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**Reading Across the Manuscripts:  
The Process of Cartularisation at Arbroath Abbey**

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**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for  
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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## Abstract

This thesis examines how ‘cartularisation’ was practiced at the Tironensian abbey of Arbroath over three centuries from *c.*1250–*c.*1560. While previous studies have generally focused on single cartularies, this study looks at it from an institutional perspective, by examining the corpus of cartularies surviving from the medieval abbey, focusing on those that related to the community rather than an individual abbot or commendator.

In particular, the thesis examines cartularisation in light of the recent work of Joanna Tucker, whose study of two Scottish cartularies (each drawn from a separate institution) demonstrated that it was a community activity in its own right, rather than just the means by which manuscripts were created. This thesis builds upon her findings to better understand how successive generations of scribes engaged with the wider corpus of manuscripts than just the one to which they were contributing.

To do so, it is first necessary to fully examine each of the four cartularies chosen for this study and an in-depth analysis of each one can be found in Chapters 1 to 4. Using Tucker’s newly established methodology for examining multi-scribe cartularies, the evolution of each cartulary is examined to provide a comprehensive understanding of how the character of each one was shaped by the choices made by contributing scribes. Once the nature of each individual cartulary has been uncovered, the evidence these analyses provide is brought together to demonstrate how scribes worked over the longer period.

Chapter 5 charts the timeline of document copying at Arbroath and compares the various ‘campaigns’ involved in creating each cartulary. Chapter 6 shows that where repeated texts occur (either within a single volume or across the corpus) they were the rarely the result of scribal error, but that scribes had a working knowledge of what had previously been copied. The evidence for scribes as readers of all the abbey’s manuscripts is extended in Chapter 7, which examines the cross-references found within all of the extant cartularies of Arbroath that indicate the cartularies were seen as a corpus in their own right, and not just a substitute for the abbey’s archive.

Through these different analyses it becomes possible to see copying as more than just a method to create single manuscript volumes but as an intergenerational communal activity. Scribes are shown to be deeply aware of what had been copied by their predecessors, a knowledge which influenced their own choices. As time progresses, however, it is also

possible to see scribes copying documents that relate to contemporary concerns and interests. By reading across the manuscripts and tracking the patterns of copying over three centuries it becomes possible to see cartularisation at Arbroath not as a series of single projects to create individual bound volumes, but as an ongoing intergenerational conversation which echoed across three centuries.

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## Abbreviations

- Arb. Lib.* C. Innes and P. Chalmers, eds, *Liber Sancte Thome de Aberbrothoc*, 2 vols (Edinburgh 1848–56).
- Med. Carts* G. R. C. Davis, ed., *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, first published 1958, revised by Claire Breay, Julian Harrison and David M. Smith (London, 2010).
- CPL W.H. Bliss, ed., *Calendar of Papal Registers: Papal Letters*, 18 vols (London 1893–1989).
- NLS National Library of Scotland (Edinburgh).
- NRS National Records of Scotland (Edinburgh).
- PoMS* *People of Medieval Scotland: 1093–1371*, Amanda Beam, John Bradley, Dauvit Broun, John Reuben Davies, Matthew Hammond, Neil Jakeman, Michael Pasin, Alice Taylor, with others (Glasgow and London, 2018) <<https://www.poms.ac.uk>>.
- RPS* *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, K. M. Brown *et al* eds (St Andrews, 2007–2022) <<https://www.rps.ac.uk>>
- RRS*, ii G.W.S Barrow, ed., with the collaboration of W.W. Scott, *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, vol. ii: *The Acts of William I, King of Scots, 1165–1214* (Edinburgh, 1971).
- RRS*, iii K. J. Stringer, ed., *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, vol. iii: *The Acts of Alexander II, King of Scots, 1214–1249* (forthcoming).
- RRS*, iv Cynthia J. Neville and Grant J. Simpson, eds., *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, vol. iv: *The Acts of Alexander III, King of Scots, 1249–1286* (Edinburgh, 2013).
- RRS*, v A. A. M. Duncan, ed., *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, vol. v: *The Acts of Robert I, King of Scots, 1306–1329* (Edinburgh, 1988).
- RRS*, vi Bruce Webster, ed., *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, vol. vi: *The Acts of David II, King of Scots, 1329–1371* (Edinburgh, 1982).
- TNA The National Archives (London).

## Introduction

This thesis investigates the act of ‘cartularisation’ - a term coined by Pierre Chastang to describe the copying of archival documents into manuscript books.<sup>1</sup> Rather than focusing on any meaning or function contained within the finished volumes, ‘cartularisation’ is concerned with the act of copying itself. The coining of a specific word to describe the work of cartulary scribes highlights the evolving nature of this field of research. Where once historians were interested in mining cartularies for historical information there is now an increasing awareness that the activity itself held meaning.

The last thirty-five years have witnessed a sea-change in the realm of cartulary studies. In 1987 Trevor Foulds warned that in the headlong rush to extract factual information from the texts entered into medieval cartularies, historians were overlooking the wider historical evidence found in the physical objects themselves.<sup>2</sup> Although his article focused exclusively on English cartularies, his conclusions were in fact more widely relevant to all the regions of Europe where cartulary production was practiced, and it was in France, rather than in England, that the next sizeable contribution to the discussion was made. In 1993 a volume entitled *Les Cartulaires* brought together 27 essays, each one focusing more deeply on different ways of engaging with cartularies.<sup>3</sup> The following year, Patrick Geary, who had contributed to *Les Cartulaires*, developed his ideas further when he published *Phantoms of Remembrance* which tracked the emergence of the earliest cartularies from mere collections of charters to objects used to create and hold specific versions of institutional history and identity.<sup>4</sup> Implicit in the ideas seen in this emerging renaissance in cartulary studies was the acceptance that scribes were not just recreating their entire institutional archives, but that they were using the documents contained within those archives to create something new based on the deliberate selection, arrangement and transcription of texts. Why they were doing so, and what meaning or purpose the resulting cartularies held, has divided opinion and continues to be the subject of discussion.

Since the 1990’s the theories put forward in *Les Cartulaires*, namely that scribes were not just copying an entire archive, has generally been accepted. Instead, it is understood that the

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<sup>1</sup> Pierre Chastang, ‘Cartulaires, cartularisation et scripturalité médiévale: la structuration d’un nouveau champ de recherche’, *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 49 (2006), pp. 21–31.

<sup>2</sup> Trevor Foulds, ‘Medieval cartularies’, *Archives* 18, no. 77 (1987), pp. 3–35 at p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Cartulaires*, ed. Olivier Guyotjeannin, Laurent Morelle & Michel Parisse (Paris, 1993).

<sup>4</sup> Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, NJ, 1994).

documents copied into cartularies represent a careful selection and arrangement of texts, a process which Laurent Morelle described as ‘filtering reality’.<sup>5</sup> Theories about how the cartularies created via this process might function, or what meaning they might have focus on two different possibilities. The first is that cartularies, particularly those in which the texts were arranged topographically, were created to serve a functional purpose.<sup>6</sup> The second views the making of cartularies as a form of memory, or that the careful selection and arrangement of texts worked to create an institutional identity.

There are several ways in which it has been suggested cartularies might have served a practical function. One of these is the organisation of archives. The creation of a cartulary required an archive that had time to acquire a sufficient amount of documents.<sup>7</sup> As religious houses established themselves and grew in wealth and properties, their archives would have expanded accordingly and, as Trevor Foulds has suggested, the creation of a cartulary could have been the action of scribes who felt the need to ‘do something’ with their collection of documents.<sup>8</sup> Kathleen Thompson took this idea further, suggesting that ‘doing something’ could be bringing order to an expanding archive.<sup>9</sup> The need to reorganise an archive could also have been the result of external stimuli. Nicholas Karn linked the phenomenon of cartulary making during the twelfth century to ecclesiastical institutions reordering their archives, which he believed, was in response to changes in archiving procedures by royal governments.<sup>10</sup> The need to reorganise archives could also reflect changing economic circumstances. Michael Spence has shown how the monks of Fountains abbey selected and copied their archival documents into successive manuscripts to help navigate their way through late medieval economic instability.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Laurent Morelle, ‘The metamorphosis of three monastic charter collections in the eleventh century (Saint-Amand, Saint Riquier, Montier-en-Der)’ in *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*, ed. Karl Heidecker (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 171–204 at p. 174.

<sup>6</sup> Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, p. 90.

<sup>7</sup> Sufficient documents could build up quite quickly, for example the cartulary of Königsfelden Abbey was created in 1336 a mere two decades after the founding of the abbey itself. See Tobias Hodel, ‘Königsfelden Abbey and its first cartulary: dealing with charters in the fourteenth century’, in *Ruling the Script in the Middle Ages: Formal Aspects of Written Communication (Books, Charters and Inscriptions)*, ed. Sébastien Barret, Dominique Stutzmann & Georg Vogeler (Turnhout, 2016), pp. 331–55, at p. 348.

<sup>8</sup> Foulds, *Medieval Archives*, p. 20.

<sup>9</sup> Kathleen Thompson, ‘The cartulary of the monastery of Tiron’, *Les cartulaires normands. Bilan et perspectives de recherche (actes de la table ronde tenue à Caen les 3–4 Avril 2009)*, *Tabularia* 13 (2013), pp. 65–123, at p. 74.

<sup>10</sup> Nicholas Karn, ‘Information and its retrieval,’ in *A Social History of England, 900–1200*, ed. Julia Crick & Elisabeth Van Houts (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 373–80, at pp. 379–80

<sup>11</sup> Michael Spence, *The Late Medieval Monastery of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire: Monastic Administration, Economy and Archival Memory* (Turnhout, 2020), pp. 132–142.

A well-ordered archive would, of course, have aided the administration of landholding. This has been proposed as the purpose behind the sixteenth-century cartulary of Paisley Abbey. Although not as large as Fountains Paisley was still a relatively well-off monastery, and the administration of properties was likely a substantial task. In comparison to Paisley, Binham Priory in Norfolk was a small foundation, but it too created a cartulary. Rather than helping to administer wealthy estates, it has been suggested that the purpose of doing so at Binham was to help the prior keep a track of his monastery's dire financial situation.<sup>12</sup>

While these arguments are carefully made and persuasive, Joanna Tucker has pointed out that understanding exactly how cartularies worked within an administrative system in many cases remains elusive.<sup>13</sup> The topographical arrangement of the cartulary of Nostell Priory suggested to Judith Frost it was created to serve a functional, but obscure, purpose.<sup>14</sup> Steven Vanderputten described the cartulary of the monastery of Saint-Amand as having been made for administrative purposes but acknowledged that its chronological format would have made it hard to use.<sup>15</sup> It is also unclear whether or not cartulary copies would have held any legal weight. Robert Swanson thought they did not, but that copying important documents into cartularies meant that the originals, which did carry legal significance, could be kept safely under lock and key.<sup>16</sup> There are also few known occasions of cartularies being used this way in legal cases. The texts copied into cartularies lack their authenticating seal, and if the original documents were safely contained within the archive, it is unlikely that copies would have been considered as legally valuable.<sup>17</sup> Andrew Smith has shown that Kelso

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<sup>12</sup> W.W. Scott, 'The register of Paisley Abbey: a reappraisal', in *The Monastery and Abbey of Paisley*, ed. John Malden (Renfrew, 2000) pp. 149–60, at p. 156. Johanna Luise Margerum, 'An Edition of the Cartulary of Binham Priory with a Critical Introduction', unpublished PhD thesis (University of East Anglia, 2005), vol. 1, pp. 13–14.

<sup>13</sup> Joanna Tucker, *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies: Multi-Scribe Manuscripts and their Patterns of Growth. A Study of the Earliest Cartularies of Glasgow Cathedral and Lindores Abbey* (Woodbridge 2020), pp. 16–18.

<sup>14</sup> Judith Anne Frost, 'An Edition of the Nostell Priory Cartulary, London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian E XIX', 2 vols, unpublished PhD thesis (University of York, 2005), vol. 1, p. 207.

<sup>15</sup> Steven Vanderputten, 'Monastic literate practices in eleventh- and twelfth-century northern France', *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006), pp. 101–26, at p. 112. The confusion over the function of cartularies is not new. Cosmo Innes, who edited the 1832 edition of the Paisley Register, believed it was likely that the cartulary served an administrative purpose but worried whether it 'really was the book of record of the monastery'. Cosmo Innes, (ed.), *Registrum Monasterii de Passelet* (Edinburgh, 1832), p. vii. See also Scott, 'The register of Paisley Abbey', p. 156.

<sup>16</sup> Robert Swanson, 'Universi Christi fidelibus: the church and its records', in *Pragmatic Literacy*, ed. R.H. Britnell (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 147–66, at p. 158.

<sup>17</sup> Constance B. Bouchard, 'Monastic cartularies: organizing eternity' in *Charters, Cartularies and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*, ed. Adam J. Kostko & Anders Winroth (Toronto, 2002), pp. 22–32, at p. 25. David Walker, 'The organisation of material in medieval cartularies' in *The Study of Medieval Records: Essays in Honour of Kathleen Major*, ed. D. A. Bullough and R. L. Storey (Oxford, 1971), pp. 132–50, at p. 134. An exception to this is the Cambuskenneth cartulary, which comprises a manuscript created containing transcripts of the abbey's charters. It was created in 1535 as the documents were at risk from damp and the entire manuscript is confirmed by the great seal of King

Abbey's cartulary was likely created as part of a campaign to reclaim the properties lost during the wars of the early fourteenth-century, but there is no firm evidence to show the cartulary itself was presented as legal evidence.<sup>18</sup> There are, however, instances in the late medieval period of old cartularies which were used in legal causes, but in these examples, the cartulary seems to have provided the source material for a new legal document to be created, as opposed to being presented as evidence in its own right.<sup>19</sup>

The other strand of thought which exists is that cartularies were made for the purpose of memory or identity. In *Phantoms of Remembrance* Patrick Geary argued that cartulary scribes used the contents of their archives to fashion histories for their institutions. He argues that they were not employed in remembering the past wholesale, but were involved in a process of selecting and arranging texts in a manner which told a specific, new, history, and even that they were willing to destroy documents which they felt were not useful for their purpose.<sup>20</sup> More recently, he has expanded on this idea, suggesting that scribes had more in common with authors than with archivists.<sup>21</sup> The use of ancient documents by cartulary scribes in the central middle ages to 'reconceptualize' history was also explored by Constance Bouchard.<sup>22</sup> The resulting 'corporate history' might be created for a variety of purposes.<sup>23</sup> A cartulary might be said to memorialise a monastery's benefactors, or be a means to interpret a religious house's social relationships with the surrounding community.<sup>24</sup> The idea of a cartulary containing texts carefully selected and arranged to create a communal identity has been taken further by Tobias Hodel, who saw in the first cartulary of Königsfelden Abbey an attempt to personify the monastery and its founder.<sup>25</sup>

In the light of the theories of cartulary production detailed above, it is worth, perhaps, thinking about the statements made by scribes themselves to explain why they chose to select

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James V. *Chartulary of Cambuskenneth Abbey*, NLS, <https://manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/21320> (accessed 28 April 2023).

<sup>18</sup> Andrew Smith, 'The Kelso Abbey Cartulary: Context, Production and Forgery', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Glasgow, 2011), pp. 206–9.

<sup>19</sup> Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, pp. 20–22.

<sup>20</sup> Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, pp. 81–114.

<sup>21</sup> Patrick J. Geary, 'Medieval archivists as authors: social memory and archival memory', in *Archives, Documentation and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar*, ed. Francis X. Blouin & William G. Rosenberg (Ann Arbor, 2010), pp. 106–13.

<sup>22</sup> Bouchard, *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors: Memory and Forgetting in France, 500–1200* (Philadelphia 2015), pp. 18–19.

<sup>23</sup> Katrina J. Legg, *The Lost Cartulary of Bolton Priory: An Edition of the Coucher Book and Charters* (Woodbridge, 2009), p. xxi.

<sup>24</sup> Bouchard, 'Monastic cartularies', p. 31. See also Emilia Jamrozak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context, 1132–1300: Memory, Locality and Networks* (Turnhout, 2005), p. 26.

<sup>25</sup> Hodel, 'Königsfelden Abbey and its first cartulary', pp. 351 & 355.

and copy documents from their institutional archives. However, just as scribes felt little need to define the volumes they created, nor did they often explain why they undertook the task. An example of one scribe who did take time to make clear his motivations comes from Worcester. Hemming, the monk who copied the second of the priory's cartularies eleventh century cartularies, did not just leave a sentence describing his 'little book'; he also left us with an account of why he felt compelled to make it, stating that he had

...composed this little book on the possessions of our monastery especially so that those who will come after us may know which and how many possessions of land belonging to this monastery should be rightly used for the sustenance of the servants of God, that is, the monks, and how, having been unjustly deprived of such lands by violence and fraud, we now lack them.<sup>26</sup>

Hemming, of course, spoke only for himself, rather than for the entire corpus of cartulary scribes. But his words, although personal, provide an insight which can be applied more widely. He said that he wanted there to be a record of his priory's history of loss and suffering, but that he also intended his little book serve a practical purpose; to help future generations of monks recover the lands rightfully belonging to Worcester. Without being aware of doing so, Hemming therefore summed-up the main strands of thought about cartularies which historians debate today; the twin themes of administration and the creation of memory. His words also highlight another important issue; the fact that cartularies might serve more than a single purpose, and that the perceived value (or function) of a cartulary could change over time. With objects such as cartularies which grew slowly, and perhaps at the hands of multiple scribes, this is perhaps hardly surprising. Francesca Tinti has pointed out that the additional hands seen in the Worcester Cartulary means that Hemming's motivations cannot be safely said to apply to the entire cartulary that bears his name.<sup>27</sup> Sometimes, the change in function of a cartulary is said to be the result of a specific event, rather than the changing motivations of later scribes. Theodore Evergates, for example, has suggested that the process of archival reorganisation meant the early thirteenth-century

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<sup>26</sup> Francesca Tinti, 'Si litterali memorię commendaretur: memory and cartularies in eleventh century Worcester', in *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. Stephen Baxter, Catherine Karkov, Janet L. Nelson & David Pelteret (Farnham, 2009), pp. 475–97 at pp. 492–3.

<sup>27</sup> Francesca, Tinti, 'From episcopal conception to monastic compilation: Hemming's cartulary in context', *Early Medieval Europe* 11:3 (2002), pp. 233–61 at p. 260. David Peterson also identified that the *Becerro Galicano* of San Millán de la Cogolla combined the process of re-organising the archives with defending the monastery's claims in a dispute over the rights to churches. David Peterson, 'Order and disorder in the cartularies of San Millán de la Cogolla' in *From Charters to Codex: Studies on Cartularies and Archival Memories in the Middle Ages*, ed. Rodrigo Furtado & Marcello Moscone (Basel, 2019), pp. 119–134 at pp. 130–1.

cartularies created for the counts of Champagne lost their original administrative function and were subsequently valued as commemorative items only. Constance Bouchard argued that there might be occasions when the opposite was true, and that cartularies created as repositories of memory might quickly become substitutes for the archive itself.<sup>28</sup> Although cartulary scribes may, like Hemming, have approached their task with a certain purpose in mind, and will undoubtedly have been influenced by contemporary events and circumstances, the future was out of their hands: they could not control events or direct the actions of later scribes.<sup>29</sup>

Most recently, however, Joanna Tucker's study of two Scottish cartularies has shown that the accepted ways of understanding cartularies cannot be easily applied to multi-scribe manuscripts. Because these volumes contain such varied and often seemingly random contributions, there has been a tendency to rely on an analysis of the most organised initial sections where a coherent theme or arrangement can be discerned. In contrast, the multi-scribe components have often been deemed 'chaotic' and dismissed without being fully taken into consideration. Tucker, however, has demonstrated the value of embracing all a cartulary's contents as a forum of communal activity. In doing so she has shown that instead of being random or chaotic in nature, the cartularies grew and were shaped by scribes who may copy as little as a single text, but who were active readers, acutely aware of what was already held in the cartulary. Rather than hinting at any overarching theme or purpose, she notes that these incremental entries tell us 'how the contributors conceived of the cartulary's function at the moment of entering new material'.<sup>30</sup> Putting the scribes at the centre of the analysis provides a new perspective on individual cartularies and her findings have been recognised as a pivotal movement in the field of cartulary studies.<sup>31</sup> Her emphasis is on cartularisation as an activity undertaken by individual scribes as part of a community, rather than as merely the creation of a specific type of manuscript suggesting

perhaps we can begin to think about the corpus not as a particular kind of text, but as a particular context for scribal activity. Diversity within the cartulary corpus could then be viewed not as a result of different typologies but as a reflection of

<sup>28</sup> Theodore Evergates, 'The earliest comital cartulary from Champagne', in *Charters, Cartularies and Archives*, ed. Kosto & Winroth, pp. 128–36, at p. 131; Bouchard, 'Monastic cartularies', pp. 31–2.

<sup>29</sup> Georges Declerq, 'Originals and cartularies: the organization of archival memory', in *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*, ed. Karl Heidecker (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 147–70, at pp. 169–70.

<sup>30</sup> Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, p. 24. For the idea of multi-scribe additions being 'chaotic' or 'random' see pp. 27–8, for scribes as active readers see pp. 221–2.

<sup>31</sup> Paul Bertrand, 'Joanna Tucker, Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies: Multi-Scribe Manuscripts and their Patterns of Growth. A Study of the Earliest Cartularies of Glasgow Cathedral and Lindores Abbey', *The Innes Review* 72:2 (2021), pp. 207–10.

different groups of scribes and readers responding to their archives and cartulary manuscripts in their own ways.<sup>32</sup>

In this thesis I intend to build on Tucker's argument that cartularies provided a forum for scribes to engage with their archives. The practice of copying was embedded within medieval monastic culture and in the world of the reformed orders it was used to fulfil the requirement that monks must work and as a means of preserving and remembering the past.<sup>33</sup> Although some of the resulting manuscripts were undoubtedly created to facilitate the management of monasteries, we will examine the possibility that cartularies could also be the result of a more informal process of copying, one which allowed the monks to engage personally with the history of the house to which they belonged. Memory and remembrance were important components in medieval monastic thought, on both an institutional and individual basis.<sup>34</sup> When religious houses produced hagiographies and narrative histories, they seem to have done so for the interest of those within their own communities.<sup>35</sup> In the case of cartularies which lack any explicit information that points to a formal agenda or plan, it is worth considering that when scribes copied documents, they too were doing so for the benefit of their own community, and perhaps for their own personal instruction and understanding.<sup>36</sup> In short, writing the texts into the cartulary was an end in itself. Seen this way, the many one-off contributions made by scribes over long periods, and the seemingly random manner in which the folios were filled, become more than chaotic or chance entries. Instead they represent the actions of scribes, who having read and digested the work of their colleagues and predecessors, wish to commit their own thoughts to parchment and to express their thoughts in a long-running conversation about their community's past.

Tracking scribal contributions across an entire corpus would hopefully enable us to look beyond the bindings of individual manuscripts to see cartularisation as an organic process, with individual volumes growing in response to scribal interest and engagement, rather than by pre-defined plan. Therefore, because the aim is to examine the process of cartularisation as dynamic and organic, in this thesis a novel approach is adopted by investigating a corpus of cartulary manuscripts from a single institution. Instead of

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<sup>32</sup> Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, p. 225.

<sup>33</sup> Janice Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000–1300* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 192.

<sup>34</sup> Thomas O'Donnell, 'Monastic History and Memory', in *Medieval Historical Writing: Britain and Ireland 500–1500*, ed. Jennifer Jahner, Emily Steiner and Elizabeth M Tyler (Cambridge 2019), pp. 35–50 at p. 36.

<sup>35</sup> Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, pp. 194–196.

<sup>36</sup> The abbot of Brakelond was said to frequently read the *Kalendar* of his abbey's possessions 'as though it were a mirror where he could contemplate the face of his own probity'. O'Donnell, 'Monastic History and Memory', p. 48 and n. 65.

concentrating on a single cartulary, the aim is to take advantage of the breadth of the surviving corpus from the Tironensian abbey of Arbroath, and to analyse four separate manuscripts, to identify the processes by which they were created. Once this has been done, it will be possible to compare the evidence from each individual manuscript.

Doing so will build a deeper understanding of what the activity of cartularisation looked like at a single Scottish religious house from the period when cartulary production was just emerging in Scotland until the eve of the Reformation. The thesis in particular seeks to investigate these manuscripts in the light of Joanna Tucker's insight, noted above, that multi-scribe cartularies offer an 'activity-based' understanding of community identity.<sup>37</sup> By studying them as evidence of activity over many centuries, and across the spectrum from multi-scribe to predominantly single-scribe manuscripts, a new and more developed understanding of 'cartularisation' in relation to a particular community and its identity will become apparent.

Although the analysis will involve the examination of four individual cartularies, the aim is to consider the activity of copying archival documents as part of a single process over an extended period of time. By comparing the evidence provided from all four manuscripts, it should be possible to discover whether or not documentary copying was continuous, or if there were peaks and troughs of activity. A key component in Joanna Tucker's study was the establishment of a new methodology for examining multi-scribe cartularies. Using the process she created, it will be possible to examine more closely the role piecemeal accrual played in the process of cartularisation.<sup>38</sup> By looking at the activity of copying documents from the perspective of the scribes themselves it will be possible to see how the work of their predecessors (and contemporaries) informed their choices, and how those choices then shaped the corpus to which they were contributing. Each manuscript will be analysed in turn and the evidence of how each separate manuscript was created and grew will be compared to plot how the activity of copying archival documents was practiced within the monastery.

The availability of a corpus ranging across almost three centuries also allows us to look at the relationship between different cartularies created at a single institution. It will be possible to investigate whether or not the scribes of Arbroath were aware of what was held in all the manuscripts created by their institution, rather than just the volume to which they were

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<sup>37</sup> Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, p. 221.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, chapter 2, pp. 34–90. A summary of the methodology can be found on p. 34.

contributing. It will also be possible to see if scribes used older cartularies as a source for their own work, or if each cartulary was started fresh with its own unique selection and arrangement of documents from the archive.

Because the four manuscripts included in this thesis cover such an extensive period of time, it will be possible to identify patterns and see if the process of copying documents into manuscripts changed or evolved over the centuries. For example, was there a standard process by which every manuscript was created? By using palaeographic analysis to date the various hands seen in the multi-scribe sections of the cartularies it should also be possible to better understand whether or not the activity of cartularisation was limited to the creation of individual cartularies, or was practiced more widely and informally. One way of investigating this will be to identify whether or not a new manuscript was created only after the scribes had run out of space on all existing manuscripts (perhaps because they had been bound), or if there were periods when more than one manuscript was active. If so, this might mean that the scribes had a choice of where to copy texts, and it might point to whether or not cartularies were all discrete projects or part of a single ongoing activity.

### The abbey of Arbroath

The abbey of Arbroath was founded in 1178 by King William I, and staffed with Tironensian monks from the monastery at Kelso which itself had originally been established at Selkirk by William's grandfather, King David I, *c.*1113 before moving to Kelso *c.*1127/8.<sup>39</sup> By the time of Arbroath's founding one, or possibly two further Tironensian houses had been established in Scotland: at Lesmahgow (1144) and Kilwinning (1162 x 1189).<sup>40</sup> Dedicated to St Thomas Becket, Arbroath also served as a mausoleum for its founder.<sup>41</sup> The church was dedicated on 8 May 1233, and in the late thirteenth century Arbroath gained a

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<sup>39</sup> There is no contemporary source which provides a firm date for this, however a letter of Abbot William dated 1358 suggests that it was 9 August 1178. Keith Stringer, 'Arbroath abbey in context, 1178–1320', in *The Declaration of Arbroath: History, Significance, Setting*, ed. Geoffrey Barrow (Edinburgh, 2003), pp. 116–141, at p. 133, n. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Ian B. Cowan and David Edward Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland. With an Appendix on Houses in the Isle of Man* (London, 1976), pp. 66–70.

<sup>41</sup> Stringer, 'Arbroath Abbey in context', provides a full account of the abbey from its foundation to 1320, including a discussion of the reasons for the Scottish king's decision to dedicate his new monastery to such a prominent English saint. King William was the only monarch to be buried at Arbroath. His father, Earl Henry, had chosen to be interred at the Tironensian house of Kelso, but his son King Alexander II was buried at Melrose Abbey and Queen Ermengarde opted to be buried at the Cistercian abbey of Balmerino. For a full list of Scottish royal burials see Steve Boardman, 'Dunfermline as a royal mausoleum' in *Royal Dunfermline*, ed. Richard Fawcett (Edinburgh, 2005) pp. 139–50 at p. 150.

dependency in the priory of Fyvie in Aberdeenshire.<sup>42</sup> The abbey received generous gifts and endowments from both King William and the laity. A royal confirmation of 25 December 1213 makes clear the wealth Arbroath had accumulated in the early years of its existence: this turned the Tironensian house into a powerful landholder.<sup>43</sup>

Much of the wealth that the abbey accumulated was gifted by the founder himself. By the end of his reign, King William had provided the monks with 25 parish churches and valuable royal demesne lands in Angus. Wealthy benefactors were also keen to associate themselves with the new monastery, and Arbroath quickly acquired an impressive portfolio of lands, particularly in east central Scotland and in the north east. As well as donations from Scotland's earls, the newer Anglo-Norman families, often settled as crown tenants displayed their generosity to the monks. Many of the links forged with these families in the earliest years of Arbroath's existence produced long-lasting ties between the monks and dynasties that were to become part of Scotland's ruling class, as Keith Stringer has emphasised.<sup>44</sup> Although these connections were recalled every time a charter of donation or confirmation was copied into a cartulary, there is no indication that any of the cartularies studied in this thesis were designed primarily to commemorate the abbey's relationship with particular families.

Little is known about the size of the monastic community, although during the first half of the sixteenth century the number of monks ranged between 17 and 27.<sup>45</sup> Life was not always entirely peaceful during Arbroath's 428 years in existence. The abbey came under attack by English ships, and a storm in 1272 resulted in a fire. A later and perhaps more serious fire occurred in 1380 after the abbey was struck by lightning, necessitating the monks find temporary accommodation elsewhere.<sup>46</sup> Although now in a state of ruin the abbey remained an active community until it was secularised in 1606. Arbroath Abbey is perhaps best remembered today for its association with the letter which the barons of Scotland sent to

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<sup>42</sup> Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland*, pp. 66–7. Despite Fyvie being a dependency of Arbroath, there are no documents copied into the surviving corpus of cartularies which name the priory as a beneficiary.

<sup>43</sup> King William's confirmation has been published as *RRS*, ii, no. 513 and *Arb. Lib.*, 1, no. 1. Stringer, 'Arbroath Abbey in context', p. 123.

<sup>44</sup> Stringer, 'Arbroath Abbey in context, 1178–1320', pp. 123–9.

<sup>45</sup> Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland*, p. 67.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* Charters of Arbroath in which the attack and the fire are recorded have been published as *Arb. Lib.*, 2, nos. 23 and 36. Arrangements made to deal with the after-effects of the fire are recorded in a missive of the bishop of St Andrews dated 3 June 1380 (*Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 37). Further information on the ruins and an archaeological history of abbey buildings can be found in Richard Fawcett, 'Arbroath Abbey: a note on its architecture and early conservation history', in *The Declaration of Arbroath: History, Significance, Setting*, ed. Geoffrey Barrow (Edinburgh, 2003), pp. 50–85.

Pope John XXII in April 1320, which only later came to be known as the ‘Declaration of Arbroath’.

### The medieval documentary corpus of Arbroath Abbey

Arbroath lends itself well to a study of how copying of documents into codices was practiced within a single ecclesiastical institution over a long period of time. Although three folios of a thirteenth-century calendar are all that are known to remain of the liturgical books which the abbey owned, its non-liturgical output has fared better.<sup>47</sup> Four manuscripts created at the monastery will be the focus of this study. These contain the writing of scribes datable from the middle of the thirteenth century to the first half of the sixteenth century. Three of these manuscripts are well-preserved, and although each has lost some folios, they remain in a relatively good condition in later bindings. One, the Arbroath *Registrum Vetus* (Edinburgh, NLS Adv. MS 34.4.2), contains texts copied from c. 1340 to the end of the following century. Another, the Arbroath *Registrum Nigrum* (Edinburgh, NLS Adv. MS 34.4.3), contains the work of scribes active during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. The third of the bound manuscripts, currently held in London by the British Library (London, BL MS Add. 33245), is datable to after 1531. This thesis will also examine an unbound manuscript, referred to as the Arbroath ‘Ethie’ due to its association with Ethie Castle: this survives only in a fragmentary state as the remains of eight gatherings, wrapped in a loose paper cover (Dundee City Archives, GD130/25/17). These folios contain the earliest evidence for copying documents at Arbroath: they contain material in a hand datable to the middle of the thirteenth century, as well as contributions by scribes stretching to the second half of the fifteenth century. For ease of reference, these four manuscripts will hereafter be referred to as the Arbroath *RV*, The Arbroath *RN*, the Arbroath *BL* and the Arbroath *Ethie*.

Few Scottish ecclesiastical institutions can boast four surviving medieval manuscripts that contain predominantly documentary material. In fact, according to the most recent catalogue of cartularies, only four other monasteries match or exceed this total.<sup>48</sup> The four volumes

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<sup>47</sup> London, British Library, MS Additional 8930, ff. 1r–3v. Although there is no explicit reference to Arbroath as the owners of these folios, the inclusion of the dedication of their church on 30 March and a note of the feast day of St Vigean make it highly likely that the calendar belonged to Arbroath. An image of f. 2r showing the calendar for January can be seen on the British Library website. *January in a calendar of Arbroath Abbey*, (London, BL) Additional 8930 <<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/illmanus/other/011add000008930u00002000.html>> (accessed 23 October 2021).

<sup>48</sup> According to Davis et al, *Medieval Cartularies* (2010), these are: five from Aberdeen Cathedral (nos. 1150–5), six from Coldingham Priory (nos. 1127–1130.2), four from Glasgow Cathedral (nos. 1150–1153), and four from Melrose Abbey (nos. 1167–1170). As with the manuscripts of Arbroath, not all of these are

listed above, however, are not the only manuscripts from Arbroath that largely consist of copies of documents. Included in *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland* are entries for three additional volumes. These are described as: a ‘register of leases, similar in date and scope to the [Arbroath *RN*], in which the contents are largely duplicated’; a ‘Register of Abbot George Hepburn, 1504–13’; and a ‘Register of Commendators James Betoun, 1515–23 × 24, and David Betoun, 1524–45’.<sup>49</sup> Although the Register of Leases and the Register of Abbot George Hepburn are separate volumes, the size of folios and format they take suggests they were created as a two-volume set. Because their focus is on individual leaders of the community rather than on the community itself, they are less obviously ‘communal’ in character unlike the other manuscripts that are studied in this thesis. This thesis is chiefly concerned with cartularies as a community activity, and will therefore give priority to those manuscripts which are unambiguously communal in nature.

In the first edition of *Medieval Cartularies* published in 1958 the Arbroath Ethie, Arbroath *RV* and Arbroath BL were all classified as ‘cartularies’. The Arbroath *RN*, however, was not, but was categorised along with the three manuscripts which relate to specific individual abbots under ‘other registers’.<sup>50</sup> This may perhaps be one reason why the Arbroath *RN* has received less scholarly attention than the Arbroath *RV*, but the manuscript is yet one more example of the communal activity of copying and is therefore included in this thesis.

The contents of the four manuscripts included in this thesis hint at the wide array of documents which the monks preserved. Arbroath, as a wealthy monastery, must once have had an extensive and rich archive of documents. Unfortunately, as with most Scottish religious houses, that archive has not survived.<sup>51</sup> Fewer than 40 surviving documents can be identified which have an association with the abbey.<sup>52</sup> Of these, the earliest is a confirmation of King Alexander II, dated to 17 February 1215. A further 17 are also royal documents, 13 of which are in the name of King Robert I and four in that of his son, King David II. It is important to note, though that 13 of the surviving documents were not copied into Arbroath’s surviving cartularies, and we must be cautious in assuming that they all represent survivors

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classified as ‘cartularies’. For example, all six from Coldingham are listed as ‘inventories’. The manuscripts from Glasgow include a protocol book (no. 1152).

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, p.229 (nos. 1121, 1122 and 1123 respectively). These consist of three volumes held by Angus Archives under a single classmark: Forfar, Angus Archives, MSS A/3/1–3.

<sup>50</sup> *Med. Carts* (1958), no. 1120.

<sup>51</sup> For a discussion on Scotland’s lost archives, see Joanna Tucker, ‘Survival and loss: working with documents from medieval Scotland’, *Medium Ævum* 91 (2022) pp. 50–86 (forthcoming).

<sup>52</sup> A list of surviving documents which were either provided for or by Arbroath can be found in Appendix I.

from the abbey's own archive. In such circumstances, the corpus of cartularies which survive from Arbroath become our principal source for the abbey's documentary past. Because the surviving manuscripts range over three centuries, it is possible to get a glimpse of what the archive might have contained, and how the type of documents it held changed as time progressed. From the perspective of this study, however, the benefit of having a surviving corpus of cartularies is that we can trace how successive generations of monks engaged with their archive, choosing to copy texts which held interest or importance for them. And because this thesis is about the activity of cartularisation, rather than an attempt to gauge what Arbroath's archive once held, the surviving documents will inform the study, but they will not be the central focus.

### Methodology

Because this thesis involves the analysis of four manuscripts created across a broad timeframe, a mode of investigation is required which allows for each manuscript to be examined individually on its own terms, as well as comparatively across the corpus. Any comparison needs to be flexible enough, however, to accommodate the differences inherent to each manuscript. Joanna Tucker's new methodology for analysing the patterns of growth in multi-scribe cartularies will form the basis for the analysis. Her step-by-step process involves systematically evaluating the individual elements which form a cartulary, from the manuscript's physical structure to the individual scribal contributions. This evidence can then be used to observe how cartularies are created and how they grow, often through piecemeal accrual and over significant periods of time.<sup>53</sup> Although Tucker's methodology will provide the framework for studying the Arbroath corpus, there are points at which it will not be possible to apply all her methods. For example, the Arbroath British Library manuscript is almost exclusively the work of a single scribe and therefore the process of relative dating (which is based on sequences of multi-scribe contributions) is not relevant.

One crucial part of the process of examination will involve identifying all the discrete scribal contributions in each manuscript. Many different styles of handwriting can be seen within the cartularies, but what we cannot be sure of is whether each one belongs to a different person. Often the differences in handwriting are very small, and it is possible that the appearance of a scribe's writing might not always be entirely uniform (perhaps appearing differently over the course of his working life). Fortunately, the aim in this thesis is not to

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<sup>53</sup> Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, pp. 223–4.

identify individual scribes, but to establish each discrete scribal engagement with the cartulary. For this reason, the term ‘hand’ will generally be used, rather than ‘scribe’. Each ‘hand’ will be assigned a number according to the order in which they make their first appearance within the manuscript if read from start to finish, not their first chronological appearance. A maximal approach will also be taken, so unless it can be categorically established that two ‘hands’ are identical, each one will be given a different numerical identifier. Once again exceptions will apply to this rule, and in some cases, as will be seen, the nature of the manuscript will dictate a more bespoke numbering system is applied to the hands.

There is no evidence for cartularies being produced in Scottish religious houses prior to the thirteenth century. Arbroath’s corpus therefore enables us to have an oversight of how copying of documentary material was practiced at a single institution over almost the entire period during which cartulary production was taking place in Scotland. The first task will be to investigate the evolution of each of the four cartularies, and the analysis of each cartulary will be set-out in Chapters 1 to 4, starting with the Arbroath Ethie, which contains the earliest evidence of cartulary copying from the abbey. This will be followed in Chapter 2 by the Arbroath *RV*, much of which was created around the middle of the fourteenth century. In Chapter 3 a full analysis will be carried-out of the Arbroath *RN* which dates from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, followed in Chapter 4 by the Arbroath *BL* which is the latest cartulary included here, dating from around the 1530’s. In Chapters 5 to 7 the information from these analyses will be used to compare the manuscripts, and to plot the progress of cartulary copying at Arbroath. Chapter 5 will discuss the timeline of copying and compare the different campaigns which brought the four cartularies into being. Chapter 6 will examine the phenomenon of repeated texts, both within individual cartularies and across the corpus. Finally, in Chapter 7 attention will turn to the other manuscripts from Arbroath as we attempt to place the four cartularies studied here into the wider context of copying documents taking place at the abbey.

## Chapter 1 : The Arbroath ‘Ethie’

In 1848, the fragments of a medieval manuscript belonging to the abbey of Arbroath were unexpectedly discovered in a cupboard of Ethie Castle in Angus. These fragments, commonly referred to for obvious reasons as the ‘Ethie’, were found just in time for the editors of the *Arbroath Liber* to examine the manuscript before volume 1 of their edition was printed. They included a short description of the cartulary in the introduction to the *Liber*, and published much (although not all) of the cartulary’s contents.<sup>1</sup> The cartulary remains the possession of the earls of Northesk, but is now in the care of the National Records of Scotland, and has been deposited in Dundee City Archives since 1986.<sup>2</sup> The fragments of the Arbroath Ethie comprise eight loose gatherings, and contain the earliest examples of cartulary copying which survives from the medieval abbey. This provides us with a starting point from which we can begin to understand how the activity of cartularisation was undertaken at Arbroath. The manuscript contains two distinct forms of activity. Four gatherings all worked by a single hand in the middle of the thirteenth century, and four gatherings which show many different hands and range across a wider time period. Although the presence of the earliest hand makes it natural to think of this as Arbroath’s ‘oldest’ cartulary, as we shall see the manuscript remained in a dynamic state for a prolonged period of time and was not the work of a single campaign. The lack of bindings means we are not faced with a ‘finished’ volume. This provides a unique opportunity to chart the way these gatherings evolved free from any assumptions about the internal ordering of the cartulary which the presence of a cover might impose.

### Manuscript description

The manuscript today is (unusually for a medieval manuscript) unbound. However, holes visible in the gutters indicate that the gatherings were once sewn together. At the point of the holes being applied, the manuscript would have included fourteenth- and fifteenth-century texts (as discussed below). Today, the manuscript’s cover is a paper sheet that may have been a pastedown in a binding. It is badly worn and contains text on both sides. This appears to be in French, and relates to food and household items: palaeographical analysis suggests that this was written in the middle of the sixteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The cover itself has

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<sup>1</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 1, pp. xxxi–xxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> *Med. Carts* (2010), p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to William Hepburn for his opinion on this cover (personal communication 7 April 2020).

been cropped both at the top and the bottom with associated loss of text. One side of the paper cover is clean, whilst the other side is badly discoloured. So, we might imagine a binding being applied in the late sixteenth century or later that was subsequently removed (for an unknown reason) or which perhaps fell apart over the course of time. It cannot be said whether this was the very first binding of the gatherings, or whether it replaced an earlier binding. It is notable that the paper paste-down has been retained with the manuscript.

The surviving 34 loose parchment folios are currently grouped into eight gatherings. These gatherings are described below, where they are identified by either Roman numbers (I–IV) or Roman alphabet letters in italics (*C*, *E*, *F* and *N*). Many of these are irregular in their structure. Because these gatherings are currently unbound, and because there is no single foliation, there are multiple possibilities for what order the gatherings assumed prior to being disbound. For this reason, they have not been identified by a single sequence of letters or numerals. There are, however, indications that some of the gatherings (notably the first four) had a single, sequential order: this is why they are identified as a sequence of Roman numerals.

The loss of so much of this cartulary is unfortunate, and at first appearances there seems to be a lack of surviving evidence that would help us to understand the context in which the manuscript was created. Despite this, the fragmentary nature of what remains of the cartulary means it is possible to get an unusually close look at its collation, something which is particularly helpful when so many of the gatherings are now irregular. Therefore, despite the losses and complexities posed by the manuscript, its gatherings retain enough physical and textual evidence for an attempt to be made to track how the cartulary was created and how it evolved over time.

### Dividing the cartulary for analysis

Because of the lack of information regarding original bindings, and the extent of losses, there is no natural or obvious starting point for analysing the cartulary. Although as noted above, the four gatherings to which Roman numerals have been applied (I–IV) seem to form a single sequence of copying, carried out by a single scribe, and so it seems appropriate to group these gatherings together for analysis. Once a better understanding of

how these four gatherings were created has been established, it will then be possible to turn our attention to the four multi-scribe gatherings.

### Gatherings I–IV

The assumption that Gatherings I–IV form part of a single sequence of texts is based on two pieces of evidence: namely, that all the texts which they contain were written by a single hand, indicating a committed campaign of copying, and that the texts are numbered sequentially across the four gatherings, although lost folios mean many texts are missing from the sequence. The scribe who copied the texts wrote in a bookhand for which there are few close comparators. Many of the texts he entered contain no date, and therefore only date ranges can be ascribed to them. Some of these ranges are unhelpfully long, such as the one applied to the chirograph between the monks and William Fowler seen at f. Ir (lines 5–20), which is datable to 1214 × 1249. More helpful are a pair of texts of the chapter and bishop of Aberdeen, seen running from ff. Dv (line 23)–Er, which are both datable to 17 June 1239 × 13 May 1249.<sup>4</sup> This gives us a *terminus post quem* of 17 June 1239. There is a general assumption that scribes were working soon after the latest text they copied, but this is not necessarily the case, unless they were clearly registering all of the institution’s charters (which is not very common).<sup>5</sup> The large number of losses makes this all the more tricky in this instance. The combination of palaeography and the date of texts which we safely know this scribe copied would suggest that a dating in the mid-thirteenth century is the safest conclusion. Cosmo Innes came to a similar conclusion, noting that the Arbroath Ethie scribe could be dated to ‘not later than the middle of the reign of Alexander III’.<sup>6</sup> This scribe’s work represents the earliest copying that can be identified within the cartulary, and he will be referred to from now on as Hand 1. The texts which Hand 1 copied into these four gatherings are arranged in the following manner:

- Royal and lay charters datable to the reign of King William I (Gathering I f. 1r–Gathering II f. 7r).
- Royal and lay charters datable to the reign of King Alexander II (Gathering II ff. 7v–10v).
- Charters relating to the bishops of St Andrews (Gathering III ff. Ir–VIv).

<sup>4</sup> The chirograph between William Fowler and the monks is published as *Arb. Lib.*, 1, no. 144 and the texts of the chapter and bishop of Aberdeen as *Arb. Lib.*, 1, nos. 201 & 202 respectively.

<sup>5</sup> Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, pp. 6–8.

<sup>6</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 1, p. xxxii.

- Charters relating to the bishops of Brechin (Gathering IV ff. Ar–Cv (line 12)).
- Charters relating to the bishops of Aberdeen (Gathering IV ff. Cv (line 13)–Er).
- Charters relating to the bishops of Moray (Gathering IV f. Ev).

Each charter is headed by a rubric written in red, although many of these are hard to read as the ink is very faded. Every charter has an enlarged initial, alternating between red and blue ink. A brief heading is written in red at the top centre of each folio indicating the nature of the texts it contains (see Plate 1.1 below).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> The running headers are in two parts. The heading on one side of the folio provides a generic indication of the type of text and the one on the other side is specific. For example, the heading on Gathering I, f. 3v reads *Will(elm)i*, while the heading on f. 4r reads *Regis*. In Gathering IV the heading on f. Av reads *Ep(iscop)or(um)*, while that on f. Br reads *de Brechin*.

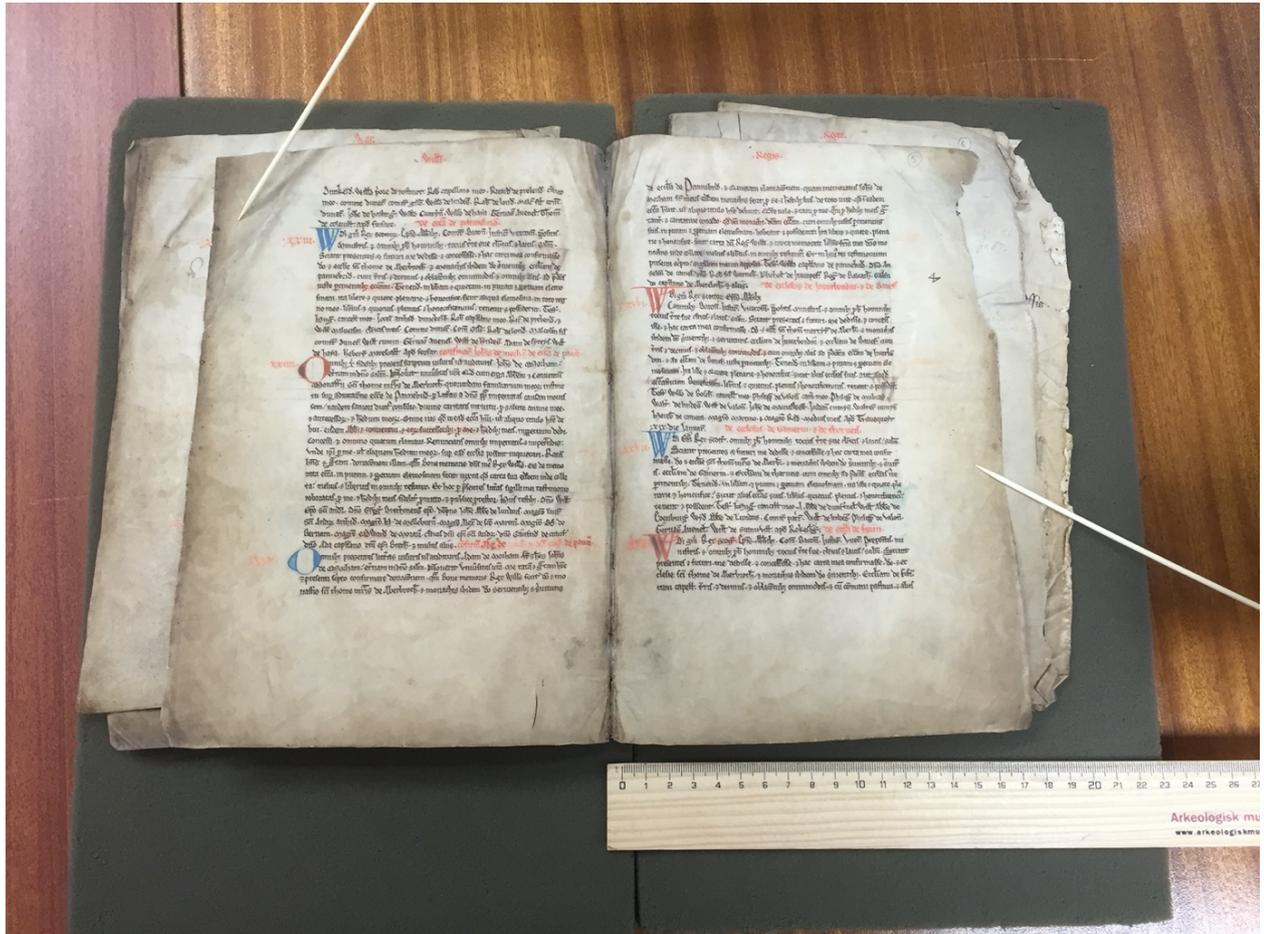


Plate 1:1 Example of running headers and coloured initials on ff. 4v–5r of the Arbroath Ethie

*Foliation in Gatherings I–IV*

Unfortunately, there is no medieval foliation on these gatherings. However, the recto of each folio has a modern pencil foliation added in the top right corner, in a variety of letters and numbers. While the foliation runs sequentially through Gatherings I and II, separate foliations have been applied to Gatherings III and IV, and a summary of these can be seen in Table 1-1). Although useful when referring to individual folios, these foliations do more to highlight that the manuscript’s order is disrupted than to help us understand the original extent of the cartulary.

Gathering	Foliation Marks
I	1–5
II	6–10
III	I–VI
IV	A–E

Table 1-1: Summary of foliation of Gatherings I–IV of the Arbroath Ethie

Knowing where these gatherings have lost folios is crucial to proposing how they may originally have been formed. In the absence of any evidence in the form of original foliations, the most obvious means of identifying lost folios is to find the ‘gaps’ in the numbering system, where texts have patently been lost. However, the red ink used to enter the text numbers has faded badly and is often not visible at all. Identifying the numbers ascribed to each text therefore cannot be done from the Arbroath Ethie alone.

*Identifying missing folios and texts: The Arbroath Registrum Vetus*

The missing folios and faded text make it difficult to know the original extent of Hand 1’s campaign, but there is another cartulary of Arbroath which appears to contain the same sequence of texts, and this proves helpful in shedding light on lost folios in the Ethie. The numbering and arrangement of texts on ff. 32r–96v of the Arbroath *Registrum Vetus* appears to mirror those on Gatherings I–IV of the Arbroath Ethie. This sequence, created perhaps just a little under a century after Hand 1 was active, was also the work of a single scribe. As he is identified in the following chapter as Hand 8 of the Arbroath *RV*, that is how he will be referred to here too. This apparent duplication in material has been the root of the suggestion that these four gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie provided the model from which the Arbroath *RV* was copied.<sup>61</sup> The ‘numbered’ section of the Arbroath *RV* is in a relatively well-preserved state, with no apparent lost folios, whilst the Arbroath Ethie has suffered many losses. It is, therefore, possible to use the intact ‘numbered’ section of the Arbroath *RV* to fill in the gaps found in Gatherings I–IV of the Arbroath Ethie, and to help calculate the extent of losses. To do so, however, it is necessary to establish, as far as possible, the degree to which Hand 8 of the Arbroath *RV* was indeed copying the work of his predecessor. This can be checked in two ways: one is to compare the selection and arrangement of texts within both manuscripts; the other is to see whether the numbering system used by both scribes is identical.

In the first instance, a side-by-side reading of the manuscripts shows that the selection and arrangement of the texts by Hand 8 does indeed mirror that of the surviving texts within Gatherings I–IV of the Arbroath Ethie. This extends to both the complete and the incomplete texts. Although the scale of losses from the Arbroath Ethie mean the evidence

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<sup>61</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 1, p. xxx.

is incomplete, where it exists it would seem that Hand 8 was following the order set by his predecessor.

Comparing the numbering system proves to be slightly trickier. Although, as mentioned above, the numbers assigned to texts in the Arbroath Ethie are often too faint to be read, in the Arbroath *RV* the numbers written next to the texts are generally visible.<sup>62</sup> The latter cartulary also contains one further guide to the numbering system in the form of a tabula, entered from ff. 28r–32r (line 3). This too is the work of Hand 8. Checking the numbers which are visible in the Arbroath Ethie against those in the Arbroath *RV* suggests they do match-up.

Although this seems straightforward, one potential complication exists. Both the tabula and the better-preserved state of the Arbroath *RV* show that Hand 8 occasionally entered more than one text against a single number. This occurs where a text recording a donation is followed by one or more confirmations by the king or the descendants of the original donor, and these associated confirmations have been entered under the same number.

Confusingly, this does not seem to have been a consistent policy when entering confirmations, occurring at only ten points in the sequence. Nine of these anomalies exist in a section of the manuscript which has been lost from the Arbroath Ethie. These occur at no. lxxiv, which has three texts associated with that number, and at texts nos. lxxx, lxxxi, lxxxiii, lxxxv, lxxxvi, lxxxix, xci and xciii, each of which have two associated texts.<sup>63</sup> The presence of these additional texts is indicated in the tabula by a few words added at the end of the relevant entry such as *et confirmacionis regis*. The reason that all this matters is that it enables us to understand the scale of the losses to this section of the Arbroath Ethie. It is of course possible that the Arbroath *RV* scribe was entering additional but associated texts not originally copied into the Arbroath Ethie, and merely entering them under the same number in order not to disturb the sequence established by Hand 1. However, all of the

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<sup>62</sup> This is especially true of the numbers entered onto the verso of folios, where they sit in the outer margin. Unfortunately, the current bindings sometimes obscure those entered onto the recto. See for example f. 51r where nos. liv and lv, entered at lines 11 and 22 respectively, can barely be seen.

