

NOTES ON THE SUCCESSION OF THE BISHOPS OF ST. ANDREWS FROM A. D. 1093 TO A. D. 1571¹. I.

THE destruction, or, at least, the total disappearance of any episcopal registers of the mediaeval Church in Scotland² (supposing such to have existed), renders the task of tracing the succession of the Scottish bishops one of peculiar difficulty. The papal letters, published by A. Theiner in his *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scottorum historiam Illustrantia* (Romae: 1864), deal with the period from 1216 to 1547; and, though suffering from several serious *lacunae*, serve to throw light on some obscure questions connected with the episcopal succession. The same may be said of the records now in process of publication under the title of the *Calendar of Papal Registers*, edited by Mr. W. H. Bliss, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. Up to the present there have appeared four volumes of *Papal Letters* (running from 1198 to 1404) and one volume of *Petitions* (1342-1419)³.

For the bishops of the twelfth century we possess few more sources of information than were available to Bishop Robert Keith when in 1754 he published 'A large New Catalogue of the Bishops of the several Sees within the Kingdom of Scotland (4to, Edinburgh).' But the inquirer of our day enjoys the advantage of being able to examine the chartularies (which Keith was compelled to consult in MS) in the well-indexed editions issued by the Bannatyne, Maitland, Spalding, and Grampian Clubs. Again the *Great Seal Register* of Scotland, the *Exchequer Rolls*, and other public records of that country, which were but imperfectly known to Keith are now, to a large extent, available in print, competently edited by distinguished charter scholars. But those who are best qualified to judge must always look on Keith's work as a great monument of laborious research, undertaken and carried through with singular success, considering the difficulties which he had to encounter⁴.

The design of the following notes is much more restricted than that of Keith. He aimed at giving some account of the lives of the prelates with whom he had to deal. I shall confine myself, almost exclusively, to

¹ The writer will be grateful for corrections or additions to these notes.

² The four Chartularies that have been printed under the misleading titles *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, 2 vols.—*Moraviensis*, 1 vol.—*Aberdonensis*, 2 vols.—and *Brechinensis*, 2 vols., are not episcopal registers, but registers of the property of the respective deans and chapters, together with (occasionally) cathedral statutes, and some miscellaneous matter.

³ We trust that there is no foundation for the rumour that the Master of the Rolls has ordered the discontinuance of the *Petitions*.

⁴ Dr. Russel's edition of Keith (8vo, Edinburgh: 1824) corrects some errors, but imports others.

determining (as far as that is possible) the dates of the election (or *pape* provision), consecration, and death (or resignation), of the seven bishops.

When the information is forthcoming I have also recorded, as matters of ecclesiastical interest, the mode of the election, the confirmation by the Pope, or his refusal to confirm, the names of the consecrators, and a few other particulars, chiefly from the *Calendar of Papal Registers*.

The death of Malcolm Ceanmore and his queen, St. Margaret of Scotland, has been chosen as a starting-point. Those who are interested in the tangled problems connected with the earlier bishops who had their seat at Kilrymont (St. Andrews), and who represented the early Celtic Christianity of the country, will consult Dr. W. F. Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, ii 323-65).

Anglo-Norman influence in matters ecclesiastical, which had already made itself felt during the reign of Malcolm, became dominant after his death (1093). The decadent Celtic clergy were incapable of seriously stemming the inflowing tide; and in almost all respects the ecclesiastical arrangements of Scotland became soon assimilated to those of the southern kingdom.

The following abbreviations are used in citing authorities:—B. = Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, vol. i (Rome: 1876); B.C. = *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland preserved in H. M. Public Record Office, London*, edited by Joseph Bain; C.P.R. = *Calendar of Papal Registers*, edited by Bliss; C.S.C. = *Chronicon Coenobii S. Crucis Edinburgensis* (Bannatyne Club); M. = *Chronica de Mailros* (Bannatyne Club); R.A. = *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* (Spalding Club); R.B. = *Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis* (Bannatyne Club); R.G. = *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Bannatyne Club); R.M. = *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* (Bannatyne Club); R.P.S.A. = *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree* (Bannatyne Club); R.M.S. = *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum* (Record Publications); R.S.S. = *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum* (still in MS, preserved in H. M. General Register House, Edinburgh); Sc. = Fordun and Bower's *Scotichronicon* (Goodall's edition, 2 vols. folio, 1759)¹; T. = Theiner's *Vetera Monumenta*, &c. The chartularies of religious houses (edited for the Bannatyne Club, the Grampian Club, &c., or for private persons) are cited by the name of the house. Thus *Liber de Melros* is cited as 'Melrose'; *Liber S. Marie de Calchou* as 'Kelso,' and so, generally, with the rest. W. = *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, by Andrew de Wyntoun (David Laing's edition, 3 vols. 1872-79). Wyntoun, though a late writer, had, perhaps as being a canon regular of St. Andrews,

