwys copïau electronig) gynnwys yr Hysbysiad Hawlfraint hwn a rhaid iddynt gael eu dinistrio neu eu dileu os bydd y Brifysgol yn gofyn ichi wneud hynny.

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Mae gan yr awdur (ymadrodd sy'n cynnwys arlunydd a'r sawl sy'n creu gweithiau gweledol eraill) hawliau moesol ar y gwaith ac ni chaiff staff na myfyrwyr achosi na chaniatáu i'r gwaith gael ei anffurfio, ei lurgunio na'i addasu fel arall, na'i drin mewn unrhyw fodd difriol arall, a fyddai'n gwneud cam ag anrhydedd neu enw da'r awdur.

Teitl y darn: **The Foundation and Patronage of Nunneries by Native Elites in Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Century Scotland**

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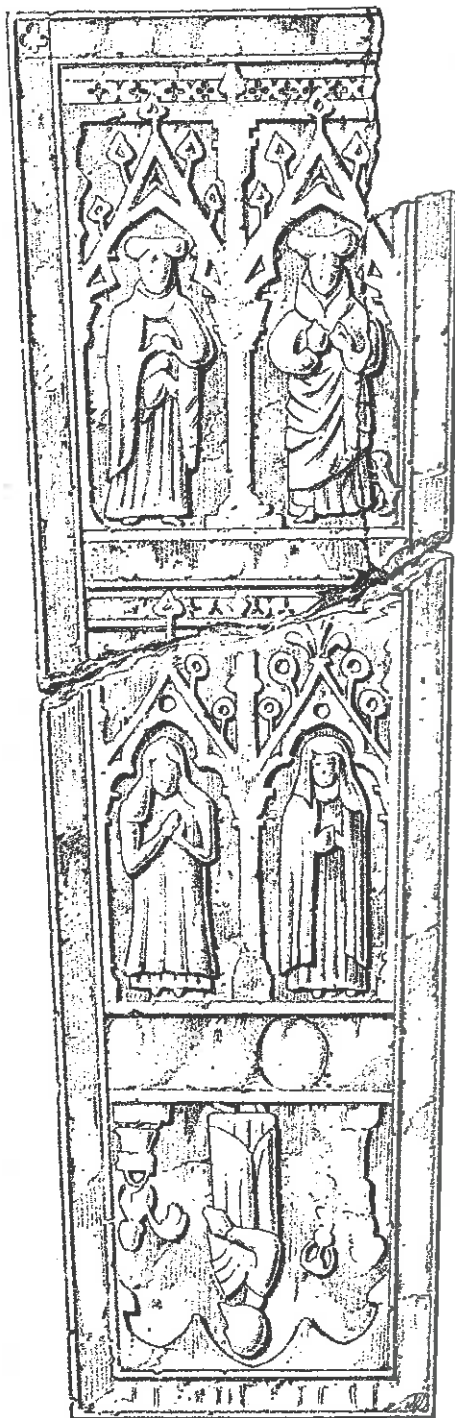
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CHAPTER ONE

The Foundation and Patronage of Nunneries by Native Elites In Twelfth- and Early Thirteenth-Century Scotland

R. Andrew McDonald

IN THE CENTURY between about 1140 and 1240, at least eleven Benedictine, Cistercian, or Augustinian nunneries were founded in Scotland: Lincluden (Benedictine); Berwick, Coldstream, Eccles, Elcho, Haddington, Manuel, North Berwick and Abbey St Bathans (Cistercian); Iona and Perth (Augustinian).¹ Geographically, their distribution was centred in the east with only two located in the west and southwest. In general, the growth of nunneries reflects the transformation of religious life taking place in the twelfth-century kingdom, while at the same time mirroring the widening opportunities for religious women that characterises the twelfth century across western Europe. Although the Scottish foundations pale in comparison with both the number of monasteries established for men in the same kingdom and with the contemporary growth of nunneries in other regions of Britain (notably Ireland and England), the subject of Scottish nunneries has been too much neglected.