<sup>63</sup> The addition of two texts after no. lxxiv seems to have been an error on the part of Hand 8. The tabula shows that he intended to enter both John Abbot's gift of charcoal from the wood of Edzell and the associated royal confirmation under no. lxxii, the confirmation of John's son Morgan as text lxxiii, and the confirmation of the same gift by Donald Abbot, with an associated royal confirmation, under no. lxxiv. However, on the folios he entered only John's gift as no. lxxii with the royal confirmation entered as no. lxxiii. The number lxxiv can be seen twice on the manuscript, once beside Morgan's confirmation, then again beside Donald's confirmation. There is no number visible next to the royal confirmation. The tabula entries can be seen on f. 29r lines 15–17, and the associated sequence of texts run from ff. 52v (bottom line)–55r (line 7).

additional texts are datable to within the reign of King William I, and therefore should, theoretically, have been available to Hand 1 as well, meaning we cannot be sure he too did not use the same system. Fortunately, all is not quite beyond reach. One further additional text, a royal confirmation, has been entered after the charter recording a gift of Thomas son of Thancard, and these texts survive in both manuscripts as no. xcix. In the Arbroath *RV* these can be seen at f. 63r (line20)–v (line 25). In the Arbroath Ethie, the number xcix can clearly be seen on f. 7r of Gathering IV where Thomas’s charter is entered, and it is followed immediately by the king’s confirmation. The text which is entered immediately after this, commencing at the top of f. 7v (a general confirmation of King Alexander II), is clearly labelled no. c. Therefore, although we only have one example, it would seem that Hand 1 of the Arbroath Ethie was using the same practice of entering two texts under a single numerical reference. It might be assumed, therefore, that Hand 8 did indeed simply copy the order of texts as found in the Arbroath Ethie.

Comparing the work of Hand 1 and Hand 8, it is therefore possible to identify the gaps where texts have been lost in the Ethie Gatherings I–IV, both within and between the gatherings as they currently exist and these can be seen in Table 1-2 below).

Gathering	Folios	Numbered texts
I	ff. 1–5	i (partial)–xxxii (partial)
II	ff. 6r–7v	xciii (partial)–c (partial) <sup>64</sup>
	f. 8r–v	c (partial)–civ <sup>65</sup>
	ff. 9r–10v	cxvii–cxxvi (partial)
III	ff. I–VI	cxliii (partial)–clxix (partial)
IV	ff. A–E	clxxxiii (partial)–ccv (partial)

Table 1-2: Table 1.2: Summary of Gatherings I–IV of the Arbroath Ethie

Table 1-2 shows that Gatherings I–IV once contained texts numbered from i–ccv (although as detailed above this is likely to have included an additional 10 texts, therefore representing 215 discrete entries); it also shows, however, that there have been losses between all the gatherings, as well as losses occurring at two places within Gathering II.

<sup>64</sup> This range includes text no. xlix(b) and therefore numbers seven full and two partial texts.

<sup>65</sup> Text n. c appears in two ranges (from ff. 6r–7v and ff. 8r–v). The start of the text can be seen on f. 7v and the end on f. 8r, but the middle portion has been lost: see below under Gathering II.

What this table cannot show is how many folios and gatherings the lost entries may have covered. To better understand the full extent of Hand 1's campaign, it will be necessary to take a closer look the individual gatherings. Before we do so, it is worth noting that the folio references in Gatherings III and IV are entered in lower case and this is reflected in the diagrams. However, when representing them in prose they are easier to read if the folio references are given in uppercase, and this has been done throughout.

### *Gathering I (ff. 1–5)*

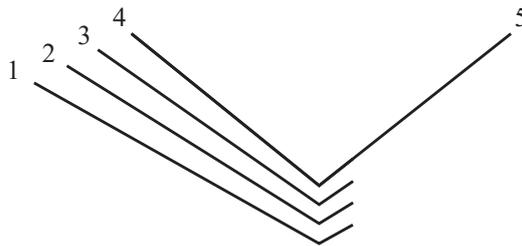


Figure 1.1: Current collation of Gathering I of the Arbroath Ethie

This gathering currently comprises five folios, with the first and last texts surviving in a partial form. Checking the first text – an important confirmation of King William I dated 25 February 1213 – against the same one in the Arbroath *RV* shows that there it covers just over three folios (ff. 32v–34r (line 6)). The amount of parchment used by Hand 1 and Hand 8 to enter this sequence of texts is not, of course, identical. However, there does not seem to be a very large difference between them. If we look, for example, at text n. iii, in the Arbroath Ethie this covers 11½ lines, whereas in the Arbroath *RV* it covers 17 lines. Text no. cii covers 25 lines in the Arbroath Ethie but 29 in the Arbroath *RV*. This would suggest that Hand 1 consumed between 14% and 35% less parchment than Hand 8. Using these examples as a general guide, it can therefore be assumed that the lost portion of King William's confirmation is likely to have covered two pages.<sup>66</sup> There are three stubs present, after f. 5, with a few partial numbers still visible on them.<sup>67</sup> Taking the lost folio at the start of the gathering into account, it can be proposed that Gathering I originally consisted of ten folios (see Figure 1.2).

<sup>66</sup> Text no. iii, can be found on f. 2r of Gathering I of the Arbroath Ethie, and also on f. 2r of the Arbroath *RV*. Text no. cii is copied onto f. 8r–8v of the Arbroath Ethie and on ff. 66v–67r of the Arbroath *RV*.

<sup>67</sup> See for instance the stub of f. 2 where the first part of numbers beginning 'xxx' are clearly visible on the recto.

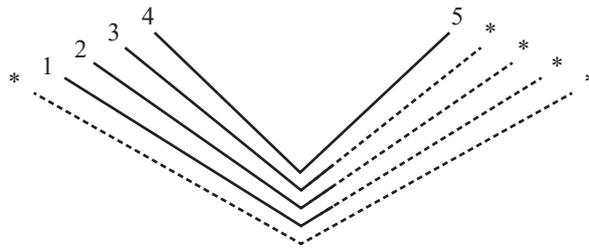


Figure 1:2: Proposed reconstruction of Gathering I

*Gathering II (ff. 6–10)*

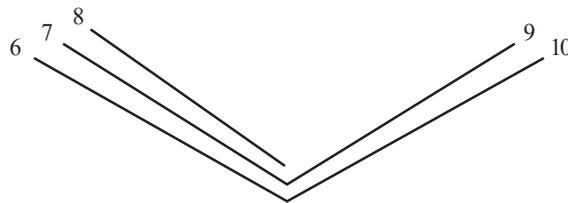


Figure 1:3: Current collation of Gathering II of the Arbroath Ethie

Gathering II currently comprises five folios (see Figure 1.3). Table 1-2 shows that the sequence of texts within this gathering is interrupted by losses, and three of these texts survive in a partial form only. The first text entered on f. 6r (no. xciii) is incomplete, meaning that there has been a loss of 61 full texts and two partial texts (nos. xxxi and xciii) between Gathering I and Gathering II. However, if it is remembered that there are ten confirmations entered as additional texts within the range of these lost texts, then this number rises to 71. Some of these missing documents are likely to have been entered onto the lost folios at the end of Gathering I, but it would be impossible for all 71 to be contained on four folios, or even a single gathering. Therefore, at least two lost gatherings must have originally existed between current Gatherings I and II.

Table 1-2 also shows that there are two breaks in the sequence of texts within Gathering II. The first of these involves text no. c, a confirmation of King Alexander II commencing at the top of f. 7v and extending onto line 10 of f. 8r. However, the text does not run logically from ff. 7v–8r. Comparison with the same text copied into the Arbroath *RV* shows that there is a substantial portion of this text missing, which would have covered a lost folio between current ff. 7–8.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>68</sup> This text can be found in the Arbroath *RV* ff. 63v–66r, with the missing portion running from ff. 64v (line7)–66r (line 2).

Counting sequentially from the end of King Alexander's confirmation there are four further full texts on f. 8r–v. The numbers assigned to these texts are not visible on the folios, but by using the Arbroath *RV* as a guide, it is possible to confirm these are text nos. ci–civ. However, the text which starts at the top of f. 9r is clearly numbered cxvii, indicating a loss of 12 full texts. This matches up with the physical evidence, which would point to two lost folios between ff. 8–9. This would mean that Gathering II has lost a single folio (the partner to f. 8) and a bifolio.

The texts then run sequentially on ff. 9–10 where the gathering ends, finishing with a partial text (no. cxxvi) which commences at line 32 on f. 10v. All in all, therefore, although currently comprising five folios, this must once have been an eight-folio gathering. This would mean that Gathering II has lost a single folio (the partner to f. 8) and a bifolio (see Figure 1.4).

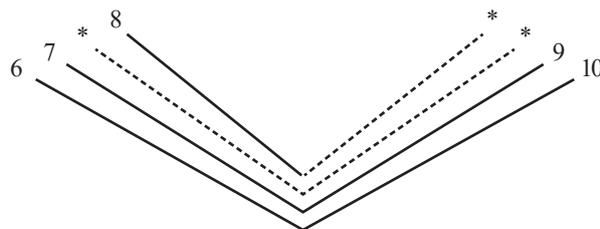


Figure 1.4: Proposed reconstruction of Gathering II

### *Gathering III (ff. I–VI)*

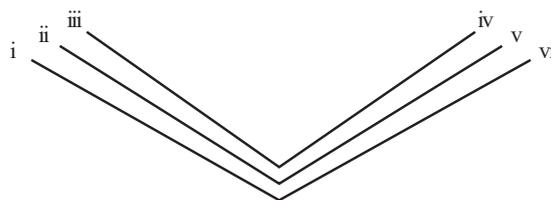


Figure 1.5: Current collation of Gathering III of the Arbroath Ethie

Gathering III currently consists of six folios containing 23 full and two partial texts (Figure 1.5). The first text, which is partial, is no. cxliii. As the final text on Gathering II was no. cxxvi, this indicates that between Gathering II and Gathering III there has been a loss of two partial texts and 16 full texts. Within the gathering, the texts run sequentially and there are no apparent losses. The final text, which is also incomplete, is no. clxix. If we look at Table 1-2 again, it indicates that the first text on Gathering IV, although incomplete, is text

no. clxxxiii. This means that as well as there being 16 full and two partial texts missing between Gatherings II and III, there are 13 full and two partial texts missing between Gatherings III and IV. It is therefore possible to speculate that, rather than lost gatherings, all of these missing texts may have been accommodated on perhaps three (now missing) outer bifolios around Gathering III. This would mean that Gathering III was therefore originally a large 12 folio gathering, as indicated in Figure 1.6.<sup>69</sup>

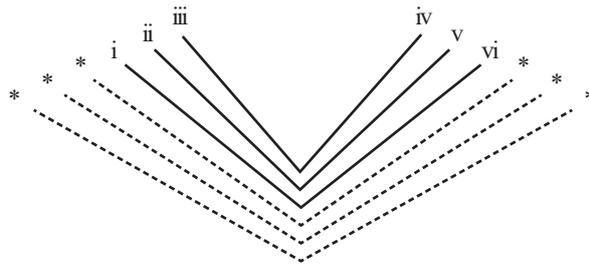


Figure 1:6: Proposed reconstruction of Gathering III

#### *Gathering IV (ff. A–E)*

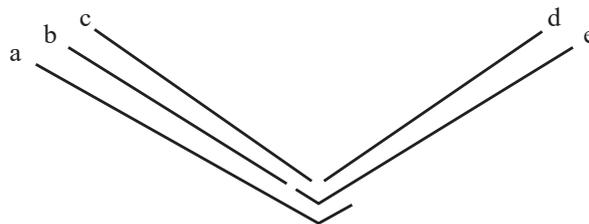


Figure 1:7: Current collation of Gathering IV of the Arbroath Ethie

Gathering IV currently comprises five folios containing 22 full texts and two partial texts (see Figure 1.7). As indicated in Table 1-2, the texts run sequentially from no. clxxxiii to no. ccv with no apparent losses within the gathering. There is a stub present following f. E, on which two further numbers are just visible. They are faint, but suggest that a lost, sixth folio contained texts no. ccvi–vii. Gathering IV seems therefore to have originally consisted of six folios, as can be seen from Figure 1.8. There is no obvious reason why the bifolios in the gathering (ff. B/E and ff. C/D) have been chopped into two.

<sup>69</sup> In the Arbroath *RV*, the missing texts between Gatherings II–III can be found from ff. 73v (line 7)–77v (line 28) and the missing texts between Gatherings III and IV run from ff. 85v (line 29)–89v (line 16).

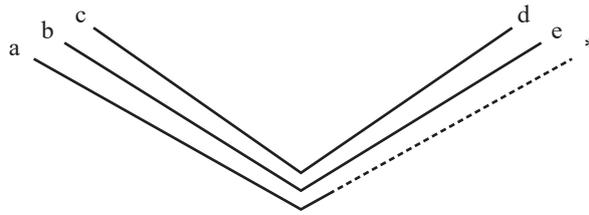


Figure 1:8: Proposed reconstruction of Gathering IV

### *Additional losses*

Overall, this summary shows that Gatherings I–IV originally contained entries numbered i–ccvii, and suggests that within that sequence there has been the loss of 113 full texts and nine partial texts. It is also proposed that two entire gatherings have been lost between current Gatherings I and II. Looking again at the numbered sequence in the Arbroath *RV*, however, shows that there are two outstanding issues. The first of these is that although the final text we have evidence for being copied into the Arbroath Ethie is no. ccvii, the numbered sequence of texts in Arbroath *RV* extends all the way to no. ccxxvi. This leaves a deficit of 19 texts. 12 of these are texts relating to bishops, arranged by diocese, which run to no. ccxix. As can be seen from the summary of texts copied by Hand 1 above, his campaign did include the copying of documents provided for the monks by diocesan bishops. As none of the 12 missing texts post-dates the death of King Alexander II, it might be assumed that these too once existed in the Arbroath Ethie. This allows us to propose that in addition to the bishops of St Andrews, Brechin, Aberdeen and Moray, Hand 1 also copied a series of charters relating to the bishops of Dunkeld.<sup>70</sup>

It is difficult to be as confident about the final seven numbered texts in the Arbroath *RV*. These are papal bulls running from nos. ccxx–ccxxvi. All of these texts are datable within the range during which Hand 1 was copying. There is no physical evidence to prove that Hand 8 of the Arbroath *RV* did actually copy them from his predecessor's work. However, given the faithfulness with which Hand 8 copied the remaining sequence of numbered texts, and the fact that once again the papal bulls are all datable to the period before the death of King Alexander II, it seems probable that these too were copied by Hand 1. It seems likely therefore that the numbered sequence of the Arbroath Ethie would have contained one extra final gathering.

<sup>70</sup> These 12 texts comprise eight of the bishops of Moray (nos. ccviii–ccxv) and four of the bishops of Dunkeld (nos. ccxvi–ccxix).

One final remaining question is whether or not the tabula found in the Arbroath *RV* was also copied from one originally present in the Arbroath Ethie. As with the papal texts, we have no physical evidence to suggest it was. However, the red numbers written onto the folios, although often faint, appear to be contemporary with the texts themselves. Given that there is a numbering system, it seems possible that the Arbroath Ethie also had a tabula, as in the Arbroath *RV*.<sup>71</sup> Where the tabula sits in the Arbroath *RV*, it covers ff. 28r–32r (line 3). If we look again at the first text on Gathering I, it was proposed that the missing portion of King William’s 1213 confirmation might have covered more than the proposed additional single folio. If this were the case, then perhaps the king’s confirmation started towards the end of a lost gathering which also contained a tabula. The full extent of Hand 1’s campaign therefore may have been accommodated on as many as eight gatherings (see Table 1-3).

<b>Proposed original structure</b>	<b>Current structure</b>
<i>I</i>	<i>Lost gathering (containing tabula?).</i>
II	Gathering I (ff. 1–5).
<i>III</i>	<i>Lost gathering.</i>
<i>IV</i>	<i>Lost gathering.</i>
V	Gathering II (ff. 6–10)
VI	Gathering III (ff. I–VI)
VII	Gathering IV (ff. A–E)
<i>VIII</i>	<i>Lost gathering (containing episcopal and papal charters?)</i>

Table 1-3: Proposed original structure of Hand 1’s campaign work

As they currently exist, Gatherings I–IV provide evidence of the earliest stage, or phase, in the creation of the Arbroath Ethie, undertaken around the middle of the thirteenth century

<sup>71</sup> There are few contemporary comparators for the Arbroath Ethie in which the texts are numbered in a contemporary hand. A later example can be found in the cartulary of Dryburgh Abbey, but there is no tabula in this manuscript, and no evidence to suggest there ever was one. *Fifteenth century transcript of the chartulary of Dryburgh Abbey*, NLS, <<https://manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/19354>> (accessed 20 August 2021).

by a single scribe. We can be reasonably confident that Hand 1 copied 230 texts from the reigns of King William I and his son King Alexander II. This work covered perhaps six gatherings. The probability exists, although cannot be conclusively proven, that a further seven papal texts, which may have necessitated yet one further gathering, were copied at the end of the sequence. He probably also created a tabula listing the texts by their numbers, as an aid to those who wished to read his work. This would have necessitated one more short gathering. The remains of four gatherings are all that is left of a campaign of copying that potentially originally required eight gatherings to complete.

These four gatherings are all that remains of what must have been a significant campaign. The documents which Hand 1 chose to copy would help readers to understand the generosity by which Arbroath had become wealthy. It also detailed and perhaps celebrated in general terms the links to families who had made the gifts that were remembered by the monks. The Cistercian abbey of Rievaulx, also created their first cartulary after around seventy years of existence. Although the arrangement of texts in the Rievaulx Cartulary is different, that cartulary also detailed and memorialized the network of ties between the abbey and its benefactors.<sup>72</sup> This too may be the aim which Hand 1 had in mind, although unlike Rievaulx, we have no evidence of any external stimulus that prompted Hand 1 to start copying. However, after seventy years there would be no monks left alive who could remember Arbroath's early years, and perhaps the need to preserve the abbey's history started to become important. Although there is no evidence of any external reason for the creation of these gatherings, as we shall see below and in Chapter 2, his work was of interest and inspiration to successive generations of monks within his own community.

### Multi-scribe gatherings

The earliest phase of copying into the Arbroath Ethie has been shown to be a planned campaign, executed in the middle of the thirteenth century by a single scribe and exhibiting a high degree of organisation. The remaining four gatherings present a very different picture. Each one contains texts written in multiple hands with little apparent internal organisation. The relationship between these gatherings and the Arbroath *RV* is much looser and harder to define than between the numbered sections.<sup>73</sup> Despite this, the fact

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<sup>72</sup> Emilia Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context*, pp. 20–5.

<sup>73</sup> The potential relationship between the multi-scribe gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie and the Arbroath *RV* is discussed in Chapter 6.

that the majority of texts are charters to Arbroath, and the fact that the folios have been cropped in a similar way suggests that these gatherings were still considered to be a part of the same manuscript as the gatherings which hold Hand 1's campaign of work. As is common throughout the entire cartulary, no catchwords are present in these multi-scribe gatherings that might offer further assistance with identifying the original order, and there are no texts which extend across two gatherings which might provide further hints as to how the cartulary was originally structured.

### *Structure of the multi-scribe gatherings*

Each gathering shows two separate sets of foliations, a summary of which can be seen in Table 1-4). Arabic numerals, which look to be late medieval or early modern, are visible on the centre top of each recto of three of the gatherings while Roman numerals (also perhaps late medieval or early modern) can be seen in the same position on one gathering. All the gatherings also have a second foliation, in the form of Arabic numerals, written in pencil by a modern hand and positioned top right. All of these foliations are likely to be later additions and therefore don't really tell us anything about the 'original' order of the gatherings (although it is possible that the central Arabic numerals are associated with the binding that used the paper cover as a paste down). The modern foliation will be used here to refer to individual folios.

### *Naming the gatherings*

Because we do not know the original internal structure of the manuscript, and to avoid falling into the trap of assuming they were ordered in a regular way, from now on the four gatherings will be referred to as follows, using the first word of the gathering for the letter assigned to it:

Gathering *N* (*noveritis*).

Gathering *F* (*fraternitati*).

Gathering *C* (*Clemens*).

Gathering *E* (*ecclesie*).

<b>Gathering</b>	<b>Arabic numerals (Late medieval/early modern?)</b>	<b>Arabic numerals (Modern pencil)</b>	<b>Roman numerals (Late medieval/early modern?)</b>
<i>N</i> (2 folios)	-	1–2	I–II
<i>F</i> (2 folios)	8–9	3–4	-
<i>C</i> (5 folios)	13, 14, 16, 19, 23	8–9	-
<i>E</i> (4 folios)	26–29	10–13	-

Table 1-4: Foliations seen on multi-scribe gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie

We face the same challenges with these four gatherings as with the previous four. They are unbound and there have been significant losses. The situation is also further complicated by there being more than one scribe and no numbered sequence of texts to follow.

Although a great deal of evidence has been lost, Joanna Tucker has shown how much can be discovered about even the most complex of manuscripts by the process of relative dating in combination with an evaluation of the available palaeographic evidence.<sup>74</sup> Both of these resources will be used to attempt to shed light on how the remains of these four multi-scribe gatherings were created.

### *Gathering N*

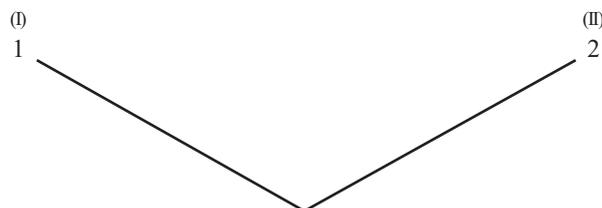


Figure 1:9: Current collation of Gathering *N* of the Arbroath Ethie

<sup>74</sup> Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, pp. 223–4.

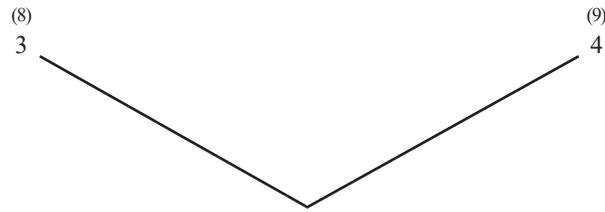
Hand	Folio	Text	Text date
2	f. 1r	An agreement is made between Arbroath and Henry le Chen over the advowson of the church of Inverugie. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 273)	Unknown <sup>75</sup>
2	f. 1r–v	William, abbot of Arbroath, gives the Mill of Conveth to Hugh Heem. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 274)	28 Mar 1284
2	f. 1v	Robert, abbot of Arbroath, notes the death of Constance Middleton and her son, Adam. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 275)	15 Dec 1261 × 1267
2	ff. 1v–2v	David, bishop of St Andrews, decrees the values of vicarages within his diocese. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 236)	25 Mar 1249 × 24 Mar 1250
3	f. 2v	David, bishop of St Andrews, establishes the amount due to the chaplain of the church of Clova for his sustenance. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 276)	22 Jan 1240 × 24 Mar 1250

Table 1-5: The texts in Gathering *N* of the Arbroath Ethie

Gathering *N* is a bifolio containing five texts entered in two different hands (see Table 1-5). There is no apparent loss of texts. The first hand (Hand 2) contributed four texts, running from ff. 1r–2v, followed by one other hand (Hand 3) which entered the final text copied onto the bottom half of f. 2v. Although the latest any text on this gathering can be dated is 28 March 1284, palaeographical comparisons suggest the hands present on this bifolio were both later, around the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>76</sup> Gathering *N*, therefore, came into being around the middle of the fourteenth century, perhaps a century after the earliest scribe had finished his work.

<sup>75</sup> This document is not entered into PoMS. There is no reliable information contained within the text by which it can be dated. PoMS contains references to two people named Henry Le Chen, one of whom is a fourteenth-century bishop of Aberdeen and therefore unlikely to be described in a charter as *miles*. There is a further reference to a Henry Cheyne, father of Reginald, datable to around the middle of the thirteenth century, but there is not enough information to confirm that this is the same Henry who made an agreement over the church of Inverugie: <<https://poms.ac.uk/record/person/15916/>> (accessed 19 August 2021).

<sup>76</sup> See NLS Adv. MS 15.1.18, no. 5 (1339), no. 79 (1358), no. 4 (1362), no. 75 (1369), and no. 30 (1376).

Gathering *F*Figure 1:10: Current collation of Gathering *F* of the Arbroath Ethie

Hand	Folio	Text	Text date
4	f. 3r	William, bishop of Glasgow and Geoffrey, bishop of Dunkeld, recite letters from Pope Gregory IX appointing them papal judges delegate in the dispute between the bishop of Dunblane and Arbroath over the church of Abernethy (partial). ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 241)	10 Jun 1237 × 20 Aug 1241.
5	f. 3r–v	End of the above text in a different hand.	11 Jun 1237
6	f. 3v	Stephen of Kinardley gives a davoch of land in the Mearns. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 242)	17 Jun 1219 × 25 Mar 1246
7	f. 4r–v	Albin, bishop of Brechin, announces an agreement made between his church and Arbroath over churches within the diocese of Brechin. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 243)	22 Sept 1248
8	f. 4v	King Alexander III grants that the aid which their men of Tarves offered to the king shall not prejudice the abbey in the future (partial). ( <i>RRS</i> , iv, no. 89)	1 Aug 1274

Table 1-6: The texts in Gathering *F* of the Arbroath Ethie

Gathering *F* is a bifolio. However, the first and final texts visible on the gathering are both incomplete. This suggests that Gathering *F* may once have been part of a larger gathering which has lost at least one outer bifolio. As it currently exists, the gathering contains four texts entered by five different hands (see Table 1-6). Both the palaeography and the date of the texts point to this gathering being created between the middle of the thirteenth century and the very start of the fourteenth century. The first three texts are all datable to the reign

of King Alexander II, and the four hands in which they were entered (Hands 4–7) show similarity with examples from the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>77</sup> The final, incomplete mandate of King Alexander III, dated 1 August 1274, is in a hand comparable with examples from the fourth quarter of the thirteenth century, or perhaps the start of the fourteenth century (Hand 8).<sup>78</sup> This bifolio therefore appears to have been active across a number of decades in the later thirteenth century.

### Gathering C

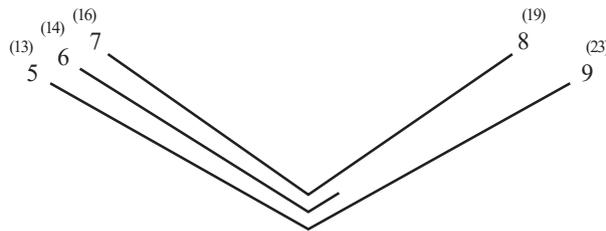


Figure 1:11: Current collation of Gathering C of the Arbroath Ethie

Gathering C has been badly affected by losses. Although only five folios now remain, the presence of stubs and the gaps in the older foliation indicate that it must have once been an 11-folio gathering, consisting of five bifolios and a singleton.

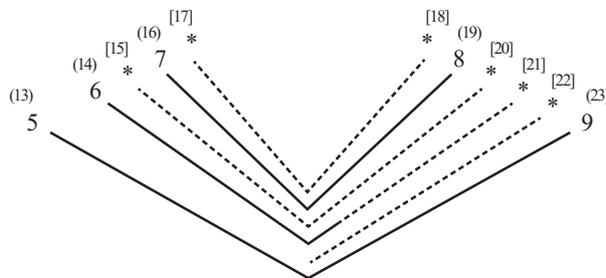


Figure 1:12: Proposed reconstruction of Gathering C

Hand	Folio	Text	Text date	Relative date
9	f. 5r	Pope Clement IV write to Arbroath ordering that the profits of churches belonging to Arbroath shall not be sequestered by ordinaries. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 255)	16 Feb 1267	After 16 Feb 1267

<sup>77</sup> See NLS Adv. MS 15.1.18, no. 31 (1234).

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 63 (1280), no. 18 (1293) and no. 23 (1304).

10	f. 5r	Robert of London gives to Arbroath tofts in each of his burghs throughout the kingdom. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 256)	17 Jun 1219 × 23 Jan 1226	"
11	f. 5v	Walter, abbot of Arbroath, gives, grants and confirms 1/6 <sup>th</sup> of a davoch in Tarves called Auchnieve at feufferme to Philip de Feodarg for his homage and service. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 257)	21 Jun 1246 × 15 Dec 1261	"
11	f. 5v	Arbroath quitclaims to Balmerino the payment of 40 merks and grants they may hold the church of Barry. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 258)	11 Feb 1233 × 17 Jun 1239	"
12	f. 5v	An agreement is made between the monks of Arbroath and Balmerino to secure peace between the monasteries. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 259)	25 Mar 1230 × 24 Mar 1231	"
13	f. 6r	Pope Alexander IV confirms the right of Arbroath to the patronage of the church of Fren draught. (CPL, 1, 340)	3 Jan 1257	"
14	f. 6r	<i>de reco(n)ciliaco(n)e eccl(es)ie. ...</i>	Unknown	"
15	ff. 6v– 7v	Statutes of the council of the Scottish Church (partial)	Unknown	"
16	f. 8r–v	List of taxations for the diocese of St Andrews, Brechin and Aberdeen (partial). ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 300)	After August 1282 <sup>79</sup>	After August 1282
17	f. 9r	King Alexander II grants and confirms the ratification made by	7 Mar 1246	"

<sup>79</sup> Donald Watt notes that this text must date to August 1282 at the earliest, as that is when the church of Gavrock, which is included in the list of benefices, was gifted to Arbroath. D.E.R. Watt, *Medieval Church Councils in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 2000), pp. 61–2, n. 37.

		Richenda Barclay regarding Fordoun (partial). ( <i>RRS</i> , iii, no. 307)		
18	f. 9r	King Alexander III gives 100s p.a. of Monifieth. ( <i>RRS</i> , iv, no. 127)	12 Nov 1279	"
19	f. 9v	William, bishop of St Andrews, makes it known that the profits of the church of Dunbog have been given to him by the monks of Arbroath for his procurations. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 267)	26 Apr 1309	After 26 Apr 1309
20	f. 9v	King Alexander II gives, grants and confirms 10 merks per annum from his ferme of Monifieth to augment the lights and candles of the church. ( <i>RRS</i> , iii, no. 314)	16 Dec 1246	"
21	f. 9v	Perambulation of Kingoldrum.	Unknown	"

Table 1-7: The texts in Gathering *C* of the Arbroath *Ethie*

The surviving folios contain an eclectic range of 14 texts entered in 13 different hands (see Table 1-7). There is no consistent decoration in the gathering, rather there is a significant variety (for example on f. 6v the Statutes of the council of the Scottish Church has blue and red inked initials, but this is not continued onto the rest of the statutes on f. 7r–v. Only one text has a rubric written in red ink, for a letter of Pope Alexander IV on f. 6r. Three texts which run from ff. 6r (line 17)–f.8v contain no dating information, nor does the final short text which appears on the bottom 10 lines of f. 9v. With so many losses and so much missing evidence, relative dating provides a framework by which the growth of the gathering can start to be interrogated.<sup>80</sup>

Table 1-7 helps to identify that the earliest date we can apply to the surviving folios of Gathering *C* is 16 February 1267. The text of Bishop William of St Andrews entered on f. 9v by Hand 19 raises the possibility of a slight progression over time, from the late thirteenth to the early fourteenth century. The next step is to consider what palaeographic

<sup>80</sup> Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, pp. 78–82.

analysis can add to this assessment. The first text – a copy of a papal letter – is entered in a bookhand (Hand 9) for which it is difficult to find Scottish comparisons. The text immediately following this – a donation of Robert of London – was entered by a different hand (Hand 10). His use of a tall looped ‘d’ and dual compartment ‘s’ suggest a hand that was working in the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>81</sup>

Hand 10 was followed by Hand 11’s two texts and a further ten texts, each entered by a different hand. While palaeographical comparisons generally suggest most of these hands to have been active in either the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, there are also some outliers. One of these is Hand 14’s contribution to the bottom half of f. 6r: a 17-line text with the rubric *de reco(n)ciliaco(n)e eccl(es)ie*. Unlike the texts which precede and follow it, Hand 14 may have been working in the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>82</sup> The text which immediately follows it on f. 6v is a record of the statutes of the council of the Scottish Church. It is written in a bookhand in a two-column format. The change in the nature of the text and the form of presentation may have made it natural for the scribe who entered it to start at the top of a fresh folio.<sup>83</sup> The resulting gap on the lower half of f. 6r then lay blank until Hand 14 added his text to the gathering in the middle of the fourteenth century.

There is one other later addition copied onto Gathering C. The final text, covering the bottom ten lines of f. 9v and entered by Hand 21, is an undatable boundary clause for Kingoldrum. The writing is faint in places, but palaeographical comparisons suggest it was entered onto the gathering perhaps as late as the second half of the fifteenth century, although there is no obvious reason why it should be written on this folio, as there are no related texts copied onto the surrounding folios.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162, n. 62 and p. 180.

<sup>82</sup> The hand shows continual use of a circular ‘e’, which became popular during the second half of the fourteenth century. It lacks the kidney-shaped ‘s’, however, seen by the third quarter of the century. See Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, p. 157, n. 49 and p. 162, n. 62.

<sup>83</sup> There is a single line of text at the top of f. 7v entered in the margin above the text of the council statutes which Donald Watt suggests may be written in the same hand (Hand 16) as the list of benefices on f. 8r–v. Watt, *Medieval Church Councils*, p. 62.

<sup>84</sup> See NLS Adv. MS 15.1.18, no. 24 (1457) and no. 88 (1483). A similar entry can be seen in the Glasgow *Registrum Vetus*, where a boundary statement of the lands of Campsie has been copied into the lower margins of ff. 27v–28v during the fifteenth century. In this instance though, it sits close to a charter recording the earl of Lennox’s gift of the church of Campsie entered on ff. 27v–28r during the thirteenth century, and there are symbols linking the two together. Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, pp. 241 and n. 21.

Gathering *C* has grown in a piecemeal fashion. The initial text indicates that the gathering must have first been created after 16 February 1267. Palaeographical analysis points to the majority of the hands working within the second half of the thirteenth century, or in the early years of the fourteenth century. The gathering was not systematically covered: sometimes it was deemed more appropriate or desirable to start a new text at the top of a fresh folio. Although this resulted in blank spaces on the lower portions of folios, these gaps were not forgotten about. They were slowly filled in a piecemeal fashion over the following decades, not acquiring the final entry until the late fifteenth century.

*Gathering E*

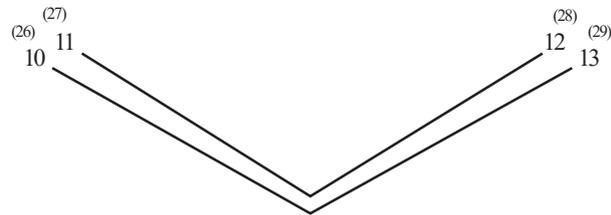


Figure 1:13: Current collation of Gathering *E* of the Arbroath Ethie

The disruption to the late medieval/early modern Arabic foliations would suggest that Gathering *E* has lost two outer bifolios (see Table 1-4).

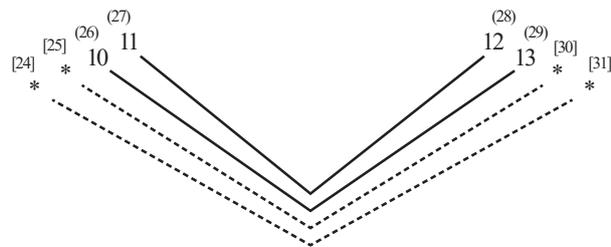


Figure 1:14: Proposed reconstruction of Gathering *E*

Hand	Folio	Text	Text date	Relative date
22	ff. 10r-v	William of Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews, records an agreement between John, bishop of Brechin and Arbroath over churches within the	21 Oct 1304	After 21 Oct 1304

		diocese of Brechin (partial). ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 244)		
22	ff. 10v– 11r	King Robert I gives the advowson of the church of Kirkmahoe. ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 203)	20 Oct 1321	After 20 Oct 1321
22	f. 11r–v	Glasgow Cathedral Chapter ratify Arbroath's right to the advowson of the church of Kirkmahoe. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 280)	30 Dec 1321	After 30 Dec 1321
23	f. 11v	William, abbot of Arbroath, gives tofts in the burgh of Aberdeen to Walter de Melville. <sup>85</sup> ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 367)	25 Apr 1276	"
24	f. 12r–v	King Robert I confirms lands in the parish of Tarves in regality. ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 28)	26 Feb 1313	"
25	ff. 12v– 13r	An agreement is made between Arbroath and Adam & John Reid over the lease of lands of <i>Carnbrogy</i> in the parish of Tarves. <sup>86</sup>	24 Feb 1341	After 24 Feb 1341
26	f. 13r	Henry, abbot of Arbroath, gives the ferry of Montrose to Hugh Benholm. <sup>87</sup>	19 Aug 1179 × 1208	"
27	f. 13r	Statement of Kingoldrum boundaries (in Scots).	Unknown	"
28	f. 13v	Adam, abbot of Arbroath, and the convent of Arbroath make	25 Mar 1245 × 24 Mar 1246	"

<sup>85</sup> This text is not entered into PoMS.

<sup>86</sup> This text does not seem to have been included in the *Arbroath Liber*.

<sup>87</sup> This was not published in the *Arbroath Liber*. The PoMS listing for the documents uses its appearance in the Arbroath BL manuscript as the source for the text: <https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2264/> (accessed 13 April 2022).

		known that in 1245 they demitted the Mill of Conveth to Sir John Wishart at feuferme. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 271)		
29	f. 13v	Ralph, abbot of Arbroath, gives a toft in Edinburgh to Malcolm Durward. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 364)	21 Mar 1225 × 17 Jun 1239	"

Table 1-8: The texts in Gathering *E* of the Arbroath Ethie

The surviving four folios of Gathering *E* contain ten texts written in eight hands, one of which – a boundary statement – cannot be dated (see Table 1-8). The process of relative dating provides a *terminus post quem* of 21 October 1304, with a possible progression into the middle of the fourteenth century. Palaeographical comparisons also generally confirm this timeframe. Hand 22 entered the first three texts on the gathering running from ff. 10r–11v (line 14), and shows similarities with hands of the early fourteenth century.<sup>88</sup> Most of the remaining hands in the gathering are generally datable to later in the fourteenth century.

As with Gathering *C*, not all of the texts appear to have been entered in a straightforward lineal sequence. On f. 11v, from line 15, is a text of Abbot William, dated 25 April 1276 (Hand 23). The palaeographical analysis suggests this may have been copied in the middle, or perhaps even as late as the third quarter, of the fourteenth century. The text on the following folio, however, was likely copied in the early fourteenth century (Hand 24, f. 12r). Hand 23's text extends well into the bottom margin of the folio, and just fits the available space. All of this suggests that Hand 23's text was a later entry to the gathering. Another text which may have been entered out of sequence is a charter of Abbot Ralph to Malcolm Durward, which has been squeezed into the bottom of f. 13v. The hand that entered this (Hand 29) is datable to around the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>89</sup> The final seven lines of this text spill over into the outer margin in order to fit the entire text into the limited available space. The loss of subsequent folios means we do not know what

<sup>88</sup> Although there are no exact comparators for Hand 22, the lack of a circular 'e' and the form of 'd' (which has a rather squashed appearance and a thick shaft with a wide loop) point to it being earlier in the fourteenth century. See Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, p. 157, n. 49 and p. 180.

<sup>89</sup> The v-shaped form of his 'r' and looped 'd' are similar to those seen in NLS Adv. MS 15.1.18, no. 4 (1362) and no. 79 (1358).

followed this text, but the fact that there was a need to ensure that Abbot Ralph's gift was contained within f. 13v indicates that there was already a text entered onto the top of the following recto.

As with Gathering *C*, Gathering *E* contains an undated boundary statement for Kingoldrum, this one entered in Scots (see Plate 1.2). It can be seen on the bottom five lines of f. 13r, entered by Hand 27. The writing is similar to Hand 21, which is datable to the second half of the fifteenth century. This means that this gathering was active from the early fourteenth century all the way through to the second half of the fifteenth.<sup>90</sup>

In addition to the ten texts detailed above, Gathering *E* contains other scribal activity. On f. 11v, below the rubric for Abbot William's charter for Walter de Melville, traces of an erased address clause for a charter of King Robert I are still visible. This may be the same charter of Robert I which was subsequently copied by Hand 24 after Abbot William's text on f. 12r–v, and indeed what is visible of the erased address clause does appear to be Hand 24. Why Hand 24 chose to start and then erase the text on f. 11v is not immediately clear, but it may be that he felt it more appropriate to enter the royal charter on a fresh folio.

More text has been erased at the top of f. 12v and f. 13r. This consists of only a few words on entered onto the top margin of each folio and appear to have been rubrics. The one at the top of f. 12v seems to say *Assedatio ecclesie de Tarves* (lease of the church of *Tarves*) and the one on f. 13r reads *Carta domini pape* (charter of the lord pope) and this can be seen on Plate 1.2. The text which commences half way down f. 12v is an agreement over the lease of land at *Carnbrogy* in the parish of *Tarves*, so may be related to the erased rubric (although the document makes no specific mention of the lease of the church). Neither of the documents copied onto f. 13r however are papal. The erased rubrics look as though they are written by the same hand, and it could be that he planned to copy two documents onto f. 12v and f. 13r and got as far as entering rubrics at the very least, but for some reason changed his mind.

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<sup>90</sup> It is possible, but not certain, that these are in fact the same hand. The use of Scots also provides another indication that this text is a late addition to the gathering. There are no other texts in Scots in the Arbroath Ethie, and none at all in the Arbroath *RV*. They exist in small numbers in the Arbroath *BL*, and in a larger quantity in the Arbroath *RN*. Although often undated, those that are dated range from the end of the fourteenth century onwards, but are particularly prevalent around the third quarter of the fifteenth century, especially during the period when Malcolm Brydy was abbot, c.1456–c.1470.

Gathering E seems to have grown in a piecemeal fashion from the early fourteenth century. It does not seem to have been filled in a methodical or consistent fashion. As with Gathering C, scribes sometimes preferred to enter texts at the top of a clean folio. This has resulted in some ‘gaps’ being available, particularly on the lower half of folios. Later scribes returned to the gathering and used these empty spaces to enter additional short texts, utilising the margins to squeeze them in if space became tight. It also seems that copying was started on some folios and then erased after a change of mind, providing further evidence that the copying onto these gatherings was a flexible and informal process, rather than determined by an overarching purpose.

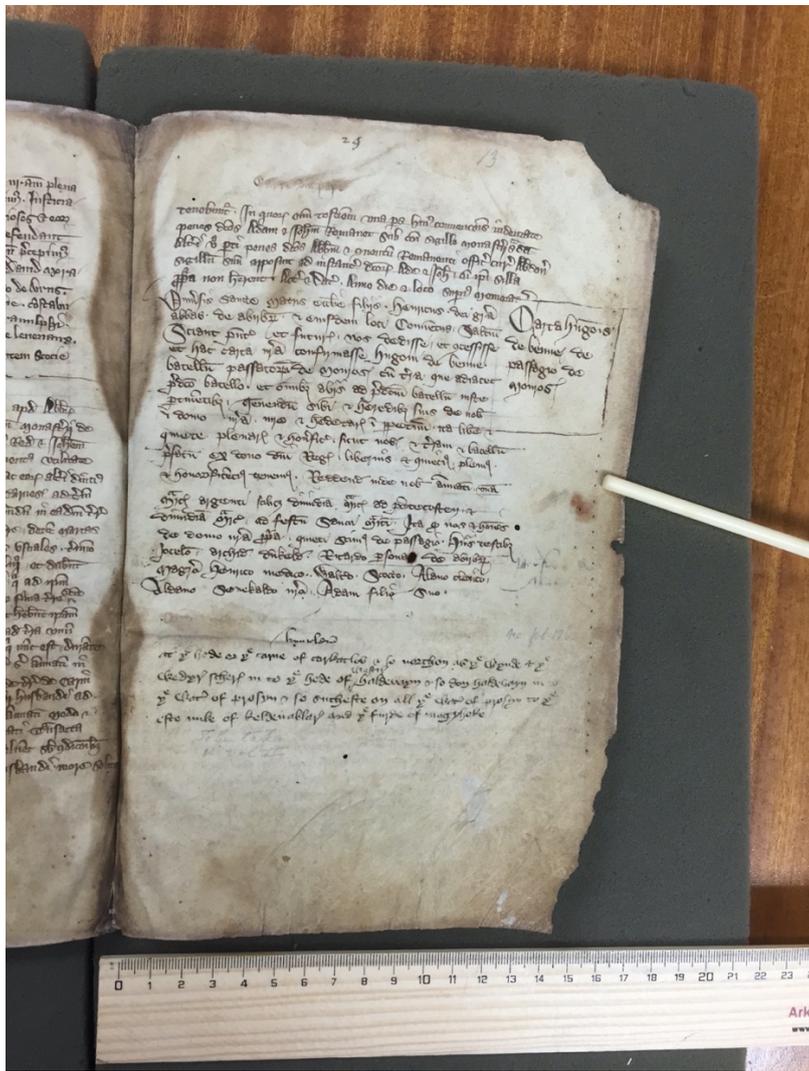


Plate 1:2: F. 13r of the Arbroath Ethic showing erased rubric at the top, and with text in Scots covering final four lines of the folio

The above analysis shows that the four multi-scribe gatherings grew slowly, in an incremental and piecemeal fashion. Identifying when the earliest copying took place on

each gathering makes it possible to suggest an order in which they were created (although this is limited to the visible texts – Gathering *E*, for example, is certainly missing some outer bifolios). This can be seen below in Table 1-9.

Gathering	Earliest point of creation	Date of latest addition
<i>F</i> (2 folios)	Mid-thirteenth century	Early fourteenth century
<i>C</i> (5 folios)	Late thirteenth century	Late fifteenth century
<i>E</i> (4 folios)	Early fourteenth century	Late fifteenth century
<i>N</i> (2 folios)	Mid-fourteenth century	Mid-fourteenth century

Table 1-9: Multi-scribe gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie- proposed order of creation

Analysis of the texts contained on the multi-scribe gatherings shows a process of creation which started in the middle of the thirteenth century with the creation of Gathering *F*, with the final gathering, Gathering *N*, being created around the middle of the fourteenth century. The suggested dates of the latest additions to the manuscript show, however, that the process of covering the gatherings was not entirely linear, and that copying was intermittently carried out. This does not mean the process was chaotic. Scribes seem to have chosen carefully where to position their texts, sometimes starting important charters at the top of a fresh folio. Although the gatherings may sometimes have lain for long periods without acquiring any additional texts, they were not forgotten. Rather, scribes knew where the gaps were and would return to them as required.

### Phases of production

The above discussion has shown the way in which the surviving gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie came into being. It shows that a significant campaign brought the cartulary to life, and once that was completed the pace of copying changed. Scribes engaged with the manuscript in an irregular but persistent manner, each contributing one or, at the most a few texts. Because the cartulary was not produced in one continual campaign of work, it is possible to unpick the different interactions identified above, and to see how the cartulary grew incrementally over time in what can best be described as ‘phases’ of production.

#### *Phase 1: mid-thirteenth century*

Phase 1 represents the point at which the Arbroath Ethie was created and is the easiest phase to identify. Working around the middle of the thirteenth century a single scribe copied 237 texts, all of them drawn from the reigns of King William I and King Alexander II and arranged in a very organised manner. Only four gatherings of this campaign survive, but it may have originally required as many as eight gatherings to accommodate all 237 texts (and possibly a tabula as well). Phase one was therefore characterised as a very organised and intense campaign of copying.

*Phase 2: Second half of the thirteenth century to the second half of the fourteenth century*

All four multi-scribe gatherings were created during Phase 2. 32 texts at least were copied into these four gatherings. This second phase of copying may actually have commenced while Phase 1 was still underway, as the first three documents copied onto Gathering *F* by Hands 4–6 may be contemporary with Hand 1. However, even if this were the case, Hand 1's campaign represented a very distinctive and discrete campaign, with Hands 4–6 choosing not to adopt either his method of organising texts or his system of numbering them. The lack of any attempt to continue his style of copying means that the multi-scribe gatherings were likely considered to be a departure from his campaign. Instead, new gatherings allowed the cartulary to continue growing, but at a different pace and in a different way, with copying being carried out intermittently rather than in any systematic fashion. The scribes were able to choose texts which were of interest to them and which they felt it was appropriate to copy. Because so many folios have been lost, we don't know if any of these gatherings were part of a single sequence, and the possibility exists that they were all individual self-contained units of copying. But it could also be that some of them at least were part of a single-sequence of copying, although the evidence presented by the late medieval/early modern foliation makes it seem likely that Gathering *N*, belonged to a separate sequence, the remainder of which has been lost.

*Phase 3: Second half of the fifteenth-century*

By the late fourteenth century the gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie must have been just about fully covered (and it is conceivable that the first binding process took place at this point). There is no surviving evidence of further copying taking place for at least three

quarters of a century. The piecemeal form of accretion during Phase 2, however, meant that small spaces remained. During the second half of the fifteenth century, during one last, very minor phase of copying, two extra texts were added to the cartulary by Hand 21 and Hand 27. The palaeographic evidence does not conclusively prove that these two undated boundary statements were entered by a single hand, but there is a strong possibility that they were. Therefore, although the gatherings may have remained unchanged for as long as three-quarters of a century, there was still an awareness that they were available for copying, and there was a working-knowledge of empty gaps on folios. At some point, in the middle of the sixteenth century it acquired (a new?) binding, the remains of which is used as a limp cover today.

### Conclusion

The Arbroath Ethie remained an actively growing manuscript for a long time. The evidence suggests that there was a gap of at least two centuries between Hand 1 commencing his campaign of work around the middle of the thirteenth century and Hands 21 and 27 entering the short boundary statements for Kingoldrum. Over that time the cartulary was subject to different styles of copying. The formal bookhand of Hand 1 gave way to increasingly cursive later hands, and eventually the ubiquity of Latin was interrupted by the inclusion of a single text in Scots.

Phase 1 involved a single well-organised and intricately planned campaign of work. Texts must have been selected and a running order carefully arranged prior to any copying taking place. Perhaps this process of preparation was the genesis behind the tabula, now seen only in the Arbroath *RV*. There is no physical evidence that Hand 8 of the Arbroath *RV* copied this from the Arbroath Ethie, but if a list had to be created in the process of planning, then it would have made sense for Hand 1 to use the work he had already done to create a guide for those who wished to read the cartulary.

Perhaps these gatherings represent the point at which the community decided that they need to ‘do something’ with their growing collection of documents.<sup>91</sup> In Arbroath’s case, that impetus resulted in an elegantly arranged scheme; mapping out how the abbey came to hold

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<sup>91</sup> Foulds, *Medieval Archives*, p. 20.

an important and influential place within the kingdom.<sup>92</sup> It is noticeable that Hand 1 omitted to copy Arbroath's foundation charter provided by King William in the late twelfth century. Instead, he opted to open his work with the royal confirmation of February 1213.<sup>93</sup> As well as listing all the donations included in the earlier charter, this longer document recounts the king's confirmations of other gifts the abbey received between the date of the foundation charter and the later confirmation. Doing so enabled Hand 1 to set the scene for fleshing-out the story of Arbroath's early years, remembering and commemorating the gifts that helped to forge ties between the monks and its benefactors.

As far as we know this is the earliest sustained campaign of copying which took place within the abbey, but we don't know if it was created with any particular purpose in mind; any prologue or title that may have existed has been lost along with the initial folios. There is no evidence that it served as a conventual memorial or was used to project Arbroath's power to the outside world. However, as we shall see from the next chapter, that particular selection and arrangement of documents was still being read with interest within the abbey almost a century after it was first copied.

A significant portion of Hand 1's campaign, which may have once covered as many as eight gatherings, has been lost. What remains, however, suggests that no subsequent scribes tried to insert additional texts onto the folios he had covered. This is despite his practice of leaving rather wide margins, into which at least short texts could have been inserted. Later scribes have added the occasional *maniculum* or relevant word entered into a margin, but otherwise his work remained undisturbed. This does not mean that when he finished his work the cartulary was considered a finished project. Very shortly after, or perhaps even while he was still working, the cartulary was growing, but in a different way. The scribes involved in Phase 2 engaged with the cartulary in a much less regular manner. Generally entering a single text each, their involvement was less intense, but that does not mean it had less value. There would, in fact, have been no real way to continue the highly organised style of Hand 1's campaign. The texts he entered were limited to a very distinct time period, the boundaries of which provided him with a framework within which his copying could be arranged in a logical and ordered way. His work, however, provided a springboard from which the cartulary could grow. The piecemeal nature of that growth

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<sup>92</sup> For a fuller discussion of Arbroath's influence see Stringer, 'Arbroath Abbey in context', pp. 127–9.

<sup>93</sup> *RRS*, ii, no. 513.

makes it difficult to discern any internal organisation or theme, which means that multi-scribe sections within cartularies are often seen as chaotic.<sup>94</sup> However, if we consider the elongated timespan over which these gatherings grew, it would be surprising if any one internal theme could be sustained. The interests and preoccupations of the monks of Arbroath are unlikely to have remained static over time, and their contributions are likely to have reflected these changes. The variety of documents seen in the multi-scribe gatherings is wider than those copied by Hand 1. As well as documents recording gifts and agreements, there are the Statutes of the Council of the Scottish Church, and a piece of unidentified canon law. The monks were therefore using this space to record documents that reflected their place in the wider church, as well as their immediate surroundings. Many of the documents copied do, of course, concern the monks rights and possessions. It is notable, though, that there are no repeated documents. Because so much of the cartulary has been lost we cannot discount the possibility that these once existed, but it is also likely that the scribes were reading the manuscript before they made their own contribution, and so were aware of what had already been copied.

Unlike the first part of Hand 1's work these gatherings do not seem to contain any coherent theme. One possible reason for their creation is that they were potential material meant for a new cartulary, to be organised and copied in a more formal manner later on. This is something we shall return to in a later chapter, but one thing worth noting here is that even if this were the case, the folios were retained along with Hand 1's more formal campaign and eventually sewn together with it. So from our perspective the multi-scribe sections may present no obvious theme or purpose, but they must have held as much relevance to successive generations of scribes as the more organised sequence.

Perhaps the lack of coherence of the later folios is because they were never meant to hold any particular sort of document. Instead, they could be spaces created specifically for the scribes to copy what they felt was relevant or important. This doesn't mean that the gatherings do not represent Arbroath's communal memory, It is difficult to see how this could have been driven institutionally, however, given its organic and individual nature. It may therefore have been of intrinsic value to the community itself, and one which held no greater plan than to provide reading and thought for the abbey's own monks.

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<sup>94</sup> See Chapter 1, page 14.