¹ When Skene's edition of Fordun's part of the work is referred to the fact is indicated.

access apparently to the records of the see. At any rate, he can certainly claim to be an original historian, and is especially full in his treatment of St. Andrews. When he can be tested he nearly always bears the test well.

TURGOT (Turgod), prior of Durham. Perhaps the confessor of Queen Margaret and author of the *Vita S. Margarete*.

Simeon of Durham (Twysden, 207, 237) twice states that Turgot died 1115, and adds that his episcopate was for eight years, two months, and ten days. Now his consecration was on [Sunday] Aug. 1, 1109 (M. s. a.), and his death was on Aug. 31, 1115 (Id. s. a.; *Lib. Vite Dunelm. Eccl.* 145, 151). His episcopate must accordingly have been reckoned by Simeon from the date of his election, which gives us June 20 (?), 1107. Simeon (s. a. 1107) tell us that Turgot was elected, and that 'for a year and more' his ordination (i. e. consecration) was delayed on account of dissensions between the churches of York and St. Andrews. This fits in well with the inferential date of the election.

In the end he was consecrated by Archbishop Thomas of York, at the command of Henry I, king of England, on the request of King Alexander. The disputes were suspended for the time by the reservation of the rights of both sees. Simeon of Durham gives 'iii. kal. Aug. (July 30) die Dominica,' as the date of his consecration¹. But Hoveden (i 167, Stubbs' edit.), who had Simeon before him, writes 'in kal. Aug.' And this date is also given by M. (s. a. 1109), and by Florence of Worcester (s. a. 1109), who notices that it was the *Sunday* on which Thomas received the pall. Further 'iii. kal. Aug.' was not a Sunday in that year while 'kal. Aug.' was. And the common law of the Church was that bishops should be consecrated on Sunday. Therefore we may conclude that the consecration of Turgot took place on Sunday, Aug. 1, 1109. It is not difficult to account for the error in the text of Simeon as printed. Nothing would be easier than for a copyist to mistake 'in kal. Aug.' for 'iii. kal. Aug.'²

It is right to notice the perplexing statement of *Scotichronicon* (vi 24). Under the year 1109 the chronicler writes 'Turgotus, Prior Dunelmensis, electus est in translatione S. Augustini, et consecratus stetit episcopus fere septem annis.' Setting aside the fact that he was consecrated only six years and thirty days, we have to ask what is meant by 'in translatione S. Augustini.' Was the S. Augustine the bishop of Hippo or the bishop of Canterbury? None of the calendars which the editor has been able to consult give a translation of either saint in

¹ Bower (*Scotichronicon*, v 38) also gives 'tertio kalendas Augusti, 1109.'

² This view of the origin of the error, which the editor arrived at independently, is that taken by Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, II i 171), who print most of the evidence available on the subject of Turgot's appointment.

the month of June. Could it be that 'in translatione S. Aedwardi' was incorrectly read by a copyist? The suggestion is somewhat desperate, but the writer of these Notes has nothing better to offer.

Turgot died at Durham Aug. 31, 1115 (*M. s. a.* and *Lib. Vite Dunelm.*), and there was buried.

See void from Aug. 31, 1115, to June 29, 1120.

Almost immediately after the death of Turgot King Alexander wrote to Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, asking his advice and assistance in providing a fit successor to Turgot. It should be remembered that Thomas of York had died (Feb. 24, 1114) more than a year before Turgot, and that his successor, Thurstan, was not consecrated until Oct. 19, 1119. So that one need not suppose that Alexander would have resorted to Canterbury had the archbishop of York been consecrated. But (probably from the dislike of Ralph to interfere in what the archbishop of York held to be a matter within his jurisdiction) the see of St. Andrews remained void. It was not till 1120 that the archbishop of Canterbury, in response to the request of King Alexander, released Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, with a view to his appointment to St. Andrews.