English nunneries have received significantly more study than their Scottish counterparts.² In part this is because communities of religious women in Scotland were neither as large nor as numerous as those in England, and, as with almost all monastic foundations of the native Scottish nobility, they are particularly poorly served with documentary evidence: only one cartulary survives, that of Coldstream.³ Moreover, because so many were located between the Forth and the Tay, they suffered greatly during the Anglo-Scottish conflicts of the early fourteenth century onward. Many had already disappeared before the Reformation, and there are few significant architectural remains.⁴ Indeed, so scanty is the evidence for communities of religious women that one authority, referring to Eileen Power's study of English nunneries, remarked that, 'no comparable account of the contemporary Scottish nunneries has been attempted nor indeed is it possible . . .'⁵ In light of Roberta Gilchrist's recent stimulating work on 'gender archaeology', however, it is doubtful whether such a statement will remain valid for much longer, and systematic archaeological investigation and new methodological approaches might well greatly enhance our knowledge of Scottish nunneries.⁶ Nevertheless, I will concentrate here on one particular (and largely traditional) aspect of the nunneries: their foundation and patron-

age by members of the native Scottish élite. Such a focus is dictated by two principal factors: first, the fact that, of the eleven nunneries founded in our period, no fewer than five were founded by native nobles not of the royal Canmore dynasty; and second, while the patterns of this dynasty's religious patronage are well-known, patronage of religious houses by native élites remains a virtually untapped subject.⁷

Scotland before the time of King Malcolm III (1058–93) and Queen Margaret possessed none of the monastic institutions so typical of the rest of western Europe. Monasteries, hermits, and other communities of religious there were, but the *Rule* of St Benedict appears to have been unknown before about 1070, when Margaret brought Benedictine monks to Dunfermline. The continuity of this community through the troubled 1090s is difficult to trace, however, and it was really the early twelfth century which saw the Benedictines and other reformed religious orders established in the country under the patronage of the royal family, Anglo-Norman settlers, and native magnates. The first Augustinian community was planted at Scone c.1120 while the first Cistercian monastery was Melrose, founded in 1136 by David I (1124–53), and this order eventually had eleven monasteries in Scotland. Although there is some evidence for communities of religious women in the early middle ages, it is doubtful whether any continued into the twelfth century. In c.1136, David I founded a nunnery at Berwick-on-Tweed, and later in the twelfth century, other members of the royal family established nunneries at Manuel (Malcolm IV, 1153–65), and Haddington (Ada, countess of Northumberland). It is generally acknowledged that the re-introduction of communities of religious women in Scotland (as with religious houses for men) owed much to royal initiative,⁸ but this is not the whole story.

One of the most significant contrasts between the Norman conquest of England and the process whereby Scotland was Normanized in the twelfth century is that Scotland did not experience a tenurial revolution, and a dynamic and powerful native aristocracy was left firmly intact. In the west and southwest, regions little affected by initial Norman infiltration, powerful native dynasties ruled largely autonomous territories that were peripheral to the Scottish kingdom itself. In the east, the pre-eminent native dynasty was the earls of Fife, descended from royal stock, who enjoyed the privilege of inaugurating the Scottish kings. Another powerful but more recently established family was that of the earls of Lothian. Of Anglo-Saxon stock, they were exiles from the Norman conquest of England, settled in Lothian by King Malcolm III.⁹ Both these families were closely connected to the royal family, and were among its most dedicated supporters; both were also active patrons of the new religious orders making their way into Scotland from c.1120 onward.

Despite being the premier earls in the country, the earls of Fife are not

particularly distinguished as founders of monasteries. Earl Malcolm I (1204–c.1228) founded a Cistercian monastery at Culross in 1217–18, but the earls of Fife also patronised at least one house of religious women: the Cistercian nunnery at North Berwick. This was a large house, holding a number of parish churches, but only conventual buildings, much fragmented, remain.¹⁰ There is little doubt that this nunnery owed its origin to Earl Duncan I (1136–54), for he is mentioned in the charter of his successor, Earl Duncan II (1154–1204), as having made a donation to the nuns there.¹¹ The seventeenth-century antiquarian, Dalrymple, reported that he had seen a charter of King David confirming Earl Duncan's grant.¹² Other writers attribute North Berwick to Malcolm I, Duncan II's successor as earl of Fife, but this cannot be correct.¹³ While Malcolm did grant a charter to the nunnery c.1199, the evidence is overwhelmingly against him as the founder.¹⁴ Like most of the other nunneries in question here, North Berwick's date of origin is difficult to pinpoint. While c.1150 is usually favoured,¹⁵ some scholars have attempted to push the foundation back to c.1136;¹⁶ lacking a foundation charter, the matter cannot be settled with certainty. If an earlier date is accepted, however, North Berwick would become one of the earliest monasteries for women founded by any Scottish noble, whether native or Anglo-Norman.