Often, when confronted with a cartulary presented in its bindings, it is hard to not think of it as book; conceived of as having a single purpose or narrative, and executed with the goal of creating a bound volume. While the fragmentary nature of the Arbroath Ethie imposes limits on what can be known about the original extent and contents of the manuscript, the lack of bindings are in some respects liberating. Not only do they make it easier to see the structure of what remains, but they make it possible to think about the creation of the cartulary in terms of a process, as an act itself, rather than a piece of work being carried out in the pursuit of a specific objective. Looked at this way, the individual contributions of so many different hands become important events, rather than merely scribes seeking a blank bit of parchment. The only fragment of a binding that survives is itself datable to the mid-sixteenth century, meaning the binding would have occurred after this. Of course, the manuscript could have had an earlier binding before this as well. But while it remained unbound it would have provided a very flexible space. Scribes were aware of the cartulary's contents and knew where gaps could be found, and when the need arose new gatherings could be created. This would suggest that the cartulary was being read and was considered to be a current and active project. The identification of phases of production show that the production of this cartulary was not a planned and continually sustained enterprise. The rate of copying ebbed and flowed and perhaps this is a reflection of times when the scribes were busy with other work, or perhaps other manuscripts were also on the go. Rather than looking for an overarching theme or narrative, a more useful way to describe the cartulary is as a forum which allowed for the monastic community to engage in a long-running written conversation. The work of Hand 1 gave that conversation a starting point, but because it ranged over two centuries, it is unsurprising that the conversation contained such a wide variety of texts and changed in style, and even language, over time

## Chapter 2 : The Arbroath *Registrum Vetus* (RV)

The next cartulary examined in this study was initially produced at Arbroath around the middle of the fourteenth century. Known as the Arbroath *Registrum Vetus* (Arbroath RV), the manuscript was thought to be the earliest of Arbroath's cartularies, until the chance discovery of the Arbroath Ethie in 1848 revealed the monastery had a longer history of cartulary production than was previously known. The cartulary was acquired by Sir James Balfour (d.1657) who was an avid collector of Scottish medieval manuscripts. In the years after his death, the Faculty of Advocates purchased many items from Sir James' collection, including this volume and the late fifteenth-century Arbroath *Registrum Nigrum*, both of which were acquired at a sale held in 1698.<sup>1</sup>

Because it is in a relatively good state of preservation, the Arbroath RV retains a more coherent physical structure than the fragmentary remains of the Arbroath Ethie. Whilst this means we have a more complete manuscript to examine, it will also be important to challenge assumptions about the order in which the gatherings evolved, as opposed to how they are presented within the bindings, and to be alert to the fact that how a manuscript is bound can affect how we engage with its contents. Although the earliest portions of the cartulary are fourteenth century in origin, the manuscript was not created in a single moment in time. Charting the evolution of the Arbroath RV will extend our understanding of how copying was practiced at Arbroath beyond the period studied so far.

### Manuscript description

The current boards, which date to the seventeenth century, are covered in brown leather with a blind tooled circular design. Both front and rear boards have vellum paste-downs. On the front paste-down there are pencil notes recording the shelf-mark and title of the volume. At the bottom a note states that the cartulary was repaired on 6 October 1931, which the NLS catalogue reveals to have been the date when the cartulary was rebacked.<sup>2</sup> The end vellum paste-down contains a few sentences written in pencil describing the

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<sup>1</sup> I. C. Cunningham, 'Sir James Balfour's Manuscript Collection: The 1698 Catalogue and Other Sources', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, vol. vi, part 6 (Edinburgh, 2004), p. 202 no. 34 (*Registrum Vetus*) and no. 35 (*Registrum Nigrum*).

<sup>2</sup> *Fourteenth-century manuscript of the cartulary of Arbroath Abbey, also known as the 'Registrum Vetus'*, NLS, <https://manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/19350.1> (accessed 6 October 2021).

contents of the cartulary. The same sentences can be seen in a slightly altered form in the introduction to volume one of the *Arbroath Liber*, and they are likely to be notes made by Cosmo Innes who was editor of the *Liber*.<sup>3</sup>

There are four flyleaves at the start of the manuscript, numbered i–iv, and three at the end, numbered v–vii. The first flyleaf is paper, and the remainder are parchment. On the recto of flyleaf i are ownership marks of the Faculty of Advocates, and an associated shelf-mark. The National Library of Scotland shelf-mark has also been noted in pencil on the recto of this flyleaf and on the recto of flyleaf ii.

### *Foliation and collation*

The manuscript itself comprises 132 vellum folios spread across 17 gatherings:

- Gathering I (ff. 1–5) contains five folios. The parchment used for this gathering is very rough.
- Gathering II (ff. 6–11) contains six folios. A Faculty of Advocates ownership inscription can just be seen running vertically down the inside margin of f. 6r.
- Gatherings III–XVI are regular, each one comprising eight folios.
  - Gathering III (ff. 12–19), Gathering IV (ff. 20–27), Gathering V (ff. 28–35), Gathering VI (ff. 36–43), Gathering VII (ff. 44–51), Gathering VIII, (ff. 52–59), Gathering IX (ff. 60–67), Gathering X (ff. 68–75), Gathering XI (ff. 76–83), Gathering XII (ff. 84–91), Gathering XIII (ff. 92–99), Gathering XIV (ff. 100–107), Gathering XV (ff. 108–115), Gathering XVI (ff. 116–123).
- Gathering XVII (ff. 124–132) is currently made-up of nine folios, with two visible stubs between ff. 127–128 and ff. 130–131. As with Gathering I, the parchment used to create this booklet is of a much rougher texture than the parchment used to create Gatherings II–XVI.

### **Foliation**

Three different methods of foliation can be found in the manuscript:

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<sup>3</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 1, pp. xxix–xxx.

- **Arabic numerals:** a modern pencil foliation in Arabic numerals runs throughout the manuscript and is visible on the top right corner of each recto, running from ff. 1–132.<sup>4</sup> As this is the most complete foliation and is generally visible, these Arabic numerals will be used to refer to the manuscript in this thesis.
  
- **Roman numerals:** these represent an earlier foliation and can be seen on the centre of each recto. The foliation runs throughout the manuscript from i–cxxxviii, but the following inconsistencies can be identified:
  - Gathering I ends at v (modern f. 5). However, where Gathering II starts on modern f. 6r, the Roman numeral foliation is x, instead of the expected vi. Therefore, four folios are lost between Gatherings I and II.
  - Between modern ff. 8 and 9, the Roman numerals skip from xii to xv, indicating a further two lost folios (most likely a central bifolio).
  - A catchword at the bottom of f. xxxiii (modern f. 27v) does not correspond with the first word on f. xxxiiii (modern f. 28r), suggesting that folios have also been lost between Gatherings IV and V. Despite this, the Roman numerals continue uninterrupted between these two gatherings, and so any losses occurred prior to the manuscript being foliated.
  
- **Partial foliation (Arabic numerals):** There is one further partial set of foliation marks, in the form of Arabic numerals. These commence part of the way through Gathering XVI on f. 119r and run sequentially from 1–5 on the centre top of each recto from ff. 119–123, where Gathering XVI ends. The numerals then continue intermittently in Gathering XVII. No foliation can be seen on f. 124r, but a medieval Arabic ‘7’ can be seen on f. 125r, nothing on f. 126r, ‘9’ on f. 127r, and then both 10 and 11 on f. 128r, 11 on f. 129r, then nothing thereafter.

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<sup>4</sup> This theoretically runs from ff. 1r–132r, however there are occasions where it cannot be seen, such as f. 1r, which is badly stained by chemicals. Other numbers can occasionally be seen on the manuscript, but these do not seem to represent foliation marks. For example, on f. 9r the number 236 is written in pencil below the Arabic foliation. This refers to the text’s number in volume 1 of the *Arbroath Liber*. Similar notes referring to that volume can be seen throughout the manuscript.

Early Arabic numerals (modern pencil)	1–132
Roman numerals	i–v, x–xii, xv–cxxxviii
Arabic numerals (medieval partial foliation)	1–5, 7, 9, 10/11, 11

Table 2-1: Summary of foliation seen in the Arbroath *RV*

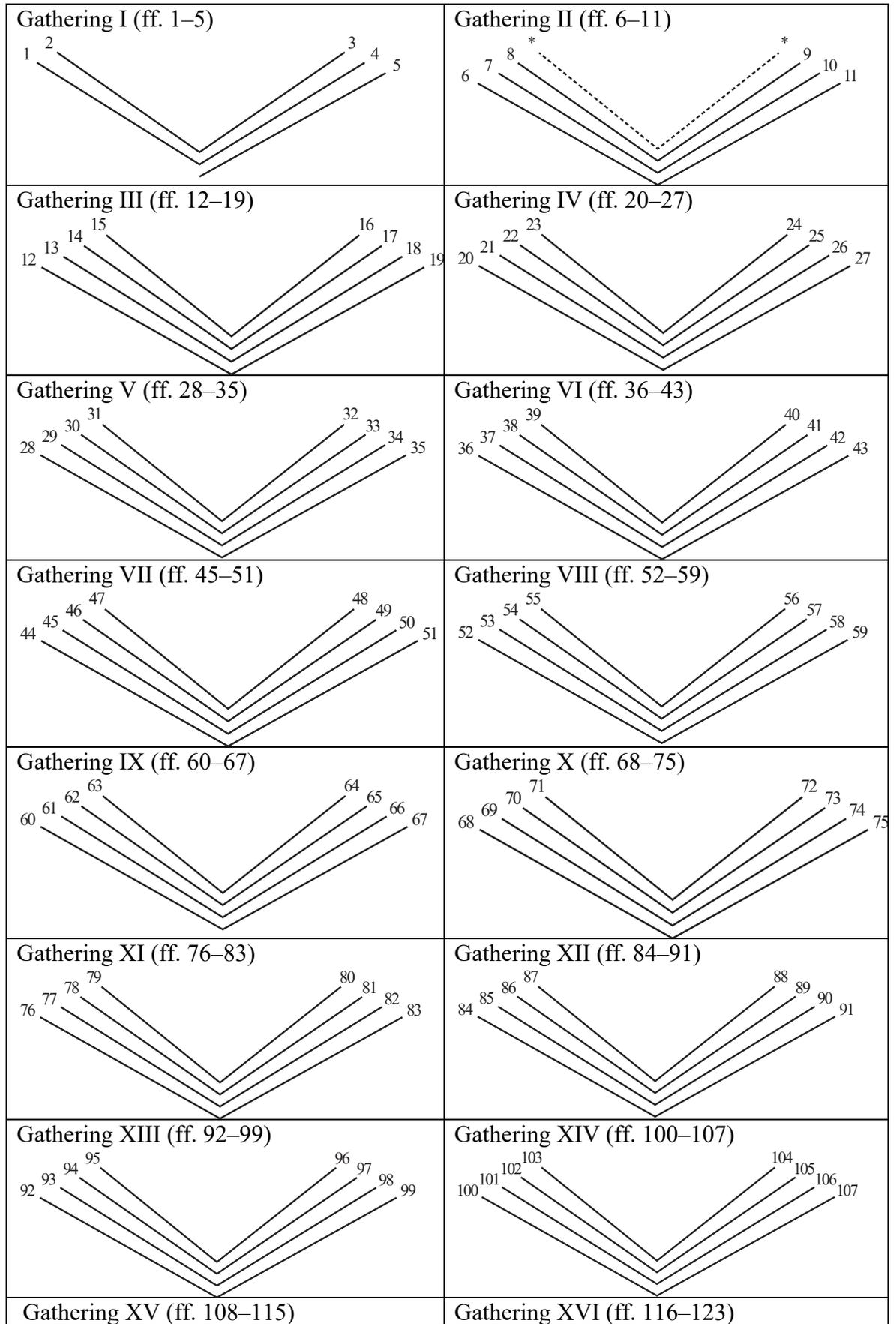
The partial foliation applied in early Arabic numerals is probably the earliest seen on the manuscript.<sup>5</sup> Although incomplete, it links together two gatherings created at different times. Had the Roman numeral foliation been in place, then the running order of these gatherings would already have been established, and an additional foliation might have seemed superfluous. The Roman numerals are likely to have been applied next. They must have been added before the manuscript lost folios between Gatherings I and II, and before the bifolio was lost between modern ff. 8 and 9. However, by the time this foliation was being applied, losses had already occurred between Gatherings IV and V. This foliation perhaps reflects the first time the manuscript's gatherings were set into a single order, perhaps as part of an earlier binding phase. At some later point the folios were cropped and this has resulted in the partial loss of some of the Roman numerals which lie very close to the top of the folio. This cropping must have happened during a second binding, possibly as part of the process of the current binding.<sup>6</sup>

## Collation

Using the evidence provided by the foliations, it is therefore possible to propose a more detailed collation for the Arbroath *RV*. As Table 2-2 shows, the manuscript is overwhelmingly made up of regular gatherings of eight folios each. Gatherings III–XVI all consist of eight folios, and Gathering II would originally have been a regular gathering as well but now lacks its central bifolio. Gatherings I and XVII, however, are different. Neither is regular, and as noted above these gatherings are constructed out of a much rougher parchment than Gatherings II–XVI.

<sup>5</sup> For the changing nature of Arabic numerals see G.F. Hill, *The Development of Arabic Numerals Exhibited in Sixty-Four Tables* (Oxford, 1915), pp. 35–42.

<sup>6</sup> See for instance, f. 11r where the tip of the Roman numeral xvii has been sheared off.



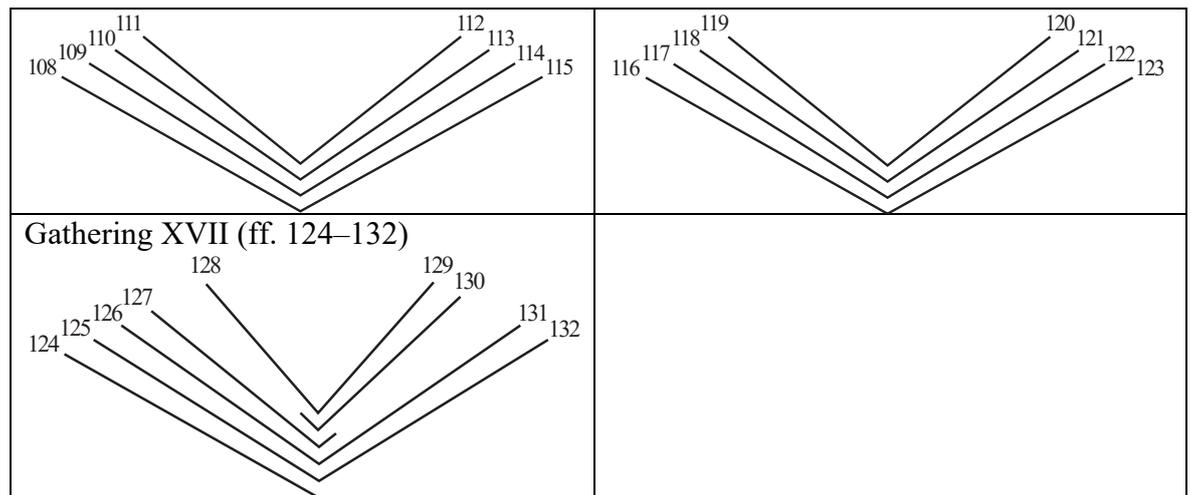


Table 2-2: Proposed collation of the Arbroath *RV*

### Identifying discrete units within the Arbroath *RV*

In common with the Arbroath Ethie, the Arbroath *RV* contains a mixture of types of copying. Much of the manuscript contains the work of a single scribe, but there are also multi-scribe components. In the case of the Arbroath Ethie, time has effectively rendered the remains of the manuscript into self-contained units. The gatherings created by Hand 1 could be easily identified as part of a single campaign, whilst the multi-scribe gatherings could be analysed as individual components. In contrast, the Arbroath *RV* is still bound, and remains in a relatively good state of preservation. While this means it retains a coherent structure, it also means we must be more aware of making assumptions about the manuscript based on how it is currently presented to us. It is also worth bearing in mind that the current running order of the gatherings is only evidence for decisions made during the process of binding, rather than conforming to any specific plan laid down by the cartulary scribes.

The first step to understanding how the Arbroath *RV* evolved is to identify the different types of activity within the manuscript. As discussed above, Gatherings I and XVII are constructed out of the same type of rough parchment and are both irregular gatherings. In contrast, however, Gatherings III–XVI are regular gatherings, and if it is recalled that Gathering II has lost a central bifolio, then it too would originally have consisted of eight folios. This tells us that there may be a relationship between when Gatherings I and XVII were constructed, and that the remaining gatherings were all originally created to be the same size.

The next step is to look at where the different hands can be found in the manuscript, to determine if the different types of gathering (regular and irregular) were filled in different ways.

<b>Folios</b>	<b>ff. 1r–5v</b>	<b>ff. 6r–32r (line 3)</b>	<b>f. 32r (from line 4)</b>	<b>ff. 32v–122v (line 10)</b>	<b>ff. 122v (line 11)–123v</b>	<b>ff. 124r–132v</b>
No. texts	7	50 <sup>7</sup>	1	257	3	14
No. hands	7	1	1	1	3	10
Identity of contributing hands	1–7	8	9	8	10–12	1, 13–21

Table 2-3: Distribution of ‘hands’ in the Arbroath *RV*

As can be seen from Table 2-3, there are 21 different hands visible in the Arbroath *RV*. 16 of these entered only one text each, one (Hand 19) entered three, three (Hands 1, 15 and 18) entered two each, while a single hand, (Hand 8), was responsible for contributing 307 texts.

Using the collation proposed in Table 2-2, it is possible to think about this distribution in terms of gatherings, rather than folios. Gatherings I (ff. 1–5) and XVII (ff. 124–132) are clearly the product of multi-scribal growth, and one hand (Hand 1) contributed a single text to both gatherings. This, along with the fact that both were created using the same rough type of parchment, suggests that despite being bound at different ends of the manuscript, Gatherings I and XVII were created around the same time. There is, though, no indication that they constitute a continuous campaign of work and therefore each one can be examined as a separate sequence of copying using the processes devised by Tucker to analyse multi-scribe cartularies.

Looking again at Table 2-3 we can see that Gatherings II–XVI (ff. 6–123) are predominantly the work of a single hand (Hand 8). Only four other hands are visible on these gatherings (Hand 9, 10, 11 & 12), each of whom contributed a single text. This means that 15 gatherings were predominantly a committed campaign of work carried-out by a single scribe. As Hand 8 is also the earliest hand seen in the manuscript, the first task

<sup>7</sup> The tabula on f. 28r–32r (from line 3) is counted here as a single text.

will be to understand his campaign. Once that is done, it will be possible to consider how the manuscript grew after him, by looking at the four additional hands who contributed to the gatherings he created, as well as looking in detail at the two later multi-scribe gatherings.

### Gatherings II–XVI (ff. 6–123)

#### *Hand 8*

Gatherings II–XVI are dominated by the work of a single scribe, Hand 8, who copied all but four of the texts they contain. Because his work is so prominent, it will be helpful to establish some general facts about his style of copying. As noted above, the gatherings Hand 8 created were all originally regular, and an examination of the manuscript shows that he also employed a uniform style of presentation throughout. Each text is headed by a rubric entered in red, for which Hand 8 also seems to have been responsible, and the initial capital of each charter is enlarged and also entered in red ink (see Plate 2.1). Hand 8 left little in the way of space between the texts he entered, nor did he leave many gaps on folios, choosing instead to utilise every inch of space within the margins. The only significant gaps visible amongst his work are seen on f. 32r where he covered only three lines with text and from line 11 of f. 122v to the bottom of f. 123v where Gathering XVI ends.

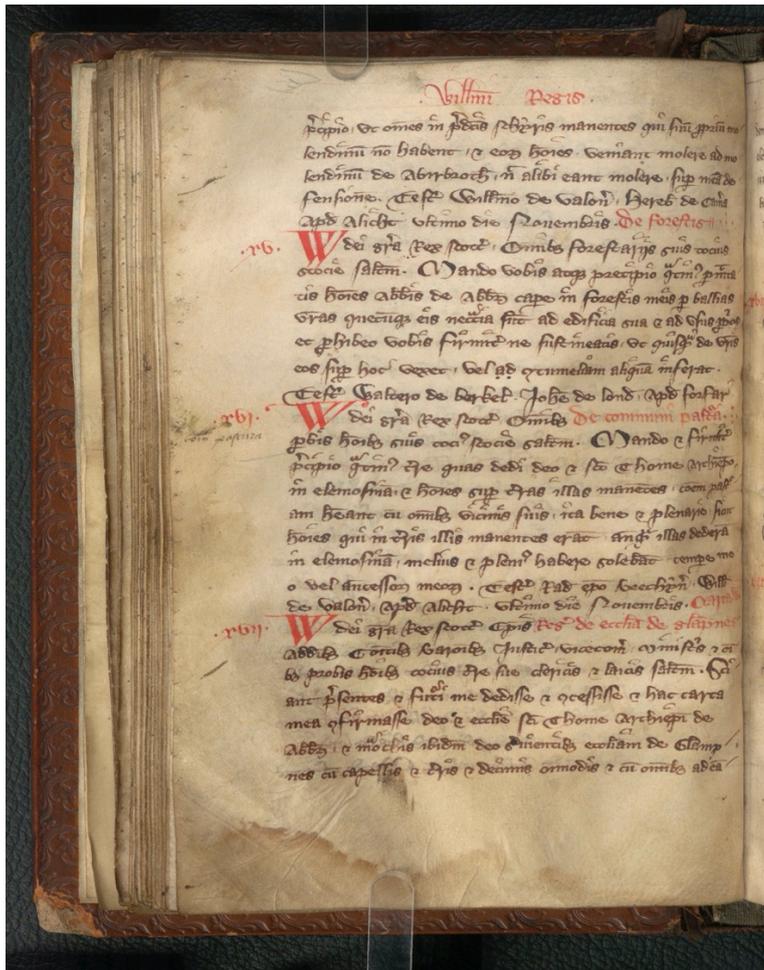


Plate 2:1: F. 38v of the Arbroath *R* showing example of Hand 8 including circular ‘e’ and lacking kidney-shaped ‘s’

The first step in identifying when Hand 8 was working is to look for the latest text he entered. This can be found on ff. 119r–v and is a letter patent of Robert Stewart, dated 21 July 1339. Palaeographical analysis also supports the conclusion that Hand 8 was working around the middle decades of the fourteenth century. His work frequently includes a ‘circular e’, which is common from the second half of the fourteenth century, though it can be found in earlier examples. He does not, however, use a ‘kidney-shaped s’, another feature which came into play in the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Hand 8 is likely therefore to have been working around the third quarter of the fourteenth century or perhaps slightly earlier.

<sup>8</sup> Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, p. 157, n. 49 and p. 162 n. 62.

<b>Folios</b>	<b>ff. 6–27</b>	<b>ff. 28–106r (line 4)</b>	<b>ff. 106r (line 5)–119r (line 21)</b>	<b>ff. 119r (line 22)–122v (line 10)</b>
<b>Range</b>	Gatherings II–IV	Gathering V–XIV	Gathering XIV–XVI	Gathering XVI
<b>Hands</b>	8	8, 9	8	8, 10–12
<b>Details</b>	49 texts showing no specific theme or arrangement.	Tabula listing texts numbered i–ccxxvi (Hand 8). 1 text of King David II - which is not included in the tabula. (Hand 9). Texts numbered i–ccxxvi reflecting the contents of the tabula (Hand 8).	14 texts grouped under the running header <i>Roberti Regis</i> .	9 texts showing no specific theme or arrangement. (Hand 8 entered six followed by one text each by Hands 10, 11 and 12).

Table 2-4: Gatherings II–XVI of the Arbroath *RV* by contents

Table 2-4 shows that Hand 8’s work can be seen to comprise four separate sections. From ff. 6–27 he copied 49 documents in which no overarching arrangement is apparent. From ff. 28r–106r (line 4) he copied the same sequence of numbered texts as seen in the Arbroath Ethie (as discussed in Chapter 1 the tabula and papal texts copied by Hand 8 may well have originally been copied by Hand 1 of the Arbroath Ethie as well although these are now lost). From ff. 106r (line 5)–119r (line 21) he copied 14 documents drawn from the reign of King Robert I and finally, from ff. 119r (line 22)–122v (line 10), he copied six apparently unrelated texts. Each of these discrete sections will be discussed in turn.

### **Ff. 6–27**

The first discrete section copied by Hand 8 covers all of Gatherings II–IV (ff. 6–27) and contains 49 individual texts. We know that he intended these three gatherings to be arranged and read in this order because he entered catchwords at the bottom of f. 11v and f. 19v linking them together. There is one further catchword, which can be seen at the bottom of f. 27v at the end of Gathering IV, and which reads *su(m)ma p(er)tine(n)s*. As noted above this does not correlate with the first word on f. 28r, so we know that this section originally extended to more than four gatherings, but we don’t know by how much more. The Roman numeral foliation also indicates that there have been four folios lost between

modern ff. 5 and 6, so it is possible that f. 6 did not originally mark the beginning of Hand 8's campaign.<sup>9</sup> The final text on Gathering IV is a list of ecclesiastical valuations which starts on line 8 of f. 24v. Here it is incomplete, lacking its final portion. Fortunately, the same text was also copied into the Arbroath Ethie, where it can be seen on the multi-scribe Gathering *C* running from f. 8r–v. Hand 16 of the Arbroath Ethie arranged the taxation list in three columns per folio, whereas when Hand 8 entered the text he arranged it over two columns. It is therefore unlikely that Hand 8 could have accommodated all of the information over two sides of a single folio. This means that a minimum of two folios are missing from between Gatherings IV and V, though it is worth noting that Hand 8's general practice was to create regular gatherings and so the possibility cannot be discounted that at least an entire eight folio gathering has been lost.

The texts copied onto these folios are datable from 1178 to 19 March 1329. This covers a long period, but the documents are not proportionately drawn from throughout the timeframe. Only one text, a charter of King William I for Walkelin the Brewer, is datable to the twelfth century, (1178 × 1195).<sup>10</sup> Four documents are datable to between 1300 and 1329.<sup>11</sup> Five more contain no information enabling a date range to be ascribed to them.<sup>12</sup> The 39 remaining texts are datable to the reigns of King Alexander II and his son, King Alexander III, with a concentration (29) showing a date range falling in the second and third quarters of the thirteenth century.

Despite no overarching theme or chronological order being present within this sequence, several short groupings of texts can be seen to have shared concerns:

- From ff. 6r (line 13)–7r (line 27) a run of four texts concerns the establishment of land boundaries by perambulation. This is followed by the memorandum of a court

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<sup>9</sup> Because the four folios lost between modern Gatherings I and II were discrete units not joined to either gathering we can't say to which gathering they originally belonged. It could of course be that the missing four folios have been lost from Gathering I or it could be that some folios belonged to Gathering I and some to Gathering II.

<sup>10</sup> This can be seen at ff. 7v–8r and is published as *RRS*, ii, no. 209.

<sup>11</sup> These are: a memorandum of a court case regarding Tarves datable to 22 February 1300 × 22 March 1300 on f. 7r–v; an agreement with the bishop of Brechin of 21 October 1304 on ff. 14r–15v; a letter from the bishop of St Andrews concerning the church of Dunbog of 26 April 1309 on f. 22v; and a charter recording a gift of land made by the monks to Patrick of Arbroath datable to June 1310 × 19 March 1329 entered on ff. 22v–23r.

<sup>12</sup> These are: a list of ecclesiastical taxes on f. 6r; a text recording the boundaries of Dunnichen on f. 7v; a decretal of Henry, bishop of Aberdeen, on f. 22v; and a letter concerning the announcement of deaths on f. 24r–v. The list of ecclesiastical valuations on ff. 24v–27v is not dated, however see p. 43 n. 79 for Donald Watt's suggestion that it cannot be earlier than August 1282.

case regarding the theft of animals from Tarves which ends on f. 7v line 9.

Following this memorandum is another perambulation which runs to line 22. The insertion of the details of a court case amongst texts recording land boundaries is curious, but it may be that the overall interest in these texts is that they establish rights, rather than being solely related to land boundaries.

- From ff. 8r–13r a group of six texts concern vicarages. On closer examination, however, this does not represent a single continuous group, as a bifolio is missing between current ff. 8–9. Sitting before the lost bifolio, on f.8r–v, is a text of the bishop of Aberdeen establishing the vicarage of the church of Fyvie to Arbroath. The first text after the lost bifolio on f. 9r is a charter of the bishop of St Andrews regarding taxation of vicarages. This is incomplete, but it was also copied into the Arbroath Ethie, on Gathering *N*, running from ff. 1v–2v, and a comparison suggests that only around five lines of text are missing from the beginning of the version copied by Hand 8. The charter of the bishop of Aberdeen would therefore originally have been separated from the remaining five texts by the presence of additional, lost texts. There is also one further text concerning the vicarage, this time of the church of Ruthven, copied at f. 18v, so although Hand 8 was interested in these documents, he did not feel the need to group them all together.
- From ff. 21r–22r four texts are entered concerning the gift of Fordoun by Robert son of Warenbald and his wife Richenda.

The lost texts between the charters of the bishops of Aberdeen and St Andrews serve as a reminder that even when a cartulary looks very uniform, it is necessary to tread warily when making assumptions about scribal intentions. However, the choice of texts in this section of the cartulary does perhaps suggest an underlying interest in copying documents related to ecclesiastical finances. As well as the texts concerning vicarages, there is a papal letter copied at f. 19v prohibiting anyone from sequestering the profits of churches belonging to Arbroath. The first text in the section is an estimation of ecclesiastical taxes of Scotland's diocese, and a partial estimation of the taxation values of various diocese starts on f. 23v.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> The remainder of this text has been lost along with the folios missing between Gatherings IV and V.

As will be seen below, Hand 8 copied the sequence of texts originally chosen and arranged by Hand 1 of the Arbroath Ethie. But here we can see him widening the scope of his campaign to include a broader range of texts. The gift of King William for Walkelin the brewer seen f. 7v–8r is significant, as it is the earliest evidence we have for a scribe of Arbroath making a cartulary copy of a royal charter in which the monks themselves were not the beneficiary. The campaign of Hand 1 of the Arbroath Ethie was focused on documents in which the monks received gifts (or confirmations of those gifts or privileges) and it is here we start to see Hand 8's wider intentions.

Hand 8 did not provide any explicit information in the form of prologues or headers that would indicate that he created this sequence with a particular theme or concern in mind. Although the texts are more wide-ranging in date and scope than in the rest of his campaign, we perhaps see a particular interest in copying documents related to finance. It is also here we see Hand 8 seeking a wider range of archival documents for copying than was included by Hand 1 of the Arbroath Ethie.

#### **Ff. 28r–106r (line 4)**

The next discrete section begins at the top at the start of Gathering V. From f. 28r to line 3 of f. 32r Hand 8 created a list of documents, each of which has been assigned a number from i–ccxxvi. The heading given to this tabula is *Will(ell)m Reg(is) Incipiu(n)t (con)f(ir)mac(i)o(n)es et donac(i)o(n)es Reg(is) Will(elm)i et comitu(m) et baronum suo(rum)*, and this can be seen below on Plate 2.2. This is the tabula which sits before the same sequence of numbered texts as was copied by Hand 1 of the Arbroath Ethie (although as discussed in Chapter 1, there is no comparable tabula surviving in that cartulary). The texts themselves are entered on ff. 32v–106r, where they end on line 4. In the space left after the end of the tabula on f 32r is a charter of King David II, entered by Hand 9. This is a later insertion and will be discussed after the full extent of Hand 8's campaign has been examined. Because the tabula covers only the first few folios of Gathering V, Hand 8 must have created it before he began to copy the documents themselves. Therefore, it makes sense to consider the tabula and the texts which relate to it as a single section of copying.

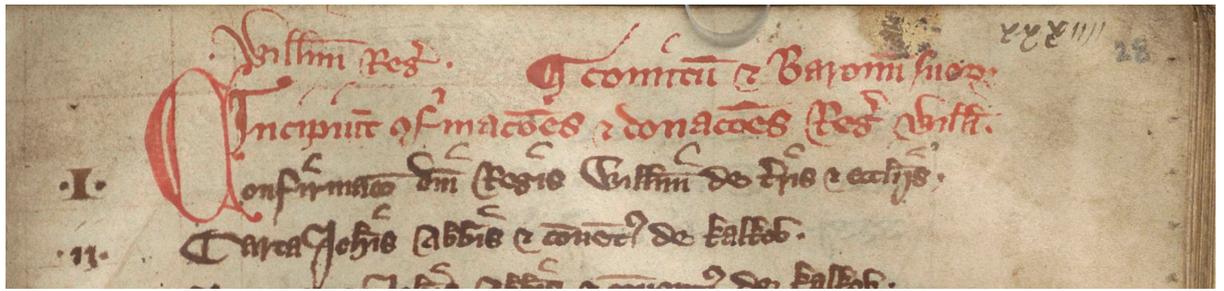


Plate 2:2: The start of the tabula on f. 28r of the Arbroath *RV*

The tabula has been created with a great deal of care and attention. In addition to red rubrics indicating where each new sub-heading begins, running headers at the top of every folio provide a guide to the contents of the tabula below. Where two categories of texts are copied onto the folio, both are indicated in the header, and Hand 8 echoed this arrangement on the folios containing the documents themselves. Hand 8's task would have been made easier as he would have had the same sequence of texts in the Arbroath Ethie to guide his work. Once the tabula was completed he could have started to copy the associated documents immediately below on f. 32r, but chose instead to start at the top of f. 32v. Perhaps he preferred to start the new sequence of texts at the top of a fresh folio, or perhaps he anticipated that the tabula might be expanded to include additional entries, either by himself or by other scribes. What we do know, though is that he seems to have adhered closely to the arrangement of Hand 1's campaign.

### **Ff. 106r (line 5)–119r (line 21)**

The final numbered text (no. ccxxvi) ends on line 4 of f. 106r. Starting immediately below this Hand 8 commenced a new sequence of 14 texts. There is no gap in between the two sections and the change is indicated only by way of running headers. On f. 106r the running header indicates two separate subjects, reading *Ro(manorum) po(n)tificu(m)* and *Roberti Regis*, and from ff. 106v–118v reads simply *Roberti Regis*. As might be gathered from the header, these texts generally can be dated to the reign of King Robert I. Eight are royal charters, two are episcopal, consisting of one each in the name of the bishop and the chapter of Glasgow, and one is a lay charter, recording Henry of Spynie's gift of land in Banff. One further text is a copy of the statutes of King Robert I given at the Scone parliament in December 1318.

The presence of running headers and the lack of any break between the two sequences provides a visual continuity between these texts and the numbered sequence, but there is a notable change in style, since Hand 8 did not number these texts and he did not add their rubrics to the tabula (despite there being plenty of space for this). This may well mean that he was no longer copying from the Arbroath Ethie (although so much has been lost from that cartulary we cannot be entirely sure). But even if he was not, he was content to use the general layout (of texts relating to a specific reign copied under a relevant running header) without trying to extend Hand 8's campaign.

The 14 documents copied in this section are quite varied. The sequence commences with an *inseximus* by King Robert I of King William's confirmation of the abbey's gifts and rights, which Hand 8 has copied in abbreviated form without including the entire text of King William's original charter. This is the only occasion when he can be seen to have not copied a text in full.<sup>14</sup> From ff. 112v–113v two more texts record King Robert I's ratification of gifts made by King Alexander II; the re-donation of Tarves in regality and an *inseximus* of the right to take wood from the royal forest. Three more royal texts represent new gifts: the patronage of the church of Kirkmahoe, the right of transit through the royal park of Drum, and a charter gifting to Arbroath lands in Berwick upon Tweed, forfeited by Simon of Dirleton. One further document is a letter of protection dated 13 March 1323.

Within this sequence only one short grouping of texts can be identified. King Robert I's gift of the patronage of the church of Kirkmahoe of 20 October 1321 sits at f. 107r–v and is followed by four associated texts. The first of these is the confirmation of this gift by the chapter of Glasgow, provided on 31 December of the same year. When the vacancy in the see of Glasgow was resolved, Bishop John provided his own confirmation dated 13 November 1325, and this is recorded at f. 108r–v. Following this are two papal letters confirming the gift, both datable to after the death of King Robert I, the first in December 1329 and the second in 1331.<sup>15</sup> The fact that these are included under the running header *Roberti Regis* indicates perhaps that in this section Hand 8 was more focused on copying

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<sup>14</sup> The full text can be seen in the Arbroath BL manuscript, where it was entered twice. The first time only part of it survives running from ff. 30r–31v, and then the full text is copied again from ff. 31v–34r. It is published as *RRS*, v, no. 214.

<sup>15</sup> These are published as *Arb. Lib.*, 1, nos. 279–83.

associated documents, rather than sticking strictly to the arrangement created by Hand 1 of the Arbroath Ethie. The right to the advowson of the church of Kirkmahoe was perhaps an issue of continuing importance to the monks of Arbroath as two of the sequence copied by Hand 8 – the king’s donation and the bishop’s confirmation – were also copied onto Gathering *E* of the Arbroath Ethie during the early years of the fourteenth century. The second last text in the sequence is a record of the legislation passed at the Scone parliament on 3 December 1318. This text was distributed widely with the intention that the written law could be read aloud. This copy by Hand 8 is one of the earliest versions to survive and it is further evidence that Hand 8 was interested in copying documents which looked beyond the monks’ immediate world inside the abbey walls.<sup>16</sup>

The texts included in this sequence from the reign of King Robert I were far from exhaustive. *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, v, includes 33 entries of Robert I in which Arbroath is the beneficiary, meaning this sequence of texts contains just under a quarter of all the known documents – be they charters, *inspeximus* or letters – given by that king in favour of the monks. Hand 8 therefore was not attempting to ‘update’ the cartulary in response to the death of the king, but was providing a snapshot of texts from that reign which he deemed appropriate to bring together in a single place.

#### **Ff. 119r (line 22)– 122v (line 10)**

Hand 8 contributed six final documents to the gathering after he completed the section of texts dated to the reign of King Robert I. These commence immediately after the charter of Henry of Spynie and continue to line 10 of f. 122v. The first three are datable to the reign of King David II, and the final three are datable to the reign of King Alexander III. The documents from King David II’s reign are all concerned with upholding the abbey’s rights and privileges. The first one from the reign of King Alexander III is an agreement over land at Red Castle in Angus, while the final two both concern Kingoldrum. There is no overarching theme in this short section, but it is noticeable that Hand 8 has avoided copying any document from the reign of King Robert I (perhaps feeling he had included everything that was appropriate in the relevant section above) but did include documents

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<sup>16</sup> Alice Taylor, *The Shape of the State in Medieval Scotland: 1124–1290* (Oxford, 2016), p. 132. The Statutes are published as *RRS*, vi, no. 139, and can also be found online in both Latin and English at ‘*Statuta Roberti Regis*’, *RPS*, <<https://www.rps.ac.uk/mss/1318/9>> (accessed 9 October 2021).

from the time of King Alexander III, whose reign he ‘skipped-over’ when he moved from copying the numbered sequence of texts straight on to those from the time of King Robert I.

### *Growth after Hand 8*

Hand 8 did not leave many gaps on Gatherings II–XVI, only the one on f. 32r underneath the tabula, and just over a folio from line 11 of f. 122v to the bottom of f. 123v. These spaces attracted four hands, each of whom copied a single document. The first space which was covered was the blank folio at the end of Gathering XVI (see Table 2-5). Immediately under Hand 8’s final text (a quitclaim of land at Kingoldrum) another quitclaim for the same land was copied by Hand 10 which palaeographical comparisons suggest may have been contemporary with Hand 8.<sup>17</sup> Two more hands each contributed a single text to complete the gathering. These texts are datable to slightly later in the fourteenth century. The first, a charter of Abbot William, was entered by Hand 11, whose hand we have already seen in the Arbroath Ethie. There he appeared as Hand 2 where he contributed a donation of the church of Inverugie (the date of the text is unknown) to Gathering *N*, and palaeographical analysis placed his work in a range from the late 1330s to around 1375.<sup>18</sup> However, the text he entered into the Arbroath *RV* dates to 19 November 1365, and so in this instance at least he was working in the later part, rather than the middle, of the century. A final text entered by Hand 12 records a papal commission datable to between 1360 and 1380, for whom comparators can be found around the 1360s.<sup>19</sup>

Hand	Folio	Details of text	Date of text	Relative date
10	ff. 122v–123r	Maurice of Moray quitclaims his rights to the land of Kingoldrum. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 296)	27 Oct 1339	After 27 Oct 1339
11	f. 123r	Abbot William demits the land of Ruthven to Thomas Lipard. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 297)	18 Nov 1365	After 18 Nov 1365

<sup>17</sup> For comparators see NLS Adv. MS 15.1.18, no. 5 (1339) and no. 17 (1330).

<sup>18</sup> See p. 35.

<sup>19</sup> NLS Adv. MS 15.1.18, no. 75 (1369) and no. 4 (1362).

12	f.123v	Papal commission against Eustace, vicar of Inverness. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 298)	1360 × 1380 <sup>20</sup>	After 18 Nov 1365 × 1380
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Table 2-5: Additional hands seen on ff. 122v (line 11)–123v of the Arbroath *RV*

Once these three texts had been added the only space which remained was on f. 32r. This was filled by Hand 9, working perhaps around the year 1400, who entered a mandate of King David II that no-one should interfere with Arbroath's regality rights.<sup>21</sup> To do so Hand 9 must have known that a space still existed in these gatherings, and been aware that the document he wished to copy had not been copied there before, so although by this time space may have been limited on these gatherings, scribes were reading the work of Hand 8 and knew where gaps remained.

Keith Stringer suggested that the Arbroath *RV* was probably instigated by Abbot Bernard Linton, and reflected the need to protect the abbey's wealth and political importance.<sup>22</sup> Hand 8's work was certainly a significant campaign and it would make sense that it was undertaken as an authorised and planned piece of work. As noted below, the fifteen gatherings may have been bound together for a significant period of time before the final two gatherings were created, and this indicates that the numbered sequence and the additional material copied by Hand 8 were thought of as part of a single project. Although the final gatherings were not created until much later, Hand 8's campaign was being read and added to almost as soon as it was finished, as the additional but associated contribution made by Hand 9 shows.

### Multi-scribe gatherings

Once Hand 9 had made his contribution there was no space left on the 15 gatherings that had been created by Hand 8 (Gatherings II–XVI). Perhaps, at this point the manuscript was bound (or perhaps it had been bound when Hand 8 completed his task and that is why it only acquired enough new texts to fill the bank spaces left by Hand 8). For perhaps half a

<sup>20</sup> This text is entered with no accompanying rubric. It does not contain the name of the pope in question. The date is given as 5 kalends of July in the first pontifical year. The date range here is the one suggested in the *Arbroath Liber*. (*Arb. Lib.*, 1, no. 298).

<sup>21</sup> For a comparison with Hand 9 see NLS Adv. MS 15.1.18, no. 83 (1400). King David II's order is published as *RRS*, vi, no. 223.

<sup>22</sup> Keith Stringer, 'Arbroath Abbey in context', pp. 123–5.

century the cartulary stopped growing. Then, in the second half of the fifteenth century, two further gatherings were created (those now bound as Gatherings I and XVII). These are both multi-scribe creations and can be analysed using Joanna Tucker's method of establishing relative dating.

*Gathering 1: ff. 1–5*

Hand	Folio	Details of text	Date of text	Relative date
1	f. 1r	King David II orders the chancellor of Scotland to issue a charter granting to Arbroath the custom of the port in free alms. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 116)	After 14 Nov 1351	After 14 Nov 1351
2	f. 1v–2r	An agreement is made between Arbroath and Thomas Rattray, acting in the name of his wife, Christina, over the bounds of the land of Kingoldrum. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 294)	2 Jul 1253	"
3	f. 2r	Andrew Dempster, lord of Careston, recognises the regality rights of Arbroath. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 33)	1 Jan × 31 Dec 1370	After 1 Jan × 31 Dec 1370
4	ff. 2v–3r	An agreement is made between Peter, bishop of Aberdeen, and Arbroath regarding the boundaries between the bishop's land of Tillygreig and the abbey's lands of <i>Dessuenenin</i> and Affleck. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 307)	23 Dec 1254	"
5	f. 3r–v	John of Stirling is given sasine of the saltworks at Carse. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 343)	12 Apr 1317	"
6	ff. 3v–4r	Abbot Malcolm gives and grants a toft in Duns to William Robertson. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 124)	22 May 1459	After 22 May 1459
7	ff. 4r–5v	An agreement is made between Arbroath and Walter and Thomas of Tulloch regarding the land of Tulloch. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 128)	1 Oct 1459	After 1 Oct 1459

Table 2-6: Gathering I of the Arbroath *RV*

Gathering I consists of five folios and holds seven texts, each entered in a different hand (see Table 2-6). The texts cover a wide timespan, from 2 July 1253 to 1 October 1459, and no specific arrangement can be identified. Hand 1 opened the gathering by entering a

significant charter of King David II, datable to some point after 14 November 1351. This provides us with a *terminus post quem* for when Hand 1 was working, with the process of relative dating showing a chronological progression of additions to the gathering stretching into the second half of the fifteenth century. However, palaeographical analysis tells a slightly different story, suggesting that Hand 1 was in fact working around the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>23</sup> Although the six following texts are datable between 2 July 1253 and 1 October 1459, palaeographical analysis dates all of these hands (Hands 2–7) to the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>24</sup> The second document in the gathering, entered by Hand 2 is an agreement between Arbroath and Thomas and Christine Rattray over land at Kingoldrum. This was also copied by Hand 8 at ff. 120v–121v and it is the only document which is copied twice in the entire cartulary. There are no more texts of Kingoldrum copied into this gathering, but there are another three agreements and it may be that there was a ‘clustering’ effect taking place, where scribes were prompted to contribute similar texts by reading what was already copied onto the gathering.

Despite the initial impression that Gathering I may have evolved over a long period, it seems in fact to have been created within a relatively short timeframe. The first text was entered around the middle of the fifteenth century, and the gathering was filled between then and the end of the century. Each hand contributed only a single text and there is no overarching theme, although it is perhaps possible to discern a concern with the establishment and upholding of rights, rather than a desire to record gifts and donations. The agreement concerning the land of Tulloch – copied by Hand 7 from line 19 of f. 4r onwards – is lengthy, and because it could not all be contained on f. 4, an extra single folio was added to the gathering. The agreement extends to line 18 of f. 5v, with the rest of the folio remaining blank. There are four folios missing between Gatherings I and II, and it is not readily apparent how these were distributed. All we know is that they were lost after the Roman numeral foliation was applied, so they are unlikely to have been additional outer bifolios belonging to Gathering I (the remaining Roman numeral foliation starting at f. i). Could the space at the bottom of f. 5v be because this was the end of a gathering? When Hand 2 copied the 1253 agreement with Thomas and Christina Rattray, he ignored

<sup>23</sup> See NLS Adv. MS 15.1.18, no. 35 (1446), no. 80 (1450) and no. 98 (1466).

<sup>24</sup> Hands 2–7 all still show a kidney-shaped ‘s’. Comparators for Hands 2, 3 and 4 can be seen in NLS Adv. MS 15.1.18, nos. 64 (1472), 87 (1468) and 98 (1466), suggesting these hands were working around the third quarter of the fifteenth century. Comparators for Hands 5, 6 and 7 can be seen in nos. 73 (1488) and 99 (1482) suggesting these hands belong to the fourth quarter of the century.

the blank portion left at the bottom of f. 1r in favour of starting afresh at the top of f. 1v. There is no evidence that Gathering I was created as part of a systematic campaign of copying, rather than intermittent accretion. Although the folios of Gathering I do seem to have been filled in a linear fashion, the scribes who contributed to the gathering may not have felt the need to cover every available piece of parchment, but sometimes preferred to start their work at the top of a fresh folio. This piecemeal way of working, as we have seen from the multi-scribe gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie, did give rise to blank spaces particularly towards the bottom of folios. It is therefore possible that the space at the bottom of f. 5v does not signal the end of the gathering. It could be that two bifolios held further late texts (or of course it could be that all or some of the missing folios were created by Hand 8 and that his campaign is missing folios from the start).

Gathering I was therefore probably created around the middle of the fifteenth century and grew incrementally over the remainder of the century. It does not seem to have been part of a systematic campaign of work, but rather a place for scribes to contribute texts in an informal, piecemeal fashion, growing in size to accommodate the final text. The selection of texts made by the scribes does not seem to conform to a single, coherent theme, but to reflect individual concerns and interests, although the concentration of texts upholding and granting rights to Arbroath perhaps suggests that this was an issue for the monks in the abbey during the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>25</sup>

#### *Gathering XVII: ff.124–132*

Hand	Folio	Details of text	Date of text	Relative date
13	f. 124r–v	Malcolm, abbot of Arbroath, and John Wishart make an agreement regarding the Mill of Conveth. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 138)	17 Jan 1461	After 17 Jan 1461
1	f. 125r	King David II commands that there be no infringement of Arbroath's right to the customs of the port or their regality rights. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 123)	13 Mar 1352	"
14	f. 125r–v	Abbot Malcolm grants lands in Tarves in feu and heritage to	22 Sept 1469	After 22 Sept 1469

<sup>25</sup> Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, p. 157, n. 49 and p. 162 n. 62.

		William of Udny. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 182)		
15	f. 126r	William Murray, sheriff of Banff, records an inquiry into the lands of Forglen. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 108)	3 Nov 1457	"
15	f. 126v	Walter Ogilvy and others record an inquiry concerning <i>Kennymykyl</i> . ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 49)	24 Apr 1409	"
16	f. 127r–v	An agreement is made between William, abbot of Arbroath, and Patrick McKulloch, vicar of Arbroath. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 212)	18 Sept 1482	After 18 Sept 1482
17	f. 128r	Abbot George confirms Alexander Irvine's holdings of the land Forglen. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 208)	21 May 1481	"
18	f. 128v	William, abbot of Arbroath, gives notice that he has given the land of Forglen and the advowson of the church to Alexander Irvine. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 236)	6 Feb 1483	After 6 Feb 1483
18	ff. 128v–129r	William, abbot of Arbroath, gives the land of Forglen and the advowson of the church to Alexander Irvine. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 235)	6 Feb 1483	"
19	f. 129v	King James I orders that Arbroath hold their lands in regality. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 79)	5 Nov 1436	"
19	f. 130r	Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan, gives notice that he is bound to Arbroath for ½ merk annually in return for a piece of their land in Tarves. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 319)	14 Mar 1286	"
19	ff. 130v–131r	John Drimmyng recognises the boundaries of Ardlogie and Fyvie. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 353)	28 Aug 1325	"
20	ff. 131v–132r	King David II inspects the charter of Margaret Stewart, countess of Angus, for the land of Braiklay. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 76)	31 Oct 1343	"
21	f. 132v	Six lines of text (too faded to be read).	Unknown	"

Table 2-7: Gathering XVII of the Arbroath *RV*

The Arbroath *RV* ends, as it starts, with a multi-scribe sequence of texts entered onto a gathering made from rough parchment. Gathering XVII (ff. 124–132) consists of nine

folios (including three singletons) and contains 14 texts entered in ten different hands (See Table 2-7). The first folio, f. 124, is a single sheet. Although the top half of the recto has been badly stained by gallotanic acid, from mid-way down it is possible to see that a late-fifteenth-century hand (Hand 13) has entered an agreement regarding the Mill of Conveth that extends to the bottom of f. 124v.<sup>26</sup> This is followed on f. 125r by a text of King David II, entered by the same hand (Hand 1) that copied another text of King David II on f. 1r of Gathering I. As noted above, palaeographical analysis dated Hand 1 to the middle of the fifteenth century. This means that f. 124 was probably a later addition to the gathering, perhaps slotted into that position by the binder. After Hand 14 made his contribution of a charter from 1469, Hand 15 entered two texts recording inquiries into land holdings. These date from 1457 and 1409 respectively. Palaeographical evidence places Hand 14 around the same time, or perhaps slightly later than Hand 15.<sup>27</sup>

The remaining six folios contain 9 texts entered in six different hands (Hands 16–21). As Table 2-7 shows, these texts cover a wide range of dates, and there are gaps visible at the bottom of f. 126v, f. 127v and f. 130r, suggesting the folios were not being covered in a methodical or consistent manner but that scribes often preferred to start work at the top of a new folio. However, none of the texts entered have the appearance of being squeezed in, and unlike the multi-scribe gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie there is no evidence of later scribes returning to the gathering to fit texts into convenient spaces. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the gathering grew in an entirely linear fashion. As noted, f. 124 is a single sheet, but there are also two stubs visible, one after f. 127 and the other after f. 130 (see Table 2-2). There is no associated loss of text and it would seem, rather than representing lost folios, these stubs indicate the insertion of two further single sheets (f. 127 and f. 130) into the gathering. The first of these, f. 127, holds a text from 1481 entered by Hand 16. Palaeographical analysis suggests this hand was working very late in the fifteenth century or possibly even early years of the sixteenth century, notably the changes in the form of the final ‘s’.<sup>28</sup> F. 127 therefore seems to be textually discrete, perhaps placed in its current position at the point of foliation. F. 130 on the other hand seems to always have been part of the linear sequence. If we look at Table 2-7 we can see

<sup>26</sup> See NLS Adv. MS 15.1.18, no. 73 (1488).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 98 (1466) and no. 99 (1482.)

<sup>28</sup> For comparators for the looped ‘d’ see NLS Adv. MS 15.1.18, no. 73 (1488) and no. 88 (1483). The 6-shaped final ‘s’ can be seen in no. 26 (1506) and no. 92 (1502) and both kidney- and 6-shaped ‘s’ types can be seen in no. 97 (1502).

that Hand 19 entered a text on f. 129v and this extended right down into the lower margin. He then entered a text on f. 130r which covers only around half of the folio, the bottom half remaining blank. Once he had done this he turned the folio and entered a new text, starting at the top of f. 130v and which extends all the way to the bottom of f. 131r. The texts entered by Hand 19 are not related and range in date from 14 March 1236 to 15 November 1436. Palaeographical comparisons suggest he may have been working at the start of the sixteenth century, and his may be the latest contributions made to the cartulary.<sup>29</sup> Two further texts are entered onto the gathering, although only one more can be deciphered. This is a text of King David II of 13 October 1343, entered from ff. 131v–132r, which appears to be in a late fifteenth-century hand (Hand 20) although it shows less of the changes associated with the very late examples seen above.<sup>30</sup> There are also six lines of text entered onto f. 132v. These are faded, though, and it is not legible enough to be accurately dated.

Gathering XVII was probably created at the same time as Gathering I and the first text was copied onto it in the middle of the fifteenth century by Hand 1. He chose a text of King David II, as he did when he entered the first text on Gathering I. The gathering grew over the second half of the century, perhaps extending into the early part of the sixteenth century. It was therefore created simultaneously with Gathering 1, but took longer to grow. It also displays more piecemeal accretion than Gathering I. Two folios, f. 124 and f. 127 were added to the gathering, perhaps at the time of binding (or perhaps when the manuscript received the Roman numeral foliations). F. 130 always seems to have been part of the gathering, with the attached folio (the stub of which sits between f. 127 and f. 128) being cut away with no known loss of text.

### Phases of growth

Based on the above information, it is now possible to propose the phases during which the Arbroath *RV* grew.

#### *Phase 1: Mid-fourteenth century*

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<sup>29</sup> NLS Adv. MS 15.1.18, no. 26 (1506).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 98 (1466).

The first phase activity occurred around the middle of the fourteenth century, or perhaps just slightly later and encompasses the campaign undertaken by Hand 8. He created 15 regular gatherings and covered them with at least 307 texts. It is not possible to say how long he took to do this, or if he did so in one long and very committed campaign of work. However, within his campaign we can see four different sections. Hand 8 copied the numbered sequence which was also copied by Hand 1 of the Arbroath Ethie but he also copied a much wider range of texts (both in terms of date and subject matter).