EADMER, a monk of Canterbury.

Elected June 29, 1120; 'elegente eum clero et populo terrae, et concedente Rege' (Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* v). There were difficulties about investiture, which however were overcome; and there were more serious difficulties as to who should consecrate him, and as to whether he would owe allegiance and subjection to an English archbishop if he were consecrated by either Canterbury or York. After prolonged disputations between him and the king, Eadmer, who had already rendered himself unpopular, apparently by attempts to enforce a more rigorous discipline, resolved to return to Canterbury. This he did in the following year (1121, *M. s. a.*).

As late as perhaps the early autumn of 1122 (certainly before Sept. 19) Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to King Alexander urging him to recall Eadmer to Scotland, but in vain¹.

He is named 'Edmund' in *M.* and in *Scotichronicon* (vi 25); but the latter hastens to add that he called himself 'Eadmer.' While *M.* is correct in giving 1120 as the date of his election, and 1121 as the date of his return to his monastery, *Scotichronicon* (*l. c.*) is in error in making his election in 1117. The transactions connected with Eadmer are dealt with very fully by himself (*Historia Novorum*).

Eadmer became precentor of Canterbury, and died Jan. 13, 1124.

¹ The principal documents relating to Eadmer in relation to St. Andrews are exhibited conveniently in Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, II i 196-208).

ROBERT, prior of Scone¹.

Scotichronicon (vi 24) tells us that there are two accounts of the length of his episcopate, both of these, apparently, placing his death in 1159, with which agrees M. (76-77), and Wyntoun (ii 199). But C.S.C. (*s. a.*) places his death in 1158². Sc., then, placing his death in 1159 says that one account makes him 'elect' *per biennium*, and consecrated thirty-five years. It is this account which Sc. adopts, for it makes him elected in 1122. The other account, like the first, agrees that he was elect for two years, but makes him consecrated for only thirty-two years. This latter account accordingly by inference places his election in 1125 and his consecration in 1127 or 1128. But the fullness of the statement in M. *sub anno* 1124, brings us probably as near the date of the election of Robert as we are likely to reach. After mentioning the death of King Alexander in April of that year, the Chronicle says, 'in the same year, four months before his death, he had caused Robert, prior of Scone, to be elected bishop of St. Andrews, but his ordination (i. e. consecration) was delayed for a considerable time.' Accordingly we shall not be far wrong if we place Robert's election in January, 1124, perhaps after the news of Eadmer's death had reached Scotland.

The delay preceding the consecration of Robert was probably due to some claim on the part of the archbishop of York to a profession of fealty to the see of York. But in the end consecration was given by Thurstan, archbishop of York, without any profession of obedience being exacted³.

The date of Robert's consecration seems to be a matter of inference from the *data* already supplied. 'Per biennium' is somewhat vague; but if it may be trusted, we can hardly place his consecration later than sometime in 1126. The continuator of Florence of Worcester, indeed, places the consecration of Robert in 1228, under which year it appears as the first event recorded. And probably on the strength of this statement the year 1128 is commonly given as the year⁴. But there is extant a charter of 'Rodbertus Dei gratia Sancti Andree episcopus' quitclaiming cain, conveth, &c., to the priory of Coldingham, which is dated 'XVI kalendas Augusti in festo Sancti Kenelmi martyris (July 17)' in the year 1127 (see *National MSS of Scotland*, I. no. 27). Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, II i 214) print the charter, but they insert in

¹ He had been a canon of St. Oswald's at Nosthill, near Pontefract, in Yorkshire, and was brought thence, with five other canons regular of St. Austin, to Scone (Sc. vi Preface) in 1115 (M. *s. a.*).

² So the copy known to Keith; but the Bannatyne Club edition reads 1159.

³ See Thurstan's acknowledgement in Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, II i 215).

⁴ If the consecration took place in this year it must have been before Sept. 5, when Ranulph, bishop of Durham, one of the consecrators, died. *Contin. Florent. Wigorn.*, *s. a.* 1128.

the heading, summarising the contents, the word 'elect' after bishop of St. Andrews. Stubbs, however, seems to have, on consideration rejected the date 1128 as given by the Continuator of Florence of Worcester, for in the second edition of *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum* (p. 44)¹ he gives 1127 as the year of Robert's consecration².