It is also of interest that in conjunction with the nunnery two hospitals were endowed, the *terram hospitalem de Norberwich et terram hospitalem de Ardros*,¹⁷ on the north and south ends of the ferry across the Forth at North Berwick and Ardross. These hospitals appear to have been granted to the nuns before 1177 and probably erected by Earl Duncan I, for the poor people who used the ferry.¹⁸ This was the period when the shrine of St. Andrew was drawing large numbers of pilgrims, and these hospitals may have been erected for their use.¹⁹ About the same time, Robert, bishop of St Andrews, built a hospital at St Andrews to receive pilgrims, perhaps providing an inspiration for Duncan's foundations.²⁰ In an English context, the association of a nunnery with a hospital was not unusual: 'the line between hospital and nunnery is by no means clear'.²¹ At Bury the nuns seem to have cared for the poor as well as the saint and the abbey, while those at St Albans were housed in and around the almonry.²²

The earls of Lothian were more prominent as patrons of communities of religious women, and it is notable that the women of this dynasty seem to have played a significant role in the establishment of several nunneries. Without doubt the Cistercian priory of Coldstream was their most important foundation; it is attributed to Earl Gospatrick III (1138–66) or his wife, Deirdre.²³ Since the earl's wife figures prominently in the foundation charter, as well as others, it seems possible that she played an important role in creating the nunnery at Coldstream; Sally Thompson

has suggested that where a nunnery was established by a husband and wife, the role of the wife can be subsequently obscured.²⁴ It is impossible to determine from whence the nuns came. The nineteenth-century historian and antiquarian, Chalmers, probably following the earlier antiquarian, Spottiswoode, believed they came from 'Witehou' in England, and, although the charter does mention the 'sisters of Witehou', this is generally regarded as the place where the nunnery was established.²⁵ Coldstream was generously endowed by several earls of Lothian, suggesting a strong family link with this monastery.²⁶

Attempting to date the community's origin is difficult; it certainly existed by 1166, when Earl Gospatrick died.²⁷ Since the foundation charter was confirmed by Richard, bishop of St Andrews,²⁸ a narrower dating can be suggested. Richard was not consecrated until March 1165.²⁹ Thus, the establishment of the nunnery may lie between 28 March 1165 and the death of Gospatrick III in 1166, although too much reliance should not be placed upon such a narrow set of dates since the founding of a religious house could be a long, drawn-out process.³⁰

Gospatrick III was also probably responsible for the establishment of the Cistercian nunnery at Eccles in Berwickshire, about six miles north-east of Kelso, where only a few ruins remain.³¹ The *Chronicle of Melrose* stated that, 'in the year 1156, a convent of nuns came for the second time to Eccles'.³² Other dates suggested by later writers included 1154 and 1155.³³ This entry is interesting because it emphasised that Gospatrick's foundation was really a re-establishment of an older house or the revitalisation of an already existing community. This may provide a rare glimpse into the choice of site for the new foundation. Lawrie has suggested that there had been an old religious community here that was re-established, and the memory of this old house led the chronicler to state that it was the second foundation.³⁴ The place-name itself supports the chronicle: Eccles implies the existence of an early British church, possibly from as early as the seventh century.³⁵ There were a number of such early monasteries in the area of the Scottish border, some of which, like Coldingham, had their genesis in the seventh century. Other early sites included St Abbs Head, Old Melrose, and Abercorn, among others.³⁶ Thus, Eccles as an early ecclesiastical site that was either refounded or reformed in the twelfth century should not be ruled out; the significance of this will be discussed below.

Although the founder of Eccles is sometimes identified as David I,³⁷ this cannot be tenable if a date of 1154-56 is accepted: David died in 1153. The association of this house with David I may be an attempt to add to that monarch's reputation as a patron of religious houses. Further evidence for Earl Gospatrick III as the founder is the fact that he and his wife were said to have been buried there, and the burial of Earl Patrick

in 1232 is also suggestive of the association of Eccles with the family of Gospatrick – it was surely intended as their family mausoleum.³⁸

A third nunnery associated with the earls of Lothian is Abbey St Bathans in Berwickshire, the ruins of which have almost entirely disappeared.³⁹ Spottiswoode stated that the founder had been one of the countesses of March in the reign of William I (1165-1214).⁴⁰ By implication the candidates are: Ada, the natural daughter of William I who married Earl Patrick in 1184 and died c.1200;⁴¹ Christiana, who married the same earl by 1214;⁴² and Euphemia, the wife of Earl Patrick, countess from 1232 to 1267.⁴³ If the statement that St Bathans was founded in the reign of William I is accepted then the last candidate may be ruled out. Like Eccles, this house was probably founded on a much older site. The *New Statistical Account*, admittedly a poor source, stated that the twelfth- or thirteenth-century nunnery was founded on the site of a seventh-century church dedicated to St Baithen, the cousin of St Columba.⁴⁴