### *Phase 2: c. Late fourteenth century*

After Hand 8 completed his task there was not much space left on the manuscript. Hand 10 was the first to contribute another text, working not long after Hand 8 and responding directly to Hand 8's final texts (two documents concerning Kingoldrum, the last of which was a quitclaim) by copying another quitclaim of the same land. After Hand 10's contribution, the rate at which the Arbroath *RV* grew slowed considerably. Phase 2 did not involve the creation of any new gathering, instead three further hands (Hands 9, 11 and 12) filled the remaining spaces left on Gathering V (beneath the tabula) and Gathering XVI. Perhaps this was because scribes had turned their attention elsewhere. However, it could also be that manuscript was bound by this time and the final entries were made by scribes who had read the manuscript, were aware of its contents and knew where the few remaining spaces could be found. By around the year 1400 the gatherings were full.

### *Phase 3: Late fifteenth century*

Phase 3 of the Arbroath *RV* was the last period when texts were added to the manuscript. It signalled the recommencement of work after a fallow period of perhaps as much as 50 years. During the second half of the fifteenth century, the creation of Gatherings I and XVII led to the addition of a further 21 texts to the manuscript. Hand 1 entered the first text on each folio, choosing charters of King David II for both. Although the gatherings may have been created at or around the same time and probably grew simultaneously, palaeographic analysis dates some of the hands on Gathering XVII to slightly later than those on Gathering I. It may be, therefore, that this gathering was active for longer. The piecemeal way these two late gatherings were covered suggests they were not created to

hold a specific campaign, or a single type of text, but rather to allow interested scribes to make their own (perhaps small) contribution.

#### *Phase 4: Binding/rebinding of the manuscript*

As indicated above, the slowed pace of growth and lack of new gatherings created after Hand 8's campaign might point to the manuscript being bound either when Hand 8 finished work, or perhaps towards the end of the fourteenth century when all the remaining spaces within the gatherings were filled. This need not have been a hard binding, it could merely have been that the gatherings were sewn together, preventing any more additions (and in fact f. 123v is rather stained, as though it has lain for a period without an outer cover as can be seen in Plate 2.3). It is difficult to be sure when the later gatherings became associated with the manuscript, but there is one clue which might help us to work this out. If we return to the discussion of foliations at the beginning of this chapter, we can see that the earliest foliation present on the manuscript is a series of medieval Arabic numerals. This runs in an incomplete manner, as detailed in Table 2-8.

<b>Modern pencil fol.</b>	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129
<b>Medieval Arabic fol.</b>	1	2	3	4	5	--	7	--	9	10/11	11

Table 2-8: Arabic numeral partial foliation in the Arbroath *RV*

Starting a foliation from the middle of a gathering might seem odd. However, f.119 coincides with where Hand 8 stopped entering running headers, and although he chose to continue entering texts he did so in a much less formal manner. The spaces he left (at the end of Gathering XVI) were then filled by three further hands. At some point, therefore, it seemed to be appropriate to find a way of linking Gathering XVI (and, therefore, Hand 8's work from the start of his final section onwards) with the later, multi-scribe Gathering XVII (datable to the second half of the fifteenth century). The foliation is incomplete with the numerals '6' and '8' not being visible where they could be expected to be found on f. 124 and f. 126. Both '10' and '11' have been entered onto f. 128, presumably by accident. The foliation ends on f. 129. The medieval form of some of the numerals, in particular '4' and '7', suggests this foliation was applied during or relatively soon after the creation of

Gathering XVII in the fifteenth century.<sup>31</sup> The fact that the foliation begins in the middle of one gathering and ends in the middle of the next suggests it was probably applied while the manuscript was unbound, and there was a desire to articulate a link between the fourteenth-century gatherings and the work of fifteenth-century scribes. Perhaps this was part of the process of rebinding if an earlier binding was removed (or at least Gatherings II–XVI unsewn) to accommodate Gatherings I and XVII. Moreover, given that Gathering XVII was so irregular, and contained several singletons it is possible that the foliations also acted as a guide to how the gathering should be ordered.

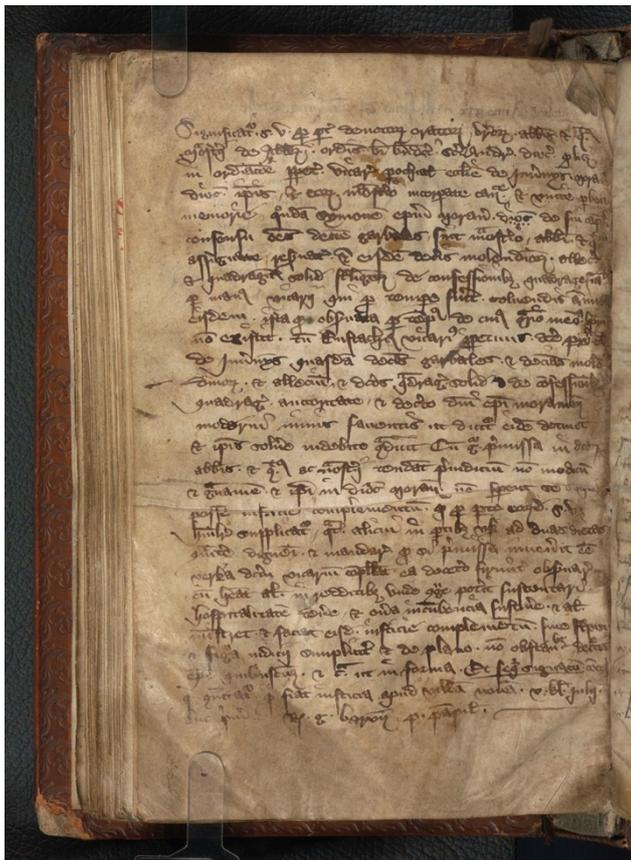


Plate 2:3: Staining on f. 123v of the Arbroath *RV*

The Roman numeral foliation was added later but only after enough time had elapsed for the manuscript to start losing folios (between Gatherings IV and V) . Since then, the manuscript has suffered losses (between Gatherings I and II and between modern ff. 8 and 9), but has retained the overall running order decided at that time. From the above we can propose that the first binding may have taken place by the end of the fourteenth century

<sup>31</sup> Hill, *The Development of Arabic Numerals*, pp. 35–42.

(either when Hand 8 finished his campaign or once the spaces had been filled on the gatherings he created). This might have just involved the gatherings being sewn together. A second binding may have been made in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century to accommodate Gatherings I and XVII, perhaps when the partial Arabic numeral foliation was added. Finally at some point in the seventeenth century, the manuscript has acquired the leather bindings which we see on it today.

### Conclusion

When the Bannatyne club produced an edition of all the available surviving texts from Arbroath Abbey, its editors chose the numbered sequence of texts, seen in both the Arbroath Ethie and the Arbroath *RV*, to sit at the front of their volume. This was a reasonable decision: the numbered texts encompassed many important documents from the early years of Arbroath's archive and were attractively arranged in a logical and user-friendly fashion. When the gatherings of the Arbroath *RV* were set in their current order, however, these features did not exert the same allure over the binder. Instead, the numbered sequence was positioned after several gatherings containing a diverse array of texts covering a wide date range, some of them copied over a century after Hand 8 was working. Why this order was chosen is unclear, although if the fourteenth-century gatherings created by Hand 8 were starting to degrade, then perhaps encasing them between new gatherings provided some extra protection.

The cartulary is overwhelmingly the work of a single scribe, Hand 8. The core of his work saw him copy the numbered sequence of Hand 1 of the Arbroath Ethie. This has led to the assumption that the Arbroath *RV* was created as a copy of the earlier manuscript.<sup>32</sup> Rather than simply 'copying' the Ethie, however, Hand 8 in fact 'incorporated' the Ethie into his work, supplementing it with other sequences of texts extending into the reign of King Robert I. There must however have been a decision made by Hand 8 (or the broader community of Arbroath) that they wanted to make another copy of the sequence created by Hand 1 of the Arbroath Ethie. Perhaps it was proving very useful or popular with the monks who read it and they wished to make an additional copy. Or perhaps when the monks decided they wanted to expand on the Arbroath Ethie Hand 1's campaign they

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<sup>32</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 1, p. xxxii.

decided to do so in a fresh manuscript (it could also be that in the century since Hand 1 was active the Arbroath Ethie had begun to fall apart). Hand 8 provided a corpus of texts from which the Arbroath *RV* could grow, and in the hands of other scribes it is possible to see that evolution taking place, in a process that lasted for around a century and a half. It is also possible to identify that Hand 8 started that process himself. Although his copying style is impressively uniform, his choices are diverse in nature. In his work we can see the committed campaign of a single scribe creating a coherent body of work, but also one who was engaging in the variety of growth seen in the informal piecemeal accretion typical of multi-scribal involvement.

By 1400 the scribes had turned their attention away from copying into the Arbroath *RV*. It could have acquired a binding by this point (or at least the gatherings were sewn together without a hard cover). Perhaps the scribes did not anticipate that it would receive further texts. This changed during the second half of the fifteenth century when two new gatherings were created. Even if the cartulary had not originally been expected to grow, the partial foliation running from Gathering XVI to XVII suggests the scribes considered themselves to be picking up a conversation, not starting a new one. This raises the possibility that the Arbroath *RV* was not expected to acquire a specific number or type of texts before it was considered to be complete. Rather, it seems that it was created in a looser way and that scribes were not waiting for a finished product before they read what was on the gatherings. The flexible nature of manuscript production meant that even if the gatherings were sewn together, new gatherings could be accommodated. Much time has been spent thinking about what triggered monks to start the process of creating a cartulary, but just as intriguing a question is how they knew when it was time to stop writing, and for the manuscript to be bound.

Work on certain cartularies may have come to a halt as scribes turned their attention to something new. Hand 11 provides the first evidence of a scribe of Arbroath who contributed to more than one cartulary. His appearance in both the Arbroath Ethie and the Arbroath *RV* raises the possibility that the two manuscripts were simultaneously active. This would have meant that scribes may have been able to choose from a selection of gatherings on which to enter texts. It also poses questions about whether or not the cartularies were themselves regarded as discrete projects by their contemporaries, or if all copying was part of single ongoing concern within the community. The implications of

this possibility will be discussed further in Chapter 5, once we have taken stock of all of Arbroath's cartulary manuscripts.

If the cartulary does not reflect any overarching concern or theme, the involvement of different scribes spread across a century and a half does provide us with an insight into how the interests of the monks changed over time. The earliest texts deal particularly with gifts, be they royal or secular, while the less formal sequences created by Hand 8 evince a preoccupation with the holdings of churches and ecclesiastical finances. In the late fifteenth century, however, when Gatherings I and XVII were created, the scribes copied fewer texts about churches and more about land boundaries and privileges. This does not mean that there need have been any formal plan to copy texts on these issues, or that they were not interested in recording older texts, merely that their choices reflect the issues they were thinking about or facing at that particular moment in time.

Perhaps the numbered sequence of texts first copied in the mid-thirteenth century held a way of thinking about Arbroath's early years that still resonated with the community a century or so later. If Hand 8 did copy the tabula from the Arbroath Ethie as well then either there was no associated prologue or rubric which explained why the sequence was originally created, or he chose not to copy it. It is notable, though, that he chose to end the numbered sequence and immediately copy a section of texts from the reign of King Robert I, whose accession to the throne heralded the start of a new dynasty and perhaps he felt it was appropriate to record the abbey's relationship to him, although he chose to copy only a fraction of the texts the king provided for the monks.

Hand 8's work may have had to be unbound (or the gatherings unsewn) to accommodate the two late multi-scribe gatherings. The hiatus between the two suggests these gatherings weren't created as a continuation of his work, but by the mid-fourteenth century scribes felt there was more to add. They seem to have been started by the action of a single scribe, who copied a document of King David II onto the first folio of each gathering, but they grew in a piecemeal way, and are therefore cannot be regarded as representing a formal campaign of work.

The Arbroath *RV* holds a great deal of evidence about how copying was carried out at Arbroath. It builds on the evidence seen in the Arbroath Ethie which suggested creating

cartularies was a community affair, and that there was no one fixed way of proceeding, even within individual manuscripts. It also reinforces the perception that manuscripts could be created in phases, subject to peaks and troughs of copying as scribal interest or time available ebbed and flowed. The creation of the cartulary required the sustained campaign carried out by Hand 8 which set the process in motion, but once it was begun, the manner in which it progressed was informal and driven by scribal interest rather than any pre-determined theme.

### Chapter 3 : The Arbroath *Registrum Nigrum* (RN)

The third manuscript included in this study is known as the *Registrum Nigrum*. The volume, currently held in Edinburgh by the National Library of Scotland, arrived in public ownership via the same route as the Arbroath *RV*. Both manuscripts were owned by Sir James Balfour, and were among the volumes bought from his estate by the Faculty of Advocates in 1698.<sup>1</sup> Little is known about the ownership of the Arbroath *RN* before it came into Balfour's hands, although inscriptions made on various folios hint at the identity of previous owners.<sup>2</sup> Cosmo Innes drew heavily on the contents of the Arbroath *RN* for his edition of the *Arbroath Liber*, especially for volume 2, which contains a very large number of texts copied from it. Despite this, he did not provide a particularly detailed description of the Arbroath *RN*, preferring to focus instead on the Arbroath *RV*.<sup>3</sup>

In their online catalogue, the National Library of Scotland describes the Arbroath *RN* as a 'Chartulary of Arbroath Abbey', and also as a 'register of leases, recording the administration of the lands, churches and tithes of the abbey'.<sup>4</sup> This confusion over the exact nature of the Arbroath *RN* is echoed in the revised edition of G.R.C. Davis' *Medieval Cartularies of Medieval Great Britain and Ireland*, which includes an entry for the Arbroath *RN*, but in which it too is described as a 'register of leases'.<sup>5</sup> In the first edition of *Medieval Cartularies*, printed in 1958, the Arbroath *RN* was not in fact listed as a cartulary, but was entered under the sub heading of 'other registers etc'.<sup>6</sup> It is worth bearing in mind, however, that the confusion over how cartularies are described and classified is a modern preoccupation, and not something that troubled the scribes who created them.<sup>7</sup> Whether or not the Arbroath *RN* is classified as a cartulary or a register by modern standards, it represents an additional and valuable component in the surviving

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<sup>1</sup> I. Cunningham, *Sir James Balfour's Manuscript Collection*, p. 202 no. 35.

<sup>2</sup> The name most often found is James Gray, but Barbara Gray, Alexander Grahame, and James Gardune of Dunbarrow can also be found. For more information and full folio references see *Fifteenth-century manuscript of the chartulary of Arbroath Abbey, known as the Registrum Nigrum*, NLS, <<https://manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/19351>> (accessed 30 November 2020).

<sup>3</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 1, p. xxx.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Med. Carts* (2010), p. 229.

<sup>6</sup> *Med. Carts* (1958), p. 130.

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of the lack of definition around the term cartulary see Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, pp. 8–13 and for a fuller understanding of how this has affected the field of cartulary studies see Tucker, 'Understanding Scotland's medieval cartularies', pp. 135–60.

corpus from Arbroath, and the evidence it contains can be used to build a deeper understanding of how the process of cartularisation was practiced within the abbey.

### Manuscript description

The Arbroath *RN* is a medium sized leather-bound volume measuring 28.5 x 19 x 6.5 cm. The digital images supplied by the *NLS* show the manuscript to be contained within modern brown leather bindings embossed with gold lettering, which may date to the early nineteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

### *Basic structure of the Arbroath RN*

4 flyleaves:

- The first, second and third flyleaf are parchment, while the fourth is paper.
- The first flyleaf contains faint notes written in pencil. The top one records the volume's *NLS* shelf-mark, '34.4.3'. Below this is '*Nigrum Registrum*', underneath which is written 'So styled in the Panmure Register, vol I, fol. 182', in what appears to be a modern or early modern hand. The 'Panmure Register' refers to the Register of Leases held by Angus Archives.<sup>9</sup> The reference to '*Nigrum Registrum*' within that register was noted by Cosmo Innes in the introduction to Volume 1 of the *Arbroath Liber*, and it is therefore likely that either he saw this note on the flyleaf or perhaps wrote it himself.<sup>10</sup>
- Below this are approximately five lines, also written in pencil, which unfortunately are too faint to be read.
- The second and third flyleaves are blank.
- The fourth flyleaf contains an inscription noting the manuscript's possession by the Faculty of Advocates and a previous shelfmark. There is also a very faint watermark which appears to be a pot and crescent design.<sup>11</sup>

170 folios:

- The first seven folios contain a table of contents, arranged alphabetically.

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<sup>8</sup> *Fifteenth-century manuscript of the chartulary of Arbroath*, NLS, <<https://manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/19351>> (accessed 19 January 2022).

<sup>9</sup> This manuscript will be described in greater detail in Chapter 7.

<sup>10</sup> *Arb., Lib.*, 1, p. xxx, n. 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Fifteenth-century manuscript of the chartulary of Arbroath*, NLS, <<https://manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/19351>> (accessed 20 January 2022).

- The remaining 163 folios contain copies of charters and other texts.

3 flyleaves:

- These flyleaves, all of which are parchment, are blank.

The above is a very basic outline structure of the Arbroath *RN*. The tight binding of the manuscript limits what more can easily be discovered about its internal structure and growth. It is not possible, for instance, to discover evidence of any previous bindings, nor can a collation be easily attempted which would show how many gatherings the manuscript contains, and the size of each of those gatherings. However, attempting to reconstruct the history of medieval cartularies from partial evidence is hardly unusual. The most obvious comparison in this study is with the Arbroath Ethie, where the bindings have been completely lost, along with many of the folios, making working-out the manuscript's binding history and structural growth a difficult task. Despite these limitations, even if much evidence is lost or, in the case of the Arbroath *RN*, hidden, the manuscript still contains visual signposts which can be used to build a fuller picture of the cartulary's structure.

### *Foliation*

Without being able to see beneath the bindings, foliation marks can often provide a helpful guide to how the manuscript is put-together, and help indicate where losses might have occurred. The following three separate foliations can be seen on the Arbroath *RN*.<sup>12</sup>

Roman numerals: This foliation is the earliest seen on the manuscript. It commences on modern f. 8v (skipping the index and beginning on the verso of the first folio onto which are copied texts) and runs thereafter on the recto of each folio to the end of the manuscript and was perhaps made when the index was being compiled. Cropping of the folios means the numbers are sometimes only partially visible or have been completely lost. Fortunately, enough of the numbers can be seen to make it possible to confirm that they run sequentially i–clxvii. There are, however, four numbers missing from the sequence, these being f. xl, f. xli, f. l and f. li. It is notable that the numbers are in consecutive pairs, and are not, therefore, simply the result of the accidental omission of a number by the foliator.

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<sup>12</sup> The flyleaves have also been numbered, in Roman numerals, written in the top right-hand corner of each leaf. The four flyleaves at the start of the manuscript run i–iv. The final three flyleaves are marked v–vii. These are part of the modern foliation.

The manuscript has therefore lost four folios at some point after this earliest foliation was made.

Arabic numerals: This foliation consists of Arabic numerals entered within brackets directly below the earlier scribal foliation of Roman numerals. These start at 10 under the partially visible f. x and run thereafter to 163. There is no break in the numbering at the missing folios (xl, xli, l, and li) and this foliation must therefore have been made after these were lost. The number 87 is omitted, but this seems to be the result of human error, rather than indicative of another lost folio. The National Library of Scotland suggests these Arabic numerals might be datable to the early seventeenth century. If so, then they may be an addition made to the manuscript once it had passed out of the ownership of the abbey, and perhaps while it was in Balfour's hands.<sup>13</sup>

Arabic numerals: This modern foliation is entered in pencil on the top outer margin of each recto, starting on f. 1 and running through the manuscript without break, ending on f. 170. As this foliation is the most complete, it will be used from now on when referring to the manuscript.

Foliation system	Number sequence
Arabic numerals (modern).	1–170
Arabic numerals, in brackets (possibly early seventeenth century).	(10)–(86) (88)–(163)
Roman numerals (sixteenth century).	i–xxxix xlii–lxix lii–clxvii

Table 3-1: Foliations in the *Arbroath RN*

### Collation

The foliation indicates that the *Arbroath RN* once contained 174 folios, but that four folios have been lost; two between modern ff. 46 and 47, and a further two between modern ff. 54 and 55.<sup>14</sup> This provides a little more insight into the structure of the *Arbroath RN*, but what is still lacking is any understanding of the number of gatherings which were joined

<sup>13</sup> *Fifteenth-century manuscript of the chartulary of Arbroath Abbey*, NLS, <<https://manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/19351>> (accessed 20 January 2022). The *Arbroath Registrum Vetus*, which was also in the Balfour collection does not contain this early Arabic numeral foliation.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* The National Library of Scotland online catalogue contains an error, stating that the first two missing folios are lost from between modern ff. 45–6 (Roman numeral fol. ff. xxxix–xl).

together to build the manuscript, and how the 170 folios were arranged within those gatherings. Without a collation it is not possible to comprehend fully the manuscript's internal structure, and without that structure it becomes difficult to understand how the scribes approached their task. The alternative is to look for any evidence visible on the folios which might help to unravel the mystery of what lies beneath the binding. Looking at the images of each folio, it would seem that several additional types of marks have been made on the manuscript. The first of these is a numbering system applied to each document running consecutively through the manuscript from 1–508. Further marks, made in pencil, include the year of origin next to some (although not all) of the texts. An 'X' can also be seen next to many of the texts, occasionally with the number 1 or 2 written beside it in brackets. Checking the index of the *Arbroath Liber* shows that at least some of these pencil marks were made during the production of that edition. The 'X' generally indicates the earliest texts, with the number in brackets indicating in which volume of the *Liber* these were published.

There is one further set of marks on the manuscript. This is visible in the top right-hand corner of 18 individual folios, where numbers ranging between 2 and 23 have been written in pencil in a modern (possibly early nineteenth-century) hand. This numbering system is not complete, lacking numbers 1, 4, 8, 13 and 14. From the spacing of the numbers, however, it seems likely that at some point, perhaps during a binding process, someone recorded quire signatures on the front of most of the gatherings. The result is a partial collation, suggesting 23 gatherings overall, but only noting where 18 of those gatherings actually commence. This partial collation doesn't provide a complete guide to the internal structure of the *Arbroath RN*, but it does provide a basis for undertaking an estimation of the full collation. Table 3-2 shows the 18 folios which seem to contain quire marks indicating a new gathering, and the partial collation which can be worked-out from them.

Gathering number suggested by the pencil quire signatures	Folio Range	No. folios
(I)	ff. 1–6	6
II	ff. 7–15	9
III	ff. 16–?	?
(IV)	ff. ?–29	?
V	ff. 30–37	6
VI	ff. 38–45	?

VII	ff. 46–?	?
(VIII)	ff. ?–57	?
IX	ff. 58–65	8
X	ff. 66–73	8
XI	ff. 74–79	6
XII	ff. 80–?	?
(XIII)	?	?
(XIV)	ff. ?–105	?
XV	ff. 106–113	8
XVI	ff. 114–121	8
XVII	ff. 122–129	8
XVIII	ff. 130–135	6
XIX	ff. 136–143	8
XX	ff. 144–151	8
XXI	ff. 152–159	8
XXII	ff. 160–167	8
XXIII	ff. 168–170	3

Table 3-2: Partial collation taken from the quire signatures visible on the Arbroath *RN*

Using the available quire signatures as a partial guide, it is therefore possible to locate the start and end points of 15 gatherings. This leaves eight gatherings either partially or completely unidentified. Fortunately, quire signatures are not the only way of gauging where gatherings lie. By looking closely at the other evidence present in the manuscript, including natural ‘breaks’ in texts, such as significant gaps on pages, the arrangement of texts, and patterns of scribal activity, it might be possible to fill in the blanks in the collation table above.

Gathering I must commence on the first folio of the manuscript, at the start of the table of contents and the presence of a quire signature on f. 7r indicates the start of Gathering II. The next quire signature, indicating the start of Gathering III is visible on f. 16r. This means that Gathering I must consist of six folios (ff. 1–6) and Gathering II consists of nine folios (ff. 7–15). This presents a puzzle. The index runs from f. 1 on Gathering I all the way to f. 7r on Gathering II. Gathering II then extends to f. 15v, with the copying of texts commencing at f. 8r with a run of texts entered by a single hand. However, an examination of the index shows it must have been compiled after the cartulary was created. Unlike the tabula seen in the Arbroath *RV*, which comprised a numerical list of documents which were then entered sequentially into the cartulary, the contents of the index in the Arbroath *RN* are listed alphabetically, with a Roman numeral reference provided for the folio they can be found on. In order to compile the index, the texts must already have been

present on the folios, the running order of the gatherings known, and the Roman numeral foliation applied. This means that although the folios which contain the index have been placed at the beginning of the cartulary, they were likely to have been created separately, when the codex was as yet unbound. Consequentially, it is extremely unlikely that the index originally ran from Gathering I onto Gathering II, which contains the texts that could only have been copied before the index was created. What is not known, however, is when the quire signatures were applied, although they are likely to have been related to a process of binding, and the style of the numbers suggest they probably relate to the current binding, which is unlikely to be earlier than the eighteenth century. If Gathering I consisted of three bifolios plus a single-sheet containing the final entries of the index, it may be that during the binding process the single-sheet was bound as part of Gathering II, but did not originally belong with it.

The next quire signature visible is on f. 30r, indicating the start of Gathering V. Therefore, Gatherings III and IV must be contained on the 14 folios running ff. 16–29. There is, however, no readily apparent way of identifying the demarcation between them. There are, for example, no blank spaces left on folios which might suggest the end of a gathering, but there are two other pieces of evidence which help to make a judgement about where the break might fall. Although the role of the scribes who contributed to the Arbroath *RN* will be discussed in full below, it is worth noting here that there are several long runs of texts visible in the cartulary each one of which is the work of a single hand. The first of these, on Gathering II, starts at f. 8r, which, as discussed above, is likely to have originally been the first folio of that gathering. The run on Gathering III also starts at the beginning of the gathering on f. 16r. A new run in the same hand can be seen to start at the top of f. 24r. In addition to this, the very faint outline of a number can be seen written on the top right-hand corner of the folio. This is too faint to be read, but it is in the same place as the other quire signatures, and it is likely to be the faded quire signature marking the start of Gathering IV. Although not certain, it therefore seems likely that Gathering III runs from ff. 16–23 and contains eight folios. This would mean that Gathering IV contains six folios and runs from ff. 24–29.

As shown in Table 3-2 above, the quire signatures seen on ff. 30, 38 and 46 make it possible to understand the size of Gatherings V and VI, and to know that Gathering VII commences on f. 46. After this there is no quire signature visible until f. 58, where the

number 9 can be seen, indicating the start of Gathering IX. This means that two gatherings (Gatherings VII and VIII) must be contained within the 12 surviving folios running ff. 46–57. Counting forward six folios from f. 46 brings us to f. 51, the verso of which is ruled, but blank, suggesting a ‘break’ in the run of texts and therefore probably the end of a gathering. Gathering VII therefore contains six folios and covers ff. 46–51. Gathering VIII must, accordingly, run from ff. 52–57 and also contains six folios. Before we move on, it is worth noting that, as mentioned above, four folios are missing. The first two have been lost from between ff. 46–47. This was presumably a bifolio, if so, it would have been in the centre of a gathering. This would mean that ff. 46–47 would be all that remains of what was originally a two bifolio gathering, and that in the current binding the surviving bifolio has been attached to ff. 48–51 to form Gathering VII. Although there is a structural logic to this explanation, it would be odd if there were originally two four folio gatherings here. This will need to be corroborated by other evidence. Two further folios have been lost, this time from Gathering VIII, between ff. 54–55, suggesting that this gathering once contained eight folios, and that the central bifolio has been lost.

The availability of quire signatures means that Gatherings IX–XI and XV–XXIII can be easily known. This leaves only three gatherings (Gatherings XII–XIV) yet to be identified. Quire signatures indicate the start of Gathering XII at f. 80 and the start of Gathering XV at f. 106, meaning the three gatherings must be contained in the 26 folios running ff. 80–105. The quire signature on f. 80 tells us where Gathering XII starts, but as with Gathering X, there is no immediately apparent place at which it ends. The folios are generally well-covered with texts with no breaks to suggest the end of a gathering. However, f. 88r starts with a long run of texts entered in a single hand, and although the hand is a different one to that noted in Gatherings I–III, the same pattern can be seen, and is suggestive of a new gathering. Additionally, this folio contains an important text recording the election of Richard Guthrie as abbot in 1470, and this seems to be a likely document with which to start a gathering. This would mean that Gathering XII contains eight folios and runs ff. 80–87. This leaves 18 folios between the start of Gathering XIII and the start of Gathering XV on f. 106. Gathering XIII would seem to start at f. 88r, as noted already. Counting forward eight folios, at f. 96v there seems to be a natural ‘break’, with the folio containing only one short text, and with the bottom 25 lines ruled, but left blank. This would seem to mark the end of a gathering. At the top of f. 97r the hand which entered the run of texts seen on f. 88 can be seen to commence another long run of work, perhaps indicating a new gathering.

The first entry on f. 97r is the record of another abbatial election, this time of Abbot William in 1482. We have already seen that the record of an abbatial election was chosen to start Gathering XIII, and this, along with the commencement of another long run of texts by a single hand suggests that Gathering XIV starts here, and covers ff. 97–105. This would mean that Gatherings XIII and XIV each contain nine folios, although the tightness of the bindings means it is not possible to easily locate a stub, and therefore at this point we cannot identify where the singleton lies within each gathering.

Using the available quire signatures as guidance, and the physical and textual evidence available from the manuscript, it is therefore possible to propose that the Arbroath *RN* in its current binding is composed of 23 gatherings, and the suggested collation can be seen in Table 3-3 below. What must be emphasised, however, is that the quire signatures most likely relate to the most recent stage of binding, and reflect how the manuscript is bound now.<sup>15</sup> The efficiency with which the manuscript has been bound obscures any previous stages of binding, as well as making it hard to understand more fully the original structure of each gathering.

Gathering	Folio Range	No. of folios	Notes
Flyleaves	i–iv	4	
(I)	ff. 1–6	6	
II	ff. 7–15	9	
(III)	ff. 16–23	8	Proposed gathering.
(IV)	ff. 24–29	6	Proposed gathering.
V	ff. 30–37	8	
VI	ff. 38–45	8	
VII	ff. 46–51	6	Proposed gathering. The scribal foliation shows that two folios were lost between modern ff. 46–47. This had probably already occurred before this quire was formed.
(VIII)	ff. 52–57	6	Proposed gathering. The scribal foliation indicates two lost folios between modern ff. 54–55, so at some point prior to the time of the quire signatures, it appears that a central bifolio has been lost.
IX	ff. 58–65	8	

<sup>15</sup> The Arbroath *RV* which was also in the possession of Sir James Balfour also contains pencil quire signatures. Although these do not appear to be in the same hand as the quire signatures on the Arbroath *RN*. If the quire signatures do relate to the current binding then they are likely to date from the early nineteenth century (see n. 13 above).

X	ff. 66–73	8	
XI	ff. 74–79	6	
XII	ff. 80–87	8	
(XIII)	ff. 88–96	9	Proposed gathering
(XIV)	ff. 97–105	9	Proposed gathering
XV	ff. 106–113	8	Proposed gathering.
XVI	ff. 114–121	8	
XVII	ff. 122–129	8	
XVIII	ff. 130–135	6	
XIX	ff. 136–143	8	
XX	ff. 144–151	8	
XXI	ff. 152–159	8	
XXII	ff. 160–167	8	
XXIII	ff. 168–170	3	
Flyleaves	v–vii	3	

Table 3-3: Collation of the Arbroath *RN* at the time of the quire signatures (potentially eighteenth century)

### Scribal activity

#### *Index: ff. 1–7*

At the front of the cartulary, running from ff. 1–7 sits an index, with the entries arranged alphabetically, according to the location of holding or privilege contained in the text being listed. As noted earlier, the quire signature on f. 7r indicates the start of Gathering II. It would seem likely that the gathering containing the index originally consisted of three bifolios and a single sheet, and during a binding process the final single-sheet was bound as the first folio of what is now Gathering II, rather than the final folio of Gathering I. The way in which the index is arranged, with entries ordered alphabetically, could only have been achieved once the texts were entered onto the folios, the gatherings achieved their current running order, and the Roman numeral foliation applied. The index must therefore be a later creation than the body of the cartulary itself.

At the beginning of the index, on the top three ruled lines of f. 1r, a rubric, entered in large letters in red ink, states ‘*Tabula secundum li(tter)as alphabeti omni(um) in hoc registro contentor(um)*’ (Alphabetical guide to everything contained in this register.) The entries start on the line below, and run to line 25 on f. 7r. Within the index, three distinct types of activity can be detected.

The main type of scribal activity was predominantly the work of a single hand who contributed the entries for the majority of texts. The format he adopted was to provide a very short summary for each text, which usually starts with the name of the place which the document being summarised concerns. These short summaries were entered down the left side of each folio. This allowed for the grouping of texts around a particular location. The associated folio references were entered at the end of the line, towards the outer margin. Because the summaries for each entry are generally very short, this usually left a space on the line between the summary and the folio reference. At least a single blank line was also left between the sections devoted to individual letters of the alphabet, an example of which can be seen in Plate 3.1. This format provided the index with a core structure, but also left a little room for it to grow.

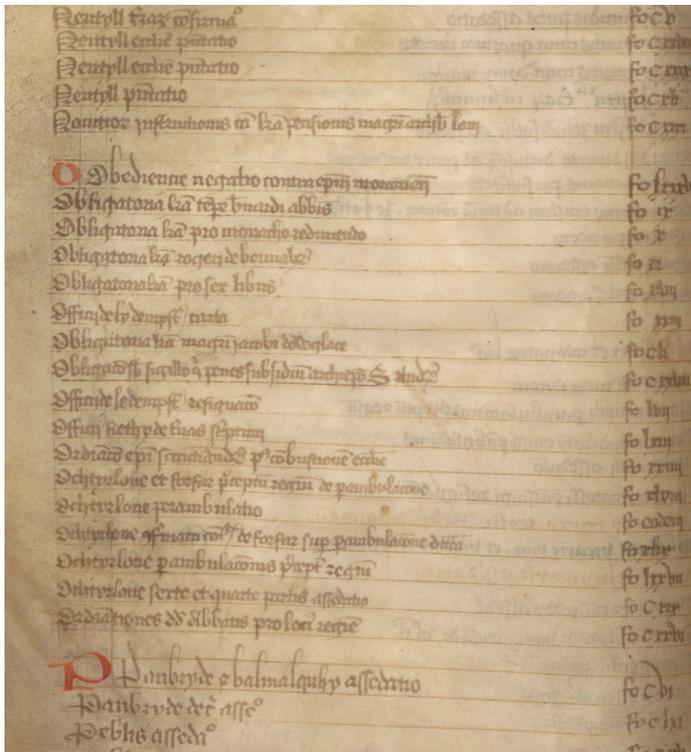


Plate 3.1: Example of index at f. 5v of the Arbroath RN

Once the core of the index had been created it continued to grow in two distinct ways. One of these was in the form of further explanatory information added to some of the core listings by a variety of different hands. This was usually done by adding extra comments at the end of the summary, in the space between this and the folio reference. An example of a single hand providing further information to the basic summaries of ten consecutive entries on f. 1v can be seen on Plate 3.2.

Allmoey carta tenementi . W. lesmahaugoth.	fo xxxii
Allmoey carta tenementi gilb hel.	fo xxxiii
Allmoey carta tenementi alx <sup>o</sup> catowz	fo lxxv
Allmoey tofti assedatio Jo. chepman	fo lxxvii
Allmoey carta p <sup>o</sup> ntat tre Jo. chepman	fo lxxviii
Allmoey l <sup>o</sup> a sasme Jo chepman	fo lxxviii
Allmoey assedatio tofti and kyrk.	fo lxxviii
Allmoey carta te <sup>o</sup> l Ja. vyat.	fo lxxix
Allmoey carta te <sup>o</sup> l ppe fabrian. Symon lode	fo lxxvii
Allmoey l <sup>o</sup> a sasme . W brostaz de tenemento ppe fabria.	fo lxxviii

Plate 3.2: Example of additional information being provided to basic entries on f. 1v of the Arbroath RN

The other form of scribal activity involved the creation of additional entries, over and above the core entries. These were made in two different ways. The first method was to utilise the gaps on folios between the existing listings. Sometimes the spare line between two different alphabetical groupings was utilised, as were the lower and upper margins. Although these entries were made on the same folios as the appropriate alphabetical grouping, they are out of sequence within the group in which they sit. The second way of adding further entries to the index was achieved by squeezing them onto the same line as an existing entry for the same location or topic. Examples of both additional entries squeezed in along the line between an existing listing and associated folio reference, and others made below the final ruled line of text can be seen on Plate 3.3.

ffozglen cofinaco	fo clv
ffozfuz asseda <sup>o</sup> p <sup>o</sup> ae tre . fol. xxxv. Itē limites p <sup>o</sup> ene tre.	fol. iii
ffozaf carta te <sup>o</sup> l fol. xxi. fozg. ecc <sup>o</sup> asseda <sup>o</sup> .	fol. iii
ffuehe f <sup>o</sup> raz resignaco	fo lxxv
ffute limites	fo lxxvii
ffothnetwyn carta de vna mca.	fo. vi.
ffozfuz quoruda tenementoz limites.	fol xlvi

Plate 3.3: Examples of additional entries made to the index at the bottom of f. 3v of the Arbroath RN

The hand which created most of the core entries must have started the process of creating the index. Because the index can only have been created once the manuscript received its

earliest foliation, as will become apparent from the discussion below, this must represent early-sixteenth-century activity.

Untangling the process by which the index was completed is tricky, but perhaps that is because the process of creating the index was undertaken while the cartulary was still accumulating texts, and the piecemeal nature of that accrual is reflected in the rather confusing, piecemeal growth of the index. A single hand has provided the index with a core structure which other hands have used as a guide when placing additional entries or adding information to existing entries.

The index in the Arbroath *RN* is not the first finding aid we have seen in an Arbroath cartulary, but it does represent a different way of navigating the contents of a cartulary. The Arbroath *RV* contained a tabula which provided a guide to a specific group of texts entered into the cartulary. It consisted of list of numbered texts which were then sequentially copied onto the following folios, but it would not have been much help in locating a specific document. The short summaries provided in the index of the Arbroath *RN* are more helpful, enabling readers to find what they were looking for in a cartulary that contained over 500 separate documents.

*Entry of texts: ff. 8 –170*

### **Single-hand sequences**

Once the index finishes on f. 7v, the entry of texts begins thereafter at the top of f. 8r and extends from there all the way to the end of the cartulary, at f. 170v in Gathering XXIII.<sup>16</sup> Most of the 508 texts entered into the cartulary are preceded by a short, single-line rubric.<sup>17</sup> The manuscript contains very little in the way of decoration, and although spaces have often been left for ornamented capitals, generally these have not been added. The only colouring in the manuscript can be seen on f. 106r, where a scribe has added red ink to

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<sup>16</sup> Written in a different hand below the final charter on f. 170v are the words *liber honorabilis viri iacobi gardyns de dunbarrow*. This is followed by what may be a notary mark consisting of a roughly drawn anchor and heart symbol. The same mark can be seen on the final folio of the Arbroath *RV* (f. 132v) under six lines of text which are unfortunately illegible.

<sup>17</sup> The focus on this study is on the role of the scribes who entered the texts. Often, although not inevitably, the scribe who entered the texts also created the rubric. Because the rubrics are generally very short, and therefore difficult to precisely identify and date, the hands who created rubrics have not been accorded separate identifiers.

letters within the text, similar to that seen throughout the Arbroath BL; and on f. 107r, where red ink has similarly been used on a few letters within texts, in addition to red underlining of the rubrics on that folio, and three large red capitals.

An initial perusal of the manuscript shows that it is the work of multiple hands, some working to create long runs of texts, others seemingly contributing only one or two texts. The first text entered into the cartulary on f. 8r is a charter of Abbot Henry dated 7 January 1288 while the final one, at f. 170r–v, is a charter regarding the limits of the church lands of Aberchirder dated 3 January 1492.<sup>18</sup> This suggests a chronological ordering to the manuscript, and although this initial impression is borne out by random sampling of texts, which seem to originate from progressively later dates the further through the cartulary one reads, what also becomes apparent is that there are several marked deviations from this pattern.<sup>19</sup> It is at this point that the proposed collation becomes particularly helpful. Laying it over the 508 texts like a framework, the internal structure and evolution of the cartulary begins to hover into view.

When looked at as a series of gatherings, rather than as one long continuous unit, the first thing which becomes apparent is that, although the manuscript contains the work of multiple hands, many gatherings seem to contain a significant sequence of texts, each one entered in a single hand, with additional texts entered in a variety of hands. Some of these sequences are quite short, containing only around ten texts, while several are much longer, containing perhaps as many as 50 texts and extending across more than one gathering. As these sequences can be found throughout the manuscript, identifying and examining them is the obvious next step.

Sequence No. <sup>20</sup>	Hand	Gathering	Folio range	No. of texts	Date range
<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>8r–10r (line 15)</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>15 Dec 1280 × 18 July 1366</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>16r–22r</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>(1309 × 30 May 1311) × 20 Sept 1328</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>IV</b>	<b>24r–27r</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>19 Mar 1328 ×</b>

<sup>18</sup> The charter of Abbot Henry is dated as *In crastino epiphanie*. It was published as *Arb. Lib.*, 1, no. 313. The 1492 charter regarding the church lands of Aberchirder was published as *Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 336.

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, a charter of John Gledlaw selling land in Forfar dated 2 August 1509 sitting at f. 11r–v between a charter of King Alexander II giving land at Drumsleed in forest dated 7 April 1236 and an *inspeximus* of King David II regarding the land of Culbak dated 18 June 1341.

<sup>20</sup> The Sequences which commence at the beginning of a gathering are highlighted in bold.

					<b>17 Nov 1333</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>30r–34r (line 3)</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>1370 × 26 June 1396</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>VI</b>	<b>38r–45v</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>11 Dec 1411 × 6 Mar 1446</b>
6	31	VII	48r–50r (line 34)	11	2 Oct 1450 × 24 June 1453
<b>7</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>VIII–XI</b>	<b>52r–73v (line 29)</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>23 Nov 1455 × 17 Oct 1470</b>
<b>8</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>XIII</b>	<b>88r–95r (line 31)</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>3 Nov 1470 × 21 May 1481</b>
<b>9</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>XIV</b>	<b>97r–104v (line 36)</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>8 Aug 1482 × 20 May 1484</b>
<b>10</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>XV–XVI</b>	<b>106r–120v (line 5)</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>4 Feb 1484 × 29 Dec 1485</b>
<b>11</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>XVII</b>	<b>122r–126r</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>22 Jan 1485 × 5 Dec 1487</b>
12	81	XVIII– XIX	133v (line 16)–136r	11	5 April 1486 × 6 Apr 1494
13	87	XIX–XX	138r (line 29)–145v (line 30)	19	7 Dec 1493 × 22 Jun 1497
14	89	XX–XXIII	145v (line 31)–168v	58	29 Jul 1491 × 17 Dec 1502

Table 3-4: Arbroath *RN* - Sequences entered by a single hand

Table 3-4 shows 14 sequences of texts identified within the Arbroath *RN*. From the second column we can see that they were created by six different hands and that two hands (Hands 1 and 31) were responsible for ten of the sequences. Columns three and four show the gathering and folio ranges that each sequence can be found on, and a comparison with Table 3-3 shows that nine of these sequences (Sequences 2–5 & 7–11) can be found to commence at the start of a new gathering. Sequence 1 starts on the second folio of the second gathering, but as has been shown above, this is because a loose sheet which sits more comfortably with the first gathering has been bound at the start of what is now Gathering II. The only other sequence in the first half of the cartulary which does not commence at the beginning of a gathering is Sequence 6: it will be recalled, however, that prior to the current binding there is reason to suspect that f. 48 was the first in a four-folio gathering. Ten of the sequences (Sequences 1–6, 8, 9 & 11) are contained within a single gathering. Only one sequence (14) begins immediately after the previous one (13) finishes. This means that, in all other cases, when the hand who entered the sequence finished his work, there still remained blank folios towards the end of the gathering. The final column of Table 3-4 shows the date range from which the texts in each sequence are drawn. The

sequences towards the beginning of the manuscript contain the earliest texts and there is a chronological progression, with each subsequent sequence covering a slightly later time period. The progression is not always precise, however, and the way in which these sequences were created will require closer investigation.

**Sequence 1**, created by Hand 1 sits within Gathering II, running ff. 8r–10r. F. 8 is currently the second folio in the gathering. If, however, we remember that f. 7 (the recto of which contains the final index entries, whilst the verso is blank), is likely to have originally belonged to the first gathering then f. 8 would once have represented the first folio of the second gathering. The sequence contains nine texts, datable to a range covering 7 January 1280 to 18 July 1366.<sup>21</sup> They are not, however, drawn from throughout the whole period. The first four texts range from Abbot William's charter of 15 December 1280 to one of Abbot John dated 26 December 1303.<sup>22</sup> The following five range from a text concerning tolls and exactions on f. 9r–v dated 17 Jul 1348 to a text concerning the abbey's holding of a saltpan in Carse dated 18 July 1366, seen on ff. 9v–10r.<sup>23</sup> Within the sequence, the texts are not arranged in strict chronological order, and there is no apparent theme tying the selection of documents together.

The pattern established in Sequence 1, of a significant run of texts entered at the beginning of the gathering, is then repeated in Sequences 2–5. In **Sequence 2**, Hand 1 entered a run of 32 texts at the start of Gathering III, from ff. 16r–22v, with texts datable from 1309 × 30 May 1311 to 20 September 1328.<sup>24</sup> Although not entirely arranged in date order, the texts within this sequence are much more chronologically organised than in Sequence 1. All 32 texts can also be found to be datable to when Bernard Linton was abbot of Arbroath.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> The earliest of these is a charter of Abbot William for Andrew, son of Alexander the baker and is the second text entered onto f. 8r. The latest is a charter regarding the monk's holding of a saltpan in Carse entered on ff. 9v–10r. These are published as *Arb. Lib.*, 1, no. 270 & *Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 31 respectively.

<sup>22</sup> This is the bottom text entered onto f. 8r. It is a charter recording Abbot John's grant of a tenement in Cobgate. See *Arb. Lib.*, 1, no. 322.

<sup>23</sup> These are published as *Arb. Lib.*, 2, nos. 22 & 31 respectively.

<sup>24</sup> Two texts within the sequence may be datable to as early as 1309. These are a text of Abbot Bernard recording the lease of the lands of Bucht which can be seen on f. 16r–v, and a charter recording Abbot Bernard's gift of the land of Forglen to Malcolm of Monymusk, which is the top text on f. 19v. These are published as *Arb. Lib.*, 1, nos. 326 & 340A. The text of 20 September 1328, entered as the final text on f. 22v, is a letter of Abbot Bernard regarding the collection of annual renders, published as *Arb. Lib.*, 1, no. 359.

<sup>25</sup> D.E.R. Watt & N.F. Shead, *The Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland from Twelfth to the Sixteenth Centuries* (Edinburgh 2001), p. 5.

Hand 1 then completed one further sequence (**Sequence 3**) on Gathering IV, entering 19 texts from ff. 24r–27r which are arranged in almost perfect chronological order, running from 19 March 1328 to 17 November 1333.<sup>26</sup> Within this long sequence, however, one further hand can be seen. This is on f. 24v where Hand 21 entered the final three lines of a charter of Abbot Geoffrey demitting land in Craigie to Roger of Mar, and the first 13 lines of the following text, a charter of the same abbot regarding the land of Tulloch, before Hand 1 resumed his task at line 14 (see Plate 3.4).<sup>27</sup>

At this point, a different hand (Hand 31) can be seen to have created the next six sequences (Sequences 4–9). **Sequence 4** commences at the beginning of Gathering V, extending from ff. 30r–34r. It contains 12 texts covering the period 1370 to 26 June 1396.<sup>28</sup> Within the sequence the texts are in a general, although not strict chronological order.

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<sup>26</sup> A text entered onto f. 25v with the rubric *Diversi annui redditus in villa de Perth* contains no information by which it can be dated.

<sup>27</sup> These texts are published as *Arb. Lib.*, 2, nos. 1 & 2 respectively.

<sup>28</sup> These are an agreement between Abbot John and Andrew Dempster which can be dated no more precisely than to 1370 (*Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 33) which sits at the top of f. 34r, and a papal privilege dated 26 June on ff. 33v–34r (*Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 46).

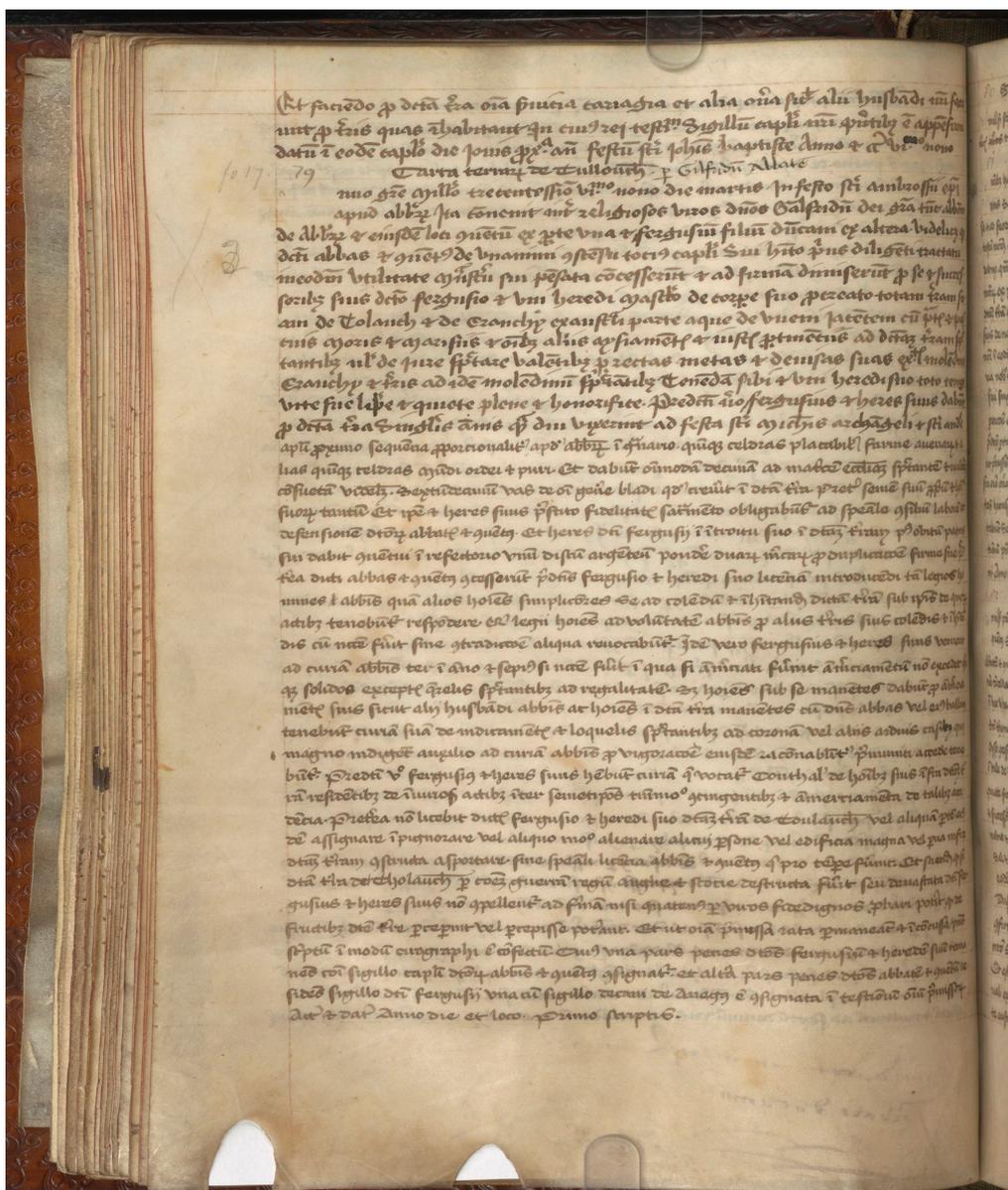


Plate 3:4: Hand 21 and Hand 1 seen on f. 24v of the Arbroath RN

**Sequence 5** commences at the start of the Gathering VI and runs ff. 38r–45v. It contains 27 texts, all of which date between 11 December 1411 and 6 March 1446. Within the sequence, one further hand contributed a single text. This is the second-last text in the sequence, recording Abbot Walter's grant of land in Perth to Gilbert Brown, entered on ff. 45r–v, which was copied by Hand 37.<sup>29</sup> The texts within the sequence are not arranged strictly in date order, and show a loose, but inconsistent, chronological progression.

At first glance, the pattern established so far, of a sequence of texts, entered by a single hand, sitting at the start of each gathering appears not to apply to Gathering VII. It is to be

<sup>29</sup> The grant is dated 17 August 1437 and is published as *Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 80.

remembered, however, that Gathering VII has suffered losses, with the Roman numeral foliation indicating two missing folios between modern ff. 46–47.<sup>30</sup> The first text found on the gathering is a papal bull datable to 1420 on f. 46r entered by Hand 1, and this is followed by two texts in three different hands (Hands 38–40) which cover the remainder of the folio. A partial text sits at the top of f. 47r, serving as a reminder of the two lost folios which would have originally sat before it. The remainder of f. 47 is then covered by two texts entered by a single hand (Hand 42). Curiously, the final text on the verso ends just over half way down the folio, with the remainder left blank. This makes it look very like the end of a gathering. A new single hand sequence of texts (**Sequence 6**) can then be seen to start at the top of folio f. 48r. Entered by Hand 31, Sequence 6 runs ff. 48r–50r and contains 11 texts covering the period 2 October 1450 to 24 June 1453. Once this sequence ends, the remainder of the gathering, which ends on f. 51v is covered by four texts entered in three hands and which range in date from 2 October 1450 to 24 June 1453.<sup>31</sup> The pattern on this gathering is therefore not typical of what we have seen before. Rather than a sequence sitting at the start of the gathering, followed by additional texts entered by various hands, the sequence is sandwiched between two multi-scribe groupings of texts, one each at the start and end of the gathering.

The picture however, is complicated by the loss of two folios between ff. 46–47. The blank space on the lower portion of f. 47v makes it tempting to speculate that this once marked the end of a gathering, and that ff. 46–47, along with the two missing folios in between, formed one short gathering on their own, or were perhaps part of Gathering VI. This would have meant that f. 48 was originally the start of a new gathering. There is, however, a quire signature showing the number 6 quite clearly visible on f. 46r indicating the start of a new gathering. There is no doubt that f. 46r stood at the beginning of a new quire at the time the quire signatures were made (potentially in the nineteenth century), by which time two folios had been lost. These are most likely to have been an inner bifolio of a four-folio gathering. Rather than binding the remaining bifolio as a gathering on its own, it seems to have been attached to ff. 48–51 to form Gathering VII.