Thurstan had assisting in the consecration Ranulph, bishop of Durham, and Ralph 'ad Orcadas insulas iam olim in episcopum ordinatum' (*Contin. Florent. Wigorn.* ii 89, edit. Thorpe), and, perhaps, John, bishop of Glasgow (Raine's *Historians of the Church of York* iii 51).

There does not seem to be any good reason for doubting that the consecration took place in 1126, or, possibly, 1127.

Charter evidence: there is an undated charter in which Robert appears as 'elect of St. Andrews' in the reign of David I (*Dunfermlyn*, p. 15). He also appears frequently as 'bishop' in the same reign (R.G. 11, 13; R.P.S.A. 182, 185, 187, &c.).

Robert's death (see above) is assigned to 1158, or, more probably, 1159³.

The see vacant for a year or more.

ÆRNALD (Ernald, Ernold, Arnold), second abbot of Kelso. He had been made abbot in 1147 on the elevation of his predecessor, Herbert, to the see of Glasgow (M. s. a.).

Elected to St. Andrews Nov. 13 (St. Brice's day), which was a Sunday, 1160 (M. s. a.)⁴.

Consecrated on the following Sunday, Nov. 20, 'in veteri ecclesia' at St. Andrews, in the presence of King Malcolm, by William, bishop of Moray, legate of the Apostolic See (M. s. a.)⁵. Sc. (vi 35) concurs.

¹ Published 1897, several years after the second volume of the *Councils*.

² In the charter referred to above there appears as a witness 'Rodberto fratre meo.' The recurrence of the same name among the children of one family is familiar to charter scholars.

³ *WALTHEVE* (Waltheof, Waldeve). If we may credit a not very trustworthy writer, but one who in this instance may probably be accepted, Jocelin of Furness (cited in Sc. vi 25), on the death of Robert, Waltheve, abbot of Melrose, on the petition of the people, by the choice of the clergy (*cleri electio*) and with the assent of the princes, was chosen to succeed. The magnates of the land and the clergy came to Melrose to press the matter; and the abbot of Rievaulx, who happened to be present, urged him to accept the office. But from motives of piety and a presentiment that he was not long to live, he firmly declined. The abbot was a son of Matilda, queen of Scotland, by her first husband, Simon de St. Liz, earl of Northampton and Huntingdon. He was afterwards known as St. Waltheof. See Jocelin's *Vita S. Waltheni* in the Bollandists, AA. SS. August. i 248-77. Waltheve died Aug. 3, 1159 (M. s. a.).

⁴ It has been verified that Nov. 13 in this year fell on Sunday.

⁵ The legate's assent was probably taken as equivalent to a papal confirmation.

There is charter evidence, which it is unnecessary to cite more particularly, in Neubottle, Dunfermlyn, and R.P.S.A.

He died Sept. 13, 1162 (Sc. vi 35; C.S.C. s. a. : and, for the year, M. s. a.). Sc. (*ibid.*) says he was bishop for one year, ten months, and seventeen days, which is obviously wrong. His death is placed by W. (ii 200) in 1163, and the same writer says he was buried in the 'awld kirk' which is probably to be taken for the church of St. Regulus. He founded the 'great church' of St. Andrews (Sc. l. c.).

RICHARD: 'capellanus regis Malcolmi' (Sc. vi 35; M. s. a. 1163).

Elected 1163 (M. s. a.); elected *concorditer* (W. ii 200). This falls in well with a writ in the Chartulary of Scone (cited by Keith, p. 11) where 'Richard elect of St. Andrews' is a witness in the eleventh year of King Malcolm, that is the year ending May 23, 1164.

Wyntoun (ii 200) says that he 'Elyte twa yhere bad efftyr,' i. e. after his election.

Consecrated on Palm Sunday, 'que tunc evenit v kalendas Aprilis,' 1165, at St. Andrews in Scotland, by bishops of the same land (M. s. a.), in the presence of the king (Sc. vi 45). Wyntoun (*l. c.*) says that the bishops of Scotland 'be the Papys lettrys speciall' gave him confirmation and consecration. This is exactly what we might have expected from other cases where evidence is forthcoming¹.