Since no evidence exists to suggest what the mother-houses of these nunneries were, a number of suggestions may be offered based upon the connections of the earls of Lothian. These nobles were prominent in the court of the Scottish kings, and their foundations may owe something to royal inspiration. However, it is appropriate to look across the border for some inspiration, since the earls of Lothian were important cross-border barons holding large estates in England as well as in Scotland.⁴⁵ Northern England was home, in the mid-twelfth century, to many monastic communities: in Yorkshire alone between 1100 and 1215 some twenty-four houses of nuns and numerous houses for men were established.⁴⁶ Probably the earls of Lothian had knowledge of, and perhaps even connections with, some of these, including the Benedictine nunnery at Newcastle, apparently refounded c.1135 by either Henry I or David I, or the Cistercian nuns at Holystone, also recorded in the time of David I.⁴⁷ So, there existed in close proximity to the earls' lands at least two early nunneries founded by monarchs with whom they had the closest of relations. Several monasteries for men also existed which may have provided inspiration for the Dunbar monasteries, and even closer links can be postulated with two of these. Juliana, sister of Gospatrick III, was given in marriage to Ranulf de Merlay, lord of Morpeth, by Henry I.⁴⁸ In 1138 she and her husband founded the Cistercian abbey of Newminster and were eventually buried there.⁴⁹ Another equally important foundation was that of Kirkham priory. This house of Augustinian canons had been founded c.1122 by Walter Espec, but it was endowed with the land of Titlington which Gospatrick I or II had granted to him.⁵⁰ Thus, family, political, and social connections provide yet another clue for the inspiration behind the foundation of some early Scottish nunneries.

Between about 1140 and 1235 the large region of Galloway, in the south-west, remained a semi-autonomous province ruled by its native lords descended from the formidable Fergus of Galloway (d. 1161). The Lords of Galloway were monastic patrons on a scale equalled only by the Canmore dynasty and the rulers of the Isles descended from Somerled,⁵¹ but of their many foundations, only one was a nunnery: Lincluden. Uhtred (d. 1174), the son of Fergus, is reputed to have brought Benedictine nuns here, to a site located on the river Cairn above its junction with the Nith; interestingly, this was the only Benedictine nunnery in Scotland.⁵² Sadly, there is virtually no contemporary evidence for this house, and its history is murky indeed; no physical remains survive, the earlier nunnery having been replaced by a collegiate church by the 3rd earl of Douglas, in the early fifteenth century.⁵³ The antiquarian Spottiswoode placed its foundation date during the reign of Malcolm IV.⁵⁴ This would suggest a date between 1161, when Fergus died, and 1165, when Malcolm IV died.⁵⁵ Various charters indicate that Uhtred was, like his father, a generous benefactor of the church in general, and, given the role of the Lords of Galloway as religious patrons, it would hardly be surprising if Uhtred were responsible for endowing a nunnery in what was rapidly becoming a family tradition.⁵⁶

In the Hebrides and Argyll, the descendants of the mighty Somerled (d. 1164) were instrumental in introducing the Benedictines, Cistercians, and Augustinians. Ranald, son of Somerled, (d. c. 1210), brought Benedictine monks to refound the ancient abbey on Iona, settled Cistercians at Saddell, and founded an Augustinian nunnery on Iona, the pretty pink granite ruins of which still attract visitors today; it has been called, 'one of the best-preserved examples in the British Isles of the smaller medieval nunnery'.⁵⁷ Surviving architectural features show that building was in progress during the early thirteenth century, and since Ranald may have died around 1210 this, as well as a seventeenth-century tradition, suggests he was responsible for bringing nuns to Iona.⁵⁸ The community here was said by the seventeenth-century *Book of Clanranald* to have been black, or Benedictine, nuns,⁵⁹ but a papal mandate of 1421/2 referred to the *monasterii sancte Marie de Hy-insula ordinis Sancti Augustini*: the Iona nunnery was home to Augustinian canonesses.⁶⁰ The first prioress was Ranald's sister, Bethag or Beatrice. The *Book of Clanranald* stated that 'Bethag, daughter of Somerled, was a religious woman'; the *History of the MacDonalds* said she was a 'prioress of Icollumkill'.⁶¹ The inscription of her grave was preserved until the nineteenth century: it read *Behag niin Shorle vic Ilvrid Priorissa*, 'Bethag, daughter of Somhairle, son of Gille-Brigde, Prioress'.⁶² It has even been suggested that Bethag may have been the first owner of the so-called Iona Psalter, now in the National Library of Scotland, which was written and illuminated in Oxford in the thir-

teenth century and which was commissioned by an Augustinian canoness with a special interest in Iona saints.⁶³ As with virtually all Scottish nunneries, this community has little recorded history. It was evidently home to only a few canonesses, and possessed modest endowments of land in and around Mull, including Staoineig on Iona itself.⁶⁴