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<sup>30</sup> The table of contents contains a listing for a perambulation between the abbey and the lands of the countess of Buchan on f. xl, which is one of the ‘lost’ folios between modern ff. 45–46. An agreement between Arbroath and Marjorie, countess of Buchan over land at Tarves which included stated boundaries, was made in 1236, and was copied into in the Arbroath BL at f. 162r, and a subsequent *inspeximus* was carried-out in 1251, which was copied into the Arbroath BL at f. 177r–v and also into the Arbroath *RV*, f. 6r–v. The *inspeximus* was printed as *Arb. Lib.*, 1, no. 227. It is therefore possible that either the 1236 agreement or the 1251 *inspeximus* was one other thirteenth-century charter copied into the Arbroath *RN*.

<sup>31</sup> The texts end on f. 51r and f. 51v remains blank.

The pattern which was identified in Sequences 1–5 can be seen, therefore, to have potentially extended to Sequence 6, which was likely to have originally been a four-folio gathering but which now which survives only as ff. 46–47. At the start of each gathering, a single hand entered a sequence of texts. The texts included in each sequence were drawn from a specific time period, with each subsequent sequence having a later time period than the one before. In one instance (Sequence 2) the time frame of documents copied coincides with the reign of a particular abbot.

Hand 31 is the most frequently seen hand in the manuscript, and his work can be seen again on the next gathering. The sequence he created on Gathering VIII (**Sequence 7**), however, is not contained within a single gathering: instead, it runs from f. 52r to f. 73r covering all of Gatherings VIII–X and ending within Gathering XI. This long sequence contains 56 texts and covers the period 23 November 1455 to 17 October 1470. The first text in the sequence is also the earliest, and it records the resignation of Abbot Richard Guthrie dated 18 December 1455.<sup>32</sup> The latest text included in the sequence sits at f. 72r–v. This recounts the dispute between Richard Guthrie’s successor, Malcolm Brydy, and the bishop of St Andrews, that resulted in Abbot Malcolm being removed from office.<sup>33</sup> Although the texts within Sequence 7 are not entered in strict date order, they can be seen to stretch from the end of one abbot’s reign to the end of his successor’s reign. The texts within the sequence are recorded in a loose, but inexact chronological order.

The next gathering on which a substantial sequence of texts in a single hand can be seen is Gathering XIII. **Sequence 8**, entered by Hand 31, starts with a text recording the re-election of Richard Guthrie as abbot. It occupies ff. 88r–95r and contains 20 texts dating from 3 November 1470 to 21 May 1481. Abbot Richard’s second term lasted until his death, which was at some point prior to 31 January 1472, and therefore the texts selected for this sequence extend far beyond his time in office. In fact, between Richard Guthrie’s death and 1481 Arbroath had five further abbots, but neither the arrival or the departure of any of them is recorded in any of the documents copied in this sequence, nor are the texts entered in date order.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 186.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 185.

<sup>34</sup> Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland*, p. 6.

Hand 31's continued his campaign by contributing **Sequence 9**. This commences at the start of Gathering XIV on f. 97r and contains 22 texts, ending on f. 104v and covering the period from 8 August 1482 to 20 May 1484. The first text in the sequence is also the earliest, recording William Bonkill's election as abbot.<sup>35</sup> Abbot William did not remain in office long, dying in 1483, and only two of the texts in the sequence can be certain to post-date his death, both of those dating to 1484.<sup>36</sup> Once again, the texts included in the sequence are entered in an inexact and rather loose chronological order.

A new hand (Hand 64) undertook the task of copying the next sequence of texts (**Sequence 10**). This is another long sequence which extends across several gatherings. It commences at the beginning Gathering XV and runs to f. 120v of Gathering XVI and contains 49 texts. Despite the length of the sequence, the period it covers is relatively short, stretching only from 4 February 1484 to 29 December 1485. The sequence starts with a text on f. 106r recording the arrival of another abbot, David Lichtone, and the following two texts also relate to the election process. These date to 29 and 30 July respectively. This is followed by a document recording the lease of the church of Garvock, dated 18 September 1484. After this there is a text dated 4 February 1484 and from this point the date of the documents copied work forward in almost strict chronological order, with only very minor inconsistencies.<sup>37</sup> The first two folios of Gathering XV also look slightly different to the rest of the cartulary. The words *IHC Maria* (Jesus Mary) are written above the rubric, and red inking has been applied to the texts on f. 106r and f. 107r. The effect of the change of hand and the inking is to make the cartulary appear to start afresh at this point, and with the heading *IHC Maria*, turning to f. 106r gives the impression of opening, if not a new book, at least a new chapter.

The next sequence (**Sequence 11**) can be found at the start of Gathering XVII. It is the final sequence entered by Hand 31 and contains 17 texts covering the period 22 January 1485 to 5 December 1487. These are in strict date order.

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<sup>35</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 211.

<sup>36</sup> Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland*, p. 6. The texts which post-date William Bonkill's death are both leases. One, for the land of *Carnfochil*, dated 1 May 1484 is entered on ff. 103r–v, and the other, for the church of Garvock dated 20 May 1484 can be seen at ff. 103v–104r. They are published as *Arb. Lib.*, 2, nos. 238 & 239 respectively.

<sup>37</sup> The first three texts, all dated to 29, 30 and 31 July respectively are published as *Arb. Lib.*, 2, nos. 240–242. The lease of the church of Garvock is published as *Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 243.

So far, 11 sequences have been identified, all but two of which start at the beginning of a new gathering. Although Sequence 6 now starts within a gathering, the original structure as indicated by lost folios and the break in the flow of texts between f. 47v and f. 48r suggests that f. 48 was originally the beginning of a small gathering. In most sequences, the texts are not entered in a strict chronological order. However, with the exception of Sequence 1, which covers a particularly wide period of time, each sequence can be seen to pertain to a slightly later timeframe than the one before it. Four of the gatherings also begin with a text recording the arrival or departure of an abbot, and the documents copied in Sequence 2 relate to the time when Bernard Linton was abbot of Arbroath. Although there is no strict chronological ordering of every text, a pattern is becoming apparent.

At this point in the cartulary, one feature of the established pattern disappears from view. The next sequence (**Sequence 12**) does not begin at the front of a gathering, but within Gathering XVIII and extends into Gathering XIX. It runs ff. 133v–136r and containing 11 texts covering the period 5 April 1486 to 6 April 1494. The sequence is the only contribution made to the cartulary by Hand 81, and the texts within the sequence are not arranged in date order.

**Sequence 13** is also the sole contribution of another hand (Hand 87). He too started his sequence within a gathering (Gathering XIX) on f. 38r, from where it runs to f. 145v in Gathering XX. The sequence contains 19 texts which range in date from 7 December 1493 to 22 June 1497 although not entered in any specific chronological order. Within the sequence another hand (Hand 88) can be seen on the first three lines of f. 143v, where he contributed the final three lines of a text recording the obligation of Robert Martin dated 7 June 1497.<sup>38</sup>

The pattern established of sequences commencing at the start of a fresh gathering and only one sequence being entered on each gathering therefore seems to have been broken. However, despite this, Sequences 12 and 13 do function in the same way as the earlier sequence, to propel the cartulary forward through time.

There is no break between Sequence 13 and the final sequence in the cartulary **Sequence 14**. This starts on f. 145v in Gathering XX immediately after Sequence 13, and runs all the

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<sup>38</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 378.

way to f. 169v within Gathering XXIII. It is the only contribution by Hand 89 who entered 58 texts which cover the period 29 July 1491 to 17 December 1502. Despite the overlap of dates between the end of Sequence 13 and the start of Sequence 14, there are in fact only two texts in this final sequence which pre-date 1497. These are the first text in the sequence and the 26<sup>th</sup>. The former records the presentation of a vicar to the church of Ethie dated 7 December 1492, entered on ff. 145v–146r, and the latter is an inquiry into the land of Balfieith dated 29 July 1491, entered on f. 156r–v.<sup>39</sup> There is no apparent reason for these texts to be included in this sequence, as they are not entered beside related documents. Despite these two anomalies, the sequence moves in a general (although not quite exact) chronological progression from 1497 to 1502.

The above details 14 individual sequences of texts entered by six different hands which provide the chronological backbone which runs through the Arbroath *RN*. It has been possible to identify how they created this framework, by grouping texts in individual sequences, each one limited to a specific period in time. This enabled the cartulary to slowly move forward from the late thirteenth century to the dawn of the sixteenth. It has also been shown that there was a preference for commencing a new sequence the beginning of a fresh gathering. Five sequences do not comply with this pattern. Sequence 1 starts on the second folio of Gathering II, and Sequence 6 begins on third folio of Gathering VII. It has been shown above that the current compositions of Gatherings II and VII are the result of a binding process, and when Hands 1 and 31 began work on these sequences, they were both doing so at the top of fresh gatherings. The final three sequences (Sequences 12–14) also do not commence at the beginning of gatherings, but unlike Sequences 1 and 6, there is no disruption to this part of the manuscript structure which can explain why this pattern breaks down. What is possible, though, is that by the time these gatherings were created the rest of the codex had taken shape, and that at this point the cartulary was being updated with texts, as opposed to archival material being retrospectively selected and arranged.

### Dating the sequences

The next step is to date the six hands responsible for the 14 sequences. Four of the hands (64, 81, 87 and 89) each contributed only one sequence of texts and therefore identifying a

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 335 & 332.

*terminus post quem* for them is a relatively easy process, and this can be seen in Table 3-5. Hand 1 and Hand 31 however each contributed several sequences (three and seven respectively). These two hands were responsible for a great deal of the copying that can be seen in the Arbroath *RN* and there is no reason to assume that they created all their sequences in one go. Therefore, a *terminus post quem* has been identified for each of the sequences they created, and these too can be seen in Table 3-5.

Hand	Sequences entered	<i>Terminus Post Quem</i>
1	Sequence 1	18 Jul 1366
	Sequence 2	20 Sept 1328
	Sequence 3	17 Nov 1333
31	Sequence 4	26 Jun 1396
	Sequence 5	6 Mar 1446
	Sequence 6	24 Jun 1453
	Sequence 7	17 Oct 1470
	Sequence 8	21 May 1481
	Sequence 9	20 May 1484
	Sequence 11	5 Dec 1487
64	Sequence 10	29 Dec 1485
81	Sequence 12	6 Apr 1494
87	Sequence 13	22 Jun 1497
89	Sequence 14	17 Dec 1502

Table 3-5: *Termini post quem* for the hands entering sequences in the Arbroath *RN*

Table 3-5 therefore provides us with useful *termini post quem* for Hands 64, 81, 87 and 89, but it is not so helpful for Hands 1 and 31. The sequences created by Hand 31 have a very wide range but the latest date of three of the sequences (8, 9 and 11) all fall within the 1480's and the final one provides the earliest date of 5 December 1487. It is therefore possible to use this as the latest date around which we can assume he was actively engaged with the manuscript, although it must be remembered that he could have been contributing sequences over a number of years. The *termini post quem* identified for the sequences created by Hand 1 are even less helpful, stretching from 20 September 1328 to 18 July 1366. Fortunately, Hand 1 was active elsewhere in the manuscript. He contributed a further 11 documents spread across five of the multi-scribe clusters of texts (which are discussed below). The dates of the texts he entered in these clusters range between 9 June 1420 and 11 January 1488.<sup>40</sup> The *termini post quem* for his contributions to those clusters can be

<sup>40</sup> For full details of all the documents copied by Hand 1 into multi-scribe sections of the cartulary below: Cluster E (Table 3-12), Cluster G (Table 3-14), Cluster H (Table 3-15), Cluster J, (Table 3-17) & Cluster K (Table 3-18).

seen in Table 3-6, and range from 9 June 1420 to 7 May 1489, with three dating to the 1480s. As with Hand 31 it is likely that Hand 1 was involved with the manuscript over a protracted period of time. However, as we also saw with Hand 31, it is possible that the latest point he was engaged with the cartulary was during the final decades of the century, particularly during the 1480's.

<u>Cluster</u>	<u>No. of texts contributed to cluster by Hand 1</u>	<u>Location of texts within cluster</u>	<u>Range of dates of texts entered by Hand 1</u>	<u>Terminus post quem for Hand 1's contribution to cluster</u>
Cluster E	1	f. 46r	9 Jun 1420	9 Jun 1420 <sup>41</sup>
Cluster G	6	ff. 79v–81v	20 Oct 1450 × 5 Sept 1465	17 Oct 1470 <sup>42</sup>
Cluster H	1	f. 95v	13 May 1476	27 Jun 1482 <sup>43</sup>
Cluster J	1	f. 121v	27 Aug 1485	19 Apr 1487 <sup>44</sup>
Cluster K	2	ff. 129v–130r	19 Jan 1485 × 5 Dec 1487	7 May 1489 <sup>45</sup>

Table 3-6: *Termini post quem* for Hand 1's contribution to multi-scribe clusters

Between Tables 3-5 and 3-6 it is possible to see that the six hands who created the chronological framework which runs through the cartulary are likely to have been working over a few decades. If we discount the very early sequences created by Hands 1 and 31 (1–4), the remainder of the sequences suggest that the manuscript grew over the course of the second half of the fifteenth century, perhaps particularly from the 1470's onwards. If each of the hands had entered one or at the most a few texts then it would be a reasonable assumption that they were active on a single occasion sometime after the *terminus post quem* of their sequence. However, the six hands above were responsible for copying the majority of documents into the cartulary (the 14 sequences contain 365 texts), and Hands 1 and 31 were especially busy, contributing 277 texts between them, meaning it is possible that they added some of these texts *prior* to their date of the latest text they copied. In particular it will be important to remember that while we have useful *termini post quem* for Hands 64, 81, 87 and 89, we have only reference points for Hands 1 and 31. The *termini*

<sup>41</sup> Hand 1's text of Pope Martin V is the first document copied into Cluster E, which is the first text on Gathering VII.

<sup>42</sup> This date is provided by the latest text entered into Sequence 7 by Hand 31 at f. 72r–v.

<sup>43</sup> This date comes from the text entered immediately above Hand 1's contribution which is a lease of the fishery of Stok written by Hand 58 at f. 95r–v.

<sup>44</sup> This date comes from the text entered immediately above Hand 1's contribution which is a text in which Abbot David names procurators, entered by Hands 65 and 67 on f. 121r.

<sup>45</sup> This date comes from a lease of the garbal teinds of the church of Kirriemuir entered by Hand 71 at f. 128v.

*post quem* and references points therefore provide a way to begin to consider when the sequences were copied into the Arbroath RN. One further form of evidence which can be used to help to provide a more detailed picture of when the sequences were created is palaeographic analysis.

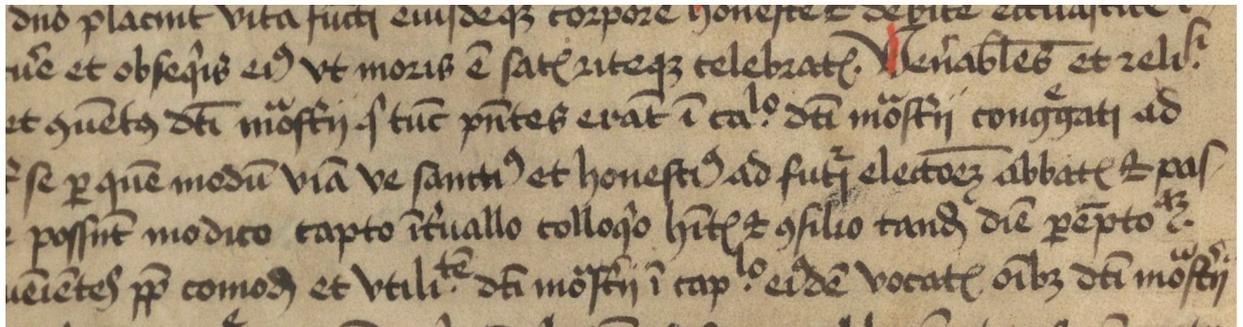


Plate 3:5: Hand 64 on f. 106r of the Arbroath RN

Hand 64 has the earliest *terminus post quem* of any of the hands who contributed sequences to the cartulary, and an example of his writing can be seen in Plate 3.5 above. The kidney-shaped ‘s’ which had been in use in Scotland from the first half of the fourteenth century is still visible. This did not begin to fall out of use until the early sixteenth century, and there are occasional instances of Hand 64 using a slightly looser final ‘s’.<sup>46</sup> The lowercase ‘r’ is an open form which can also be seen in late fifteenth and early sixteenth century comparisons.<sup>47</sup> This hand, however, is quite distinct, showing few of the cursive features of the available comparitors.

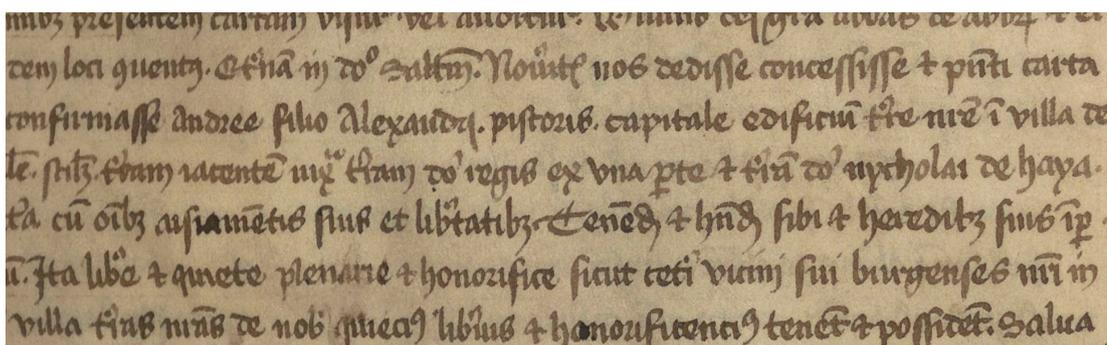


Plate 3:6: Hand 1 on f. 1r of the Arbroath RN

<sup>46</sup> Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, p. 162, n. 62.

<sup>47</sup> Comparitors for the ‘a’ can be found in NLS 15.18 no. 76 (1490), for the ‘a’ and ‘r’ in no. 26 (1506) and for the ‘s’ in no. 18 (1468).

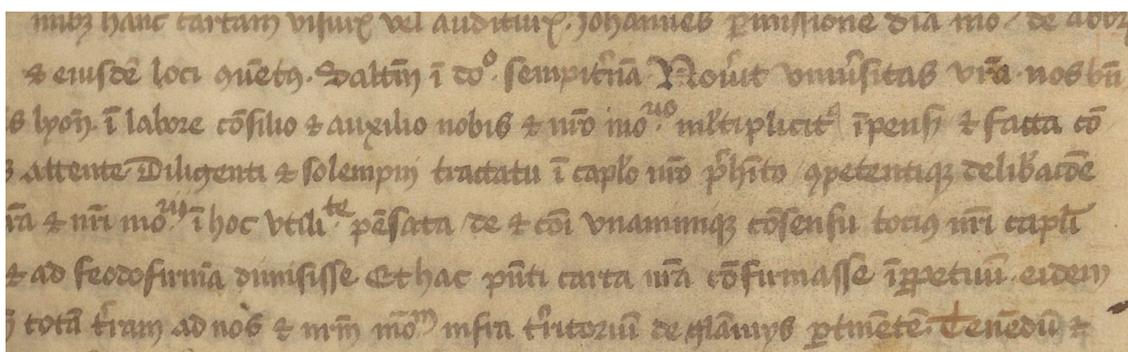


Plate 3:7: Hand 31 on f. 30r of the Arbroath *RN*

Hand 1 and Hand 31, seen on Plates 3.6 and 3.7 above, are quite similar, and the reference point identified for each is only two years apart (7 May 1489 and 5 Dec 1487 respectively). They share similarities with Hand 64, for example they show the kidney-shaped ‘s’, with occasional loosening of the form. The ascender on the lowercase ‘d’ is slightly more compressed than can be seen on Hand 64.<sup>48</sup> Once again these are features which are datable to both the last quarter of the fifteenth century and the early part of the sixteenth century.

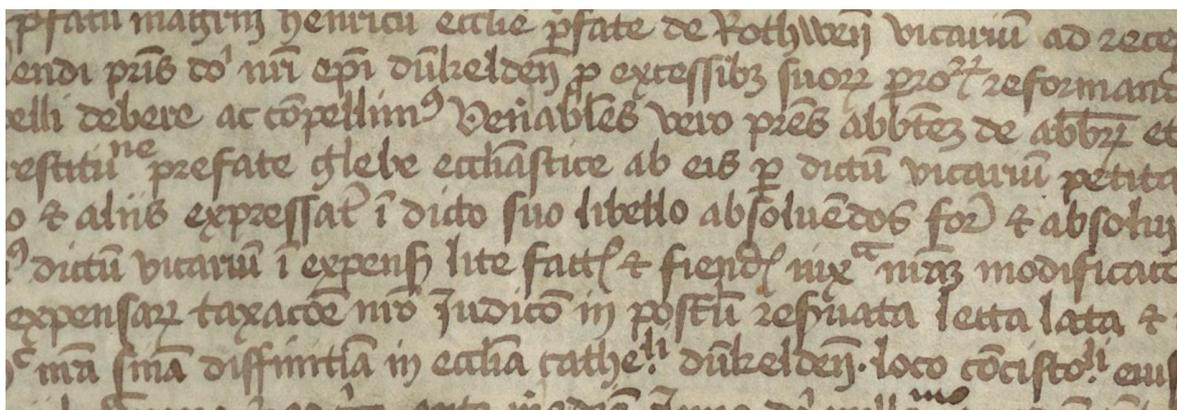


Plate 3:8: Hand 81 on f. 134r of the Arbroath *RN*

Hand 81, with a *terminus post quem* of 6 April 1494 can be seen on Plate 3.8. This hand also demonstrates quite traditional letter forms, although the writing is perhaps a little more cursive than the Hands 1, 31 and 64. The kidney shaped ‘s’ is still visible although there is occasional use of a sigma-shaped final ‘s’ as well, more commonly seen in the early sixteenth century. There is also occasional use of a separated lowercase ‘r’.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Comparitors for the ‘d’ see NLS 15.1.18 no. 98 1466; for comparitors for the ‘h’ see no. 89 (1502) but also in no. 96 (1518).

<sup>49</sup> For the ‘s’ see NLS 15.1.18 no. 89 (1502) and both the ‘s’ and ‘r’ can be seen in no. 92 (1503).

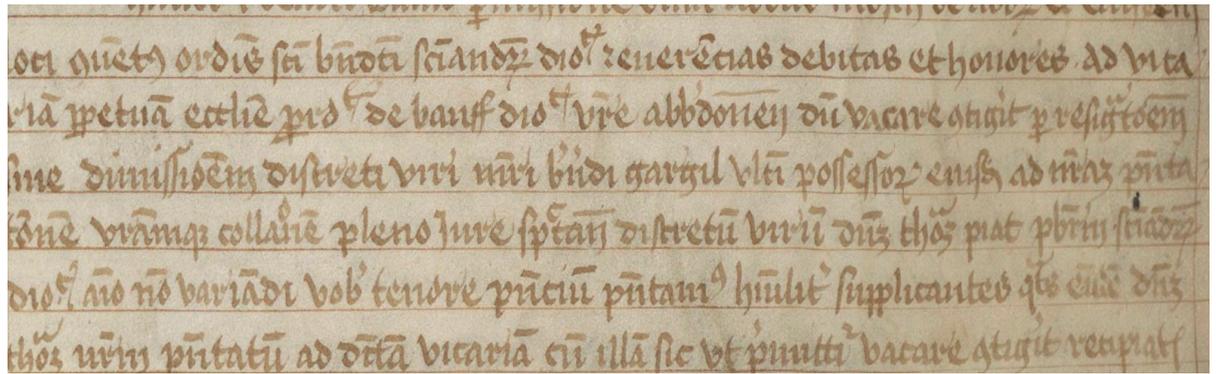


Plate 3:9: Hand 87 on f. 138v of the Arbroath *RN*

Hand 87, seen in Plate 3.9 above, has a *terminus post quem* of 22 Jun 1497. The kidney shaped ‘s’ is still visible. There are examples of ‘d’ with a short, compressed ascender and with a slightly longer more upright ascender, as well as the open form of lowercase ‘r’.<sup>50</sup>

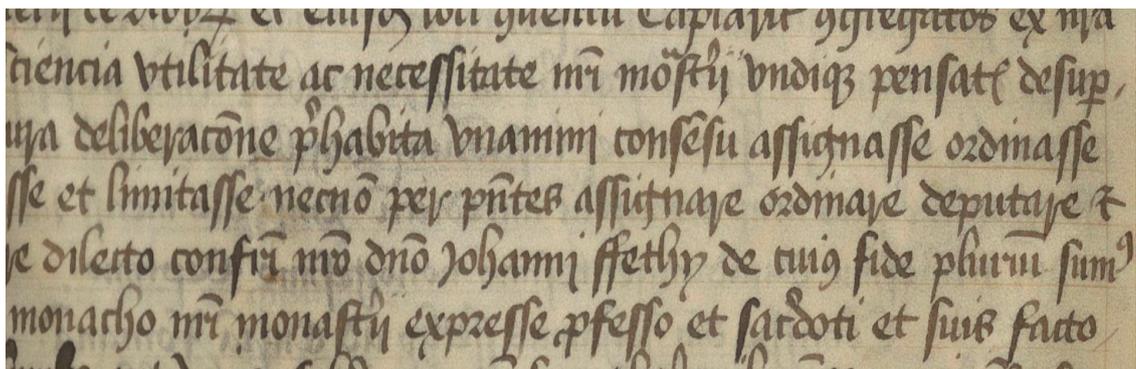


Plate 3:10: Hand 89 on f. 146r of the Arbroath *RN*

Hands 89, which can be seen on Plate 3.10 has a *terminus post quem* of 17 December 1502. His hand still features the kidney-shaped final ‘s’ and the lowercase ‘r’ is separated. The ascender on the lowercase ‘d’ is perhaps slightly more upright than the other five sequence hands.<sup>51</sup>

There are few palaeographic examples available for this period in late medieval Scotland. The examples used here, from the National Library of Scotland, show scribes using much more cursive scripts than the six hands from the Arbroath *RN*. However, the combination of the reference points provided by the *termini post quem*, and the palaeographical similarities which do exist between the six sequence hands and the NLS examples point to

<sup>50</sup> The ‘r’ can be seen in NLS 151.18 no. 92.

<sup>51</sup> For the ‘d’ and ‘s’ see NLS 151.18 no. 96 (1518).

all these hands working in the very late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. They are likely to have been working within a short time of one another and it is possible that some of them were perhaps working simultaneously. As noted above, the first 11 sequences were all begun on fresh gatherings. This raises the possibility that some of these sequences were created concurrently, with different hands assigned different periods to copy, and these 11 sequences could have been created when the manuscript was still unbound. The final three sequences break this pattern, and do not commence at the beginning of gatherings. This could be because the material entered into the sequences in this section of the cartulary – which as we have seen all date to the period when David Lichtone was abbot – was being ‘updated’, rather than retrospectively selected and arranged. It is possible that the manuscript was bound by the time the gatherings were created to hold these final sequences. However, the creation of the index as a separate gathering, and the format of which could only have been achieved after the cartulary had received its Roman numeral foliations, reinforces the impression that the manuscript was still unbound during the creation of all the sequences.

The sequences which run through the Arbroath *RN* provide the cartulary with a structure. In at least some of the sequences we can see an association with a certain abbot. This is more prominent from Sequence 10 onwards, all of which contain documents drawn from David Lichtone’s time in office. Although it is apparent that unlike the Arbroath Ethie and the Arbroath *RV*, both of which were brought to life by the sustained campaign of a single scribe, the Arbroath *RN* was evidently a project which involved several members of the community.

### **Multi-scribe growth (clusters)**

The long sequence of texts which form much of the cartulary act like a framework, providing structure and an overarching chronological order, but they do not completely fill the manuscript. As we have seen above, most of these sequences can be found at the start of gatherings, and if we look at the folio ranges in the final column of Table 3-4, it is possible to identify gaps between where one sequence ends and the next begins. These gaps, most often found towards the ends of gatherings, did not remain empty, but were covered with additional texts entered by multiple hands. Because these clusters of multi-scribe engagement are contained within 13 spaces in the cartulary, they can also be treated

as sequences and examined individually. However, in order to differentiate these multi-scribe sequences from the 14 single-hand sequences, and to highlight the piecemeal way they accumulated, they will be referred to as ‘clusters’ and each one will be allocated an alphabetical identifier.

Ref.	Folio range	No of hands	No of texts	Dates of texts
A	10r–15v	12	26	(1189 × 1195) × 2 Aug 1509
B	22v–23v	8	7	(15 Dec 1218 × 12 Oct 1233) × 1 Oct 1497
C	27v–29v	9	12	26 June 1328 × c.1496 <sup>52</sup>
D	34r–37v	7	8	22 June 1254 × c.1511 <sup>53</sup>
E	46r–47v	6	6	13 May 1342 × 4 Aug 1438
F	50r–51v	3	4	14 Nov 1246 × 10 Aug 1324 <sup>54</sup>
G	73v–87v	14	26	2 July 1253 × 5 Dec 1492
H	95r–96v	5	5	29 Jul 1472 × 27 Jun 1482 <sup>55</sup>
I	104v–105v	2	4	20 Jan 1483 × 6 Feb 1483
J	120v–121v	5	5	27 Aug 1485 × 6 May 1493 <sup>56</sup>
K	126v–133v	14	22	14 Jan 1485 × 4 Dec 1490
L	136v–138r	5	5	16 Feb 1496 × 4 Mar 1496
M	169r–170v	4	4	3 Jan 1492 × 17 Dec 1502

Table 3-7: Arbroath *RN* multi-scribe clusters

Table 3-7 above shows the location of the 13 clusters found in the Arbroath *RN*, the number of texts each cluster contains, and how many hands contributed to each cluster. Before we look more closely at these multi-scribe contributions, two things can be observed from the table alone. The first is that the time periods covered by the clusters entered towards the front of the manuscript are much wider than those covered by the clusters entered towards the back. The second easily observable fact is that the final four clusters (Clusters J–M) only contain texts pertaining to the period during which David Lichtone was abbot of Arbroath. Sequence 10, which can be found on ff. 106r–120v, commenced with a record of Abbot David’s election to office, and all the texts found in that sequence, and the three subsequent sequences on the manuscript, contained documents dating solely from his period in office. Therefore, while scribes copied documents from

<sup>52</sup> This final text is the suggested date provided in the *Arbroath Liber*. See *Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 362.

<sup>53</sup> This date for the final text is the suggested date provided in the *Arbroath Liber*. The text is incomplete and can be seen on ff. 34v–36r. It is published as *Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 526.

<sup>54</sup> The bottom text on f. 51r recording the boundaries of holdings in Forfar is undated. *Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 101.

<sup>55</sup> One text concerning payments to St Andrews on f. 95v cannot be dated.

<sup>56</sup> The text concerning garbal teinds of *Newbygyn & Kyrktounnmyl* on f. 95v can be dated no more closely than 1485.

throughout their archival history onto Gatherings I–XIV, Gatherings XV–XXIII were entirely dedicated to recording texts from David Lichtone’s abbacy.

### Cluster A

The first cluster of texts entered by additional hands can be seen from ff. 10r–15v at the end of Gathering II, where it accumulated on the space left after Hand 1 had entered Sequence 1.

Folio Range	Hand	Details	Date
10r	H2	Alexander, earl of Buchan, gives notice that he is bound to Arbroath for ½ merk per annum in return for a certain piece of land at Tarves. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 319)	1286
10r	H3	Thomas Malherbe gives 2s of Balneaves. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 98)	17 Feb 1215 ×
10v	H4	Robert son of Warenbald & Richenda his wife, due to their great poverty, give their feu in the parish of Fordoun. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 261)	1214 × 20 Mar 1238
10v	"	King Alexander II grants and confirms the donation of Robert & Richenda. ( <i>RRS</i> , iii, no. 265)	20 Mar 1238
10v–11r	H5	Richenda, daughter of Humphrey Barclay, ratifies the donation made by herself and her late husband, Robert. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 263)	25 Mar 1245 × 7 Mar 1246
11r	"	King Alexander II grants and confirms the donation of Richenda. ( <i>RRS</i> , iii, no. 307)	7 Mar 1246
11r	"	King Alexander II grants that the monks may hold Drumsleed in free forest. ( <i>RRS</i> , iii, no. 238)	7 Apr 1236
11r	H6	John Gledlaw, burgess of Dundee, sells land to Robert How, chaplain. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 486)	2 Aug 1509
11v	H5	King David II has inspected and understood the letters that his father, King Robert I, made to Arbroath regarding Culbak. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 29)	18 Jun 1341
11v–12v	H7	An agreement is formed between Arbroath and Alexander, earl of Buchan, over various lands in Fordoun, including Drumsleed and Culbak. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 247)	10 Nov 1265
12v	"	An agreement is formed between Arbroath and Thomas of Strachan regarding lands in the Mearns including Culbak. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 19)	30 Dec 1342
12v–13r	"	Richard de Melville gives, grants and confirms to Arbroath the chapel of St Laurence in Kinblethmont and associated land. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 143)	13 Apr 1189 × 10 Jul 1199

13r	H8	Alexander, earl of Buchan, confirms the gift of Fergus, earl of Buchan, of one merk from Finavon. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 310)	1 Aug 1259 × 19 Nov 1270
13r–v	"	King Robert I orders the payment of 4 merks of Kinghorn to light the tomb of King William I. ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 74)	10 Oct 1315
13v	"	John King gives 4 acres of land in Crail. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 56)	4 Nov 1421
14r	H9	King David II orders the payment of 4 merks of Kinghorn. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 454)	23 Oct 1369
14r	"	King Robert III orders the payment of 4 merks of Kinghorn. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 47)	12 March 1400
14r	H10	Weland of Stickey announces that if he is deprived of Kinblethmont, the piece of land called Glaufat, which he holds of the monks of Arbroath, shall revert to them. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 318).	15 Jan 1284
14v	H9	Isabelle Douglas, countess of Mar confirms Earl David's gift of land in Kennethmont. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 48)	27 May 1403
14v	"	Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith, gives half a stone wax per annum at the fair of Montrose. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 309)	11 Feb 1233 × Nov 1258
14v–15r	H11	Hugh Blund, lord of Arbuthnott, gives an oxgang of land within which stands the church of Garvock. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 314)	2 Aug 1282
15r	"	Robert Ross confirms the gift of Hugh Blund. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 315)	c.2 Aug 1282
15r	"	Bishop William of St Andrews confirms the gift of Hugh Blund. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 316)	24 Sep 1283
15r–v	"	Prior John and the chapter of St Andrews confirm the gift of Hugh Blund. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 317)	29 Sept 1283
15v	H12	King William I gives a toft in Montrose to Robert of London. ( <i>RRS</i> , ii, no. 351)	1189 × 1195
15v	H13	Abbot Henry gives a davoch in Kingoldrum <i>Kennyn Muchardyn</i> to Gilletthomas, son of Malise. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 305)	Oct 1190 × 20 Jun 1200

Table 3-8: Arbroath RN - Cluster A

As can be seen from Table 3-8 above, 18 of the 26 texts entered in Cluster A are datable to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, four originate from the fourteenth century, three from the fifteenth century and one is sixteenth century in origin. The hands who contributed to the accumulation of growth at the end of Gathering II were therefore particularly interested in placing early texts within this gathering, close to a sequence which also contained many early items from the abbey's archive. Three hands also show a particular interest in copying texts that pertain to Arbroath's holdings in the Mearns. Hand 4 copied two texts

relating to Fordoun on f. 10v. Hand 5 then extended this short run of associated texts by adding four texts running from ff. 10v–11v, after which Hand 7 contributed two further texts running ff. 11v–12r. As we can see from Table 3-8, however this run of seven texts, all of which are datable to before the middle of the thirteenth century, is not quite sequential. At the bottom of f. 11r Hand 6 entered a short seven-line text recording the sale of land in Forfar, dated 2 August 1509. This is one of the latest documents entered onto the manuscript. The text appears slightly squashed, although it does not intrude downwards into the margin, but it does extend very slightly further into the outer margin than the texts which precede it. Sitting as it does, right at the bottom of the folio, and within Hand 5's run of texts associated with the Mearns, this looks as though it may be a later addition to the cluster, made by a scribe who found a suitable space to enter a short text.

The charter recording John Gledlaw's sale of land cannot be seen to have an association with any of the entries around it, but many of the later texts entered within the cluster do relate back to earlier gifts received by the monks. Hand 8 entered King Robert I's 1315 gift of money to light the tomb of King William I at f. 13r–v, which Hand 9 responded to by entering the mandates of two later kings ordering that the gift be fulfilled. The second text entered by Hand 8 at f. 13v, of the gift of land in Crail by John King dated 12 March 1400, does not quite fit into this pattern.<sup>57</sup> Nor, at face value, does the one remaining fifteenth-century text, the confirmation by the countess of Mar of land in Kennethmont, entered by Hand 9 on f. 14v. Isabelle of Mar however, was confirming the gift of land made by Earl David of Huntingdon to Arbroath between 19 August 1190 and 21 April 1200, and it could be the association with this early gift which prompted Hand 9 to place Isabelle's confirmation close to the record of other early donations.<sup>58</sup>

In order to date the growth of this cluster, it is perhaps best to start by looking at the sequence which was entered onto the gathering before the cluster started to accumulate. Sequence 1 was entered by Hand 1, and as we have seen Hand 1 has a reference point of 7 May 1489, and is datable to around the last quarter of the fifteenth century or the early years of the sixteenth century. The hands who contributed to Cluster 1 display the same

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<sup>57</sup> The very first charter entered onto Sequence 1, at f. 8r, does in fact record the gift made to John the chaplain of land in Crail, dated 1288. (*Arb. Lib.*, 1, no. 313). There is, however, nothing definite to link this gift in Crail to John King's donation of four acres.

<sup>58</sup> Keith Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon, 1152–1219: A Study in Anglo-Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1985), *Acta*, no. 5.

features as Hand 1, and there is little to definitely date any of them outwith the period during which Hand 1 has been identified to have been likely to be working, although Hand 6 has been identified as perhaps providing the latest entry to the cluster.

One further source of information about how this cluster —and the clusters more generally — might have accumulated is the index which sits at the front of the cartulary. As noted above, the index cannot have been created until the majority of the texts were copied onto the gatherings. These were then copied into the core of the index, with additional entries added out of sequence or squeezed-in where possible. By looking at the way the index entries were made for the clusters, it might be possible to identify listings which do not belong to the core index, but were additions to it. These are therefore likely to represent late additions to the manuscript, and cannot have been made before the early sixteenth century. Before embarking on this route of investigation it is important to note that not every entry into the index is clearly a core or a later addition. Occasionally, the presence of several listings along a single line might be indicative of a space-saving exercise, rather than a squeezed-in later addition, and these listings will not be used in any analysis of how the clusters might have grown.

The listings for the first seven texts entered into Cluster A, as far as King Alexander's grant of Drumsleed in forest, are all clearly core entries, made when the index was initially being compiled. The listing for John Gledlaw's sale of land in Forfar may be later. Rather than sitting on a line of its own it is entered along the same line as the listing for another text concerning Forfar which may have been altered to accommodate the later entry (this can be seen as the second line of text visible on Plate 3.3 above). The following document copied into the cluster, King David's *inspeximus* of his father's letters concerning Culbak, does have a core index entry. After this point, identifying which index entries associated with Cluster A were made during the compilation of the core index, and which were made later becomes trickier to unpick, with the index listings being harder to identify as either core or later additions. Despite this, two further listings can be identified which clearly constitute later entries to the index. The first of these is for the order of Weland of Stickey seen as the bottom text on f. 14r, which has two separate index entries, one under 'G' for Glaufat and one under 'S' for Stickey, both of which are entered on the blank line above the main grouping of texts for their respective letter of the alphabet. The entry for the final

text in the sequence, Abbot Henry's gift of a davoch in Kingoldrum sits at the bottom of f. 4v, underneath the ruled lines, amongst other non-core index entries.

The growth of this cluster is likely to have commenced soon after Hand 1 completed Sequence 1, and progressed to at least the start of the second decade of the sixteenth century. The evidence provided by the index is not complete, as several of the listings cannot be clearly identified as core or later entries. However, the presence of listings which belong to the core index, and the scattering of identifiable later additions, show that the cluster must have started accumulating before the index was compiled, but that at least three texts, all of which sit at the bottom of folios, were not added to the manuscript until after the core index had been written.

### Cluster B

Cluster B can be seen from ff. 22v–23v at the end of Gathering II, where it accumulated on the space left after Hand 1 had entered Sequence 2.

Folio Range	Hand	Details	Date
22v	H14	Henry of Spynie sells a toft in Banff. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 289)	3 Oct 1323 <sup>59</sup>
22v–23r	H15	Abbot Geoffrey gives the land of Banchory-Devenick to William Meldrum. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 21)	17 Oct 1346
23r	H16 (Lines 1–2)	Abbot Ralph gives notice that Walter, son of Turpin, has quitclaimed to Arbroath the land of Lownie, in exchange for the land of Little Kenny. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 306)	12 Mar 1225 × 17 Jun 1239
23r	H9 (From line 3)	as above.	"
23r–v	H17	Abbot William inspects the charter of Abbot Ralph for Walter, son of Turpin. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, appendix, no. 8)	3 Sept 1351
23v	H18	William de Vaux gives ½ merk from the Mill of Haddington. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 116)	15 Dec 1218 × 12 Oct 1233
23v	H19	Alexander de Vaux commands that his tenant pays the ½ merk due annually from	1270

<sup>59</sup> The sale of land is dated to the Sunday after the feast of St Michael the Archangel.

		the Mill of Haddington. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 308)	
23v	H20	Scots – The boundaries of a toft in the burgh of Elgin. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 383)	1 Oct 1497

Table 3-9: Arbroath RN - Cluster B

Table 3-9 above shows that the seven texts entered within Cluster B are drawn from a wide period of time; the earliest datable to between 15 December 1218 and 12 October 1233 and the latest to 1 October 1497. Although it has been established above that Sequence 2 contains texts datable to the period when Bernard Linton was abbot, only the first text in Cluster B, a sale of land in Banff entered by Hand 14, is also drawn from his time in office. Unlike Cluster A, where the choice of texts could be seen to refer back to the contents of Sequence 1, no such links are apparent between Cluster B and Sequence 2. Despite this, five of the six texts are datable to no later than 1351, which suggests the hands involved were interested in entering quite early texts into the cluster. The final text, a boundary statement written in Scots onto the bottom 7 lines of f. 23v by Hand 20, might be a later addition to the cluster, but once again there is little palaeographic evidence to differentiate Hand 20 from the hands which precede it

In order to date Cluster B, we must start again with the dating evidence for Hand 1, who entered Sequence 2 onto Gathering III. This provides us with 7 May 1489 as a reference point. As with Cluster A, the palaeographic features of the hands who contributed to Cluster B do not differ markedly from those of the period during the late fifteenth century and very early sixteenth century. Although there is little palaeographic evidence differentiating the hands who created Cluster B, evidence from the index points to this cluster having accumulated more slowly. The only text which definitely has an entry in the core index is the first one on the cluster, recording the sale of a toft in Banff. The entry for Abbot Geoffrey's gift of land in Banchory Devenick has been squeezed along the line for another entry for that land, and the original listing altered to accommodate it. The entry for the two texts of *Kennyn Muchardyn* can be found towards the bottom of f. 4v, where it sits among a group of entries at the end of section 'K' which are out of sequence. The entries associated with the two texts of Haddington and the boundaries of Elgin are both squeezed in at the end of the appropriate sections. Although, therefore, the palaeography does not suggest that Cluster B accumulated much later than the sequence it follows, the evidence from the index points to only the first document having been copied into the cluster at the

point when the core index was being compiled, and the remaining entries accumulating in the early sixteenth century.

### Cluster C

Cluster C can be found at ff. 27v–29v on Gathering IV, where it accumulated on the spaces left on the gathering after Hand 1 had completed Sequence 3.

Folio Range	Hand	Details	Date
27v	H22/23	<i>Scots</i> – The boundaries of Dunbarrow as per Abbot Malcolm. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 73)	1434
27v	H24	<i>Scots</i> – The boundaries of Auchnieve. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 74)	undated
27v	H25	<i>Scots</i> – The boundaries of the lands of Sir Richard Bryson and a valuation of that land. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 362)	c. 1496. <sup>60</sup>
27v	H26	<i>Scots</i> – The boundaries of <i>Myltown, Eisterbrekkie</i> and the land of the bishop of St Andrews ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 75) <sup>61</sup>	undated
28r	H27	John Keith quitclaims his right to the land of Culbak. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 27)	25 Sept 1354
28r–v	H28	William, bishop of St Andrews, grants a pension be paid from the garbal teinds of the church of Abernethy to Bernard Linton, abbot of Arbroath and bishop-elect of the Isles. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 358)	First week of May 1328 <sup>62</sup>
28v	H29	King James III orders Hector Meldrum, sheriff, to bring named men before him at Inverness to be witnesses into the case between Arbroath and John Haliburton, over the spoilation and alienation of the lands of Bucht. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 156)	8 Aug 1464
28–29r	"	The Lords of Council summon the chaplain of Saint Catherine's altar to appear at the hearing into the case between Arbroath and John Haliburton, to show the king what reason he has to occupy the lands of Bucht. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 157)	8 Aug 1464

<sup>60</sup> The text itself is undated and c.1496 is the estimation made by the editors of the *Arbroath Liber*, based on a grant Abbot David made of the same land to Sir Richard dated 11 June 1496, which is published as *Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 361.

<sup>61</sup> This boundary statement is also copied onto f. 182v of the Arbroath BL, where the land is referred to as *Wester Brekis*, rather than *Eisterbrekkie*.

<sup>62</sup> The date provided on the grant is the Saturday in the vigil of the apostles Philip and James and continuing into the following days.

29r	"	John Halliburton of Kinross promises to Sir William Noble, monk, in the name of the abbey of Arbroath, to make restitution of one horse to the said William for the fermes of the land of Bucht. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 158)	12 Aug 1464
29r	"	Instrument of recognition of the lands of Bucht. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 106)	3 Dec 1456
29r-v	"	Instrument of recognition of the lands of Bucht. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 130)	18 Jul 1460
29v	H30	Alexander, bishop of Aberdeen, records that Geoffrey de Wells, perpetual vicar of Tarves, was granted an annual pension of eight merks. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 10)	26 Aug 1333 <sup>63</sup>

Table 3-10: Arbroath *RN* - Cluster C

Cluster C contains 12 texts entered by nine different hands. The time frame from which the texts are drawn is wide, and only two within the cluster also fall within the date range covered by Sequence 3. The first of these, a charter of the bishop of St Andrews granting a pension to Bernard Linton, was entered on f. 28r-v by Hand 28. The other, a document of the bishop of Aberdeen concerning a pension due to the vicar of Tarves, dated 26 August 1333, was entered on f. 29v by Hand 30.

The first four texts in the cluster are all boundary statements and are all entered in Scots. The first of these, written by Hand 22 on f. 27v, has an addition made on the third and fourth lines by Hand 23 providing the information that the boundaries are ‘as per abbot Walter’ and providing the date of 1434.<sup>64</sup> This is followed by three further boundary statements entered by Hands 24–26. All of these are undated, although the second one, entered as the middle text on f. 27v which records the boundaries and valuation of the lands belonging to Sir Richard Bryson may be datable to 1496. Hand 25 entered the boundary statement for Myltown and *Eisterbrekkie* at the bottom of the folio, but he left a gap of around five lines between the entry above before starting to copy.

Hand 1 was responsible for the sequence entered onto Gathering IV before Cluster C accumulated there. Once again, therefore, we have a reference point of 7 May 1489. Although there is no evidence of texts being squeezed into spaces, there is perhaps a sense that texts accrued in an inconsistent fashion. This is perhaps particularly apparent on f. 27v

<sup>63</sup> The bishop of Aberdeen’s statement is dated Wednesday in the feast of the Blessed Augustine, bishop and doctor.

where the boundary statements copied there are irregularly spread over the folio. It may be that this folio in particular took a while to be covered, with scribes returning to it intermittently. This is difficult to confirm, as once again, the hands who contributed to Cluster C cannot be more closely dated than that of Hand 1. Once more it is possible to use the index to help provide a picture of how the cluster accumulated. As with Cluster B, the only text which appears in Cluster C and for which a core index listing can be identified is the first one recording the boundaries of Dunbarrow. The listings for the remaining texts are either entered out of sequence, or are squeezed in along the line of existing entries. It is possible that although this cluster received its first text after Sequence 3 was finished, thereafter it may have grown in a slow and inconsistent fashion during the early sixteenth century.

### Cluster D

Cluster D can be found on ff. 34r–37v, where it sits at the end of Gathering V, on the spaces left after Hand 31 finished entering Sequence 4.

Folio Range	Hand	Details	Date
34r	H32	William Plumber receives payment for repairs to the great choir. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 45)	21 May 1396
34r–v	H29	The boundaries of Conan and Tulloch. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 366)	22 June 1254
34v–35r	H33	Hugh Spens donates nine merks to the church of Inverkeilor (incomplete). ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 526)	c.1511
35v–36r	H34	As above.	"
36r–v	H35	Bishop William of St Andrews grants the profits of the vicarage of Monifieth to Arbroath. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 23)	10 May 1350
36v–37r	"	Henry, bishop of St Andrews, confirms Bishop William's grant. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 57)	26 Oct 1422
37r	"	James, bishop of St Andrews, confirms Bishop William's grant. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 88)	29 Apr 1448
37v	H36	Thomas Pitcairn lord of Cowie gives a toft in Colly. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 51)	24 Jul 1413
37v	H35	As the monks of Arbroath suffered great losses during the English invasions, William, bishop of St Andrews, gives to them the profits and teinds of the vicarage of Monifieth. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 36)	11 Feb 1378

Table 3-11: Arbroath RN - Cluster D

Six hands contributed seven texts to Cluster D, and these texts are drawn from a particularly wide period of time ranging from 22 June 1254 to 29 April 1448. Only the first entry made by Hand 32 and the final one made by Hand 35 coincide with the sequence which they follow. Hand 32's entry, which records the payment made to William Plumber for repairs carried out to the choir, had already been copied into Sequence 4, only one folio earlier at f. 34r.<sup>65</sup>

Starting from line 20 on f. 34v and running to line 9 on f. 36r, is a charter of Hugh Spens, donating nine merks to the church of Inverkeilor. This appears to be the latest document entered into the cartulary, although it has no associated rubric and is incomplete. Hand 33 entered the first part of the text running ff. 34v–35r. Hand 34 then took over the work at the top of f. 35r, but abandoned his task without completing it on line 9 on f. 36r. Around a third of the folio below this has been left blank, perhaps providing space for another hand to enter the remainder of Hugh's gift.

Dating Cluster D starts with looking at the dating evidence Hand 31 who created Sequence 4, after which the cluster sits. This gives a reference point of 5 December 1487. The seven hands who contributed to Cluster D do not show any features significantly different to Hand 31. However, the entry of a sixteenth-century text by Hands 34 and 35 move the timeframe for the growth of this cluster into the sixteenth century, and if the date proposed by the editors of the *Arbroath Liber* for Hugh Spens' charter is correct, perhaps into the second decade of that century.

Using the index entries for Cluster D as a means to understand when this cluster accumulated does not provide a straightforward explanation. The first text recording payment made to William Plumber has clearly been added when the core of the index was being compiled. The entry associated with the Conan and Tulloch boundary statement is entered at the end of the appropriate alphabetical section, where it sits, out of order under the final line of ruled text on f. 2v. There appears to be no index listing for the incomplete record of Hugh Spens' donation. This leaves four further texts entered onto the cluster. The gift of Thomas Pitcairn has an index entry clearly made when the core index was being compiled. The record of his gift is surrounded on the cluster by three texts concerning

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<sup>65</sup> The repairs to the choir were presumably being made in the wake of a fire which occurred in 1380. The missive of the bishop of St Andrews making arrangements for the housing of the monks and repairs to the monastery as a result of this is also copied into Sequence 4 at f. 31r.

Monifieth. The index entries for these can be found on f. 5r, seen in Plate 3.11 below. They are located within the alphabetical listing, and are not squeezed or particularly out of sequence. However, it does look as though these are later additions. It is unclear if there were original listings which were erased and written-over, although there is no obvious indication of this having taken place, and it is probably safest to draw no conclusions about when these were added to the index.

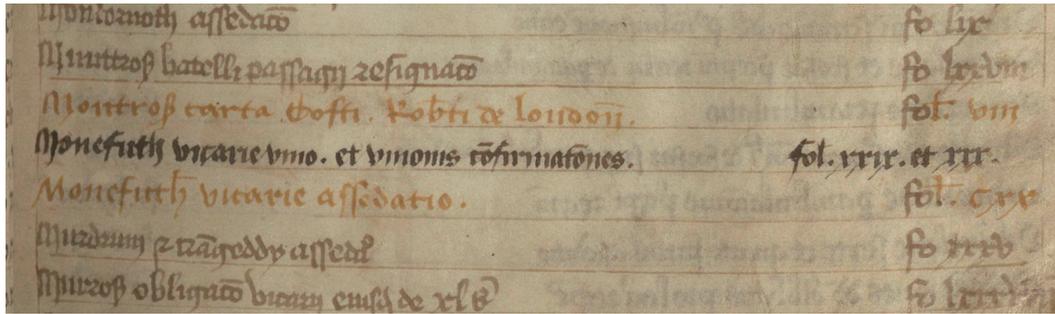


Plate 3:11: Excerpt of index listings on f. 5r of the Arbroath *RN*

Cluster D seems to have acquired texts before the index was compiled, but it seems to have grown in a piecemeal, and perhaps non-linear fashion, perhaps into the second decade of the sixteenth century.

### Cluster E

Cluster E can be found at the beginning of Gathering VII, where it sits at ff. 46v–47v. As noted above, however two folios have been lost between ff. 46 and 47, and it is likely that this cluster once constituted a small gathering comprising four folios, with the inner bifolio having been lost prior to the stage of binding at which the current quire marks were applied.

Folio range	Hand	Details	Date
46r	H1	Pope Martin V writes to Arbroath regarding the rights of those in minor orders. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 54)	9 June 1420 <sup>66</sup>
46v	H38	Inquiry into the land of <i>Ethcarmor</i> . ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 65)	30 Sept 1432

<sup>66</sup> *V idus junii*. Roman calendar dates have been checked against C. R. Cheney, *A Handbook of Dates For Students of British History*, first published 1945, revised by Michael Jones (Cambridge 2000), pp. 145–6.

46v	H39/H40	Patrick Ogilvy, sheriff of Forfar, announces that the monks of Arbroath should rightfully be paid 100s of Kynalty. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 81)	4 Aug 1438
		2 lost folios.	
47r	H41	Partial text.	4 Jan 1435
47r	H42	Thomas Strachan gives one merk of his land in the Mearns. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 25).	7 Mar 1351
47r-v	"	John Munro, perpetual vicar of Tarves, announces the agreement between himself and Arbroath over an annual payment of the vicarage of Tarves. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 18)	31 May 1342

Table 3-12: Arbroath *RN* - Cluster E

Cluster E is unusual, in that it sits at the beginning of a gathering, rather than the end of one, although we now know that it may once have constituted a small four-folio gathering. The first four texts in the cluster, entered by Hands 1 and Hands 38–42, do, in fact, coincide with period covered by Sequence 5, which sits on Gathering VI, extending to f. 45v. The final text was also entered by Hand 42, but is earlier, dating to 31 May 1342. It ends on line 29 of f. 47v, with the bottom third of the folio remaining blank. It is unusual to find a gap like this within a gathering, and the impression is of f. 47 having originally been the final folio in the gathering.