Sc. (vi 35) would lead one to suppose that Richard was elected as well as consecrated in 1165. But the text of Sc. goes on to say of Richard 'electus stetit per biennium et confirmatus xij. annis et uno mense,' and places his death in 1177 on 'tertio nonas Maii.' Which shows that Sc. really agrees with M. as to the date of Richard's election.

Richard died May 3, 1178 (M. s. a.), which date is supported by W. (ii 211). Sc. (vi 35) gives May 3, 1177; but again in another place (viii 25) the year 1178 is given by the same writer (Bower in both cases). *Liber Vite Eccl. Dunelm.* (p. 143) gives 'iii. Id. Maii' as his obit; but the other testimonies seem more fitted to be regarded. He died in the infirmary of the canons of St. Andrews (Sc. l. c.)².

JOHN, called the Scot, though by birth an Englishman (born according to Sc. vi 35 at the vill of Podoth in the county of Chester). He had studied first at Oxford and afterwards at Paris. After a short stay at

¹ By independent calculation the fact that Palm Sunday fell on March 28 (v. Kal. April.), in the year 1165, has been verified.

² The above statements as to the dates of the election and consecration of Richard serve to correct the date ('ante 1165') assigned by Mr. Cosmo Innes to a charter of King Malcolm, witnessed by 'Ricardo episcopo Sancti Andree' (R.G. i 16). It must be assigned to some date between March 28, 1165, and Dec. 9 of the same year when Malcolm died.

Incidentally we have a notice of the bishop's brother, Robert, and his sister Avicia (R.P.S.A. 134).

his home on his return from the schools, he went to St. Andrews, where he was honourably received by Bishop Richard, who on a vacancy occurring made him archdeacon of St. Andrews. After the death of Richard he was unanimously elected by the chapter in the year 1178 (M. s. a.) or (in error) 1177 (Sc. vi 35) in the presence of the papal legate Cardinal John de Caelio Monte¹.

HUGH, chaplain of King William, the Lion, *intruded*. The election of John had been without the knowledge of the king; and not only did he not give his consent to the result of the election, but he caused his own chaplain, Hugh, to be consecrated (1178, M. s. a.: 1177, Sc. vi 35) for the church of St. Andrews, and expelled John from the kingdom. John laid his case before the Pope (Alexander III) who quashed the election of Hugh². The Pope sent Alexius (incorrectly called Alexis in Sc. vi 36) as his legate to Scotland³. Alexius was with difficulty admitted to the kingdom. He soon caused John to be consecrated in the church of Holyrood Abbey in the presence of the legate and of four bishops, a fifth bishop, who was absent through sickness, giving his assent in writing⁴. The principal consecrator was Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen, who is said to have been John's maternal uncle.

As to the date of John's consecration there is some confusion among the authorities. There is no question that the year was 1180. But as to the day there are differences. C.S.C. (*s. a.*), which (as the consecration took place at Holyrood) is not improbably accurate, says 'the octave of Pentecost.' In M. (*s. a.* 1180) we read 'octavis pentecostes, scilicet, vi. idus Junii' which is true only when we take 'vi. idus Junii' to refer to Pentecost (which fell on June 8 in that year) and not to its octave. In Sc. vi 36 we read 'die Sanctae Trinitatis, vi. idus Junii,' which error may have arisen from a misunderstanding of M. Stubbs (Hoveden, ii 209 note) remarks that the ceremony having taken place at Holyrood, the chronicle of that abbey is on this matter the best authority. The date therefore may probably be held to be June 15, 1180.

The struggle between the king and John, or rather the Pope, defending the rights of the Church, is part of the civil history of Scotland, and cannot be recounted here. It must suffice to say that

¹ That is, of St. Stephen in Caelio Monte. It would seem that he is called cardinal by anticipation. See Ciaconius, *Vitas et res gestas*, &c. (i 1159). His election to the college is assigned to 1191.

² From this expression, occurring in the Pope's letters, which Hoveden (ii 209) has preserved, it would seem that there had been the form of a canonical election in the case of Hugh.

³ Alexius was at the time the Pope's sub-deacon, and was afterwards (1188) created a cardinal by Clement III. See Ciaconius, i 1140.