These nunneries, founded by members of the native Scottish élite, prove to be an engaging group. Above all, they prompt the question of why there seems to have been such a predilection toward creating religious houses for women among the native magnates? Of course, the larger context is vitally important: the mid-twelfth century witnessed a 'spontaneous growth of female establishments'⁶⁵ across Europe, many of which followed the Cistercian way of life although they were not formally admitted into that order until 1213. This would suggest that most if not all of the foundations discussed here were not 'official' Cistercian nunneries.⁶⁶ Indeed, in Scotland, as compared to England and Ireland, a very high proportion of nunneries followed the Cistercian way of life.⁶⁷

Many motives could prompt the establishment of a monastery, including piety, and political, social, or economic considerations, but it is well to bear in mind that 'no neat lines separated personal and spiritual needs'.⁶⁸ Piety as a motivating factor must not be discounted, although lacking foundation charters and other documents it is difficult to know what accounted for these religious communities for women. Gospatrick III's foundation charter for Coldstream made no mention of his motives, but later donations by Earl Patrick contain the standard *pro anima* ('for souls') clause, as does a grant of Duncan of Fife for North Berwick.⁶⁹ Other motives are more speculative, but at least one nunnery, Lincluden, might well owe its origins to politics: Uhtred, son of Fergus of Galloway, was notably open to foreign influences, including feudalism, and the establishment of a nunnery at Lincluden should probably be viewed in the context of opening up Galloway to the foreign influences spreading through Scotland.⁷⁰ The foundation and patronage of churches and monasteries also had a status aspect to it – in the case of the native magnates it was a matter of not only 'keeping up with the Canmores' but also of displaying their wealth, status, and power⁷¹ to the Anglo-Normans who settled in Scotland in the twelfth century and created monastic foundations of their own, such as Dryburgh Abbey.

Perhaps more importantly we should ask whether Scottish noblewomen played any role in establishing these nunneries. It is a well-known phenomenon of female monasticism that many houses for women had female founders, although their role was often obscured:

The erroneous designation of a man as founder comes from the tendency of medieval writers to expect a man to be the moving

spirit in any important undertaking. Even if a woman conceived the idea of founding a nunnery, supplied much of the endowment, and carried forward the plans, male monastic writers would be apt to name her husband as central to the process.⁷²

We have already noted that Deirdre, wife of Earl Gospatrick III, figures prominently in early documents relating to Coldstream, while a countess of Lothian was responsible for St Bathans, and it is probably no coincidence that Ranald's sister, Bethag, was the first prioress of Iona. Given the conclusions of Johnson and Thompson, it seems likely that these Scottish noblewomen played a significant role in establishing these nunneries, although the patchy nature of the evidence is especially frustrating here. As Thompson has pointed out, however, the very lack of evidence and surviving documentation for English nunneries is often suggestive of a long, drawn-out process whereby houses of women grew up slowly around particularly revered anchoresses.⁷³ It is possible this might account for the foundation of some of the Scottish houses. Since Eccles and St Bathans were both founded on the site of older ecclesiastical establishments, this might mean that they grew up around an anchoress or a group of recluses there, not unlike Flamstead priory in Hertfordshire,⁷⁴ and were remodelled in the twelfth century.⁷⁵ But can the popularity of nunneries in general explain the proliferation of Scottish houses for women? The tendency for native families to found and endow monasteries in this relatively remote area of Christendom may also owe something to the tradition in Celtic Christianity of women saints and anchorites, and, although Iona was the only nunnery founded in the Highlands, perhaps these nunneries reflect Celtic undercurrents in Scottish monastic life.⁷⁶ It may be significant that the twelfth century saw many ancient nunneries either revived or refounded in Ireland as well.⁷⁷

Roberta Gilchrist has argued that in England the foundation of nunneries occurred as a 'delayed response' movement by members of the lesser nobility and gentry; that women played a prominent role in these foundations; and that they were closely connected with local and family concerns.⁷⁸ It is difficult to draw such firm conclusions from the Scottish evidence, but it seems unlikely that the foundation of nunneries represents a secondary response or was primarily a product of the lesser nobility. Not only did the foundation of nunneries take place within the same chronological parameters as the establishment of male houses, but the earls of Lothian and Fife were at the topmost levels of society, as were the rulers of Argyll and Galloway with their regal or semi-regal status. In other respects, however, Scottish nunneries do seem to conform to Gilchrist's model. It is likely that some, at least, had female founders, and several displayed close family and local

connections, illustrated by the role of Eccles as a family mausoleum for the Lothian earls.