Because Cluster E does not sit on a gathering after a sequence, we have no *terminus post quem* to provide a starting point for charting the evolution of the cluster, although the presence of Hand 1 provides us with a reference point of 7 May 1489, and the hands do show features consistent with the other hands in the cartulary, which have been placed as belonging to the very late fifteenth century. There is a core index entry for the first three documents entered onto the cluster which cover f. 46. No entry can be identified for the partial text at the top of f. 47r and the listings for the final two entries appear to be later additions to the index. The entry for Thomas Strachan's gift has been added to a line which contained an entry for a charter of Kenny, and the listing for John Munro's agreement added on the outer margin after the folio reference for another listing for Tarves. It would therefore seem that, of the two surviving folios in this cluster, the first received texts in time to be included in the core of the index, but the second one was not covered with copying until after the core index had been completed, probably in the early sixteenth century.

Cluster F

Cluster F extends from ff. 50r–51r on Gathering VII, in the spaces left at the end of Sequence 6, entered by Hand 31.

Folio Range	Hand	Details	Date
50r–v	H12	Ralph, vicar of Aberchirder, agrees to pay eight merks of the church land of Aberchirder. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 355)	10 Aug 1324
50v	"	William of Eaglesham announces an agreement between Arbroath and William, vicar of Arbirlot, over the payment of an annual pension. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 351)	6 Sept 1323 <sup>67</sup>
50v–51r	"	An agreement is made between the monks of Arbroath and Coupar Angus regarding the teinds of <i>Ardory</i> . ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 365)	14 Nov 1246 <sup>68</sup>
51r	H43 (From line 6)	As above.	"
51r	H44	The boundaries of certain tenements in Forfar. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 101)	undated

Table 3-13: Arbroath *RN* - Cluster F

Cluster F contains four texts, entered by three hands, none of which coincide with the period covered by Sequence 6. Nor do they show any association with the texts entered in that sequence. Only three of the entries can be dated. Hand 12, who contributed a single entry to Cluster A, was responsible for making the first two entries. Although he started to make the third entry, an agreement between Arbroath and the monastery of Coupar Angus, he did not complete it, and from line 6, of f. 51r Hand 43 took over the task. The final document copied onto the gathering, an undated boundary clause entered by Hand 44, does not completely cover the remainder of the folio, and around seven lines of f. 51r and all of f. 51v remain blank.

Hand 31 provides us with a reference point of 5 December 1487 for approximating the likely earliest date at which Cluster F started to accumulate, and a likely growth period for the cluster starting from that period and extending towards the end of the century. The first

<sup>67</sup> *Martis proxima post festum Sancti Gregorii pape.*

<sup>68</sup> *Mercurii proxima post festum Sancti Martini.*

three texts may have been entered at the same time, although the final boundary clause may have been a subsequent addition. None of the hands show palaeographic features which significantly differ from Hand 31. However, there are no core index entries associated with this cluster. No entry whatsoever can be found for the agreement between Arbroath and Ralph, the vicar of Aberchirder, while the listings for the remaining three texts are additions to the index. This cluster, is therefore likely to have accumulated after the core index was created in the early years of the sixteenth century.

### Cluster G

Cluster G can be found on ff. 73v–87v. It starts on Gathering XI at the end of Sequence 7 and extends across the end of that gathering and all of Gathering XII.

Folio Range	Hand	Details	Date
73v–74r	H45	Notice that the garbal teinds of Pitlour should pertain to the monastery of Arbroath. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 162)	13 Jul 1465
74v–75r	"	Letter of Pope Pius II regarding financial obligations due to the monks of Arbroath. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 140)	9 Mar 1461 <sup>69</sup>
75r–76r	"	Pope Pius II confirms the papal bull of 9 March 1461. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 149)	16 Jan 1463 <sup>70</sup>
76r–77r	"	Pope Pius II confirms Arbroath's holdings of various churches. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 135)	26 Sept 1461 <sup>71</sup>
77r–78v	"	William of Lambertton inspects the letter of Pope Pius II regarding Arbroath's holdings of various churches. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 136)	26 Sept 1461 <sup>72</sup>
78v	"	Memorandum recording the resolution of the controversy over the teinds of <i>Tailscroft</i> . ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 161)	30 Apr 1465
78v–79r	"	Patrick, bishop of St Andrews, acknowledges the receipt of £160 from the hands of Abbot Malcolm. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 173)	29 Dec 1466
79r	"	Memorandum regarding a perambulation between Tarves and Meldrum. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 181)	6 Jul 1469
79v	H46	<i>Scots</i> – Andrew Farmer acknowledges receipt of £10 from Abbot Malcolm for a tenement in Perth. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 127)	2 Aug 1459

<sup>69</sup> *Septimo ides Marii.*

<sup>70</sup> *Quarto decimo kalendas Februarii.*

<sup>71</sup> *Sexto kalendas octobris.*

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

79v	H1	Abbot Malcolm leases a holding in <i>Almory</i> to Simon Tody. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 163)	29 Aug 1465
80r	"	<i>Latin-Scots</i> . King James II commands a perambulation be made between the lands of Ochterlony and Forfar. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 164)	5 Sept 1465
80v	"	Alexander Dempster sells a tenement in <i>Apilgait</i> in Arbroath to Nicholas Watson. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 91)	20 Oct 1450
80v–81r	"	Perambulation between the lands of Tarves and Udney. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 109)	7 Sept 1457
81r	"	Inquiry regarding the multure of the Mill of Conveth. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 132)	21 Nov 1460
81v	"	John of Lundie resigns the ferry boat of Montrose. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 142)	2 Nov 1462
81v–82r	H47	Abbot Malcolm grants land at <i>Hathiryk</i> to Alexander Maule and his wife Elizabeth Guthrie. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 178)	6 Nov 1468
82r	H48 (Lines 1-2)	Abbot Malcolm demits the land called Abbots Hall in Aberdeen to William Lutair and his wife, Marjorie. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 169)	23 June 1466
	H49 (Lines 3–13)	As above.	"
	H50 Lines 13 to end	As above.	"
82v	H49	<i>Scots</i> – The boundaries of Guthrie. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 170)	undated
82v	H51	Abbot Malcolm leases the land of Inverboyndie to William Piper. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 113)	20 Feb 1457
82v–84r	H52/H53	<i>Scots – Latin – Scots</i> . Perambulation of the church lands of Aberchirder. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 339)	5 Dec 1492
84v–85r	H54	Agreement between Arbroath and Thomas Rattray, acting in the name of his wife, Christina, over the bounds of the land of Kingoldrum. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 294)	2 Jul 1253
85r	"	Alan Durward quitclaims his right to lands in Kingoldrum. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 295)	17 Apr 1256
85v	H55	<i>Scots</i> – The boundaries of Kingoldrum.	undated
85v–86r	H54	John Drimmyng recognises the boundaries of Ardlogie and Fyvie. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 353)	28 Aug 1325 <sup>73</sup>
86r–87v	H56	<i>Scots</i> – Complaint made by Abbot Malcolm and the monastery of Arbroath against the lord of Meldrum regarding the towns of Aquhorthies and Craigie. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 123)	1456 × 1470

<sup>73</sup> Monday after the feast of St Bartholomew.

87v	H57	<i>Scots</i> – The boundaries of Kingoldrum (as per abbot Malcolm).	1458
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Table 3-14: Arbroath *RN* - Cluster G

Cluster G is one of the longest clusters seen on the manuscript, containing 26 texts entered by 14 different hands, and extending across two gatherings. It also contains copies of documents originating over a long period of time, from 2 July 1253 to 5 December 1492. Sequence 7 contained texts drawn from the period 23 November 1455 to 17 October 1470, and 20 of the entries into Cluster G coincide with that period. The cluster also contains two ‘runs’ of texts entered by single hands. The first of these contains eight texts entered by Hand 45 and extends from ff. 73v–79v. The second ‘run’ containing six texts is entered by Hand 1 from ff. 79v–81v. Although almost as long as some of the single-hand sequences, these two runs are different, as they do not facilitate the onward chronological progression of the cartulary, both containing texts from within period covered by Sequence 7.

There is evidence of this gathering growing in an inconsistent manner. On f. 82r a charter of Abbot Malcolm is completed in three different hands, and a long text recording a perambulation of land at Aberchirder, which can be seen running from ff. 82v–84r shows evidence of the engagement of two separate hands. The text is almost entirely entered by Hand 52, however Hand 53 made a further small contribution on lines 33 and 34, as well as adding another line of text in the bottom margin. It is not quite clear if the addition made at line 34 traces over text already entered by Hand 52, or represents an addition, perhaps of words which that hand omitted. (See Plate 3.12).

On ff. ff. 84v–85r Hand 54 entered two texts for Kingoldrum. His hand can then be seen again on the lower half of f. 85v, where he entered a perambulation of the lands of Ardlogie. In the space above this, at the top of f. 85r Hand 55 inserted an undated boundary statement, also for Kingoldrum. It does not completely fill the space, with around nine lines left blank between the two texts. Documents relating to the monks holding of Kingoldrum seem to have been numerous and were frequently copied, appearing in all four of Arbroath’s cartularies. It is possible that Hand 54 anticipated that other scribes might wish to make further additions to the pair of texts he entered on the subject, and left space on the folio for them to do so.

Dating Cluster G starts with looking at the dating evidence for Hand 31 who created Sequence 7, after which the cluster sits. This provides a reference point of 5 December 1487. The date of the perambulation entered by Hands 52 and 53 discussed above moves this cluster forward still, to 5 December 1492 at the earliest. Hand 52 is also one of the more cursive hands seen within the cartulary (see Plate 3.12) and palaeographic comparison might place his hand during the early years of the sixteenth century.<sup>74</sup> The evidence provided from the index shows that the first 17 texts entered into the cluster all have associated entries made in the process of compiling the core index. The index listings for the final nine texts, from the record of the boundaries of Guthrie on, have been added to the cartulary after this process has taken place. This provides a further indication that Cluster G may have started to accumulate as early as the late 1480's, but it appears to have grown inconsistently into the early sixteenth century.

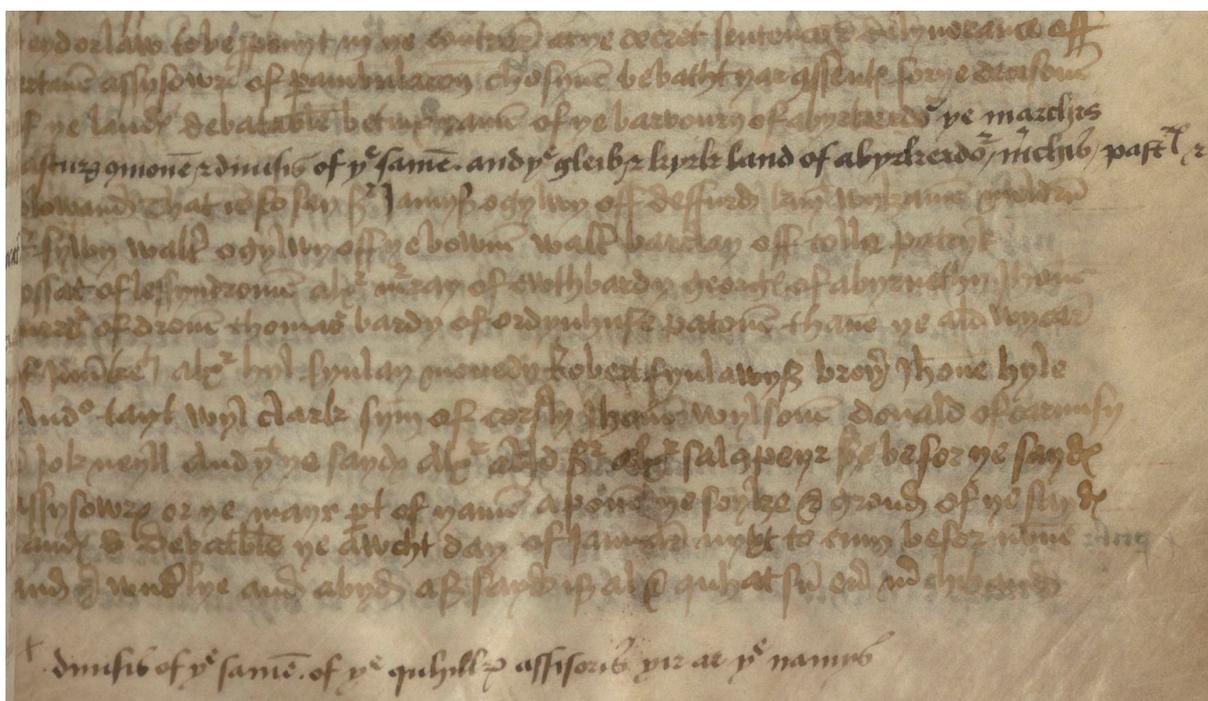


Plate 3:12: Hands 52 and 53 seen on f. 83r of the Arbroath RN

### Cluster H

Cluster H can be found on Gathering XIII, where it sits at ff. 95r–96v, on the space left after Hand 31 finished entering Sequence 8.

<sup>74</sup> NLS 15.1.18 no. 97 (1502).

Folio Range	Hand	Details	Date
95r–v	H58	<i>Scots</i> – Abbot George leases the fishery of Stok to James Crichton. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 209)	27 Jun 1482
95v	H1	David Herice, deputy baillie of Arbroath, gives sasine of a tenement in Almore to William Brewster. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 196)	13 May 1476
95v	H59	William, bishop elect of St Andrews, receives £160 from the hands of Abbot George of Arbroath. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 210)	1478–1482 <sup>75</sup>
96r	H60	Order of Abbot George to his baillies regarding the sasine of land at Banchory, held by the late John of Derry. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 188)	29 Jul 1472
96v	H61	Abbot George grants four portions of land in Aldmercatgate to Nicholas Hornar. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 193)	8 Oct 1474

Table 3-15: Arbroath *RN* - Cluster H

Cluster H contains only five texts entered in five different hands. Sequence 8 contained texts drawn from the period 3 November 1470 and 21 May 1481, and all five texts on Gathering H originate from within that period. The collation suggested for the Arbroath *RN*, seen in Table 3-3 above, shows that Gathering XIII consists of nine folios, most probably comprised of four bifolios and a single-sheet. F. 96, the final folio in the gathering, contains only two short texts, one each on the recto and the verso, entered by Hands 60 and 61. The three texts entered from ff. 95r–v completely fill all the available space, with no room to make further entries. This suggests that f.96 is the single-sheet, perhaps slipped in at the end of the gathering where it could be bound with texts from a similar period.

Hand 31, who created Sequence 8, provides us with a dating reference point of 5 December 1487, and as with Cluster G, the presence of Hand 1 suggests that these two hands were working at around a similar time, putting the creation date for Cluster H to around the end of the 1480's or into the 1490's. The index shows core entries for the first two texts entered into the cluster, but no listing can be found for the record of Abbot George transferring £160 to the bishop of St Andrews. The listing for Abbot George's order of sasine for Banchory is a later addition, squeezed in along the line of another listing for Banchory, and interestingly, the folio reference is given in Arabic, rather than Roman

<sup>75</sup> The text is undated, and the date of 1478–1482 is an estimation provided by the editors of the *Arbroath Liber*.

numerals. In contrast, the entry for the final document copied into the cluster, Abbot George's grant for Nicholas Hornar, was quite clearly made when the core index was being compiled. As noted above Cluster H sits at the end of Gathering XIII, which comprises nine folios and f. 96 seems likely to be the single-sheet. The evidence from the index suggests that the verso received copying before the recto. Rather than a non-sequential entry, it is possible that this single-sheet was bound the wrong way round. The cluster was commenced before the core index was created, and the single-sheet was added by that time too, however the final copying was not made into this cluster until at least the early sixteenth century.

### Cluster I

Cluster I can be found sitting on Gathering XIV at ff. 104v–105v, on the space left on the gathering after Hand 31 had completed entering Sequence 9.

Folio Range	Hand	Details	Date
104v–105r	H62	<i>Scots</i> –Alexander Simpson, procurator for Arbroath, complains about James Bonar to the Lords of Council. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 232)	20 Jan 1483
105r	"	Controversy between Arbroath and James Bonar over the tiends of Dunbog and Abernethy. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 233)	January 1483 <sup>76</sup>
105r–v	H63	Abbot William grants the lands of Forglen to Alexander Irvine. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 235)	6 Feb 1483
105v	"	Abbot William orders that Alexander Irvine be given sasine of Forlgen. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 236)	6 Feb 1483

Table 3-16: Arbroath *RN* - Cluster I

Cluster I contains only four texts entered by two hands (Hands 62 and 63). All four entries, which are drawn from a period of just over a month, coincide with the range of texts entered into Sequence 9.

Cluster I must date to after 5 December 1487, but there is little in the way of palaeographic evidence to differentiate Hands 62 and 63 from Hand 31, and the suggested date of creation for this cluster remains in the very late fifteenth century. The cluster sits at the end

<sup>76</sup> This is undated, but is related to the previous complaint against James Bonar and is likely to be of a similar date.

of Gathering XI, which contains nine folios. Sequence 9 extends almost to the bottom of f. 104v, and the single-sheet may have been added to provide Hand 62 and Hand 63 with just enough space to enter a few texts which coincide with the period covered within that sequence. All four texts contain core index listings, and the gathering may have accumulated quite soon after the sequence was completed.

### Cluster J

Cluster J sits at the end of Gathering XVI at ff. 120v–121v, on the space left after Hand 64 had completed Sequence 10.

Folio Range	Hand	Details	Date
120v	H65	Abbot David leases the garbal teinds of the church of Dunbog to Robert Henry and his son John. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 300)	10 Oct 1486
120v	H66	<i>Scots</i> - Memorandum announcing that the garbal teinds of <i>Newbygyn &amp; Kyrktounnmyl</i> have been assigned to Elizabeth Crichton and her son. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 294)	1485
121r	H65	Abbot David names procurators. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 310)	19 Apr 1487
121r	H67 (Bottom three lines)	As above.	"
121v	H1	Bishop George Broun announces the consecration and dedication of various churches and altars. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 267)	27 Aug 1485
121v	H68	Abbot David writes to his baillies recognising Alexander Ochterlony as the legitimate heir to the lands held by his late father. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 340)	6 May 1493

Table 3-17: Arbroath *RN* - Cluster J

Cluster J is quite short, containing only five texts entered by five different hands. Two of the texts, those dated 1485, coincide with Sequence 10, but all pertain to the period when Abbot David was in office.

In order to date the creation of this cluster we need to start with *terminus post quem* for Hand 64, which has already been established as 29 December 1485. The final text in the

cluster entered by Hand 68 cannot have been entered before 6 May 1493. The lack of any significant palaeographic differences between the five hands, and the fact that all the texts in the cluster have an associated core index entry, suggest that this cluster grew from the late 1480s to the middle of the 1490's.

### Cluster K

Cluster K starts on Gathering XVII, on the space left after Hand 31 entered Sequence 11. It commences on ff. 126v and extends onto Gathering XVIII, finishing on f. 133v.

Folio Range	Hand	Details	Date
126v	H69	Abbot David leases an eighth of Auchmithie to John Heithying and his wife. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 314)	26 Oct 1487
126v	"	Abbot David demits a quarter part of Auchmithie to Andrew Brydy and his wife.	26 Oct 1487 <sup>77</sup>
127r	"	Abbot David names procurators. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 316)	14 Aug 1488
127v	H70	Abbot David writes to the archbishop of St Andrews to inform him that he has presented John Lichtone to the church of Kirriemuir. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 272)	14 Nov 1485
127v	"	Abbot David writes to the archbishop of St Andrews to inform him that he has presented James Ogilvie to the church of Murroes. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 315)	9 Feb 1487
127v–128r	"	Abbot David leases the brewery house in the toun of Auchmithie to Duncan Scott and his wife. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 317)	29 Oct 1488
128r	H71	Abbot David leases two thirds of the park in the toun of South Terry to Andrew Scott and his sons. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 319)	24 Feb 1488
128v	"	Abbot David writes to the bishop of Aberdeen to inform him that he has presented Thomas Crann, alias Watson to the church of Fyvie. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 320)	3 May 1489
128v	"	Abbot David leases the garbal teinds of the church of Kirriemuir to Robert Gray. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 321)	7 May 1489
128v–129r	H72	Decrees of Abbot David for the governance of the monastery. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 43)	undated

<sup>77</sup> This does not seem to have been included in the *Arbroath Liber*.

129v	H1	Instrument of John Allan regarding the garbal teinds of <i>Ardaisty</i> and <i>Balhungy</i> . ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 289)	19 Jan 1485
130r	"	<i>Scots</i> – Thomas Dickson announces he has remitted to the abbot of Arbroath all sums of money collected by him and been paid in return. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 318)	11 Jan 1488
130r	H73	Abbot David writes to the archbishop of St Andrews to inform him that he has presented John Melmakar to the church of Ethie. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 322)	24 Oct 1489
130v	"	Abbot David writes to the archbishop of St Andrews to inform him that he has presented Robert Colinson to the church of Barry. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 323)	Dec 1489
130v	H74	Instrument of Thomas Fotheringham regarding the garbal teinds of <i>Westirpowry</i> , <i>Lumlathyn</i> , <i>Breithy Maioris</i> and <i>Westirgagy</i> . ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 325)	27 May 1490
131r	H75	<i>Scots</i> – Announcement that Abbot David is bound to William, archbishop of St Andrews, for the sum of 300 merks. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 328)	24 Sep 1490
131v	H76 (Lines 1–29)	Abbot David writes to the archbishop of St Andrews to inform him that he has presented John Terry to the church of Newtyle. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 330)	9 Nov 1490.
131v	H77 (From line 30)	<i>Nota</i> for above.	9 Jul 1494
132r	H78	Abbot David grants licence to David Duncan, monk, to travel overseas. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 327)	25 Aug 1490
132r–v	H79	<i>Scots</i> – Abbot David writes to John Doig to arrange the exchange of currency for David Duncan. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 326)	20 Aug 1490
132v	H80	Abbot David writes to the archbishop of St Andrews to inform him that he has presented John Lichtone to the church of Newtyle. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 329)	12 Oct 1490
132v–133r	"	Abbot David leases the church of Abernethy to John Ramsay of Kilgour. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 331)	4 Dec 1490
133v	"	Abbot David leases the garbal teinds of the church of Dunbog to Robert Henry and his son John. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 300)	10 Oct 1486

Table 3-18: Arbroath RN -Cluster K

Cluster K, like Cluster G, is spread across two gatherings. The sequence it follows contains texts drawn from the period 22 January 1485 to 5 December 1487, while the period of texts entered into Cluster K extends from 4 January 1485 to 4 December 1490. There is a very loose chronological ordering of the texts.

At the top of f. 129r, Hand 72 started to copy a document of Abbot David detailing a set of rules and regulations for governing the monastery. The document consists of three paragraphs, and extends to the bottom of the folio. Rather than complete the copying on f. 129v, however, Hand 72 entered the final seven lines of text on the available space on f. 128v, below Hand 71's entry of the lease of the garbal teinds of Kirriemuir. In order to highlight the connection between the text on f. 129r and the seven lines on f. 128v, a line has been drawn in red ink under the final line of text on f. 129r, and a cross entered next to the first line on f. 128v in the same red ink. It is possible that Hand 72 preferred to enter the final seven lines of text in a position that made it be possible for all of Abbot David's rules to be seen at a glance, or it could be that Hand 1 had already copied the instrument of John Allan on f. 129v, and the decision was one of necessity, rather than choice.

The final text in this cluster records the lease of the church of Dunbog, entered by at the top of f. 133v. It is the last of three texts entered by Hand 80. The text is incomplete, and a diagonal line has been scored through it. At the top of the folio, a modern note in pencil reads *vide f. 114 n. 359*. Text no. 359 can be found on f. 120v, entered by Hand 65, and is also the lease of Dunbog. In its complete version we can see that it is dated to 14 October 1486. Hand 80 has therefore started to enter the text and then abandoned the task mid-way through, when he became aware of the earlier entry at f. 120. It is possible that he too was responsible for scoring through the text, although this could have been done by a later reader of the manuscript.

With the exception of Hand 72's copy of Abbot David's rules, there is little in the way to suggest this sequence was entered in an inconsistent manner. The demarcation between Gathering XVII and XVIII is marked by only a small gap of seven lines at the bottom of f. 127v, and the cluster does not end at the bottom of a folio, but on line 20 of f. 133v, with Sequence 13 starting on the line immediately below. It is also noticeable that all of the documents entered into Cluster K contain a core listing in the index, suggesting this cluster had already accumulated onto the gathering by the time the core index was being

compiled. Curiously, the index also contains a core listing for the repeated and scored-out document concerning Dunbog, as well as the full version seen above in Cluster J.

The reference point for Hand 31 who entered the sequence which Cluster K sits behind is 5 December 1487, and the lack of any significant palaeographic differences between the hands within Cluster K suggest it grew quite quickly around the final decade of the fifteenth century. The abandonment of the final text by Hand 80 suggests at least that Cluster J was already under construction by the time the final text was being put to Cluster K.

### Cluster L

Cluster L can be found on Gathering XIX from ff. 136v–138r where it sits between two sequences; Sequence 12, entered by Hand 81, and Sequence 13, entered by Hand 87.

Folio Range	Hand	Details	Date
136v	H82 (Lines 1–3)	Abbot David leases the toun of <i>Dicmontislaw</i> to John Brown and his wife. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 367)	16 Feb 1496
136v	H83 (From line 4)	As above.	"
136v–137r	H83	Abbot David, with the assent of the prior of Fyvie, leases the land of Ardlogie to Elizabeth Barclay. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 368)	17 Feb 1496
137r	"	Abbot David leases Balfour and Kirkton with the mill to Oliver Ogilvy. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 369)	17 Feb 1496
137r	H84	Abbot David leases the garbal teinds of Kinaldie to Karl Brown. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 370)	8 Mar 1496
137v	H85	As above.	8 Mar 1496
137v–138r	H86	Abbot David leases Guthrie and <i>Westerbrekkie</i> to Sir Thomas Ogilvie. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 371)	8 Mar 1496

Table 3-19: Arbroath *RN* - Cluster L

Cluster L contains five texts entered by five different hands. The documents entered into the cluster are of a slightly later date than those included in Sequence 12, but they do all

originate from a period that spans only three weeks in early 1496. They also all record the leases of land or properties. There is no indication that any of these texts have been entered in a non-sequential fashion, but two of the hands (Hands 83 and Hand 85) are perhaps more noticeably cursive than most of those seen so far in the cartulary, and perhaps show similarities with palaeographical examples from the last decade of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>78</sup> There are also core index entries for all the texts entered into the cluster.

This cluster cannot have started to accumulate before Sequence 12 was completed. Hand 81, who entered that sequence has a *terminus post quem* of 6 April 1494, but as we can see from Table 3-19, the earliest Cluster L can have been created is the spring of 1496. The presence of core index entries for all the texts mean that it did not take long to accumulate on the gathering, and was already complete by the time the index was compiled in the early sixteenth century.

### Cluster M

Cluster M sits at the end Gathering XXIII, on ff. 169r–170v, in the space left after Hand 89 had completed Sequence 14.

Folio Range	Hand	Details	Date
169r–v	H92	King James III grants the creation of a burgh town in the burgh of Torry. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 355)	11 Dec 1495
169v–170r	H93	Abbot David grants the chapel of St Ninian to John Todd. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 334)	22 Jul 1492
170r–v	H94	Abbot David announces a commission to consider the dispute over the lands of Aberchirder. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 336)	3 Jan 1492

Table 3-20: Arbroath RN - Cluster M

Cluster M contains just three texts entered in three hands, and these are the final entries made to the cartulary. The texts range from the period covered by Sequence 14, and as with every text entered from f. 106r onwards, they date to the period when David Lichtone was abbot. Gathering XXIII is very short, containing only three folios, and a stub can be

<sup>78</sup> See especially NLS 15.1.18 nos. 76 (1490) and 97 (1502).

seen after f.170, presumably where the partner to f. 168 has been cut-away as it was not required.

These final texts were entered after Sequence 14. The *terminus post quem* for Hand 89, who created that long sequence was 17 December 1502, putting the creation of this final cluster in the first decade of the sixteenth century. There is no entry in the index for Abbot David's grant of the chapel of St Ninian, and both the entries for the remaining two texts appear to be later entries to the index; the entry for the royal grant for Torry sitting right at the end of the alphabetical sequence, and the listing for Abbot David's commission on Aberchirder sitting out of sequence. Therefore, Cluster M does not seem to have accumulated until after the core index was created in the early sixteenth century.

The 13 clusters of texts which accumulated in the spaces between the sequences identified above did so in a range of ways. Towards the front of the cartulary, hands were keen to place earlier texts beside sequences which also contained documents which originated from before the middle of the fourteenth century. Cluster A may also contain documents which record the later administration of properties originally gifted to the abbey in the early years of its existence. The placing of texts within Clusters A–I, though, represents only a loose pattern, and not one set in stone. The earliest clusters also contain texts drawn from wide periods of time, but as the cartulary progresses, the time period covered by the clusters narrows. This is particularly apparent from Cluster H onwards.

The clusters are self-contained in the spaces between sequences, and most end at the end of a gathering. Cluster G is perhaps different. It started on Gathering XI, where Sequence 7 ended. Hand 1 entered the final text on the gathering at f. 79v, and he entered the first five texts on Gathering XII, from ff. 80r–81v. Cluster G contains texts drawn from a particularly wide period, and it may be that Gathering XII was created to provide extra space for the hands who wished to make additional contributions to the cartulary, but were running out of spaces at the end of gatherings.

The four final sequences (J–M) are devoted to texts drawn from the period when David Lichtone was abbot. Only two of these are at the end of gatherings (J and M), while Cluster K extends across two gatherings and cluster L sits within a gathering. Both of these clusters finish within a gathering, rather than at the end of one. The pattern of sequence at

the start of a gathering, followed by a cluster towards the end ceases in this section of the cartulary.

The index listings provide another layer of evidence for how the clusters accumulated. Perhaps, the most striking thing they reveal is that the later clusters, from perhaps Cluster H onwards (with the exception of Cluster M), contain a proportionately higher number of texts that accumulated in time for inclusion in the core index. In particular, the long Cluster K, contains 22 texts, all of which were present on the manuscript by the time the core index was being compiled. This further adds to the impression that the later portions of the manuscript, particularly ones from f. 106r onwards, were subject to a contemporary and regular process of ‘updating’, rather than the retrospective and informal process of selection and copying which took place in the earlier gatherings.

### The contents of the Arbroath RN

The above analysis has laid out the way in which the Arbroath *RN* grew by the contribution of many hands, who engaged in different ways to create the manuscript. However, it does not tell us much about the types of documents the cartulary contains. Although the earliest documents copied into the cartulary date back to the late twelfth century, work did not start on this volume until the very late fifteenth century, perhaps as late as the 1480’s or 1490’s. By this period, the abbey’s archive would have accumulated documents over the course of three centuries, and the number and variety of texts available to the scribes who copied into the Arbroath *RN* would presumably have been far greater than those who planned the creation of the Arbroath *Ethie* and Arbroath *RV*. Perhaps one of the most noticeable differences between this and the two earlier volumes is the lack of interest in copying royal documents. In total, out of the 508 texts contained within the manuscript, only 14 were issued by a monarch. The only document copied in the name of the abbey’s founder, King William I, records his gift of a toft in Montrose, made to Robert of London.<sup>79</sup> Three confirmations of his son and heir, King Alexander II, all of which are entered as part the grouping of texts associated with the Mearns, can be found within Cluster A, along with an associated *inspeximus* by King David II.<sup>80</sup> Three royal commands to pay money from Kinghorn for candles to light King William’s tomb were also copied

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<sup>79</sup> This can be found on f. 15v, copied by Hand 28, and is published as *RRS*, iii, no. 351.

<sup>80</sup> See Table 3-8 above.

into Cluster A, one each of King Robert I, King David II and King Robert III.<sup>81</sup> One further document issued by King Robert I, granting the monks freedom from legal prosecutions while he travelled to Norway, was entered by Hand 1 into Sequence 2 at f. 22r.<sup>82</sup> A royal command, in the name of King James III, and concerning the land of Bucht, can be found in Sequence C at f. 28v entered by Hand 29.<sup>83</sup> Ten of the 14 royal texts copied into the Arbroath *RN* can therefore be found towards the front of the manuscript, entered either into Clusters A or C, or Sequence 2.

Three of the four remaining royal texts concern perambulations. Two of these are in the name of King James II and were entered by Hand 31, one each within Sequences 6 and 7, and one in the name of King James III, entered at f. 80r by Hand 1 in Cluster G.<sup>84</sup> The final royal document copied into the cartulary can be seen at ff. 93v–94r within Sequence 8 where Hand 31 copied a confirmation made by King James III of an agreement made between Arbroath and John Stewart over the land of *Balnamonysmyr*.<sup>85</sup>

Arbroath Abbey was fortunate to be the recipient of many royal gifts and donations. The evidence of these was available to the monks in the form of royal confirmations made by several generations of the kings of Scotland. The abbey's founder King William I, provided a general confirmation towards the end of his reign on 25 February 1213.<sup>86</sup> His successor, and his son and successor King Alexander II, also provided the monks with a renewal of those possessions early in his reign on 1 March 1215. At least four later monarchs also inspected King William's confirmation of 1213.<sup>87</sup> Yet these important documents did not attract the attention of the scribes who created the Arbroath *RN*. Rather, the royal texts they did copy are overwhelmingly related to the administration of individual properties and enforcing specific rights or gifts, rather than exhibiting any wish to project the overall scope of royal generosity.

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<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> *RRS*, v, no. 402.

<sup>83</sup> See Table 3–10 for a description of this text.

<sup>84</sup> The commands of King James II that perambulations be made are one between Mundurno and Belhevlie entered at f. 48r (*Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 103), and one between Ochterlony and Forfar at f. 53v (*Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 110). The perambulation seen in Cluster G ordered by King James III also concerned the boundaries between Ochterlony and Forfar. See Table 3–14 above.

<sup>85</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 206.

<sup>86</sup> *RRS*, ii, no. 513 and *RRS*, iii, no. 8 respectively.

<sup>87</sup> King Robert I on 1 December 1322 (*RRS*, v, no. 214), King David II on 17 June 1341 (*RRS*, vi, no. 25), King James I on 1 January 1436, and King James III on 20 June 1486.

The majority of the royal texts are placed towards the front of the manuscript, and are of a relatively early date. As the cartulary progresses in a chronological manner, the variety of documents copied diminishes, and the focus of the cartulary scribes seems to narrow. One or two leases can be seen, peppered throughout the earliest portions of the cartulary, and these increase as the dates of the texts entered becomes later.<sup>88</sup> The number of leases noticeably increases in Sequence 9 which dates from the period when William Bonkill was abbot. However, from f. 106r, where the texts which date to the time of Abbot David Lichtone commence, to the end of the cartulary, around 110 of the 199 texts are records of leases. The description provided for the Arbroath *RN* in *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, is ‘register of leases’, and it is easy to see why.<sup>89</sup> As detailed above, leases form a particularly large portion of the documents copied, especially from around the third quarter of the fifteenth century onwards. However, the cartulary is not completely formed of leases, especially in the earlier sequences and clusters, which contain a wide variety of documents, including charters recording gifts, subsequent confirmations, and agreements over various issues and lands. In the later sections of the cartulary entries recording the presentation of priests to churches are prominent as well, with over 30 texts of such events entered from f. 106r onwards.

## Conclusion

The Arbroath *RN* bears the hallmark of community involvement. Six hands worked to create the 14 sequences which give the cartulary its basic architecture. Dozens of additional hands then responded to their work and found appropriate spaces left in the cartulary in which they could make their own contribution. Although the sequences provided the cartulary with its basic structure, the free spaces left at the end of gatherings indicate that from its inception, there was an understanding that the manuscript would hold more than just the texts contained in the 14 sequences. The Arbroath *RN* is a product from the period when David Lichtone was Arbroath’s abbot, and palaeographical evidence points to a creation date of around the last decade of the fifteenth century, and the first decade of the sixteenth century. There are no significant features to suggest any of the hands were working significantly later than the others, and it is possible to speculate that several gatherings may have grown simultaneously. This is perhaps most noticeable in the

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<sup>88</sup> The earliest lease is for the land of Bucht, datable to 1309 × 30 May 1311 is entered within Sequence 2 at f. 16r–v by Hand 1. (*Arb. Lib.*, 1, no. 326).

<sup>89</sup> *Med. Carts* (2010), p. 229.

gatherings which contain the first 11 sequences, nine of which commence at the beginning of a gathering defined by a quire signature, and another begins where an original small gathering may have begun at f. 48, which was later incorporated into what is now Gathering VII. The remaining anomaly (the second sequence) can readily be accounted for by identifying the first folio in Gathering II as a singleton that was originally at the end of the first gathering (containing the index). This raises the possibility that Sequences 1 to 11 could have been created simultaneously, by a process of dividing the work between the different scribes and making each one responsible for copying documents from a specific period of time. How those documents were selected is less clear; but it seems likely that there must have been some parameters in place.

Although there is a loose chronological momentum which can be seen working its way throughout the manuscript, the cartulary changes character as it progresses. This is partly due to the changing nature of the texts copied. From the start of the cartulary to the end of Cluster I at f. 105v the range of texts copied is quite wide, and although from Sequence 7 onwards all the sequences can be seen to start with the arrival or departure of an abbot, the texts those sequences contain do not always neatly dovetail with the period of his rule. Up until the end of Cluster I there seem to have been attempts to keep texts of similar dates in close proximity to one another. But this is not a practice that was set in stone, and a hand who wished to enter a short run of associated texts may have been limited by the space still available. Had the placing of similarly dated texts together been a crucial issue, then it would have made sense to add extra folios or gatherings to ensure that they could all be accommodated together, but it is not often that we see this in practice.

The most complex point of the cartulary is Gathering VII, where Sequence 6 starts uncharacteristically on the third folio of the gathering. As is shown above, though, the composition of Gathering VII is likely to be the result of the current binding process, and this, plus the loss of two folios between ff. 46 and 47, has obscured the fact that a small gathering consisting of four folios once existed, which would have sat between modern Gatherings VI and VII. As Sequence 5 finished right at the end of Gathering VI, at the bottom of f. 45v, then this small gathering may have been created purely for the purpose of enabling multi-scribe growth (or perhaps Sequence 5 extended onto it). Of the four surviving texts from the cluster, three do pertain to the period covered by Sequence 5. One extra gathering was also created (Gathering XII) which allowed Cluster G to grow from

the final folios of Gathering XI to cover all of the new gathering. However, the texts entered onto the gathering are drawn from a very wide period, stretching all the way from July 1253 to *c.* 1470.<sup>90</sup> So although the gathering may have been created in response to the demand for space by hands who wished to contribute to the cartulary, it was not created to hold texts from the time of a specific abbot, or to coincide with a particular sequence. On two occasions, the need for extra space did not require the creation of a whole new gathering and an additional single-sheet provided enough space for the needs of the hands creating the clusters. These can be seen as the final folios on Gatherings XIII and XIV, the only nine-folio gatherings seen in the cartulary.

From f. 106r, where the election of David Lichtone as Arbroath's new abbot is announced, the character of the cartulary alters. Every text entered into the manuscript from this point on is datable to his abbacy. Sequences and clusters are still visible, but the division between them is not quite so clear-cut as it was in those which contained texts dating to before his arrival. The cartulary becomes progressively more chronologically ordered, even within the clusters, and the pattern of sequences sitting at the start of gatherings, and clusters accumulating at the end is lost. The palaeography and the *termini post quem* identified for four sequence hands (Hands 64, 81, 87 and 89) point to the cartulary being created during Abbot David's period at Arbroath, perhaps towards the end of his time as abbot. The differences seen between the sections of the cartulary which include documents created before his abbacy, and those which date to during his abbacy may relate to the differences between organising historical archival material, and dealing with contemporary documents. Sequences 1–9 would have been created by selecting material from the past and organising it into batches to be copied as sequences, and there does not seem to have been a single standard method for deciding the parameters of those sequences. Although the sequences give the cartulary a loose chronological momentum, because none cover a standard period or can definitely be identified as pertaining to a particular abbot, the cartulary lacks a strict order or cohesion. The apparent difference between these early portions of the cartulary and everything from f. 106r may therefore be that the hands who contributed to this later section were dealing with contemporary material. Rather than requiring to select arbitrary time periods in the past, the period covered within each sequence, and within each cluster, were contemporary with the scribes. If that was the case, then the breakdown of the pattern of sequences seen towards the end of the cartulary

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<sup>90</sup> See Cluster G and Table 3.14 above.

becomes more understandable. There would have been no need to separate sequences out onto individual gatherings, and for clusters to be contained only at the end of gatherings, if the material being copied represented an ongoing single unit that was being updated, perhaps not constantly, but probably regularly. The evidence from the index also supports this impression, with the clusters entered towards the end of the cartulary being more likely to have an associated core index listing, and the clusters towards the beginning of the cartulary showing piecemeal, and perhaps more gradual growth.

The discussion above highlights the contrasts contained within the Arbroath *RN*. There is evidence of pre-planned campaigns of work interspersed with the piecemeal accumulation of texts. While the latter part of the cartulary seems to have been focused on updating contemporary material, especially leases, the first 14 gatherings contain a wide selection of texts drawn from a much broader period throughout the abbey's history. Although it is true that many cartularies contain different modes of copying, what is significant here is that they were happening at the same time. This is not a cartulary in which a coherent body of work was created and only then did scribes return to make 'later additions'. In the previous two chapters we have looked at manuscripts which came into being through single campaigns of copying, and which grew by the creation of new gatherings to allow further scribal engagement. Although in Chapter 1 it was identified that Gathering *F* of the Arbroath Ethie is likely to have been created while Hand 1 was still working, the Arbroath *RN* provides us with the first firm evidence that the creation of cartularies was a communal affair, from the very earliest stages of selecting and arranging texts. This means it was not merely a phenomenon that occurred once a significant amount of copying had already been carried out. It must have been anticipated that the scribes who started off the process of copying were not the only ones who would wish to contribute, and that the manuscript would be shaped by what scribes were interested in copying, rather than being a continuation of the initial section. There may have been a degree of freedom around what archival material was copied, although perhaps a decision was made that the latter half of the cartulary would concentrate on copying current material.

The loose identification of sequences with particular time periods (and perhaps with specific abbots) might point to how the archive was arranged during the period when the scribes were working. In common with the Arbroath Ethie and Arbroath *RV* we lack any written evidence to tie the arrangement of documents within the Arbroath *RN* to archival

management. However, although the rather loose chronological ordering (and the lack of any topographical arrangement) does not suggest that this cartulary was part of a reorganisation process, it might hint at how the archive looked in the late fifteenth century. If documents were bundled into sacks or boxes, perhaps linked to the rule of specific abbots, then scribes might be choosing their documents to copy from those bundles and consequently the arrangement of the cartulary reflects the archival practice. Evidence remains from Fountains Abbey of an archival system in which charters were originally collated into small bundles and stored in chests, unfortunately we don't have any evidence to tell us if Arbroath used a similar system, nor does the Arbroath *RN* does contain any explicit references to how the shape of the sequences relate to the organisation of the abbey's archive.<sup>91</sup> Sometimes, the contents of a cartulary might help us understand archival practices, especially when the manuscript contains a wide selection of texts, however in a manuscript like the Arbroath *RN* where the contents are focussed quite narrowly on a particular type of document, that relationship is more likely to remain obscure.

GRC Davis described the Arbroath *RN* as a 'register of leases'. The NLS catalogue also suggests it is a 'register of leases recording the administration of the lands, churches and tithes of the abbey', and it is not hard to see why.<sup>92</sup> Administrative documents, especially leases, do indeed dominate the contents, with relatively few royal charters, as noted above. This seems to explain the tendency to describe the Arbroath *RN* in English as a 'register' rather than a 'cartulary', and why it is assumed to be closely associated with 'administration'. There is a subtle but crucial distinction, however, between a manuscript which contains (or 'records') administrative texts, and one which functions as part of the administrative process. In the case of the Arbroath *RN*, the arrangement of texts would not have facilitated daily usage as an administrative aid as such. Although the index would have enabled users to find documents related to specific places and holdings, it is not possible to show – nor is it likely, given its overall nature – that the manuscript was intended as an aid to managing the abbey's possessions and income. Instead, any 'administrative' usage would be in the context of the community having access to these specific texts for the purpose of reading or general consultation.

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<sup>91</sup> Spence, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey*, p. 129.

<sup>92</sup> *Fifteenth-century manuscript of the cartulary of Arbroath Abbey*, NLS, <https://manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/19351> (accessed 14 April 2022).

The obscuring of the original structure of the cartulary to some extent by later binding stages is a reminder that cartularies do not cease to evolve once the final text is entered onto the manuscript, and that what we see within the most recent bindings may be different to how the manuscript looked to the cartulary scribes. In the case of the Arbroath *RN*, the manuscript remained in a state of change, even once the core index was created. And the evidence of later hands adding additional index entries or even correcting or amending core entries is proof of both how useful a navigational tool they found the index to be, and of the continued level of engagement which the community had with the cartulary, even once it had received all of its texts.

In many ways this manuscript is very different from the two we have looked at so far. Most obviously it is a work planned and executed from the start by several members of the community, rather than just the campaign of a single scribe. It also focuses very strongly on one type of text, leases, which are not abundant in the earlier cartularies, and is much less interested in royal texts, with which the Arbroath Ethie and the Arbroath *RV* abound. If the cartulary was being updated with current records, then the preponderance of leases copied into the manuscript might reflect the most common type of document being produced within the abbey. There is one fundamental way, though, in which the creation of the Arbroath *RN* was more or less identical to the earlier two cartularies we have seen. Each started with an initial campaign, whether single-scribe or multi-hand, and each was expected to grow. In the earlier two cartularies, new gatherings were created, in the case of the Arbroath *RN*, spaces were left within the manuscript on which it must have been expected that further texts would accumulate. The flexibility of the form is slightly different, and the texts entered differ, but the fundamental process remained the same and so did the driving principle behind that process: to allow a wide range of texts from the archive to be available for reading for the community as a whole. The selection and arrangement of sequences are likely to have been undertaken as accepted pieces of work, but the clusters are more likely to have accumulated through individual reading and interest. In the Arbroath *RN* it becomes possible to see that formal labour and informal engagement were both integral parts of the act of cartularisation at Arbroath.

## Chapter 4 : The Arbroath BL

The next and final cartulary to be analysed was created by the monks of Arbroath during the first half of the sixteenth century. The manuscript, now held by the British Library, came into public ownership in 1887, when the British Museum purchased items from the Duke of Hamilton. A flyleaf inscription reading *Purchased of Dr Lippmann, 1887* points to the involvement of the art historian Friedrich Lippmann in the sale.<sup>1</sup> Another inscription can be seen on f. 29v, and reads: *Richardus Augustinus de la Haye Scotus. Canonicus Regularis divaë. GENOVEFÆ Parisiensis Prior San Petri de Petri Monte ad altum Fluvium. Refecit. Anno 1696*. The cartulary therefore must have been in France at the end of the seventeenth century, although whether Richard Hay, who was born in Edinburgh, took it with him or acquired it once there isn't known. In later life, Father Hay returned to Edinburgh where poverty forced him to sell some of his collection of manuscripts, and it may be at this point that it was bought by the Hamilton family.<sup>2</sup> Because the cartulary was still in private hands when the *Arbroath Liber* was produced in the mid-nineteenth century, the volume's editors were unaware of its existence. Therefore, although many of the documents copied into it have been published as a consequence of their appearance in other formats (either as surviving original single-sheets or in one of the abbey's other medieval cartularies), there are also a significant number of texts within it which have never appeared in print.

So far, it has been established that all three manuscripts studied grew by a combined process of single-scribe campaigns and subsequent multi-scribe accrual. Despite this, there are obvious differences between the Arbroath *RN* and the two earlier cartularies. The Arbroath Ethie and Arbroath *RV* were both started by the action of a single scribe, whereas in the Arbroath *RN* this process was a combined affair, split between six different hands. It is also noticeable that whereas the two earlier cartularies contain many different types of texts, the documents copied into the Arbroath *RN* come from a narrower spectrum, and show a significant interest in copying leases and the presentation of new vicars to parish

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<sup>1</sup> The same inscription can be seen in at least one of the other manuscripts bought by the British Museum from the Hamilton Collection. See f. iir of *Encomium Emmae reginae*, BL, <[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add\\_MS\\_33241](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_33241)> (accessed 2 April 2022).

<sup>2</sup> Mark Dilworth, 'Hay, Richard [*name in religion* Augustine] (1661–1736?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); online edn, September 2004, <https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12735> (accessed 31 March 2022).

churches. Having another cartulary, which post-dates the Arbroath *RN*, provides us with the opportunity of seeing if these differences were sustained, and therefore represent changing trends in the way cartularies were created at Arbroath in the late medieval period.

### Manuscript Description

#### *Gatherings*

The cartulary is bound, although the current binding does not appear to be medieval.

- There are three flyleaves at the front and back of the manuscript. These have no foliation.
  - The recto of the first flyleaf contains faint writing in pencil, which looks to be a list of numbers. At the lower outer margin of the verso, in a modern hand someone has written a short list which reads 398 B, 466 E, 479 f. The last two items in this list have been scored out.
  - The recto of the second flyleaf shows the inscription of Friedrich Lippmann, discussed above.
  - The third flyleaf is blank.
  - The three flyleaves at the end of the cartulary are also blank.

The manuscript contains 186 parchment folios in 25 gatherings.

- Gatherings I–III.
  - A comprehensive index sits on ff.1–29. The binding in this section is too tight to allow for a full understanding of the structure, although sewing can be seen between ff. 24 and 25. This points to there being a 10-folio gathering running from ff. 20 to 29. From this it can be inferred that ff. 1–19 is likely to be made-up of two gatherings, although we don't know how many folios each one contains.
- Gatherings IV–XXV. These are the gatherings on which the texts are entered.
  - Gathering IV contains seven folios (ff. 30–36).<sup>\*3</sup>
  - Gatherings V–VI each contain eight folios (ff. 37–44, ff. 45–52).
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  - Gatherings VII–VIII each contain eight folios (ff. 53–60, ff. 61–68).

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<sup>3</sup> An asterisk indicates sections of the cartulary where folios are missing. These will be discussed under the heading 'Losses'.

- Gathering IX contains six folios (ff. 69–74).
- Gathering X contains five folios (ff. 75–79).\*
- Gathering XI contains eight folios (ff. 80–87).
- Gathering XII is a bifolio (ff. 88–89).
- Gathering XIII contains six folios (ff. 90–95).
- Gathering XIV contains six folios (ff. 96–101).\*
- Gathering XV contains seven folios (ff. 102–108).\*
- Gatherings XVI–XXII each contains eight folios (ff. 109–116, ff. 117–124, ff. 125–132, ff. 133–140, ff. 141–148, ff. 149–156, ff. 157–164).
- Gathering XXIII contains six folios (ff. 165–170).
- Gatherings XXIV and XXV each contains eight folios (ff. 171–178, ff. 179–186).

### *Foliation*

There are two distinct types of foliation marks on the manuscript:

- **Arabic numerals:** written by a modern hand in pencil on the top right corner of the manuscript, commencing at f. 1 and extending in an unbroken run all the way to the end of the manuscript at f. 186. These will be used to refer to the manuscript from now on.
- **Roman numerals:** these earlier foliation marks commence at the start of Gathering IV on f. 30 and run to the end of the manuscript, although it lacks f. i, ff. xxv–xxxii and ff. lxxix–lxxx. Additionally, f. lxxxii has been repeated.

### *Losses*

It is clear from the Roman numeral foliation that the manuscript has suffered some losses.

- The first folio missing is f. i. Gathering IV would therefore have originally comprised eight folios, but the first folio has been cut away with associated loss of text.
- An entire regular gathering of eight folios has been lost between Gatherings VI and VII, with the loss of ff. xxv–xxxii.

- Gathering X would originally have consisted of six folios, the first folio having been cut away, although with no apparent loss of text and the Roman numeral foliation is undisturbed.
- Gathering XIV would originally have consisted of eight folios, having lost its central bifolio (ff. lxxix–lxxx) and f. lxxxi is repeated in error, and can be seen on both ff. 99 and 100.
- Gathering XV would also have originally consisted of eight folios. The first folio has been cut away but with no apparent loss of text and the Roman numeral foliation is undisturbed.

The folios cut away without loss of text or disruption to the Roman numeral foliation may have been removed when the manuscript was first being bound. The folios and gathering which have been lost from the Roman numeral foliation must have happened later, but presumably before the manuscript was bound in its current form. Because the missing folios which contained text were lost after the creation of the index, it is possible to get an indication of the texts they may have held, and a list of these can be found in Appendix II.

### Index

The first three gatherings of the manuscript, comprising ff. 1–29, contains an index. It appears to be written in a single hand (although some of the folio numbers themselves may have been entered by different hands). Although there are strong similarities with the scribe who copied the main body of the cartulary, the scribe who created the index will be referred to here as the Arbroath BL index scribe. At the top of f. 1r a rubric in red ink reads

*Sententiarum verborum ac rerum presertim notabilium locorum item quorundam limitum in registro sequenti memorandum Index serie literaria exactius collecta.*

‘Index of sentences, words, and subjects, especially of notable places; also of certain boundaries; in the following register of records gathered together exactly in alphabetical order.’

The first letter of each entry is coloured alternatively red and blue. While there are some texts within the manuscript which are written in Scots, the index is entirely in Latin.<sup>4</sup> Despite the medieval foliation seen on Gatherings IV–XXV being applied in Roman numerals, the folio numbers in the index are generally given in a medieval form of Arabic numerals. Occasionally, however, a Latin word is used to refer to a particular folio, e.g., *primo* or *secundo*.<sup>5</sup> The index entries correctly refer to the places within the cartulary where the associated documents are copied, and it could be that the index was compiled before the Roman numerals had been added to the manuscript and the folio references inserted once the foliation was made. There are hints that this might be the case. Peppered throughout the index are entries which end with *fol.* but with no associated number, as though the entries were composed prior to the folio references being known, and the scribe has forgotten to go back and fill in the blank spaces.<sup>6</sup> Although the creation of the index must post-date the entry of the texts, it may not do so by much. The process of compiling it (and adding the Roman numeral foliations) may have taken place as part of the process of preparing the manuscript to receive its first bindings.

This index is the most thorough finding aid created for any of Arbroath's cartularies. The tabula in the Arbroath *RV* referred only to a specific sequence of texts within that cartulary, and not the entire contents of the manuscript. The rubrics for each listing were short and basic, and as it was arranged numerically it would have been difficult to use it to locate a document. The alphabetical index in the Arbroath *RN* would have made it much easier to locate texts related to a specific place, but the entries for each text were limited to just a few words. Consequentially, it might have taken a bit of searching before a reader found exactly what they were looking for. In contrast, the index for the Arbroath *BL* is much more comprehensive. The entries are arranged alphabetically by place, as they were in the index for the Arbroath *RN*, and some of them are quite short, extending to about a line of text. In general, though, the summaries provided for each entry are more informative than the very brief descriptions provided in the earlier cartulary, and on occasion they are very detailed indeed.<sup>7</sup> The entry for a confirmation provided by the earl of Buchan contains 9

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<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, the letter of obligation from Thomas of Fife to Abbot Malcolm written in Scots on ff. 68r–69r and the associated Latin entry in the index on f. 3v, as well as the charter of John Anderson concerning Elgin in Scots on ff. 182v–183r and the associated Latin entry in the index on f. 12r.