⁴ See the Pope's letter in Hoveden (ii 210).

the controversy was partially adjusted in 1183, when both John and Hugh resigned their rights, or pretended rights, into the hands of the Pope, who was now Lucius III. Lucius soon granted St. Andrews to Hugh; and, Dunkeld having fallen vacant and John having been elected *concorditer* to that see, the Pope confirmed him therein (Sc. vi 40). But difficulties were still made by the king, and both Hugh and John returned to Italy to submit their present difficulties to the Apostolic See. After various incidents in the course of which Hugh was suspended and afterwards excommunicated, King William in 1188 consented that John should hold Dunkeld, together with such revenues as he had before his consecration. In that year (or perhaps 1187) Hugh again passed to Rome to obtain absolution from the sentence of excommunication. This he obtained, and died, a few days after, of the pestilence about six miles outside Rome on August 4, 1188 (Sc. vi 41).

From an ecclesiastical view-point Hugh can be accounted bishop of St. Andrews only from 1183 to August 4, 1188. Sc. (vi 41) represents him as bishop for 'ten years and as many months'; but though this, no doubt, is calculated from his *de facto* election, it would seem to be wrong. There is often evidence of much looseness in such calculations by Bower.

In charters, as might be expected, he appears as 'Bishop of St. Andrews' before his claims were allowed by the Pope. An example will be found in R.B. ii 269.

John, the Scot, survived till 1203, when, at Neubottle, he assumed the habit of a monk on his death-bed (Sc. vi 41).

ROGER DE BEAUMONT, son of Robert, earl of Leicester: cousin of King William, Ada, mother of William being sister of the earl; chancellor of the king of Scots (Sc. v 43).

Elected at Perth, April 13, 1189 (M. s. a.). It is to be noted that M. states that the day of the week was Friday (*feria vj.*). But April 13 in 1189 fell on Thursday. Sc. (vi 42) gives the same year, month, and day of the week. The following year (1190) meets the conditions; and I am not aware of any other evidence to help us to determine the question as to the year. The place of election is worth observing; perhaps it was chosen as allowing royal influence to be more effective, Perth being a frequent place of royal residence.

After a long delay of nearly ten years, or (if the year of election be 1190) of nearly nine years, Roger was consecrated on the first Sunday in Lent (Feb. 15) 1198, at St. Andrews, in the presence of the king (M.; Sc. vi 42) by Richard, bishop of Moray (Sc.); by Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen (Hoveden, iv 31). From Hoveden (*l. c.*) it appears that Roger had not received priest's orders till the time of his consecra-

tion. The fact that Hoveden places Roger's consecration in 1197 need not seriously disturb us. He perhaps meant 1197-8; and, in any case, he is rather careless in matters of chronology, as has been pointed out by Stubbs (Preface to Hoveden, vol. iv, xxv). But after all there seems to be a year's difference between the year intended by Hoveden and that intended by *Scotichronicon*, for the latter (vi 42) says 'stetit electus x. annis, et consecratus iij. annis cum dimidio.' This statement, when compared with the date of his death (see below), shows that Bower understood Feb. 15, 1198, to mean Feb. 15, 1198-9. The method of the chronicle of Melrose is different; the year begins on Dec. 25 or possibly Jan. 1. And that chronicle places Roger's consecration, as stated above, in 1198. The weight of evidence seems in favour of 1197-8.

There is a mandate of Innocent III, dated vi. Kal. Mart. 1199 [i. e. 1198-9], addressed to 'R., bishop of St. Andrews' (C.P.R. i 5), which goes to confirm the belief that Roger's consecration was not later than the year 1198.

Roger died July 7 (Non. Julii), 1202, at Cambuskenneth, and was buried in the old church of St. Andrews (M. s. a.; Sc. vi 42). Wyntoun (ii 228), generally trustworthy, makes a curious blunder in placing Roger's death in the thirty-second year of King William.

WILLIAM MALVOISINE (Malvycyne), bishop of Glasgow¹. Postulated for translation to St. Andrews at Scone on Sept. 20 (xij. Kal. Oct.), being Friday, 1202 (Sc. vi 42).

Sept. 20 in this year did fall on Friday. Scone was a royal residence; note what has been said under Roger de Beaumont.