In the end, given the paucity of sources, it is difficult to say why there was such a proclivity among the native nobility for establishing communities of religious women in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Many of these conclusions are necessarily tentative, and it is hoped that further investigation, and fresh methodological approaches like those of Gilchrist, will shed more light upon this dark corner of medieval ecclesiastical and women's history. It would appear, however, that wider patterns, characteristic of western Europe as a whole, were also evident in Scotland: we must not lose sight of the general upsurge of communities for religious women in the twelfth century, and there is evidence that some Scottish nunneries were founded by noblewomen whose roles were subsequently obscured. On the other hand, there may be factors that were more peculiar to Scotland, and possibly strands of continuity with earlier Celtic establishments underlay the foundation of several nunneries. One thing seems certain: the foundation of nunneries was not restricted to the royal family, and native dynasties played a key role in widening opportunities for religious women in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

NOTES

1. There are other doubtful foundations not included in this figure of eleven: statistics from I. B. Cowan and D.E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* 2nd edn (London, 1976), 143-151. Only one nunnery was founded after the mid-thirteenth century (St Evoca), and only three Dominican and Franciscan nunneries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: *ibid.*, 152-54.
2. E. Power, *Medieval English Nunneries c. 1275 to 1535* (Cambridge, 1922, repr. New York, 1964); S. Thompson, *Women Religious. The Founding of English Nunneries After the Conquest* (Oxford, 1991). See also R. Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture. The archaeology of religious women* (London, 1994) and *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism* (London, 1995).
3. See R. A. McDonald, 'Scoto-Norse Kings and the Reformed Religious Orders,' *Albion*, 27/2 (1995), 190-191; D. E. Easson, 'The Nunneries of Medieval Scotland,' *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, 13/2 (1940-41), 22. See also S. Thompson, 'Why English Nunneries Had No History: A Study of the Problems of the English Nunneries Founded after the Conquest,' in J. A. Nichols and L. T. Shank eds. *Distant Echoes: Medieval Religious Women* (2 vols, Kalamazoo, 1984), i, 131-149.
4. See, for example, Easson, 'Nunneries,' 28; *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (15 vols, London and Edinburgh, 1845), ii, 57, 109; *Chartulary of the Cistercian Priory of Coldstream* (Grampian Club, 1879), xiii-xiv. See

- also D. McRoberts, 'Material Destruction Caused by the Scottish Reformation,' in D. McRoberts ed. *Essays on the Scottish Reformation* (Glasgow, 1962), 424-25.
5. Easson, 'Scottish Nunneries', 22.
 6. Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, passim; on the excavation of Elcho nunnery, see A. G. Reid and D. M. Lye, *Pitmiddle Village & Elcho Nunnery* (Dundee, 1988).
 7. G. W. S. Barrow, 'The Royal House and the Religious Orders,' and 'Benedictines, Tironensians, and Cistercians,' in *The Kingdom of the Scots: Government, Church and Society from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1973); McDonald, 'Scoto-Norse Kings and the Reformed Religious Orders,' passim; K. J. Stringer 'Reform Monasticism and Celtic Scotland: Galloway, c. 1140-1235,' in E. J. Cowan and R. A. McDonald eds. *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era* (East Linton, forthcoming). See also B. T. Hudson, 'Gaelic Princes and Gregorian Reform,' in B. T. Hudson and V. Ziegler eds. *Crossed Paths: Methodological Approaches to the Celtic Aspect of the European Middle Ages* (Lanham, Maryland, 1991), 61-82.
 8. Easson, 'Nunneries,' 22; J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994), 95.
 9. J. Bannerman, 'MacDuff of Fife,' in A. Grant and K. Stringer eds. *Medieval Scotland: Crown, Lordship and Community. Essays Presented to G. W. S. Barrow* (Edinburgh, 1993). See also J. C. Hodgson, *History of Northumberland* (15 vols, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, 1893-1940), vii, 14-61. Despite their common designation as 'earls of Dunbar,' until 1182 these nobles were referred to as earls 'of Lothian'.
 10. D. B. Swan, 'The Monastery of North Berwick,' *Lothian Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society*, 1, pt. 2 (1926-27), 59; Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments [RCAHMS], *Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the County of East Lothian* (Edinburgh, 1924), no. 104.
 11. *Carte Monialium de Northberwick*, ed. C. Innes (Bannatyne Club, 1842), no. 3.
 12. J. Dalrymple, *Collections Concerning the Scottish History Preceding the Death of King David the First* (Edinburgh, 1705), 268-9.
 13. John Major, *A History of Greater Britain as well England as Scotland*, ed. and trans. A. Constable (Scottish History Society, 1892), 179; J. Spottiswoode, *An Account of All the Religious Houses that were in Scotland at the Time of the Reformation*, in R. Keith, *An Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops Down to the Year 1688* (Edinburgh, 1824), 463.
 14. 'Charter by Malcolm, son of Earl Duncan, to the Nuns of North Berwick,' in *Scottish History Society Miscellany* [SHS Misc.] iv, 308-9, 333-337.
 15. See SHS Misc., iv, 334.
 16. Swan, 'Monastery of North Berwick,' 57; see also *Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William Kings of Scotland A.D. 1153-1214*, ed. A. C. Lawrie (Glasgow, 1910) 15.
 17. SHS Misc., iv, 308-9.