<sup>5</sup> For examples of this see lines 1 and 9 of f. 1v, the final line of f. 19v, and line 1 of f. 17r.

<sup>6</sup> For example, see the entry for Fordoun commencing on line 15 of f. 12v, and three consecutive entries for Forglen on f. 13v, all of which lack associated folio numbers.

<sup>7</sup> For example, see f. 28r–v where entries for gifts containing tofts are listed under 'T' for *toftorum*.

lines of text, whereas an index entry for the same text copied into the Arbroath *RN* contains only five words (see plates 4.1 and 4.2 below).<sup>8</sup> And the entry for a letter of protection of King Robert I stretches across 30 lines from ff. 24v–25r.

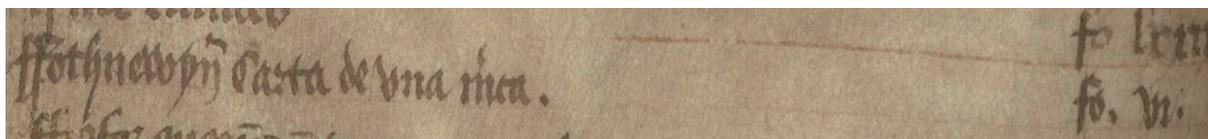


Plate 4:1: Index entry for the earl of Buchan's confirmation on f. 3v of the Arbroath *RN*

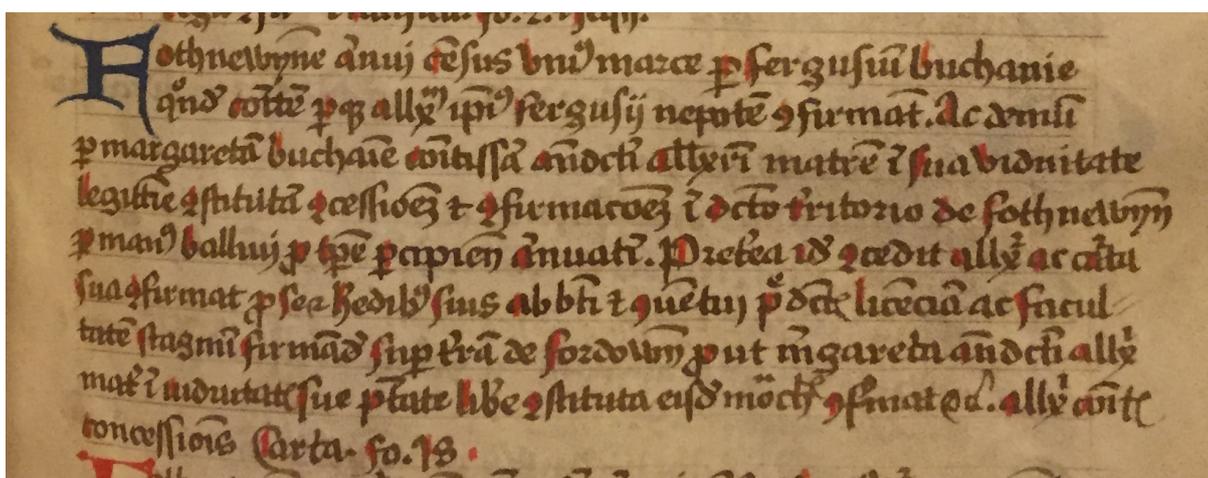


Plate 4:2: Index entry for the earl of Buchan's confirmation on f. 14r of the Arbroath *BL*

The level of detail included in the entries make the index in the Arbroath *BL* a very efficient guide to the contents of the cartulary. The scribe also went further to ensure that it was possible to identify the different gifts which might be held within a single document. He must have carefully read and examined each document, and where a text contained multiple gifts or transactions, he created a discrete index entry for each one. This can be most prominently seen in relation to royal documents. King Robert I's inspection of King William's grand confirmation of 1213 has been broken down into its component parts, and an index entry created for each gift. Then, when that gift is mentioned again in subsequent confirmations, an additional folio reference is provided as well. The result is that the index contains more individual entries than the number of documents copied into the cartulary, and many entries have more than a single associated folio reference. The level of detail to which the index scribe has gone, and the significant efforts he made to extract every gift and create associated entries, often including quite a lot of useful detail, means that the

<sup>8</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 1, no. 310.

index in the Arbroath BL is an impressive and informative campaign of work. Readers of the index alone would have been able to understand what was in the cartulary without necessarily reading the entire manuscript itself. They could, for example, have tracked the gifts related to a specific place without looking up each individual text. This would have been useful for those readers interested in a single place or possession, but because the index entries are listed by gift, rather than by text, anyone who wanted to understand the wider documentary context would have needed to read the cartulary itself.

### Internal arrangement of texts

The texts listed in the index are entered onto the remaining 22 gatherings from f. 30 to f. 186. These 157 folios contain charters, agreements and other documents covering the long period from the abbey's foundation in the late twelfth century to the first half of the sixteenth century (at least). The earliest datable text is that of King William I's confirmation of Arbroath's gift of land at Inverpeffer to Walkelin the brewer of 1178, while the latest text to which a date can be accurately ascribed is a record of the order of sasine of a tenement in Aberdeen, dated 6 July 1531.<sup>9</sup> Each charter is preceded by a rubric in red ink, and the initial letter of each charter is engrossed and coloured in red and blue ink. Occasionally, the engrossed capital has been cut from the manuscript and removed, leaving only a hole in the parchment where it would have been and perhaps the remains of some decoration surrounding it.<sup>10</sup>

The texts are overwhelmingly the work of a single scribe, who copied all but one of the documents which the manuscript contains. A single text, a boundary statement for Kingoldrum, written in Scots is entered by a different hand.<sup>11</sup> As noted above, the latest date of any text he copied was 6 July 1531. He wrote in a semi-formal bookhand for which there are few comparitors. Because he is just about the only hand seen within the cartulary it is not possible to apply Joanna Tucker's system of relative dating to map the evolution of the manuscript. Therefore, in common with the sequence hands of the Arbroath *RN*, the *terminus post quem* of 6 July 1531 will best be considered as a reference point for the period when he was likely to have been working.

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<sup>9</sup> See King William's gift to Walkelin is on f. 136v, and the *inspeximus* is entered at ff. 76v–77v. (The former is published as *RRS*, ii, no. 209).

<sup>10</sup> For example, f. 37r and f. 70v.

<sup>11</sup> This appears at f. 180r.

Much of the Arbroath *RV* was also contributed by a single scribe (described as Hand 8), and within his work it was possible to identify different sequences. This phenomenon is not quite so apparent within the work of the Arbroath BL scribe. 17 of the gatherings in the manuscript have texts which run from the final folio of one gathering onto the first folio of the next one, meaning few of the gatherings could be considered to hold independent sequences of texts. Nor is there any indication of breaks in the ‘flow’ of texts being entered, such as blank spaces left on folios, or texts being squeezed into small spaces, suggestive of them being added at a later date. Although there are no catchwords, the texts running across gatherings and the lack of spaces between texts creates the impression of a manuscript which has been written in a single campaign, and which was meant to be read in the order in which it is currently bound. Although it is not possible to identify the Arbroath BL as being the result of different campaigns, some observations about the internal arrangement of the cartulary are possible.

The first 59 folios contain only copies of royal documents, or documents resulting from a royal command. There are five documents in the name of King Alexander II copied into this section of the cartulary, but there are no documents of the abbey’s founder, King William I.<sup>12</sup> Instead, the Arbroath BL scribe’s preference has been to copy texts from the reign of King Robert I onwards. Instead of copying King William I’s confirmation of 1213, the scribe has chosen to start the cartulary with an inspection of it, carried-out by King Robert I, and then, to copy it immediately again. This is followed by later inspections of the founder’s confirmation by King David II and King James I, although King David’s inspection is not copied out in full. King James I’s inspection was carried-out in January 1436, and in November of the same year, he provided Arbroath with another confirmation of their possessions. This is the next text copied into the cartulary, followed by two inspections of that text by royal officials, and a further inspection by King James III (of both King James I’s and King William’s confirmations). It is only after all these documents that a confirmation of King Alexander II is copied. After this point, the royal documents copied are related to individual privileges or gifts, rather than grand

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<sup>12</sup> The five documents of King Alexander II include a general confirmation provided at the beginning of his reign in 1215 entered at ff. 43r–44v (*RRS*, iii, no. 8). A command to his sheriffs and baillies that all debts due to the monks be paid promptly, dated 3 March 1246 is copied twice in succession on ff. 46v–47r (*RRS*, iii, no. 306). An order that bequests made to the monks for buildings be allowed (probably dated 18 April 1215) is entered at f. 50v (*RRS*, iii, no. 19). A confirmation of the lands of Kingoldrum in forest dated 27 December 1218 × 1220 is entered at f. 55r (*RRS*, iii, no. 54).

confirmations. The next nine documents all contain royal orders that uphold privileges or enforce the rights which the abbey held. Following this, at ff. 47r–48v, is a grant of King John providing the monks of Arbroath with the right of toll-free trading in England, dated 19 February 1206. It is followed by a subsequent inspection of his gift by King Henry III dated 16 November 1260, and an inspection of that document by King Henry VI dated 29 July 1462. This is the only place in any of Arbroath's cartularies that English royal documents can be found, despite the fact that the earliest one, provided by King John, must have been present in the abbey's archive several decades before the creation of the Arbroath Ethie. There are a further 31 documents copied into this section after the charters of the English kings, and of those 20 are in the name of either King Robert I, or his son King David II. Most of the documents are commands upholding the abbey's rights, or inspections of older donations, rather than brand new gifts or privileges.<sup>13</sup>

It is also worth remember that an entire gathering of eight folios has been lost within this section of the cartulary (between current Gatherings VI and VII). Because the cartulary contains such a detailed index it has been possible to discover the listings for the texts which were held on the lost gathering (and also for the missing two folios between modern f. 98 and f.99). These can be found on Appendix II, which shows that there were a further 21 documents copied onto the missing gathering, all but five of which were royal documents, meaning the section containing royal texts would have originally stretched to cover four full gatherings. Of the sixteen royal documents only two pre-date King Robert I (one each of Kings Alexander II and III), once again indicating that the Arbroath BL scribe was particularly focused on copying royal documents which related to the reign of Robert I onwards.

The final royal document ends on f. 59v. Although the rubric for the next document (a charter of Thomas Malherbe) is on the bottom of f. 59v the text itself begins at the top of f. 60r. F. 60 has slightly more decoration than most of the other folios, which gives it the faint appearance of marking a new section within the cartulary, despite the fact that it is the final folio of Gathering VI. Thomas Malherbe's gift does seem to mark the point where the cartulary changes in character. Although more royal gifts and commands can be found throughout the remainder of the manuscript, they are not the main focus. From this point

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<sup>13</sup> One completely new gift is the creation of the royal burgh of Torry in Aberdeen, granted by King James IV on 11 December 1495, the record of which is copied at ff. 59r–v (*Arb. Lib*, 2, no. 355).

onwards the groupings of associated texts is much looser and less clearly defined. The change of focus does not happen abruptly, Thomas' gift is followed by two more royal documents, and instead of there being a clear break between the section containing royal documents and that containing more general texts, the two categories seem to bleed together. Some groups of associated texts can be identified, for example in ff. 183v–186v there are a group of nine texts all of which record inquests undertaken into specific landholdings, and in ff. 144r–152v there are documents recording Arbroath's relationship with Humphrey Barclay and his descendants. Clearly defined sequences of texts are otherwise elusive. Without any obvious overarching structure, it is worth looking again at the rubric seen at the beginning of the index, at the top of f. 1r. This describes the index as containing a guide to the documents related to notable places (*notabilium locorum*) and certain boundaries (*quorundam limitum*) copied into the 'register'. These two phrases provide us with an insight into the priorities of the cartulary scribe.

The Arbroath BL was interested in copying documents related to 'notable' places, rather than trying to cover all the territories held by Arbroath. There are holdings which appear more frequently in the manuscript than others. There are, for example, around a dozen documents copied which concern Tarves in Aberdeenshire, and there are even more documents for Kingoldrum. These two holdings always proved popular with cartulary scribes, and documents relating to them can be found several times in all four cartularies. Some places features less frequently in the cartulary, there are for instance only two texts which relate to the abbey's holdings in Elgin, but all must, in some way, have been regarded as 'notable'.<sup>14</sup> There are also many boundary statements and records of perambulation copied within the cartulary. These are particularly prominent from ff. 163r–182v, but they are interspersed with other texts which do not record boundary agreements, and they also appear in other places in the manuscript. This gives the impression of there being areas of overlapping interest within the manuscript, rather than specific sections devoted to cohesive groups of texts.

The internal structure of the manuscript from the beginning of Gathering VII onwards is therefore predominantly related to landholdings and boundary issues, but it does not

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<sup>14</sup> These are a complaint that the monks cannot gain access to their property in Elgin at ff. 182v–183r, and a further document recording the date at which they took possession of the land, at f. 183r. These documents are not quite entered sequentially, as a gift of land at Tarves made by the monks to Philip Feodarg sits between them.

always have a strict organisation. What is apparent, though, is that the Arbroath BL scribe showed almost no interest at all in copying documents related to the abbey's ecclesiastical holdings. These do appear within the royal general confirmations and inspections, and there is the occasional exception, such as Eustace de Balliol's confirmation of his ancestor's gift of the church of Inverkeilour.<sup>15</sup> In general, though, there are no charters recording the abbey's rights to parish churches, or agreements with diocesan bishops over teinds and allowances. The Arbroath BL, in contrast to the cartularies we have seen before, is therefore predominantly secular in its focus. One other omission of note is the marked absence of leases, which feature so prominently in the Arbroath *RN*. Perhaps, having read the work of his predecessors, the Arbroath BL scribe (and any other members of the community involved in the planning of the new cartulary) felt no need to add anything further on this topic.

Perhaps the most striking thing about this cartulary is how many of the documents copied into it do not appear in any of the other surviving codices of Arbroath. In total there are 179 texts in the Arbroath BL which cannot be found in any other of the abbey's surviving cartularies, and despite the late date at which the Arbroath BL scribe was working they stretch from throughout the abbey's lifetime, and a list of these can be found in Appendix III. If we look again at Appendix II, however, only eight of the 23 documents lost from missing folios can be clearly identified as having been copied elsewhere, potentially adding another 15 documents originally copied only into the Arbroath BL.<sup>16</sup> Some of these documents may of course have been copied into earlier cartularies and subsequently lost but is unlikely that they all were. It is noticeable as well that sometimes the Arbroath BL scribe has chosen texts which provide more information or give another perspective on gifts and transactions which we know about from other cartularies. For example, he copied an extensive range of documents detailing the relationship between Richenda Barclay and the monks, who, along with her husband, sold land to Arbroath in a 'time of great need' during the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>17</sup> He also copied a thirteenth century text of Alexander, earl of Buchan, in which he granted and confirmed his grandfather's gift of a merk from Finavon. This document was also copied into the Arbroath *RN* and can be

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<sup>15</sup> This can be found at ff. 143v–144r. It has not been published.

<sup>16</sup> It is important to be cautious about this. The index entries contain no dates for the original texts, and without this it is impossible to be sure that they have not been copied elsewhere. This is especially true in the case of the royal documents, many of which do not clearly identify which king they refer to, perhaps saying King Robert, but with no indication if it is King Robert I or II.

<sup>17</sup> These do not sit in one continuous sequence, but can be found between ff. 145–154.

found there on f 13r. Unlike the Arbroath *RN* scribes however, the Arbroath BL scribe copied five more documents all datable to the first half of the fourteenth century and from which we learn that the gift was subsequently withheld and King Robert I was required to order an inquest into the matter and then a further command that the payment be made.<sup>18</sup> The Arbroath BL scribe was looking at his archive with a fresh eye, but he was also aware of what had been copied before, and his work provides a new perspective on the abbey's relationship with many of their benefactors.

### Conclusion

By the time the Arbroath BL scribe set to work, the abbey had been the site of cartulary production for almost three centuries. The long run of charters in the hand of a single scribe echoes the content of earlier manuscripts, which contain substantial single-scribe contributions. The range of documents copied is wider than seen in the Arbroath *RN*, and the inclusion of so many royal documents and charters of donation do make this manuscript feel similar to the Arbroath Ethie and Arbroath *RV*. There are two ways, however, in which this manuscript is very different. The first, and most obvious difference is the lack of multi-scribe accrual. Once the Arbroath BL scribe finished his work, there were no spaces left on the manuscript to accommodate contributions by later scribes (and at some point extra folios may have been cut away). Nor is there any indication that any later scribes tried to make further contributions, for example by squeezing texts into the margins. The second difference between the Arbroath BL and the earlier cartularies is that this manuscript does not include charters related to holdings of churches or benefices. The gifts of churches, and agreements over teinds, so often included in the Arbroath Ethie and Arbroath *RV*, are nowhere to be seen. Nor are there any documents recording the presentation of vicars to churches, which were so popular with the scribes of the Arbroath *RN*.<sup>19</sup> The omission of charters recording ecclesiastical gifts and privileges must have been a deliberate decision, made when the cartulary was being planned. But some of the documents copied into the cartulary do contain records of these types of gifts, most obviously the important royal confirmations seen at the front of the manuscript and these

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<sup>18</sup> All six documents can be seen from ff. 117v–119r.

<sup>19</sup> The lack of documents concerning the holdings of churches raises the possibility that this cartulary post-dates the Reformation (the abbey not being secularised until the early years of the seventeenth century). However, with little in the way of palaeographic comparitors for the Arbroath BL's scribe and the fact that the latest document copied dates to 1531 this can only remain speculation.

documents were copied-out in full, so although there was no particular interest in copying documents relating to ecclesiastical gifts or spiritual intentions, there was no attempt to suppress the information either. Instead, there was a recognition that readers might want to read everything contained within the documents.

The absence of documents recording ecclesiastical holdings marks this cartulary out as being very different, as does the lack of multi-scribe engagement with the manuscript. In internal structure, though, the cartulary is very similar to some of the multi-scribe manuscripts we have seen before. A single section with an identifiable focus can be discerned. This does not fill the entire cartulary, and the remaining folios are filled with short runs of associated texts, but the patterns are not sustained or consistent. Although groups of related items can be found, often other associated texts can be located nearby, with unrelated documents interspersed between them. In essence, this very much resembles the sort of internal structure seen in the Arbroath *RV*, and particularly in the Arbroath Ethie, and it raises the question of whether or not the Arbroath BL scribe was looking at an earlier, now lost, manuscript when he carried out his own campaign of work. It is not unknown for scribes to copy a multi-scribe cartulary, one example being the *Liber Ruber* of Glasgow Cathedral, much of which is copied from the earlier *Registrum Vetus*.<sup>20</sup> We do not have any evidence of a source from which the Arbroath BL scribe could have been doing so as well, and it is just as possible that his is a completely fresh selection and arrangement of archival documents.

When a cartulary is the work of a single scribe, it is easy to assume that it must have been created to fulfil a specific requirement. While it might be possible to argue that the manuscript provided a function – whether administrative, or memorial, or consolidating Arbroath’s communal identity through the construction of the text – inevitably this relies on our assumptions about the use of the manuscript and speculations about the scribe’s deliberate ordering of texts. For the Arbroath BL, the only indication the scribe gives about the significance of its contents is that the texts are ‘notable’. Despite being the latest of the cartularies, it is still highly selective, revealing an angle on the archive rather than trying to replicate its contents. What is striking about the Arbroath BL compared to the other manuscripts is that the arrangement of texts is not entirely dissimilar to what can be found in the multi-scribe cartularies. Although there are short runs of associated texts, the overall

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<sup>20</sup> Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, p. 36 and n. 18.

arrangement of documents does not suggest the scribe was working to an overall, coherent plan. This suggests that the sixteenth-century scribe was influenced by reading the earlier cartularies, as well as bringing his own ideas to his project. The Arbroath BL therefore reminds us to view each cartulary in relation to the others, a concept we will examine further in Chapter 6 when we look at the instances of texts which are repeated across the corpus. It also suggests that ideas surrounding multi-scribe cartularies can to an extent be applied to single-scribe ones as well.

## Chapter 5 : Timeline of cartulary copying at Arbroath.

This is a good moment to take stock of what has been discovered so far. In the previous four chapters, the processes by which four individual cartulary manuscripts were created has been tracked. This has shown that there does not seem to have been a standard method of cartularisation which the scribes of Arbroath adhered to. Rather, it would seem that each manuscript grew in a variety of ways. Sometimes this could be the result of a sustained campaign carried out by one or a few scribes, at other times a cartulary would grow in a much less formal, piecemeal manner, perhaps only receiving a handful of texts over a significant period of time. Using Joanna Tucker's method of studying all the available evidence it has been possible to show how each act of scribal engagement affected how the cartularies evolved, and that small, informal contributions were expected and had just as much validity as the longer campaigns of work.

While there are many studies of single cartularies, there is, as yet, a lack of understanding around how the act of copying developed over the longer term. Because we now have the analysis from four separate manuscripts, it should be possible to compare all the evidence they hold and plot the course of cartulary copying at Arbroath over three centuries. It is important to take a step back and to consider the four cartularies not as individual stand-alone creations, but as part of a single corpus of texts and gatherings, stretching from the middle of the thirteenth century to around the middle of the sixteenth century. To do so, it is necessary to chart a timeline, showing how the manuscripts grew chronologically.

The three timelines below (Figures 5.1–5.3) provide a visual representation of the periods of creation for each manuscript. This first one (Figure 5.1) therefore reflects the number of texts added to the manuscripts in any one period (regardless of how many scribes were involved). The texts are plotted according to the date of the scribes who added them, not the date of the text itself. The problem of imprecise dating for individual scribes' work means, however, that a block of activity might have a large potential date range. Therefore, Figure 5.1 expresses 'phases' of activity as horizontal bars of colour, which represent the *maximal* periods during which texts had been added to the manuscript. Each phase on the timeline is highlighted in a different shade of green: the lightest green indicates a phase during which fewer than ten texts were entered; the darkest green indicates phases during which the cartulary grew by the addition of over 100 texts. It should be remembered that

within these ‘phases’, the cartularies did not grow at a consistent rate; rather, texts were being added at varying rates of intensity within each phase.

Charting the addition of texts is undoubtedly the easiest way to measure a cartulary’s growth, but it is not the only one, and to rely solely on the accrual of texts would provide a one-dimensional picture of how Arbroath’s cartularies evolved. To gain a fuller understanding of the cartularies’ growth patterns, additional ways of charting the manuscripts’ growth are required. Therefore, two further timelines are provided which chart the manuscripts’ evolution by different means. Figure 5.2 shows how many hands worked within each of the phases identified in the timeline shown in Figure 5.1, helping to differentiate between periods when many scribes might be engaged with a cartulary, and phases when only a small number of scribes were contributing to a particular manuscript. The different bands are again graded by colour. Phases coloured the lightest shade of blue represent the contribution of only a single hand, while those coloured the deepest blue represent phases during which in excess of 30 separate hands worked.

The third and final way of measuring the cartularies’ growth can be seen in the final timeline (Figure 5.3), which charts the addition of new gatherings to the cartularies. Once again this is shown on the timeline as horizontal bands of colour, representing the maximal period during which the gatherings were created. The phases coloured the lightest orange indicate the addition of a solitary gathering, and those coloured the deepest shade of orange represent phases during which the cartulary grew by in excess of 20 gatherings. The date ranges of this timeline do not always mirror those in the previous two. These differences reflect what we know about when the earliest texts were added to some gatherings, making it possible to estimate more closely when that particular gathering was created. Pinpointing this date is not always possible. For example, the earliest Arbroath *RV* scribe worked on 15 separate gatherings, which can be seen to have two specific starting points. One at the start of Gathering II, where he entered a sequence of texts covering the following three gatherings, and another at the start of Gathering V which runs all the way to Gathering XVI. Each of these separate sequences can be identified by the arrangement of texts, and the helpful catchwords provided by the scribe. Unfortunately, it is not possible to discern which sequence the scribe created first, and therefore all 15 gatherings have been included

within a single phase, which can be seen in the final timeline (Figure 5.3) as a band coloured the second darkest shade of orange, covering the period 1340–1350.<sup>1</sup>

The information laid out in the three tables therefore provides a way of understanding the physical process by which the cartularies evolved. At a glance it becomes possible to see the differences between periods of accelerated growth and slow accretion, and to know how many scribes contributed to each cartulary during any given period. Although the picture they present is rather general, and is drawn with a broad brush, the timelines provide a route into the complex nature of analysing four very different cartularies.

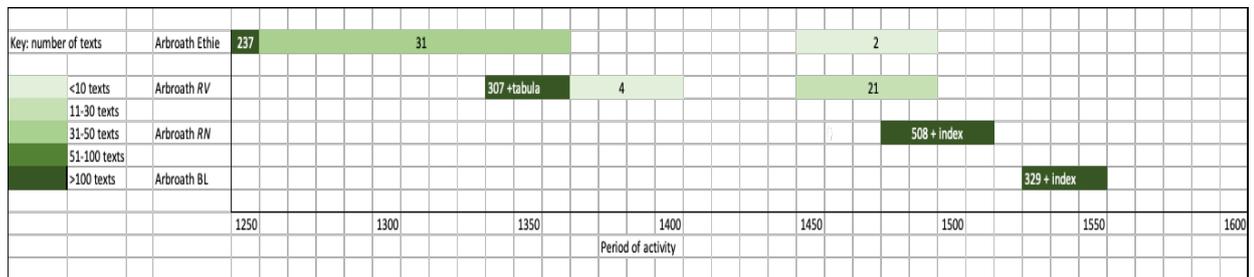


Figure 5.1: Timeline of numbers of texts entered into each manuscript

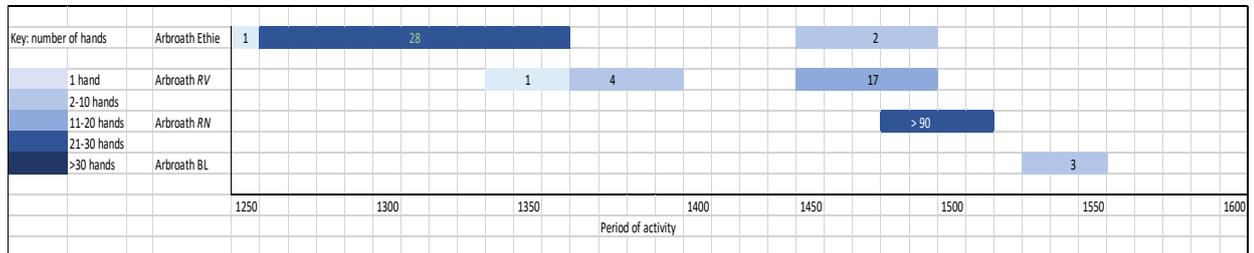


Figure 5.2: Timeline of number of hands contributing to each manuscript

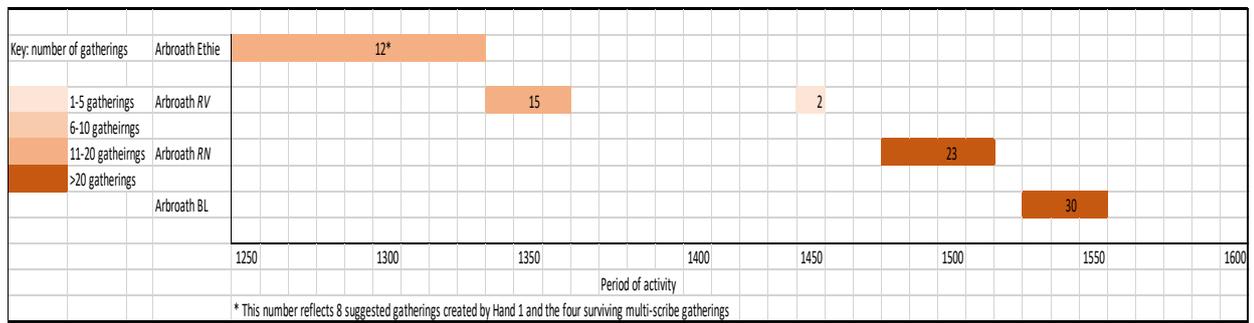


Figure 5.3: Timeline of gatherings added to each manuscript

<sup>1</sup> The possibility also exists that the earliest Arbroath *RV* scribe created Gatherings II–XVI as a single sequence. Unfortunately, the loss of folios between Gatherings IV and V means the evidence which could have helped to identify this, for example a catchword linking together Gatherings IV and V, has been lost.

### Initial campaigns of copying

Having noted above that Arbroath's cartularies are very varied, the first stage in comparing the manuscripts is to investigate a striking similarity. On the first timeline (Figure 5.1), a dark green band of colour can be seen as the first phase occurring along each of the four separate horizontal lines. The depth of the colour indicates that Phase 1 in the creation of each of Arbroath's four cartularies involved an intense campaign of copying, during which more than 100 texts were added to each manuscript. Although, superficially similar, it is worth taking a closer look to see if all four intense phases were carried out in the same way.

The initial campaign of the Arbroath Ethie was created by a single scribe (Hand 1). Only 98 full and nine partial texts remain in his hand, and these are contained within the remains of four gatherings, all of which have suffered losses. Because of the existence of the Arbroath *RV*, we can safely assume that his work originally extended to include the copying of at least 237 documents, and this is the number entered onto the first timeline. While the gatherings of the Arbroath *RV* are overwhelmingly regular, comprising eight folios, what can be ascertained from the remnants of the gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie, suggest the gatherings within this cartulary were not so consistently formed. The scale of the losses means that we do not know exactly how many gatherings this sequence originally comprised, however in Chapter 1 it is suggested that his work extended over eight gatherings, and this is the number reflected in the third timeline. Because his hand is difficult to date, palaeographic evidence, in conjunction with the dates of the texts he entered, has been used to suggest that Hand 1 was working around the middle of the century, perhaps not long after the death of King Alexander II in 1249. His campaign of work had very clearly defined parameters: to record a large proportion of Arbroath's archive at that point (though we don't know what proportion).

The earliest phase of copying into the Arbroath *RV* was also undertaken by a single scribe. Working around the years 1340 to 1360, Hand 8 entered the same texts as Hand 1 of the Arbroath Ethie. However, he did not limit himself to this task, but also created a short sequence of texts datable to the reign of King Robert I. In all, Hand 8 entered an additional 70 texts, as well as creating a *tabula*, informing his readers of the contents of the 'numbered' section. The documents he added from the reign of King Robert I he did so following on directly from the numbered section. He added these under the heading

*Robert(us) Rex*, reminiscent of those used within the numbered sequence, but he did not number the additional entries, nor did he make any attempt to add them to the *tabula*, despite having left sufficient space on f.32r to do so. The final texts he added to the gathering do not have a heading, and although part of the same sustained campaign of activity, their inclusion is more reminiscent of how scribes would work later, during subsequent phases of the manuscript's creation, to add a few additional texts to already existing gatherings. Hand 8 also filled three further gatherings with a wide range of texts. This separate sequence is currently bound as Gatherings II–IV (ff.6–27). Once again, these are not numbered, nor is there any associated *tabula* or headings under which they are grouped. The catchwords entered by Hand 8 visible on f.11v and f.19v suggest these three gatherings were considered by him as a unified sequence, but there is little evidence that he considered them part of the same campaign as his other contributions to the cartulary. Hand 8 was therefore responsible for the bulk of the copying in the Arbroath *RV*, and all his work is contained within Phase 1 of the cartulary's growth. Within that phase, though, he created several distinct bodies of work which are bound together but may have been the result of different campaigns. This is not visible by looking at the tables alone.

The third initial campaign differs, in that it was the work of several different hands. The Arbroath *RN* was created by two distinct but overlapping types of activity. The initial campaign was achieved by six hands who created 14 sequences of texts, each covering a specific time period: these form the cartulary's backbone. Four of the hands contributed only a single sequence, but two hands (Hands 1 and 31) between them contributed ten sequences which cover a wide period of time. They are likely therefore to have been engaged with the manuscript over an extended period of time and the *termini post quem* provided for them in Table 5-1 shows only the latest date around which we can gauge them to have been contributing to the manuscript. As discussed in Chapter 3, it is better to think of these dates as a reference point for the period when they were working, rather as being indicative of a date at which they started to copy documents into the manuscript

The sequences created by these six hands contain the bulk of the documents copied onto the cartulary. Although the sequences are spread across all 22 of the gatherings which contain texts, only two are entered sequentially onto the same gathering. The separation of sequences meant that often the copying hand finished his task part of the way through a gathering, leaving folios or partial-folios blank. These spaces subsequently attracted the attention of other scribes, and consequently clusters of multi-scribe activity accumulated on them.

Hand	Terminus Post Quem
1	(7 May 1489)
31	(5 Dec 1487)
64	29 Dec 1485
81	6 Apr 1494
87	22 Jun 1497
89	17 Dec 1502

Table 5-1: *Termini post quem* or reference points for the hands entering sequences into the Arbroath *RN*

Table 5.1 notes the *termini post quem* for the six hands who copied the 14 sequences of texts which run through the Arbroath *RN*. The method by which the cartulary grew, with different hands being responsible for copying sequences on different gatherings raises the possibility that at least some of these scribes were working simultaneously, and the creation of sequences was the result of a process in which a large amount of material was divided up into specific units, and the task of copying allocated to several scribes. More than any other of the cartularies, the evidence from the Arbroath *RN* suggests this was a project which, from its earliest phase, was the wider concern of the monastic community, and not limited to one or two specific hands. Because it is possible that the earliest clusters were being added while the later hands were still working, it is impossible to clearly differentiate between the two kinds of work, and the creation of the Arbroath *RN* appears as one intense phase of activity on the timelines.

The Arbroath BL was formed in two coterminous intense phases of activity, covering an approximate period from *c.*1530 to *c.*1550, which are difficult to separate out in time, and which appear on the timelines as a continuous band of activity. The form that activity took was very different to that of the Arbroath *RN*. Instead of many hands, only three can be seen within the entire manuscript. One scribe entered 328 texts (the Arbroath BL scribe), and one further text is entered is the only contribution of a different hand.<sup>2</sup> These 329 texts are contained within 22 gatherings. One further hand created the associated alphabetical index which runs from ff.1–29. There is a strong similarity between the Arbroath BL scribe and the hand who created the index, and the probability exists that they belong to the same scribe. Despite this, the index was, of necessity, created after the documents themselves had been copied into the cartulary, and it is therefore considered to be a separate ‘phase’ in the cartulary’s evolution. As with the other phases on the timeline, it is suggested that the hands who created the Arbroath BL were working for a short time within the period suggested, rather than it taking 20 years for them to complete their task.

<sup>2</sup> This is a boundary statement for Kingoldrum written in Scots which can be seen at f.180r lines 13–35.

The Arbroath BL is also different in one further way. Once the index hand had finished work, the cartulary stopped growing. This may be because the cartulary was created at such a late date in the institution's lifetime, but there is little even in the way of marginalia to suggest that later monks of Arbroath read and reacted to the impressive effort of the Arbroath BL scribe and unlike the earlier three cartularies, we lack any sense of the community's response to such an impressive campaign of copying.

There were therefore four distinct points at which the monks of Arbroath chose to start copying texts into a new manuscript. Hand 1 of the Arbroath Ethie would have been faced with a blank canvas and had the challenge of being the first of Arbroath's scribes to select and arrange a substantial number of archival documents for copying into a codex. Each scribe thereafter who chose to create a new cartulary would have had the work of his predecessors to inspire and influence him. The question remains why these later cartularies were started at all. The older ones were not destroyed or discarded, and they were often still receiving texts while a new manuscript was under construction. With spaces still available on existing manuscripts, there must have been a specific reason why a new manuscript was created. Perhaps the act of piecemeal copying into existing cartularies worked as part of an informal process by which the community worked out what they were interested in, and would like to see included in a new cartulary. This would mean that the single-scribe campaigns seen so often at the start of cartularies were the result of a wider community project. The next step is therefore to examine that process of multi-scribe growth.

### Multi-scribe growth

Responsible as they were for copying the majority of documents, and for creating the initial 'shape' of the cartulary, the earliest scribes who worked during the initial campaigns created complete cartularies, readable in their own right. In all but one case (Arbroath BL), however, they also served as the foundations from which the manuscript could grow and evolve. Returning to the timelines, it becomes apparent that the cartularies did not grow in any set or predictable way.

As we have just noted, once the initial campaign to create the Arbroath BL was completed, the manuscript did not attract the type of multi-scribe response seen in Arbroath's other cartularies. This does not mean, however, that the cartulary did not grow at all. Soon after

the texts were entered, one further scribe (perhaps even the same scribe who was responsible for copying all but one of the texts into the manuscript) worked to create an alphabetical index, which now sits at the front of the cartulary, from ff.1–29. This is marked on the timeline as a separate but coterminous dark green band of colour, and the level of detail contained within the index bears the hallmarks of an intense and sustained campaign of work. The scribe must have organised his material in advance, drawing the relevant information out of all the documents copied to create around 550 separate listings, carefully noting where references to each entry can be found within the cartulary. Nor did he simply opt to copy the rubrics as they appear within the cartulary: some of his entries are very long and meticulously detailed.<sup>3</sup> Meticulously sifting through the texts and extracting references to properties and possessions beyond those indicated by the rubric must have been a time-consuming task. Although, therefore, not multi-scribe or piecemeal accretion, the index to the Arbroath BL represents a substantial campaign of work beyond the copying of the texts themselves.

The Arbroath BL is the only one of the abbey's cartularies which grew by two intense campaigns of activity, and which shows no evidence of piecemeal, multi-scribe accretion. Unlike the Arbroath BL, which seems to have undergone a fast and intensive period of growth, the Arbroath Ethie grew in a much less systematic manner. The third timeline (Figure 5.3) shows that the surviving four gatherings on which the hands of multiple scribes are seen were created between the middle of the thirteenth century and the middle of the fourteenth century. The manner in which texts were added, though, was piecemeal and inconsistent. This is most easily seen with regards to the first two timelines which show that the gatherings were covered in two distinct phases of copying. During the second phase of growth, which lasted for approximately a century between the mid-thirteenth to mid-fourteenth centuries, 31 texts were entered onto the manuscript by 26 different hands. As noted above, the folios were not covered in a consistent manner, and spaces were left available that later scribes could utilise. Once these 26 hands had finished work, all three timelines show no further copying activity taking place within the gatherings for around half a century. Then, at some point during the second half of the fifteenth century, the manuscript acquired two final texts, one each to gatherings *C* and *E*.<sup>4</sup> Because the possibility exists that these were written in two different hands, they have

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, the entry for King Robert I's charter granting Tarves in regality, which extends for 27 lines on ff. 26v–27v, and the entry for the same king's letter of protection which runs for almost an entire folio on ff. 24v–25r.

<sup>4</sup> These are the boundary statements for Kingoldrum seen on f. 9v of Gathering *C* and f. 13r of Gathering *E*.

been listed on the second timeline (Figure 5.2) as such, but the similarity of both the hand and the related nature of the texts means that they were, in all probability, the work of a single scribe.

From the surviving evidence we can therefore suggest that it did not take long after Hand 1 had finished his task for other scribes within the community of Arbroath to read and respond to his work. Over the course of the following century, the cartulary continued to be read, and as more scribes chose to make their own contribution, additional gatherings were created as and when required. As discussed previously those gatherings may have belonged to two separate sequences. After the middle of the fourteenth century, evidence for copying ceases, although the lack of evidence for copying during this period may be the result of losses, rather than a definite lack of further interest in the manuscript.<sup>5</sup> It is also possible that this is when the Arbroath Ethie was first bound. The evidence for the earliest binding phases has been lost, but if it was bound at this point then that would explain why it did not acquire any further gatherings. This would also explain why the only additional texts it acquired were the Kingoldrum boundary statements, which could fit on the spaces left on the manuscript.

The evolution of the Arbroath *RV* resembles that of the Arbroath Ethie in that once the earliest scribe had finished work, two further phases of growth can be identified. It differs, however, in that the earliest response undertaken during the second phase was rather limited requiring no need for new gatherings, and involving only four separate hands who each entered a single text during the latter half of the fourteenth century, covering the only remaining spaces on the cartulary. The limited rate of piecemeal accrual on the Arbroath *RV* may reflect the fact that the multi-scribe gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie were still available, and perhaps they were the focus of attention for the abbey's scribes. Whatever the cause, once these four texts had covered the free spaces on the manuscript, the cartulary acquired no new growth for perhaps as much as half a century. Around about the year 1450, however, the timelines show a renewed interest being taken in the cartulary, and during the second half of the century two new gatherings were created to accommodate 21 texts written in 17 different hands. The first document copied onto each of these gatherings is a charter of King David II, written by the same hand (Hand 1), and it raises the possibility that the gatherings were created simultaneously, for the purpose of providing scribes with new spaces on which to work. The timeline suggests this might have happened

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<sup>5</sup> See below for further discussion of the possible scale of losses to the Arbroath Ethie.

in the years just prior to the creation of the Arbroath *RN*, and their creation may signal a renewed interest in cartularies amongst the monks.

The multi-scribe additions to the Arbroath *RV* grew in the opposite way to the Arbroath Ethie. Once the initial campaign worked by the earliest scribe was completed, there was no rush by the abbey's other scribes to make their own contribution. This might be because Hand 8 of the Arbroath *RV* left little in the way of space on the manuscript for the copying of additional texts, but even so, the little space he did leave took perhaps 50 years to be filled. It is possible of course that the manuscript was also bound once Hand 8 completed his work, without Gatherings I and XVII, and with the blank folios not cut away. The bulk of the multi-scribe growth which the Arbroath *RV* was to acquire did not come until around a century after the earliest scribe had stopped working, and perhaps when the last two gatherings were completed the manuscript was rebound. The evidence from the timelines suggest that the second half of the fifteenth century was a period of renewed interest in cartulary copying at the abbey. Although it is important to remember that the timelines tell only a general story, and as this analysis progresses it will become apparent that the first half of the fifteenth century may not have been as bereft of activity as the timelines might suggest.

The second spurt of activity shown on the timeline during the late fifteenth century resulted in the creation of the Arbroath *RN*. The unique way the initial campaign was worked, involving six hands, each copying documents relating to a specific period of time, has been discussed above. Rather than running all this material together, the scribes worked independently, on separate gatherings. The result of this was the availability of blank spaces at the ends of sequences, towards the latter part of gatherings. It would have been a simple task, had the principal hands wished to, to cut out the unused folios. The fact that they did not do so suggests that the spare folios served a purpose, and that the multi-scribe growth was not opportunistic, but very much an integral and expected phase in the life of the cartulary.<sup>6</sup> This less formal type of growth commenced very soon after the sequences were created. Eventually 'clusters' of multi-scribe contributions were formed, which in the bound cartulary sit sandwiched between the sequences. As well the ends of gatherings being available for the process of piecemeal accrual, two further gatherings were likely created specifically for this purpose. However, there is no indication that these

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<sup>6</sup> Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, p. 192.

were created much later than the other gatherings and so Figure 5.3 shows all the gatherings as being created during a single phase of activity. The campaigns of work by the six hands who created the sequences, and the multi-scribe accrual therefore exist as different but overlapping forms of growth within the cartulary.<sup>7</sup> The alphabetical index which sits at the front of the cartulary from ff.1–7 must also be considered as part of this overlapping process. An original ‘core’ index was created after the majority of the texts were entered onto the manuscript, but before some of the later entries were made to the clusters, and there is evidence of additional listings to the index being squeezed in or entered out of order. The boundary between initial growth and multi-scribe accrual in the Arbroath *RN* is much less clear-cut than in the other cartularies, and unlike the other cartularies, it is not possible to completely disentangle the two forms of activity or to suggest that all the multi-scribe accrual took place after the initial intense campaign of copying had ceased.

There does not seem to have been a definitive way that the cartularies of Arbroath grew, but there does seem to have been an expectation that the community would read and respond to the earliest campaigns. Spaces left on gatherings provided room for that response, most clearly seen perhaps in the Arbroath *RN*, but where space was not available, fresh gatherings were created. The evidence suggests that cartularies were active projects for a long time; at least while they remained unbound and could grow. There was no pressure to ‘finish’ the project, but rather manuscripts could remain open or active until it seemed suitable to bind them. The only exception to this seems to be the Arbroath *BL* which either did have very clear parameters worked-out in advance, or perhaps was not made available for the community to add new texts. And even once bound, perhaps, it was not impossible that manuscripts could acquire further texts, or be rebound in order to accommodate additional gatherings. Although there was therefore a very definite starting point, cartularies, with perhaps the exception of the Arbroath *BL*, did not seem to have a clearly defined end from the perspective of the scribes themselves.

### Overlapping phases

So far, the timelines have been used to chart how Arbroath’s cartularies grew independently of each other in phases of varying degrees of intensity. Although there is no

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<sup>7</sup> See Chapter 3 for a full explanation of this.

evidence that two intense phases of copying ever happened simultaneously, this does not mean that when one cartulary was being created all other copying stopped. The timelines show, instead, that there were two separate overlapping periods of activity when more than one cartulary was acquiring texts and gatherings.

The earliest of these simultaneous periods of growth can be seen to have existed between *c.*1340 and *c.*1360, indicating an overlap between the second phase of growth of the Arbroath Ethie, the work of Hand 8 of the Arbroath *RV*, and the first two decades of that cartulary's subsequent growth. During this period two of the gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie (Gatherings *E* and *N*) were still active, at the same time as the earliest Arbroath *RV* scribe (Hand 8) was undertaking his intensive campaign of work. This overlapping period also includes at least one of the three hands who added texts onto the end of Gathering XVI after Hand 8 had completed his campaign. This hand (Hand 11), who entered the charter of Abbot William on f.123r, can also be identified as Hand 2, who contributed three texts to gathering *N* of the Arbroath Ethie. The scribe's decision to place texts in two different manuscripts might be related to where suitable space could be found; there would not have been room to add three further texts to Gathering XVI of the Arbroath *RV*, which ends on f.123v. Instead of adding new gatherings to this cartulary, scribes seem to have been content to use the spaces still available in the Arbroath Ethie instead.

The second overlapping period identified on the timeline occurred in the second-half of the fifteenth century, from *c.*1450 to *c.*1500. At some point during this period, two texts were added to the Arbroath Ethie, both undated boundary statements of Kingoldrum, the final known act of copying which this manuscript was to receive. At the same time as these boundary statements were copied, Gatherings I and XVII of the Arbroath *RV* were slowing taking shape, and from perhaps around 1480 onwards, several of Arbroath's scribes were involved in copying documents onto the earliest gatherings of the Arbroath *RN*. During this period, scribes were reading and contributing to three separate manuscripts, although by the end of the century, only the Arbroath *RN* was still accruing texts.

At first glance, there are obvious parallels in the way each of Arbroath's four cartularies were brought to life; the need for an initial 'push' in the form of an intense campaign of copying which provided each cartulary with a foundational corpus of texts and, perhaps, even a discernible theme. On closer examination, however, no two campaigns progressed in the same manner. Hand 1 of the Arbroath Ethie is likely to have started with a blank

canvas, and undertook the challenge of being the first of Arbroath's scribes to engage with the abbey's archive for the purpose of identifying, selecting and arranging documents purely for the purpose of copying into a codex. Hand 8 of the Arbroath *RV* used the work of Hand 1 of the Arbroath *Ethie* in his own campaign, but did not limit himself to it, choosing to extend his campaign. He too was therefore engaging with the abbey's archive, and as we have seen he did not limit that engagement to the documents which would have been received into the archive after Hand 8 had finished work, but copied documents dating back to the earliest years of the abbey's lifetime, but which Hand 8 had chosen not to copy. This suggests someone who knew what was in the archive and what had been and had not been copied. The Arbroath *RN* scribes started afresh organising their texts into sequences based on specific periods of time. The Arbroath *BL* also started afresh, and although he copied texts from throughout the abbey's history, his arrangement was guided more by subject matter than date.

Once the initial campaigns had been accomplished the cartularies remained active documents, but they grew in different ways and over different timescales. Growth on one manuscript might seem to stall, and the possibility exists that at least the Arbroath *Ethie* and the Arbroath *RV* were bound once the initial campaign of copying was completed. However, the binding process did not necessarily represent an end-point, and the cartularies were certainly not discarded or forgotten. Cartularies, with the exception of the Arbroath *BL*, remained active and scribes were aware of their contents, and where spaces could be found.

It has been possible to see how these four cartularies grew over time, but what has not been identified is any specific theme or function that can be attributed to the individual manuscripts. By analysing the growth patterns of the cartularies we can see that around the time Hand 1 of the Arbroath *Ethie* was finishing his campaign, other scribes were beginning make smaller contributions on fresh gatherings. So while one scribe was involved in creating a coherent campaign, other scribes were engaging with their archive, but in a more ad hoc way. And we have seen that while Hand 8 was working on the Arbroath *RV*, the Arbroath *Ethie* was still growing. This suggests that copying was happening in several ways at once. Sometimes it took the form of a coherent body of work, which is likely to have been carried-out during working hours and be a project which required planning and the allocation of resources. But it might also be a single text copied by a hand that we never see again and this is much less likely to have been done as part of

a piece of defined labour, but could have been the result of scribes who were interested enough to make their own contribution. We have seen though that space was made available for scribes to contribute informally, and both types of scribal engagement were retained, though, so all must have been regarded as having lasting relevance and value. It also suggests that while larger, more formal, projects were being undertaken, the readers that the scribes had in view, were members of their own community. In the next two chapters we will look more closely at the relationship between the surviving manuscripts, to see how scribes, while copying what seemed to be relevant and interesting to them, were aware of and engaging with the work of their contemporaries and predecessors.

## Chapter 6 : Repeated Texts

The evidence provided so far has shown that Arbroath's scribes were familiar with the contents of the abbey's cartularies. It also suggests they did not feel the need to concentrate on a particular theme, but were free to make their own considered contribution to the manuscripts, and that there were periods when more than one manuscript might have been available for them to copy into. Texts which are copied more than once into the same cartulary can therefore seem incongruous. Repeated or duplicated texts are not uncommonly found within cartularies, and there have been various suggestions as to why they exist. These include scribal error, where a scribe duplicates a text because he is not sufficiently aware of the contents of the manuscript. Sometimes texts are thought to be copied twice because an institutional archive may have held two copies of the same document, perhaps because copies made as drafts were retained, rather than destroyed.<sup>1</sup> There is, however, no single explanation which adequately explains the phenomenon, and each instance of a duplicated or repeated entry can only be understood on an individual basis.

### Repeats within a single cartulary

The cartularies of Arbroath hold only ten examples of a single manuscript containing repeated copies of a text. One of these can be found in the Arbroath *RV*, two in the Arbroath *RN* and seven in the Arbroath *BL*.<sup>2</sup>

During his extensive campaign of copying, Hand 8 of the Arbroath *RV* (the earliest hand seen in the manuscript) entered an agreement of 2 July 1253 between Thomas Rattray and his wife Christina, and the monks of Arbroath over the lands of Kingoldrum onto ff. 120v–121v. It is the second-last text entered onto the manuscript by Hand 8, and forms part of a short run of three documents, all concerned with Kingoldrum.<sup>3</sup> The Rattrays' agreement was copied again during the second half of the fifteenth century onto ff. 1v–2v, by Hand 2. The reason for this repeat is unclear, and the agreement does not form part of a sequence of

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<sup>1</sup> Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, pp. 203–9.

<sup>2</sup> Although there are no repeated texts in the Arbroath Ethie, the possibility that they may once have existed cannot be ruled-out because quires have been lost.

<sup>3</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 1, no. 294. The two other texts in this sequence are both quitclaims. Hand 8 entered a quitclaim by Alan Durward dated 17 April 1256 at f. 122r–v, which is followed by a further quitclaim, this time by Maurice of Moray, dated 27 October 1339, entered by Hand 9 at ff. 122v–123r (*Arb. Lib.*, 1, nos. 295 & 296 respectively).

related texts. However, as noted in Chapter 3, several of the documents copied into Gathering I of the Arbroath *RN* are agreements, and it could be that Hand 2 felt it was appropriate to copy it again, amongst other similar texts.

There are only two repeated texts in the Arbroath *RN*. This is perhaps slightly surprising, considering that the manuscript shows almost 100 different hands who copied 508 individual documents. The first repeated document is the lease of the garbal teinds of the church of Dunbog, copied by Hand 65 into Cluster J at f. 120v.<sup>4</sup> It was then copied by Hand 80 onto f. 133v within Cluster K. Hand 80 appears to have noticed his error part of the way through his task, as he did not complete copying the document. At some point the text has also been scored out (see Plate 6.1 below). This is the only instance of a repeat within any of the cartularies which can be securely identified as being the result of scribal error.<sup>5</sup>

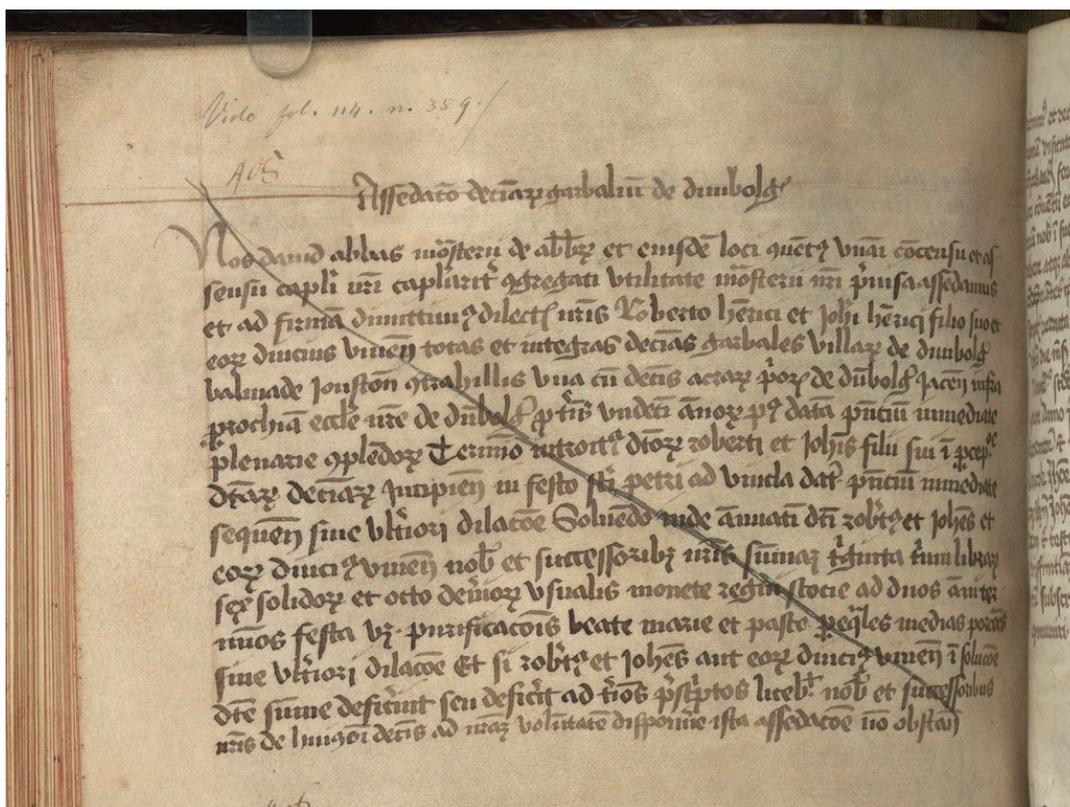


Plate 6.1: Incomplete copy of the lease of the garbal teinds of the church of Dunbog made by Hand 80 on f. 133v of the Arbroath *RN*

<sup>4</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 300.