A charge was made against William by Eustace, one of the canons of St. Andrews, that before his postulation had been approved by the Apostolic See he had at St. Andrews exercised his office in things spiritual as well as temporal, and had on the Saturday in ember week in September (three days after his postulation) conferred orders as bishop of St. Andrews (T. no. 6). It is worthy of observation that in this charge it is said that his postulation was on the Wednesday (*feria quarta*) preceding, while Sc. (*ut supra*) places the postulation and translation on Friday. The September ember-days are the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday after Sept. 14. Now in the year 1202 Sept. 14 fell on Saturday, therefore the ember-days were Sept. 18, 20, and 21. Excepting as regards the day of the week on which the postulation

¹ Elected to Glasgow in Oct. 1199 (Hoveden, iv 97): consecrated at Lyons at command of Innocent III by the archbishop of Lyons (Reginald de Forez) on Sept. 24, 1200 (*ib.* iv 139). The current form of the name is given as 'Mauvaysin' in *Chron. de Lanercost* (4). Apart from the name we have evidence that he belonged to France, for in 1211 'de voluntate et licentia domini regis transfretavit patriam suam et parentes [?] apud Gallias visitaturus' (Sc. viii 78).

took place, the statement in the accusation of Eustace hangs well together with the statement of Sc.

Bishop William's translation according to Wyntoun (ii 229)—

'Wes that tyme done be a Legat
That cald than wes Ihon be name
At the instans off the Kyng Willame.'

If this is correct it will account for William's having at once proceeded to exercise episcopal functions in ordaining. The legate was John of Salerno, cardinal presbyter (of St. Stephen in Caelio Monte). He held a council at Perth early in December, 1201; and spent more than fifty days at Melrose in 1202 (M.), probably after his return from Ireland. William died July 9, 1238, at Inchemordauch¹, and was buried in the new church of St. Andrews (Sc. vi 42).

GEOFFREY (Galfredus), bishop of Dunkeld², postulated; but the postulation disallowed by the Pope.

Wyntoun (VII, chap. ix, vol. ii 244) writes—

'And efftyre that this Willame [Malvoisine] was dede,
Thare postulyd intill his sted
Off Dunkeldyn the Byschape
Joffray. Bot till hym the Pape
Be na way grawnt wald hys gud will;
Bot leve the chanownys he gave till
Agayne to mak electyown,
And for to ches a gud persown.'

Sc. (vi 42) places the postulation of Geoffrey in 1238, and adds that it did not obtain the favour of the Pope and of Alexander II. At least as regards the Pope the statement is confirmed by T. (no. 98), a letter of Gregory IX, dated Feb. 12, 1239, addressed to the prior and convent of St. Andrews declaring that the postulation of the bishop of Dunkeld he had not admitted, 'non vitio personae,' but because he considered that neither urgent necessity nor evident utility required it. He, however, restored to the prior and convent the right to proceed to a canonical election of a fit person. This affords a good example of the value of Wyntoun's record.

DAVID DE BERNHAM, chamberlain of the king³.

Sc. (vi 42) tells that in 1239, leave having been obtained from the

¹ Inchmurtach,—a manor of the bishops of St. Andrews.

² This is Galfredus de Liberatione (Sc. ix 52) appointed to Dunkeld in 1236 (M. s. a.)

³ In R.P.S.A. (p. 272) we find Robert de Bernham 'burgensis de Bernwick' making a grant of four shillings a year *ad luminare*, out of land in Berwick. Among the witnesses is 'Magistro David, fratre meo, camerarii domini regis.' And see W. ii 244; also T. no. 100.

King and the Pope to proceed to a fresh election, on June 3 David was elected *concorditer, per viam compromissi*. The result was submitted to the Pope (Gregory IX), and he committed (Oct. 1, 1239) to the bishops of Glasgow, Caithness, and Brechin to inquire into the election and the fitness of the elect; and, if they were satisfied, they were by the Pope's authority to confirm the election, and, after taking from David the oath of fealty to the Roman See, to bestow the gift of consecration (T. no. 100). W. (ii 244) states that the consecrators were the bishops of Glasgow, Brechin, and Caithness.

In the letter referred to (T. no. 100) the Pope gives his reason for transferring the examination of the election to the three bishops. Of the three canons sent as proctors from St. Andrews to lay the deed of election before the Pope one had died, another was detained by serious illness, and the Pope did not think fit to act on the testimony of the only remaining proctor, Master Richard Vairement.

As to the mode of the election, Sc. is confirmed by the Pope's letter. The prior and four of the canons were granted by the convent the power of making the election; and they unanimously chose Master David de Bernham, subdeacon, chamberlain of the king. It is added that it had been represented to the Pope that the king's assent had been given to the result of the election.