18. *Northberwick*, no. 3; Swan, 'North Berwick', 57; see also G. Law, 'The Earl's Ferry,' *Scottish Historical Review*, 2 (1905), 21.
19. See D. McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew,' *Innes Review*, 25 (1974), 130.
20. *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia* (Bannatyne Club, 1841) [St A. Lib.] 122-123; see also N. F. Shead, 'Hospitals in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,' in P. McNeill and R. Nicholson eds. *An Historical Atlas of Scotland* (St Andrews, 1975), 47-48.
21. Thompson, 'Why English Nunneries Had No History', 143. See also J. Durkan, 'Care of the Poor: Pre-Reformation Hospitals,' in McRoberts ed. *Essays on the Scottish Reformation*, 119.
22. Thompson, 'Why English Nunneries Had No History', 143.
23. *Coldstream Chartulary*, p. 6 no 8; *Joannis de Fordun Scotichronicon cum Supplementis et Continuatione Walteri Bower*, ed. W. Goodall (Edinburgh, 1759) [Chron. Bower], ii, 541.
24. *Coldstream Chartulary*, p. 6 no 8. On p. 8 no 11 *Derder Comitissa* appears as the first witness; Thompson, *Women Religious*, 177.
25. G. Chalmers, *Caledonia; or, a Historical and Topographical Account of North Britain From the Most Ancient to the Present Times* (4 vols, London, 1807-24), ii, 342; Spottiswoode, 461; *Coldstream Chartulary*, no 8. See Cowan & Easson, *Religious Houses*, 122, where this suggestion is refuted. There is no Witehou or Whitehow in D. Knowles and R. N. Hadeock, *Religious Houses, England and Wales* 2nd edn (London, 1971), index.
26. *Coldstream Chartulary*, p. 18 no. 26, pp 12-13 nos. 17, 18. On one instance of family benefaction see J. C. Ward, 'Fashions in Monastic Endowment: The Foundations of the Clare Family, 1066-1314,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 32 (1981), 432.
27. Lawrie, *Annals*, 108-109; *Early Sources of Scottish History 500 to 1286* ed. A. O. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1922, repr. 1990) ii, 264.
28. *Coldstream Chartulary*, Appendix i, p. 46.
29. *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ Medii Aevi ad Annum 1638* ed. D. E. R. Watt (Scottish Record Society, 1969), 291.
30. See V. H. Galbraith, 'Monastic Foundation Charters of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,' *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 4/3 (1934), 5-22.
31. Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, vii, 44; Spottiswoode, 461; Lawrie, *Annals*, 19; RCAHMS, *Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the County of Berwick*, rev. edn (Edinburgh, 1915), no. 138.
32. Anderson, *Early Sources*, ii, 232, 698. See also *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. T. Arnold (4 vols, Rolls Series, 1868-71), i, 215.
33. Spottiswoode, 461; Chalmers, *Caledonia*, i, 680.
34. Lawrie, *Annals*, 19 n; see also C. N. L. Brooke, *The Monastic World 1100-1300* (London, 1974), 168.
35. K. Cameron, 'Eccles in English Place Names,' in M. W. Barley and R. P. C. Hanson eds. *Christianity in Britain, 300-700* (Leicester, 1968), 87-92; W. F. H. Nicholaisen, *Scottish Place-Names* (London, 1976, repr. 1986), 172.
36. J. and H. Taylor, 'Pre-Norman Churches of the Border,' in N. Chadwick ed. *Celt and Saxon: Studies in the Early British Border* (Cambridge, 1963), 212, 220-224.

37. See Cowan & Easson, *Religious Houses*, 146.
38. Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, vii, 44; Anderson, *Early Sources*, ii, 486.
39. RCAHMS, *Berwick*, no. 1.
40. Spottiswoode, 460.
41. Lawrie, *Annals*, 251; Anderson, *Early Sources*, ii, 307.
42. Cowan & Easson, *Religious Houses*, 148.
43. Cowan & Easson, *Religious Houses*, 148; *Chron. Bower*, ii, 541.
44. *New Statistical Account*, ii, 106–107; see also J. Robson, *The Churches and Churchyards of Berwickshire* (Kelso, 1896), 1; S. Taylor, 'Seventh-century Iona abbots in Scottish place-names', *Innes Review*, 48/1 (Spring, 1997), 50–55.
45. Accordingly, Waldeve founded Harehope hospital in Northumberland after circa 1178: see Knowles & Hadcock, *Religious Houses, England*, 362.
46. J. E. Burton, *The Yorkshire Nunneries of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* Borthwick Papers vol. 56. (York, 1979), 1; F. A. Mullin, *A History of the Work of the Cistercians in Yorkshire (1131–1300)* (Washington, 1932), passim.
47. See Knowles & Hadcock, *Religious Houses, England and Wales*, 263, 280.
48. *Chartularium Abbatiae de Novo Monasterio* ed. J. T. Fowler (Surtees Society, 1878 for 1876), 268–9.
49. *Ibid.*, 1–2 and 269–270. See also Knowles & Hadcock, *Religious Houses, England and Wales*, 123.
50. Knowles & Hadcock, *Religious Houses, England and Wales*, 162; L. Butler and Givens-Wilson, *Medieval Monasteries of Great Britain* (London, 1979), 272. On Titlington see Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, vii, 29–31 and xiv, 448; see also *The Scots Peerage* ed. Sir J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1904–14), iii, 246–7.
51. McDonald, 'Scoto-Norse Kings,' passim.
52. Spottiswoode, 459; *New Statistical Account*, iv, 232; A. S. Morton, 'Glenluce Abbey,' *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd ser, 21 (1936–38), 228.
53. RCAHMS, *Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in Galloway* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1915), ii, no. 431.
54. Spottiswoode, 459.
55. Morton, 'Glenluce Abbey,' suggested a date of 1161.
56. *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis* (Bannatyne Club, 1840), 24, 39, 61.
57. J. G. Dunbar and I. Fisher, *Iona* (Edinburgh, 1988), 8.
58. Seventeenth-century tradition: *Book of Clanranald*, in A. Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae: Texts Papers and Studies in Gaelic Literature and Philology*, eds A. MacBain and J. Kennedy (2 vols, Inverness, 1894), i, 157; architectural evidence: RCAHMS, *Argyll – An Inventory of the Monuments* (Edinburgh, 1971–95), iv, 178. See also the illustration of the Prioress Anna in this volume.
59. *Clanranald Book*, 157.
60. *Highland Papers* ed. J. R. N. Macphail (4 vols, Scottish History Society, 1914–34) iv, 175–6; see also Cowan & Easson, *Religious Houses*, 151; RCAHMS, *Argyll*, iv, 178.

61. *Clanranald*, 157; *History of the MacDonalds*, in *Highland Papers*, i, 11.
62. K. Steer and J. Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1977), 90; A. and A. MacDonald, *The Clan Donald* (3 vols, Inverness, 1896–1904), i, 520; see also Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland circa 1695* (Stirling, 1934, reprint of 1703 edition), 290–1, for the appearance of the slab in 1695.
63. See RCAHMS, *Argyll*, iv, 178 and notes.
64. See note 5.
65. L. J. Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Canterbury, 1977), 349.
66. See Burton, *Yorkshire Nunneries*, 8; Thompson, *Women Religious*, 94–98; also valuable is R. de Ganck, 'The Integration of Nuns in the Cistercian Order Particularly in Belgium', *Cîteaux* 25 (1984), 235–47.
67. Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, 61.
68. P. D. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession. Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago and London, 1991), 34.
69. *Coldstream Chartulary*, p.1 no 1; *North Berwick*, p.4 no 3.
70. McDonald, 'Scoto-Norse Kings,' 216.
71. C. Brooke, 'Princes and Kings as Patrons of Monasteries', in *Il Monachesimo e la Forma Ecclesiastica* (1049–1122), *Settimana internazionale di studio*, 4th, Passo della Mendola, 1968, *Miscellanea Del Centro Di Studi Medioevali VI* (Milan, 1971), 125–44.
72. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession*, 36–7.
73. See Thompson, 'Why English Nunneries Had No History', 141–142; *Women Religious*, ch. 2.
74. Thomson, 'Why English Nunneries Had No History', 143–144.
75. As at St Neots (Huntingdonshire) and Stoke-by-Clare (Suffolk): Ward, 'Fashions in Monastic Endowment', 451.
76. See N. Hunt, 'Notes on the History of Benedictine and Cistercian Nuns in Britain,' *Cistercian Studies*, 8 (1973), 165. Despite the title the article is concerned only with English establishments.
77. A. Gwynn and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland* (London, 1970), 20–46.
78. Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, 41–49.