Consecrated by the bishops of Glasgow, Caithness, and Brechin on St. Vincent's day (Jan. 22), 1239-40 (Sc. vi 42), which falls in with the Pope's commission in T. (no. 100). The day was Sunday.

David de Bernham died 1253 (M. s. a.) on April 26, 1253 (Sc. vi 42; Lanercost 58), at 'Narthanthira' and was buried at Kelso (*ibid.*).

There is little doubt that Wyntoun (ii 254) is in error in placing De Bernham's death in 1252.

Narthanthira has been supposed to be Narthanshire or Narthashire, now Nenthorn in Berwickshire, about four miles to the north-west of Kelso. Wyntoun (*l.c.*) makes the place of his burial his own choice—

'He chesyd hys layre in till Kelsow;
Noucht in the kyrk off Sayntandrew.'

ROBERT DE STUTEVILLE, dean of Dunkeld.

Elected, *per viam compromissi*, on June 28, 1253; but the election was not admitted by the king, as is alleged, by Master Abel, archdeacon of St. Andrews (Sc. vi 43). An appeal was made to the Pope, and the prior and canons of St. Andrews sent the elect to the Pope, while the king sent Abel with others to oppose the confirmation. According to Sc. (*ibid.*) falsity prevailed over truth, and the election was quashed, but (T. no. 162) *non personae vitio*¹.

¹ R. de Stuteville was elected bishop of Dunkeld (probably) in 1272, and on May 7.

ABEL, archdeacon of St. Andrews and (T. no. 164) papal chaplain.

On Feb. 20, 1254, the Pope intimates to the chapter of St. Andrews that the election of the dean of Dunkeld had been opposed by the provost and chapter of the Keledei of St. Andrews and by the archdeacon, Master Abel. The grounds of the opposition are stated, but need not be detailed here. The Pope declares the election null, and, of the plenitude of the apostolic power, provides Abel to the bishopric, and commands the chapter to receive him and render him obedience. On March 18, 1254, the Pope writes to the king, and at that date Abel is spoken of as 'now bishop' (T. no. 164). This falls in with Sc. (x 8), which says that Abel was consecrated by the Pope. *Chron. de Lanercost* (58) gives the first Sunday in Lent 1253 (i.e. 1253-4) as the date of his consecration. That Sunday fell on March 1.

It was generally believed in Scotland that Abel obtained the see unfairly. W. (ii 255) says 'That [the see] he purchast at the Pape'; but the old sense of the word 'purchase,' as equivalent to 'procure,' makes one hesitate to infer that W. thought that the see was bought.

Abel was at Durham on June 2, 1254 (probably on his return journey northwards), and granted an indulgence of forty days to those visiting the shrine of St. Cuthbert or the Galilee of Durham Cathedral (see Raine, 89). He must soon have passed on to St. Andrews, for he celebrated his first pontifical mass on June 29, 1254 (Sc. x 8). He witnesses a charter in October, 1254 (*Dunfermline*, 199).

Abel died on the morrow of St. Andrew (Dec. 1), 1254, and was buried in the new church, having held the bishopric 'ten months and two weeks' (Sc. vi 43)¹. There was perhaps some evidence known to Bower which showed the *first* bulls of provision were dated in the middle of January².

JOHN DOWDEN.

(To be continued.)

1273, Pope Gregory X commits to the bishops of Moray, Aberdeen, and Glasgow to consecrate him (T. no. 255).

¹ *Chron. de Lanercost* places his death on Aug. 31, 1254: but the *Dunfermline* charter shows this to be an error.

² On April 16, 1248, Innocent IV grants an indult to Master Abel, canon of Glasgow and papal chaplain, to be ordained priest, and to be elected bishop (but not confirmed or consecrated without papal mandate) notwithstanding that he is son of a priest: C.P.R. i 244. This is presumably the person afterwards bishop of St. Andrews. He is evidently, apart from the fact that he was a papal chaplain, a person trusted by the Pope, for on May 29, 1248, the Pope commands him to make order as seemed to him expedient about certain churches in the diocese of St. Andrews, which certain religious were holding and applying to their own uses to the prejudice of the churches (T. no. 136; C.P.R. i 245).