<sup>5</sup> A similar occurrence can be found in the cartulary of Bingham Priory, where the scribe copying a duplicated text realised his error mid-task, left the text unfinished and marked it for deletion. Johanna Luise Margerum, 'An Edition of the Cartulary of Binham Priory with a Critical Introduction', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of East Anglia, 2005), Volume 1, p. 9.

The index listings for these two texts are curious. The Arbroath *RN* contains only three documents relating to the church of Dunbog and these can be seen in Plate 6.2. below. All are part of the original index, and are entered in order of where they can be found within the manuscript, from first to last. The first listing refers to the record of the lease of the garbal teinds of Dunbog, copied into f. 120v (Roman numeral f. cxvii), and the second refers to the repeated text at f. 133v (Roman numeral f. cxxx).<sup>6</sup> Perhaps this represents an oversight on the part of the scribe who compiled the index. If the second copy had not yet been scored through it would have been easy to miss the fact that it was incomplete. It is possible therefore, that a later contributor to or reader of the manuscript made the score through the text. It is, though, the only duplicate which is scored through (there are no examples of this in any of the other cartularies). The alternative is that it was crossed-out because it was incomplete, but there is another incomplete document in the manuscript, sitting at f.34v–36r. This is not incomplete because folios have been lost; rather for some unknown reason it was never completed – although space has been left on which it could have been. It seems to have been a late entry to the manuscript, has no associated rubric or entry into the index, yet no-one, has felt the need to cross it out.



Plate 6:2: Three index listings for Dunbog seen on f. 3r of the Arbroath RN

The second repeated text in the Arbroath *RN* is a record of the payment made to William Plumber of St Andrews for repairs to the great choir. The abbey had suffered serious damage during a fire in 1380, which caused enough disruption for the monks to seek temporary accommodation elsewhere.<sup>7</sup> The practicalities of repairing the monastery were recorded in a contract between Arbroath and William dated 16 April 1394. This is written in Scots and entered by Hand 31 in Sequence 4 at f. 32r–v.<sup>8</sup> The work appears to have taken around two years to complete, as a text dated 26 May 1396 (written in Latin) recording a payment subsequently being made to William is found at f. 33r, also within

<sup>6</sup> The third index entry for Dunbog refers to a record of the presentation of a new vicar to the church of Dunbog, entered by Hand 89 in Sequence 14 at f. 154v (Roman numeral fol. cli).

<sup>7</sup> Fawcett, 'Arbroath Abbey: A note on its architecture and early conservation history', p. 51.

<sup>8</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 43.

Sequence 4.<sup>9</sup> The second copy of the record of payment sits on the next folio, f. 34r, where it was entered by Hand 32 as the first text in Cluster D. There are also index listings for both copies of the text. The first, for the copy on f. 33r, is an original index entry, listed under ‘C’ (see Plate 6.3 below). The listing for the repeated entry at f. 34r is likely to be a later addition. It sits as the final listing for entries under the letter ‘Q’, (see Plate 6.4 below) on the line directly above the first listing for ‘R’, and as discussed in Chapter 3, the general practice when the original index was compiled seems to have been to leave a blank line between different alphabetical sections, with these being subsequently utilised by scribes who wished to extend the index.

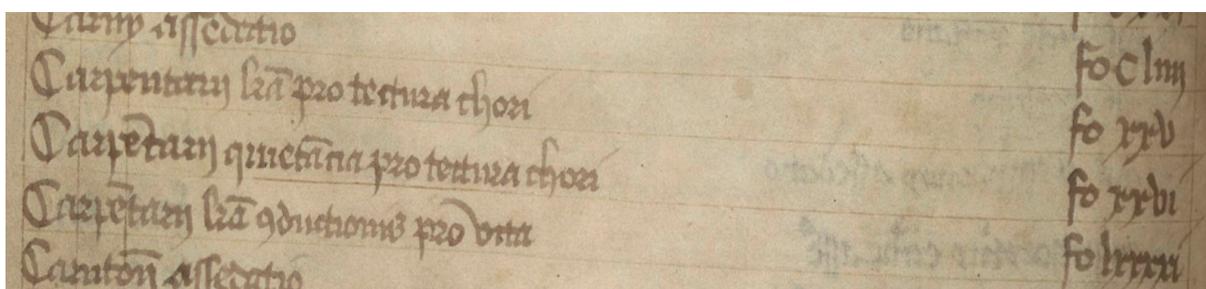


Plate 6:3: Original index listing for the record of payment to William Plumber on f. 2v of the Arbroath *RN*

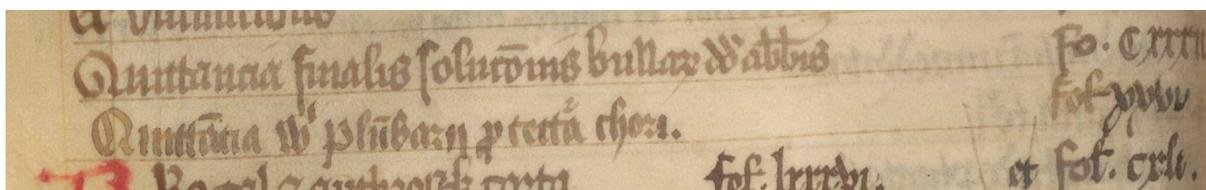


Plate 6:4: Additional index listing for the record of payment to William Plumber on f. 6v of the Arbroath *RN*

It is unclear why the second copy of the record of payment was made, especially as it is in such close proximity to the copy made by Hand 31. Hand 32 would have been aware of what was already on the gathering he was contributing to, but he seems to have thought it was appropriate to copy the record of payment again, and an associated index listing was also created. The inclusion of the second copy of William Plumber’s payment would seem only to be likely if the scribes were free to copy what they wanted to, rather than what they were told to. Had the folios on which the clusters grew been subject to strict oversight, then Hand 32 might have been prevented from making his copy.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 45.

The Arbroath BL is the source of the remaining seven repeated texts.<sup>10</sup> The first sits right at the start of the cartulary, where King Robert I's *inspeximus* of King William's confirmation of 25 February 1213 has been copied twice. This is a long and important document, and it is not credible to think that the duplication was a mistake. It is also worth comparing the two versions to see if there are any significant differences between them which would suggest that the scribe was copying from two distinct exemplars. There are no differences in the witness list that might suggest the existence of two separate documents, nor do differences to the diplomatic amount to more than minor spelling changes. The only notable difference is an inconsistency in the naming of one of the benefactors. On f.31v line 8, the scribe correctly names the donor of the churches of Monifieth, Murroes and Kirriemuir as *Gillecrist*, earl of Angus. However, when in the second version on f. 33r at line 14, the earl is incorrectly referred to as *Gilb(er)ti*. The original of this *inspeximus* still survives, in which the earl is correctly referred to as Gilchrist. This would suggest the first copy entered into the manuscript is copied from the document which was eventually sealed, although there is no remaining trace of the sealing on the original *inspeximus*.<sup>11</sup> The inclusion of witnesses on both versions might indicate that the mistake was only noticed at a late stage in the charter production, which may explain why both versions were retained, and why the scribe felt it important to copy both documents.<sup>12</sup> It could also be, however, that the decision to copy the *inspeximus* twice in consecutive order was made because the document held such significance for the community that copying it again was a way of emphasising its importance.

The second text copied twice is also a royal document – a command of King Alexander II that his baillies enforce prompt payment of outstanding debts.<sup>13</sup> The first copy is entered on f. 46v, with the second copy following on immediately below from ff. 46v–47r. There is virtually no textual differences at all between the two copies, although the second copy substitutes *Pentyn* (for *Petyn*) and the word *mensis* has been added to the dating clause. The rubrics are slightly different, and although it is impossible to know how the rubrics in the cartulary relate to what was written on the verso of the original, if these were being

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<sup>10</sup> The list of index entries for documents copied onto the missing folios of the Arbroath BL in Appendix II indicates that there may at least two more repeated documents – these include a grant land in the Mearns by Richenda Barclay and King William's gift of toft in Montrose to Robert of London, although it is not possible to be entirely sure they are the same documents (see Appendix II).

<sup>11</sup> *RRS*, v, no. 214.

<sup>12</sup> Dauvit Broun, 'The presence of witnesses and the writing of charters' in *The Reality behind Charter Diplomatic in Anglo-Norman Britain. Studies by Dauvit Broun, John Reuben Davie, Richard Sharpe and Alice Taylor*, ed. D Broun, ebook <https://paradox.poms.ac.uk/ebook/index.html>, pp. 235–87, at p. 261.

<sup>13</sup> *RRS*, iii, no. 306.

copied then it would suggest the monastery held two originals with slightly different endorsements (perhaps one being an unsealed draft). However as with the *inspeximus* of King Robert I, there can be no possibility that this was a copy made in error. Perhaps it too was a document which held a great deal of significance to the monks of Arbroath and which it was considered appropriate to copy twice.

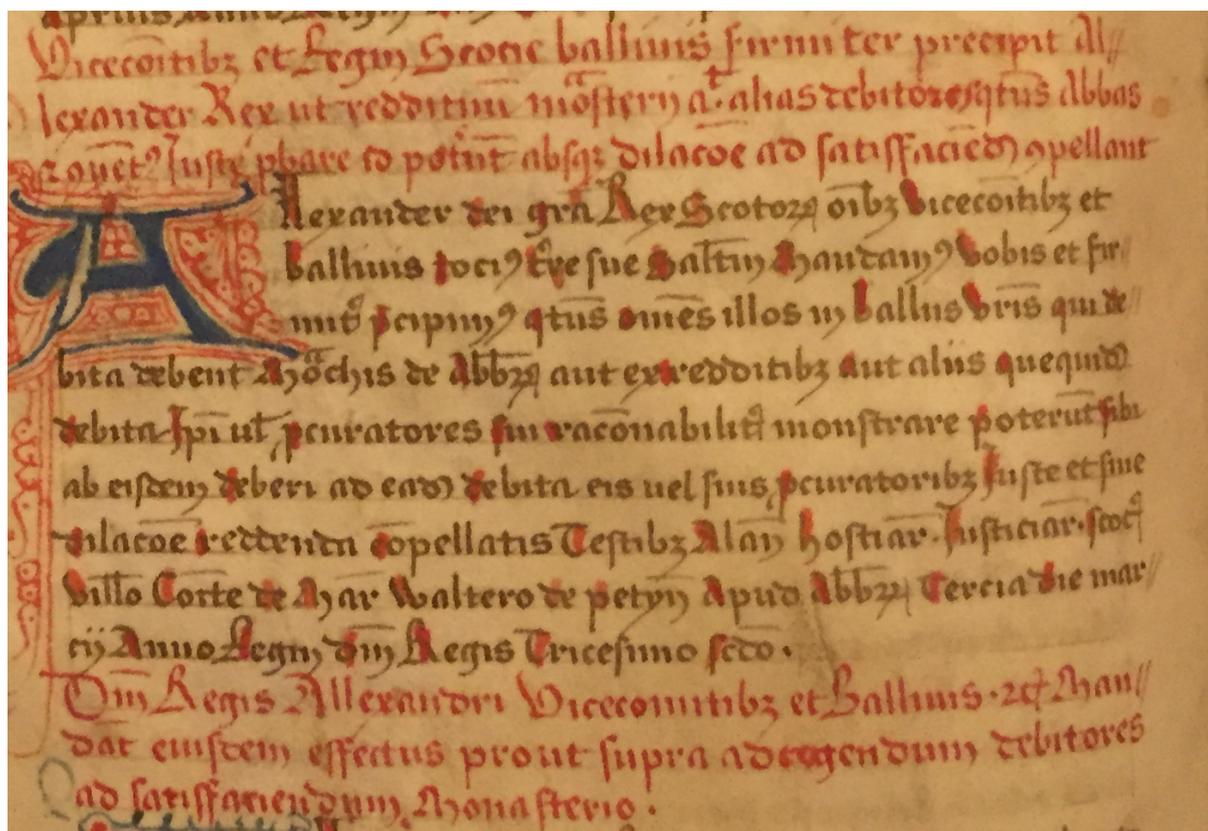


Plate 6:5: The rubrics (seen in red ink) for two copies of King Alexander II's command that debts be paid promptly on f. 46v of the Arbroath BL

The third repeat in the Arbroath BL is another *inspeximus* provided by King Robert I. This one is for land at Nigg, which King Alexander II gave to Arbroath to mark the dedication of the church in 1233.<sup>14</sup> The inspection is copied twice from ff. 57r–58r. The first copy, however does not include the witnesses to King Robert's inspection, while these were included in the second copy. Once again, this is very unlikely to be an error on the part of the Arbroath BL scribe, but the lack of witnesses to the first copy mean it is possible that the archive at Arbroath held both a draft of the inspection and a sealed copy.

<sup>14</sup> King Robert I's inspection is published as *RRS*, v, no. 31 and King Alexander II's original charter of donation is published as *RRS*, iii, no. 195.

The next document which is copied twice is a charter of Robert of London which can be seen at f. 64r and then again at ff. 111v–112r.<sup>15</sup> The only visible difference between the two texts is the inclusion of the phrase *sicut alias elemosinas suas libere et quiete plenarie et honorifice* in the version at ff. 111v–112r. This slight but significant textual variation might hint at the existence of two separate single sheets: perhaps one was a draft which had been retained, rather than discarded. Or it could even be attributed to eye skip by the cartulary scribe copying from the same single sheet. Reading around the copies carefully, however, presents a different explanation. The charter records Robert's gift of tofts throughout the kingdom, except for a lodging (*hostilagium*) in Aberdeen, and where it sits at f. 64r, the following 21 texts all show a connection to Aberdeen. It therefore seems to be the reference to the *hostilagium* which links this text to the group, rather than the main gift of tofts. The second copy, at ff. 111v–112r, for its part, sits between a charter of the sheriff of Forfar acknowledging a royal gift to Arbroath of the lordship of Kinalty, and an announcement by Arbroath that they have the land of Drumsleed in feuferme from the bishop of Brechin. These texts seem unrelated, but a closer reading of Robert's charter brings to light the information that he also donated a stone of wax to light the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The following charter for Drumsleed notes that the monks have agreed to pay 50 merks per annum to the bishop to support one chaplain, and the four texts following that all include details of payments specifically made to enhance the lighting in churches. It therefore seems likely that when the Arbroath BL scribe made this second copy of Robert of London's donation, he was interested in placing it next to other documents in which gifts were provided to support specific devotional requests.

The fifth document copied twice into the Arbroath BL is another royal document, a gift from King Alexander II of money from his ferme of Monifieth for candles to light the church.<sup>16</sup> The entry sits on f. 112v amongst the group of texts in which specific devotional offerings were made, mentioned above. The second time it appears is at f. 134r next to a donation of King Robert I, in which he provided money from the thanage of Monifieth to light candles around King William's tomb.<sup>17</sup> Although entered twice, both copies of the king's donation sit next to similar texts.

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<sup>15</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 1, no. 256.

<sup>16</sup> *RRS*, iii, no. 314.

<sup>17</sup> *RRS*, v, no. 75.

The sixth document which is copied twice into the Arbroath BL is a command that William Moubray make recompense for having disseised Arbroath of certain lands. The two copies sit together on ff. 156v–157r.<sup>18</sup> The differences between the two copies are few, the main one being that the lands which are to be returned to the monks are named both in Latin and given their Scots equivalent in the second copy. The rubric to the second copy refers to *preceptu(m) alteru(m)*, indicating that this is an additional document to the one copied above. Both are noted to have been sealed on the same date, so the archive must have held two copies of the original document.

The final document which can be found copied twice into the Arbroath BL is a record of Abbot Walter's gift of a davoch at Auchnieve in Tarves to Philip Feodarg.<sup>19</sup> This can be found at ff. 119v–120r and again at f. 183r. The first time it is entered it sits as the second of a group of three texts which all record Arbroath's management of their land at Tarves. The reason for the second entry at f. 183r is not so clear. The documents recorded immediately before and after it concern the abbey's landholdings in Elgin, although an undated boundary statement for Tarves can be found at f. 182v, separated from the gift to Philip de Feodarg by a single text.

One final note of interest comes from the very detailed and carefully constructed index which sits at the front of the Arbroath BL, and which was very likely created by the Arbroath BL scribe. The reference to King Robert's *inspeximus* of 1 December 1322 is made as part of a blanket listing which covers all the confirmations and inspections of King William's confirmation provided by later kings which were copied into the cartulary, so it is difficult to unpick references to individual texts. The two texts of King Alexander II, King Robert I's inspection of the gift of Nigg, the gift of Robert of London and the command that William Moubray make recompense all have two listings, one for each time they were copied into the cartulary, so the scribe clearly considered each one to be a separate and distinct entity. There is, however, only one entry for Abbot Walter's gift for Philip de Feodarg, and curiously it is for the entry listed at f. 183r, but not for the one at ff. 119v–120r.<sup>20</sup>

### Repeated sequences of texts

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<sup>18</sup> This has not been published.

<sup>19</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 1, no. 257.

<sup>20</sup> This can be found on the eleventh line of f. 5r.

Ten repeated texts within four different cartularies is not a significant number, and the reasons behind their inclusion can generally, although not always, be guessed. Repeats of documents between the cartularies exist in greater numbers, and there are too many of them to examine in detail. One aspect worth exploring, however, is where the repeating of sequences or groups of texts can be found in different cartularies.

*Repeated sequences of texts during the first overlapping phase c.1340–c.1360*

The most visible example of a sequence of texts copied twice during an overlapping phase is the mirroring of the numbered section as it appears in both the Arbroath Ethie and the Arbroath *RV*. As far as it is possible to tell, Hand 8 of the Arbroath *RV* copied the sequence of 237 documents which formed the corpus of documents copied during the initial campaign of the Arbroath Ethie, and incorporated them into his own campaign which brought the Arbroath *RV* to life. Because this mirroring is so apparent, it has prompted the idea that the purpose of the Arbroath *RV* was to create a new copy of the Arbroath Ethie.<sup>21</sup> One way to test this theory is to see whether or not there are other mirrored sequences of texts between the two cartularies.

Hand 8 of the Arbroath *RV* copied an additional 70 documents, and as noted above, the eclectic nature of some of his work is reminiscent of multi-scribe accrual. One reason for that similarity may be that several short sequences of these texts can be seen as multi-scribe contributions within the Arbroath Ethie. Although the mirroring of the numbered sequences appears to be straightforward, the mirroring of shorter runs of texts is not quite so simple, and to understand it better, we need to look at what was copied, and what was not, from each of the Arbroath Ethie's four multi-scribe gatherings.

Arbroath <i>RV</i>	Arbroath Ethie	Text	Date
f. 9r–v. (partial)	Gathering <i>N</i> , f. 2v	David, bishop of St Andrews, decrees the values of vicarages within his diocese. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 236)	25 Mar 1249 × 24 Mar 1250
ff. 12r–13r.	Gathering <i>F</i> , f. 3r (partial)	Letter of Pope Gregory IX regarding the church of Dunblane. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 241)	10 Jun 1237 × 20 Aug 1241

<sup>21</sup> See p. 24 n6.

f. 13r–v.	Gathering <i>F</i> , f. 3v	Stephen of Kinardley gives a davoch of land in the Mearns. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 242)	17 Jun 1219 × 25 Mar 1246.
ff. 13v– 14r.	Gathering <i>F</i> , f. 4r–v	Albin, bishop of Brechin, announces an agreement is made with Arbroath over churches within the diocese of Brechin. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 243)	20 Sep 1248
ff. 14r– 15v.	Gathering <i>E</i> , f. 10r– v (partial)	William, bishop of St Andrews, records an agreement between John, bishop of Brechin, and Arbroath over churches within the diocese of Brechin. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 244)	21 Oct 1304
f. 15v	N/A	Stephen, son of Stephen of Kinardley, sells, Drumsleed to Gregory, bishop of Brechin. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 245)	17 Jun 1219 × 25 Mar 1246
ff. 15v– 16r.	Gathering <i>F</i> , f. 4v	King Alexander III grants that the aid which their men of Tarves offered to the king shall not prejudice Arbroath in the future. ( <i>RRS</i> , iv, no. 89)	1 Aug 1274
f. 19v	Gathering <i>C</i> , f. 5r.	Pope Clement IV writes to Arbroath ordering that the profits of churches belonging to Arbroath shall not be sequestered by ordinaries. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 255)	16 Feb 1267
ff. 19v– 20r.	Gathering <i>C</i> , f. 5r.	Robert of London gives to Arbroath tofts in each of his burghs throughout the kingdom. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 256)	17 Jun 1219 × 23 Jan 1226
f. 20r	Gathering <i>C</i> , f. 5v.	Walter, abbot of Arbroath, gives, grants and confirms 1/6 <sup>th</sup> of davoch in Tarves called Auchnieve at feuferme to Philip de Feodarg for his homage and service. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 257)	21 Jun 1246 × 15 Dec 1261.
f. 20r–v.	Gathering <i>C</i> , f. 5v.	Arbroath quitclaims to Balmerino the payment of 40 merks and grants they may hold the church of Barry. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 258)	11 Feb 1233 × 17 Jun 1239
f. 20v	Gathering <i>C</i> , f. 5v.	An agreement is made between Arbroath and Balmerino to secure peace between the monasteries. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 259)	25 Mar 1230 × 24 Mar 1231
ff. 20v– 21r.	Gathering, <i>C</i> , f. 6r.	Pope Alexander IV confirms the right of Arbroath to the patronage of the church of Frendraught. ( <i>Cal. Papal Letters</i> , 1, 340)	3 Jan 1257
f. 21r	N/A	Robert, son of Warenbald, & Richenda Barclay his wife, due to their great need, give grant and establish their feu in the parish of Fordoun. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 261)	1214 × 20 Mar 1238.
ff. 21r–v	N/A	King Alexander II grants and confirms the donation of Robert & Richenda of their feu in Fordoun. ( <i>RRS</i> , iii, no. 265)	20 Mar 1238
f. 21v	N/A	Richenda, daughter of Humphrey Barclay, ratifies the donation she and her late husband made of their feu in the parish of Fordoun. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 263)	25 Mar 1245 × 7 Mar 1246

ff. 21v–22r.	Gathering C, f. 9r (partial)	King Alexander II grants and confirms the ratification made by Richenda Barclay regarding Fordoun. ( <i>RRS</i> , iii, no. 307)	7 Mar 1246
f. 22r.	Gathering C, f. 9r.	King Alexander III gives 100s p.a. of Monifieth. ( <i>RRS</i> , iv, no. 127)	12 Nov 1279
f. 22r–v.	Gathering C, f. 9v (bottom)	King Alexander II gives, grants and confirms 10 merks per annum from his ferme of Monifieth to augment the lighting of the church. ( <i>RRS</i> , iii, no. 314)	16 Dec 1246
f. 22v	Gathering C, f. 9v (top)	William, bishop of St Andrews, makes it known that the profits of the church of Dunbog have been given to him by Arbroath for his procurations. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 267)	26 Apr 1309
f. 22v	N/A	Decretal of Henry, bishop of Aberdeen, regarding eight marks in the church of Tarves.	1282 × 1328/9 <sup>22</sup>
ff. 22v–23r	N/A	Abbot Bernard and the convent of Arbroath give land in Aberdeen to Patrick of Arbroath. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 269)	June 1310 × 19 Mar 1329
f. 23r	N/A	Abbot William and the convent of Arbroath give a building in Crail to Andrew, son of Alexander the baker. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 270)	15 Dec 1280
f. 23v.	Gathering E, f. 13v	Abbot Adam and the convent of Arbroath make known that in 1245 they demitted the Mill of Conveth to Sir John Wishart at feuferme. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 271)	25 Mar 1245 × 24 Mar 1246
ff. 23v–24r	N/A	An agreement is formed between Arbroath and John Wishart regarding lands at Conveth. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 272)	1242
f. 24r–v	N/A	Letter template for announcing deaths.	?
ff. 24v–27r	Gathering C, f. 8r–v	List of taxations for the diocese of St Andrews, Brechin and Aberdeen. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 300)	? mid-thirteenth century <sup>23</sup>
ff. 106r–107r	Gathering E, f. 12r–v	King Robert I confirms lands in the parish of Tarves in regality. ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 28)	26 Feb 1313
f. 107r–v	Gathering E, ff. 10v–11r	King Robert I gives the advowson of the church of Kirkmahoe. ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 203)	20 Oct 1321
ff. 107v–108r	Gathering E, f. 11r–v	Glasgow Cathedral Chapter ratify Arbroath's right to the advowson of the church of Kirkmahoe. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 280)	30 Dec 1321

Table 6-1: Locations of repeated sequences in the Arbroath Ethie and Arbroath *RV*

<sup>22</sup> 'Henry Cheyne, bishop of Aberdeen', PoMS, <<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/person/1983/>> (accessed 9 May 2022).

<sup>23</sup> Simon Taylor, 'The medieval parish in Scotland', *Journal of Scottish Name Studies* 8 (2014) pp. 93–114, at p. 105 n. 24.

## Gathering *N*

Only the final text entered onto Gathering *N* of the Arbroath Ethie appears in the Arbroath *RV*. This is a decree of Bishop David of St Andrews regarding the valuation of vicarages which appears at f. 9r–v. As far as it is possible to tell, the text sits alone and is not part of a longer group of related documents, although it must be borne in mind that there are two folios missing between ff. 8–9 of the Arbroath *RV*, so the inclusion of other texts from Gathering *N* cannot be entirely ruled-out. The possibility also exists that when Hand 8 copied this text he was not copying it from the Arbroath Ethie at all. Gathering *N* was created last of the Arbroath Ethie’s multi-scribe gatherings, and the palaeography dates the hands it contains to the middle of the fourteenth century. The *terminus post quem* for Hand 8 of the Arbroath *RV* is 21 July 1339, and it may be that he was the first to copy Bishop David’s charter, before the text was copied into the Arbroath Ethie.<sup>24</sup>

## Gathering *F*

Gathering *F* of the Arbroath Ethie contains four texts, all of which can be seen in the Arbroath *RV*, but they have not been copied over in an entire ‘block’. Three, which form the first three entries on Gathering *F* can be seen mirrored by Hand 8 on ff. 12r–14r. The final text, however, is separated from the first three by a single document copied at ff. 15v–16r. The maximal period suggested for the creation of Gathering *F* is mid-thirteenth to early fourteenth century. All these texts are therefore likely to have been in the gathering by the time Hand 8 was working, and he must have seen them there. Instead of copying them over in a single sequence, though, he has chosen to impose his own order, by inserting a related document between the third and fourth texts copied.

## Gathering *C*

Gathering *C* contains 14 texts, 11 of which appear in the Arbroath *RV*, but once again, these are not copied as a single block of texts.

- From ff. 19v–21r of the Arbroath *RV*, a sequence of six texts matches the first six which appear on Gathering *C* (ff. 5r–6r).

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<sup>24</sup> A full discussion of the likely creation dates of the multi-scribe gatherings can be found in Chapter 2

- A further four texts running from ff. 21v–22v almost mirror the four texts on Gathering *C* running f. 9r–9v, although a gift of King Alexander III and an announcement by Bishop William of St Andrews have been transposed.
- One final text, a list of taxation at ff. 24v–27r, can also be seen on Gathering *C* running from f. 8r–v.

Hand 8 clearly read Gathering *C*, and selected sequences of texts to be copied, but he did not wish to copy the entire gathering as one single sequence. It is also worth taking a closer look at the three texts from Gathering *C* which Hand 8 did not copy. These comprise a piece of canon law which sits at the bottom of f. 6r, the Statutes of the Scottish Church entered at ff. 6v–7v, and a boundary statement for Kingoldrum entered as the final 10 lines on f. 9v. The first text copied onto the gathering is dated to 16 February 1267 and the palaeographical evidence discussed in Chapter 1 shows that the earliest hands who copied onto this gathering were working in the second half of the thirteenth century. However, palaeography also suggests that the text on canon law was a non-linear entry, and was probably copied around the middle of the fourteenth century, so this may not yet have been copied onto Gathering *C* when Hand 8 was reading it. The omission of the statutes is not so easily explained (except to say that it is a different kind of document from the rest insofar as it is not specifically about Arbroath), and it may be that Hand 8 read, but rejected the idea of copying this text. He would, however, definitely not have seen the boundary statement, as that was not copied onto the gathering until the late fifteenth century. The mirroring of Gathering *C* in the Arbroath *RV* is not simple, therefore, with Hand 8 deciding what to copy and in what order, choosing to copy certain texts in sequence, and rejecting other ones completely. Once again, though, his choice of what to copy across would not have included everything we can see on the gathering today.

### **Gathering *E***

Four of the ten texts found on Gathering *E* were copied by Hand 8. Two of these are copied as single texts.

- An agreement with the bishop of St Andrews seen at f. 10r–11v on Gathering *E* can be found at ff. 14r–15r of the Arbroath *RV*.
- A charter of Adam Abbot for John Wishart at f. 13v is entered at f. 23v.

Three additional texts sit together in a short group in ff. 106r–108r.

- King Robert I confirms lands in the parish of Tarves in regality.
- King Robert I gives the advowson of the church of Kirkmahoe.
- The chapter of Glasgow ratifies King Robert's gift of the advowson the church of Kirkmahoe.

Although entered as a short run in the Arbroath *RV*, this is not how these three texts appear in Gathering *E* of the Arbroath Ethie, where the two documents concerning the church of Kirkmahoe sit together at ff. 10v–11v, and are separated by a single text from King Robert's charter for Tarves which is entered at f. 12r. Hand 8's choices when copying texts from Gathering *E* therefore appear to be rather random, with only four out of ten texts copied, and little sign that he imported sequences of texts in a block. Gathering *E* is a fourteenth-century creation. Hand 8 copied the first three texts which were entered onto Gathering *E* by Hand 22 the *terminus post quem* for which was 30 December 1321, but he did not copy them in the same order as Hand 22. The final document he copied, King Robert's charter for Tarves was entered into the Arbroath Ethie by Hand 24, where it too has a *terminus post quem* of 30 December 1321. In Gathering *E*, a charter of Walter de Melville sits between the ratification of the Glasgow Cathedral Chapter for Kirkmahoe, and King Robert's confirmation of Tarves. This, as discussed in Chapter 2, seems to have been a non-linear addition to the cartulary, with palaeography suggesting it may not have been entered onto the folio until the third quarter of the fourteenth century, and therefore not seen there by Hand 8. The final five texts in Gathering *E* which remain uncopied have a *terminus post quem* of no earlier than 1341, and therefore these too may not have been on Gathering *E* when Hand 8 was undertaking his campaign of work

One possible explanation for the sort of multi-scribe gatherings we see in the Arbroath Ethie is that they form part of the process of planning a new cartulary. What we have seen from the discussion above, however, is that although some of the multi-scribe material was copied by Hand 8, the picture is not straightforward. There can be no doubt that Hand 8 of the Arbroath *RV* read and took inspiration from the multi-scribe gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie. But although he copied some sequences of texts, he did not choose to always fully import their original order, or feel the need to copy everything he saw, so the multi-scribe accrual cannot just have been space provided to plan-out a new manuscript. And if they were created for this purpose, it would seem unlikely that these gatherings would be retained and bound.

As shown above, it is also possible that not all the texts currently on the multi-scribe gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie were there for Hand 8 to read and copy; another indication that the two manuscripts were active simultaneously. So once Hand 8 started work on the Arbroath *RV*, the multi-scribe gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie were not retired. Although single-scribe campaigns might sometimes reflect the concerns of only the copying scribe, in the repeated sequences of texts between the Arbroath Ethie and Arbroath *RV* it is possible to get a glimpse of the interests of the wider community being incorporated into the work of a single scribe. Even when Hand 8 had started to create a new cartulary, (which must have been a formal campaign of work), the monks continued to engage on an informal, ad hoc basis, to read their archive (and the manuscripts already created) and copy documents that interested them. Therefore the process of ad-hoc copying does not seem to just have been a stop-gap way of recording documents which could later be included in a formal campaign of work. Instead, although undertaken on an informal basis, it must have been a recognised and ongoing activity at Arbroath.

*Repeated sequences of texts during the second overlapping phase c.1480–c.1500*

The repeating of texts during the first overlapping period of production is limited to the similarities seen between the multi-scribe gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie and Hand 8's campaign in the Arbroath *RV*, which has been discussed above. The second overlapping phase occurred towards the end of the fifteenth century, when the two multi-scribe gatherings of the Arbroath *RV* were under construction, and the first sequences were being created to form the Arbroath *RN*. Tables 6-2 and 6-3 below show the contents of Gatherings I and XVII of the Arbroath *RV*, and list which documents were also copied into the Arbroath *RN*, where in the manuscript they appear, and which hand contributed them.

Hand	Folio	Details of text	Date	Position in Arbroath <i>RN</i>
1	f. 1r	King David II orders the chancellor of Scotland to issue a charter granting to Arbroath the custom of the port in free alms. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 116)	After 14 Nov 1351	N/A
2	f. 1v–2r	An agreement is made between Arbroath and Thomas Rattray, acting in the name of his wife, Christina, over the bounds of the land of Kingoldrum. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 294)	2 Jul 1253	Cluster G, f. 84v–85r (Hand 54)

3	f. 2r	Andrew Dempster, lord of Careston, recognises the regality rights of Arbroath. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 33)	1 Jan × 31 Dec 1370	Sequence 4, f. 30r (Hand 31)
4	ff. 2v–3r	An agreement is made between Peter, bishop of Aberdeen, and Arbroath regarding the boundaries between the bishop's land of Tillygreig and the abbey's lands of <i>Dessuenenin</i> and <i>Affleck</i> . ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 307)	23 Dec 1254	N/A
5	f. 3r–v	John of Stirling is given sasine of the saltworks at Carse. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 343)	12 Apr 1317	N/A
6	ff. 3v–4r	Abbot Malcolm gives and grants a toft in Duns to William Robertson. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 124)	22 May 1459	N/A
7	ff. 4r–5v	An agreement is made between Arbroath and Walter and Thomas of Tulloch regarding the land of Tulloch. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 128)	1 Oct 1459	Sequence 7, f. 59r–60r (Hand 31)

Table 6-2: The relationship between Gathering I of the Arbroath *RV* and the Arbroath *RN*

Hand	Folio	Details of text	Date	Position in the Arbroath <i>RV</i>
13	f. 124r–v	Malcolm, abbot of Arbroath, and John Wishart make an agreement regarding the Mill of Conveth. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 138)	17 Jan 1461	Sequence 7, ff. 61v–62r (Hand 31)
1	f. 125r	King David II commands that there should be no infringement of Arbroath's right to the customs of the port or their regality rights. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 123)	13 Mar 1352	N/A
14	f. 125r–v	Abbot Malcolm grants lands in Tarves in feu and heritage to William of Udney. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 182)	22 Sept 1469	Sequence 7, f. 70r–v (Hand 31)
15	f. 126r	William Murray, sheriff of Banff, records an inquiry into the lands of Forglen. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 108)	3 Nov 1457	Sequence 7, ff. 55v–56r (Hand 31)
15	f. 126v	Walter Ogilvy and others record an inquiry concerning <i>Kennymykyl</i> . ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 49)	24 Apr 1409	Sequence 5, ff. 38r–v (Hand 31)
16	f. 127r–v	An agreement is made between William, abbot of Arbroath, and	18 Sept 1482	N/A

		Patrick McKulloch, vicar of Arbroath. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 212)		
17	f.128r	Abbot George confirms Alexander Irvine's holdings of the land Forglen. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 208)	21 May 1481	Sequence 8, f. 95r (Hand 31)
18	f.128v	William, abbot of Arbroath, gives notice that he has given the land of Forglen and the advowson of the church to Alexander Irvine. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 236)	6 Feb 1483	Cluster I, f. 105v (Hand 63)
18	ff.128v–129r	William, abbot of Arbroath, gives the land of Forglen and the advowson of the church to Alexander Irvine. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 235)	6 Feb 1483	Cluster I, f. 105r–v (Hand 63)
19	f.129v	King James I orders that Arbroath hold their lands in regality. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 79)	5 Nov 1436	N/A
19	f.130r	Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan, gives notice that he is bound to Arbroath for ½ merk annually in return for a piece of their land in Tarves. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 319)	14 Mar 1286	Cluster A, f. 10r (Hand 2)
19	ff.130v–131r	John Drimmyng recognises the boundaries of Ardlogie and Fyvie. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 353)	28 Aug 1325	Cluster G, f. 85v–86r (Hand 54)
20	ff.131v–132r	King David II inspects the charter of Margaret Stewart, countess of Angus, for the land of Brakie. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 76)	31 Oct 1343	N/A
21	f.132v	Six lines of text.	Unknown	N/A

Table 6-3: The relationship between Gathering XVII of the Arbroath *RV* and the Arbroath *RN*

If we look first at Gathering I of the Arbroath *RV*, we can see that only three out of the seven texts in that gathering were also copied into the Arbroath *RN*. The first of these, the agreement between Arbroath and the Rattrays over Kingoldrum, sits alone in Gathering I, but in Cluster G of the Arbroath *RN* it sits as the first of a group of three entries all of which concern the same land. Two further documents which were copied into Gathering I were copied into sequences created by Hand 31. Of the four texts not copied, one is royal, and as we have seen in Chapter 3, the Arbroath *RN* does not contain many royal texts. The remaining three texts seem also to have held no interest for the Arbroath *RN* scribes for reasons which must remain unknown.

If we turn to Gathering XVII we can see that of the 14 texts it contains, nine can also be found in the Arbroath *RN*. Of those nine, five were copied into sequences, once again by Hand 31. Two were copied into Cluster I by Hand 63, one by Hand 2 into Cluster A and a

final text copied into Cluster G by Hand 54. Of the five texts not repeated, one on f. 132v is difficult to read because the ink has faded. Another is an agreement with the vicar of Arbroath, which for an unknown reason was not copied into the Arbroath *RN*. The three remaining documents are royal, and as noted above, these were not of particular interest to the scribes creating the Arbroath *RN*. 12 out of a possible 21 documents were therefore copied into both the multi-scribe gatherings of the Arbroath *RV* and the Arbroath *RN*. Of those 12, seven were copied by Hand 31. Hand 31 is the hand most often seen in the Arbroath *RN*. In Chapter 3 a *terminus post quem* of 5 December 1487 was established for part of his work, although as discussed, this is better considered as a reference point for the period during which he was working, rather than a starting-off point for when he first engaged with the cartulary. Many of the documents copied onto Gathering I and Gathering XVII coincide chronologically with the sequences which he contributed, so it is perhaps unsurprising that this hand was responsible for copying so many of the repeated texts. The way in which the sequences in the Arbroath *RN* were structured, by grouping texts together according to specific time periods, means that documents he duplicated were copied into different sequences according to their date of origin, and he therefore did not copy any of the repeated texts in groups. This makes it hard to state unreservedly that Hand 31 was copying the work of the Arbroath *RV* scribes. However, the hands seen in the first and last gathering of the Arbroath *RV* and Hand 31 were all late-fifteenth-century scribes, and it would be most likely that they read what one another copied. What can be stated with certainty is that although the interests of Hand 31, and of the scribes who created Gathering I and Gathering XVII did not completely tally, they did intersect.

Five texts seen in the two late gatherings of the Arbroath *RV* can also be found within ‘clusters’ of the Arbroath *RN*. The first of these, the argument between Arbroath and the Rattrays, sits alone in Gathering I, but in Cluster G of the Arbroath *RN* it sits as the first part of a group of three entries made by Hand 55 all of which concern the same land. The statement recognising the boundaries of Ardlogie and Fyvie, found in Gathering XVII can also be found in Cluster G, where it was entered immediately following the final of the three documents concerning Kingoldrum by a different hand (Hand 54). The gift of Alexander Comyn, entered as part of a short group of texts copied by Hand 19, was copied alone into Cluster A by Hand 10. The final two texts copied into a cluster are the two documents of Abbot William concerning Forglen entered into Gathering XVII by Hand 18 which appear in the same order in Cluster I where they were copied by Hand 63. There are few repeated sequences of texts from Gatherings I and XVII in the Arbroath *RV* seen in the

clusters of the Arbroath *RN*, and it is likely that all of these scribes were working in a similar fashion, reading what the cartularies contained, and providing only a single, or at most a few, texts as their own contribution. The possibility that these two manuscripts were growing concurrently raises the question of why new gatherings were created for the Arbroath *RV*, when it might have been possible for the scribes to copy into the ‘cluster’ spaces in the newly-formed Arbroath *RN*. It is possible though that the Arbroath *RV* was the responsibility of (or perhaps of interest only to) a specific group of monks within the abbey, whilst the Arbroath *RN*, as we have seen above, was more communal in nature.

### The Arbroath BL

So far, we have examined the relationship between the multi-scribe gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie and the work of Hand 8 of the Arbroath *RV*, as well as the relationship between the two late multi-scribe gatherings of the Arbroath *RV* and the Arbroath *RN*. There is another comparison worth carrying out, and that is the presence of repeated texts from any of these three cartularies and the Arbroath BL. Working around the 1530’s, the Arbroath BL scribe would have had the advantage of access to an archive which had been accumulating documents for around three and a half centuries, as well as being able to draw inspiration from the corpus of cartularies which had already been created by the abbey’s scribes. It is therefore worth looking to see if there is evidence of him being influenced by the work of his predecessors. Before we look at the documents which are copied into that cartulary and which also appear in earlier cartularies, it is worth stating again what the interests of the Arbroath BL scribe were. The cartulary, which contains texts datable to a wide period from c.1189 all the way to 1531, is predominantly focused on secular properties and rights, with the cartulary scribe showing almost no interest at all in copying documents relating to the abbey’s ecclesiastical holdings and privileges. However, unlike the hands which created the Arbroath *RN*, which did not copy many royal documents, the Arbroath BL scribe was very interested in recording gifts and privileges provided for Arbroath by the kings of Scotland, devoting the first 59 folios of the cartulary to copying documents provided to the monks by monarchs. The Arbroath BL scribe was very clearly working to his own set of interests (or perhaps a set of interests agreed with other members of his community). The question to investigate therefore is how far those interests intersected with, and were influenced by, the work of earlier cartulary scribes.

*Repeat sequences in the Arbroath RV and the Arbroath BL*

Perhaps the easiest place to start is to look for evidence of the Arbroath BL scribe copying items from the numbered sequence seen in the Arbroath Ethie and the Arbroath *RV*. Of the 237 texts contained within the numbered sequenced, only 13 can be found in the Arbroath BL. These are spread throughout the cartulary, and only in one place can the texts be seen to have been copied in groups mirroring how they appeared within the earlier cartularies. This involves three items; the gift of land in Kennethmont by Earl David of Huntingdon, King William I's confirmation of that gift, and a subsequent confirmation by David's son, Earl John. These were copied into the Arbroath *RV* from ff. 57r–v, and although missing from the Arbroath Ethie, we can assume they were once copied there too.<sup>25</sup> The documents appear in the same order in the Arbroath BL as well, in ff. 89r–90r, but with one difference. Sitting between the copy of Earl David's gift and the associated royal confirmation, at f. 89r–v, is a public instrument of Abbot George concerning payment from John Robertson for land at Fitty, dated 1 December 1481.<sup>26</sup> The insertion of an unrelated document in the middle of the texts concerning Kennethmont is odd. We could perhaps speculate that the documents concerning the abbey's holdings in north-east Scotland were stored in the same place, and the scribe was copying from a bundle which was not terribly well organised, but this is only speculation and if so, he made no attempt to rearrange the documents into a more logical order.

There is therefore only one short group of texts in the Arbroath BL which mirrors those in the numbered sequence in the Arbroath *RV* (and by default the Arbroath Ethie), but of course the Arbroath *RV* contains many more texts and a further 40 documents copied into the Arbroath *RV* which are also present in the Arbroath BL. Of those 40, a dozen are contained within sequences which closely mirror their arrangement in the earlier cartulary.

Ff. 124v–125v of the Arbroath BL contains three texts concerning Forglen. The first two record Abbot William's gift of land at Forglen to Alexander Irvine, and the accompanying order to his baillies to give Alexander sasine of the land, both dated 6 February 1483.<sup>27</sup> These are copied in reverse order in the Arbroath *RN* at ff. 128v–129r by Hand 18, where they follow a record of Abbot George's confirmation of Alexander Irvine's holding of

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<sup>25</sup> *Arb., Lib.*, 1, nos. 83, 83(b) & 84.

<sup>26</sup> This remains unpublished.

<sup>27</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 2, nos. 235 & 236.

Forglen dated 21 May 1481 entered by Hand 17.<sup>28</sup> The Arbroath BL scribe did not copy Abbot George's confirmation, however: immediately below the order of Abbot William to his baillies on f. 125v is an inquest into the land of Forglen, dated 13 November 1457.<sup>29</sup> This was also copied into the Arbroath *RV*, but was entered at f. 126r by Hand 15.

Three documents relating to Robert, son of Warenbald and his wife Richenda's interaction with Arbroath appear in the same order in the Arbroath BL at ff. 150r–151r as they do in the Arbroath *RV*, where they were copied by Hand 8 from f. 21r–v. In the Arbroath *RV* they are followed by a royal confirmation concerning the ratification of the gifts of Richenda at f. 21v. This too was copied into the Arbroath BL, but at ff. 148v–149r within the section of the cartulary which contains many documents recounting Arbroath's relationship with several generations of the Barclay family.

At ff. 177r–178r of the Arbroath BL sit five documents, the first three of which are records of perambulations, and the last two are boundary statements. These are amongst a larger group of texts all concerning land boundaries. The first four texts were also copied into the Arbroath *RV* by Hand 8 from ff. 6r–7r. The fifth, a boundary statement for Dunecht, was also copied but is separated from the previous four by a single text (the record of a court case) and sits on f. 7v.<sup>30</sup> Although all five texts concern land boundaries, they are for different properties, so the grouping of them in such a similar order in the Arbroath BL is striking and several possibilities for it exist. It could reflect the way the documents were stored within Arbroath's archive, although unfortunately we have no information on the abbey's archival arrangements. Another possibility is that documents recording boundary statements were already recorded into some form of codex, which both Hand 8 and the Arbroath BL scribe used as their exemplar, and which has been subsequently lost. Or it could of course be that the Arbroath BL scribe was copying from the work of Hand 8.

Only two further texts which can be seen in both the Arbroath *RV* and the Arbroath BL are copied in the same order. These are Alan Durward's quitclaim to Kingoldrum dated 17 April 1256 and Maurice of Moray's quitclaim to the same land of 27 October 1339, entered in ff. 178v–179r.<sup>31</sup> The former was entered into the Arbroath *RV* as the final contribution made to the manuscript by Hand 8 at f. 122r–v, while the latter was entered

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 208.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 108.

<sup>30</sup> The court case is published as *Arb. Lib.*, 1, no. 231.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 295 & 296.

immediately below it at ff. 122v–123r by Hand 10. The placing of these two texts in the same order is interesting. As with the boundary statements above, it could reflect the manner these documents were stored in the abbey’s archive, but it could also be that the Arbroath BL scribe was using elements of copying from the Arbroath *RV* and incorporating them into his own campaign.

*Repeats between the Arbroath Ethie Gatherings N, F, C and E, and the Arbroath BL*

There are only three texts which are copied into the Arbroath BL which can also be found in the four multi-scribe gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie, but in no other cartulary. The first of these is copied at f. 133r–v and records Abbot William’s gift of land in Letham to Hugh Heem.<sup>32</sup> The same document was also copied into Gathering *N* of the Ethie at f. 1r–v by Hand 2. The abbot’s charter tells us that the gift was being made to Hugh in return for his resignation of the lands in Mearns which once belonged to Richenda Barclay. The quitclaim itself does not appear in the Arbroath Ethie, but it was copied by the Arbroath BL scribe at ff. 153v–154r, where it sits among a group of texts all concerned with properties in the Mearns.<sup>33</sup>

Two further entries in the Arbroath BL can be found only in the Arbroath Ethie. These sit together at ff. 179r–180r. The first of these is in Latin, and the second is in Scots. These are duplicates of the two latest texts entered into the Arbroath Ethie. The version in Latin can be seen in Gathering *C* on f. 9v by Hand 21, and the one in Scots in Gathering *E* on f. 13r by Hand 27 (although as discussed in Chapter 1, these hands may well be a single scribe). When they were copied into the Arbroath Ethie they were done in a very informal, almost hurried manner. Both are late additions, added to spaces left at the bottom of folios, and copied in rather untidy writing, with some missed-out words squeezed in above lines. In contrast, they were very tidily copied into the Arbroath BL and adorned with the same enlarged and coloured capital as the texts which surround them. They are both rather short and undated: no information is provided to explain why the boundaries were being recorded. It is possible that they are extracts from longer documents from which the

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<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 274.

<sup>33</sup> Hugh Heem’s quitclaim is unpublished.

cartulary scribes copied them, although sometimes boundary statements were written onto small pieces of parchment and retained.<sup>34</sup>

### *Repeated texts in the Arbroath RN and the Arbroath BL*

One final comparison is still to be made, and that is one between the Arbroath *RN* and the Arbroath *BL*. These two cartularies were produced within perhaps 50 years of one another, and unlike the Arbroath *Ethie* and the Arbroath *RV*, both underwent a relatively compressed period of growth, with the Arbroath *RN* growing over the course of around two decades, and all the copying into the Arbroath *BL* taking place in a single impressive campaign of work. These two manuscripts also contain the largest amount of texts of the cartularies, with 508 copied into the Arbroath *RN* and 329 in the Arbroath *BL*. As noted above, the interests of the cartulary scribes who created these volumes were very different. Despite this, there are 97 separate texts which appear in the Arbroath *RN* which were also copied by the Arbroath *BL* scribe. The way these are distributed across the cartulary can be seen in Table 6-4.

<b>Number of texts repeated between the Arbroath <i>RN</i> sequences and the Arbroath <i>BL</i></b>	<b>Number of texts repeated between the Arbroath <i>RN</i> clusters and the Arbroath <i>BL</i></b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 from Sequence 1</li> <li>• 2 each from Sequences 2 &amp; 3</li> <li>• 3 from Sequence 4</li> <li>• 7 from Sequence 5</li> <li>• 1 from Sequence 6</li> <li>• 22 from Sequence 7</li> <li>• 4 from Sequence 8</li> <li>• 1 from Sequence 9</li> <li>• 0 from Sequences 10 &amp; 11</li> <li>• 1 from Sequence 12</li> <li>• 1 from Sequence 13</li> <li>• 0 from Sequence 14</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 19 from Cluster A</li> <li>• 4 from Cluster B</li> <li>• 8 from Cluster C</li> <li>• 2 each from Clusters D &amp; E</li> <li>• 0 from Cluster F</li> <li>• 12 from Cluster G</li> <li>• 0 from Cluster H</li> <li>• 2 from Cluster I</li> <li>• 0 from Clusters J–L</li> <li>• 1 from Cluster M</li> </ul>

Table 6-4: Distribution of texts in the Arbroath *RN* also copied into the Arbroath *BL*

47 texts which appear in the Arbroath *BL* were also copied into the sequences of the Arbroath *RN* and 50 were copied into the clusters, but as can be seen from Table 6-4, they

<sup>34</sup> An example of this practice can be found in Angus Archives in Forfar who hold a small undated four-line boundary statement, written in Scots onto a small piece of parchment. Forfar MS100014/1/1 – ‘note concerning the boundaries of the main and mill lands of [Gardyne] lying in the [Den] on the west side of the burn’.

were not evenly distributed. In fact, only three of the repeats (one each from Sequences 12 and 13 and Cluster M) are datable to after 29 July 1484. This date is notable because it was when David Lichtone became abbot of Arbroath, a record of the event forming the first document copied into Sequence 10 of the Arbroath *RN* at f. 106r. As established in Chapter 3, all the documents copied into the Arbroath *RN* manuscript after this point are datable to his time in office. The remaining 95 texts which were copied into the Arbroath BL and which also appeared in the Arbroath *RN* are spread widely, but not evenly, across the first 105 folios of the manuscript. There are eight places in the Arbroath BL where short runs or groups of texts mirror the order in which they are entered into the Arbroath *RN*.

Three documents are copied in ff. 66r–69r concerning land in Aberdeen sold to Arbroath by John Fyfe.<sup>35</sup> The first two of these are copied into Sequence 7 at ff. 64r–65v. the final one, which records Thomas Fyfe’s obligation to pay rental for his holdings in Aberdeen was copied into the same sequence, but not until ff. 70v–71r. The texts in Sequence 7 are almost all arranged in a chronological order. The first two are dated to 8 June 1464, but Thomas Fyfe’s is dated 17 July 1470, and rather than group all three associated documents together, Hand 31 has chosen to order them by date of production.

Two unrelated texts sit together on ff. 80v–82r. These are a record of Abbot Malcolm demitting land to Gilbert Scott and his wife, followed by a gift made by Nicholas Watson of 13s 4d from the tenement of Andrew Dempster in Arbroath. These are also copied into Sequence 7 of the Arbroath *RV* by Hand 31 at ff. 56r–57r.<sup>36</sup> In the Arbroath BL they are followed by a record of Andrew Dempster receiving land in Arbroath from Nicholas of Dalkeith.<sup>37</sup> This too was copied into the Arbroath *RN*, but at f. 80v, where it was entered into Cluster G by Hand 1.

Four documents of the land of Bucht were copied by the Arbroath BL scribe at ff. 113v–114v. These comprise a royal command that witnesses appear in the dispute between Arbroath and John Haliburton over Bucht, a summons from the Lords of Council regarding the same case, a recognition of the land, and finally a promise by John Halliburton to make restitution to Arbroath of one horse.<sup>38</sup> These are copied into Cluster B by Hand 29 from ff. 28v–29r, although he transposed the instrument of recognition and John Haliburton’s

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<sup>35</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 2, nos. 154, 155 & 183.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 111 & 115.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 91.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 156, 157, 106 & 158.

promise to make restitution. Hand 29 also added another related document to this short group, in the form of another instrument of recognition, dated four years after the first one, entered at f. 29r–v.<sup>39</sup>

A gift by William de Vaux and a subsequent command by his descendent that the money be paid to Arbroath can be found in the Arbroath BL on ff. 127v–128r.<sup>40</sup> These also sit together in Cluster B where they were copied onto f. 23v by two different hands (Hands 18 & 19). The Arbroath BL scribe may have seen them there, but these are two related documents which it would be reasonable to copy together and which it seems likely would be stored together in the archive.

Three texts detailing William Strachan’s resignation of lands at Letham in Angus are copied into the Arbroath BL at ff. 134v–135v. Hand 31 copied the same documents into Sequence 7 from ff. 58r–59r. In the Arbroath BL they are slightly out of date order with the first and third both dated 18 August 1458 and the second dated two days earlier. As noted above, Hand 31 ordered Sequence 7 by date, and he rearranged the three texts so that they run in strict chronological order.<sup>41</sup>

Three texts sit at ff. 150r–151r, which can be seen in the same order within Cluster A at ff. 10v–11r. All three relate to Robert son of Warenbald and Richenda Barclay’s sale of land to the monastery due to financial need. The first of these records their gift of land in Fordoun, followed by King Alexander II’s confirmation and Richenda’s subsequent ratification of the gift after her husband’s death.<sup>42</sup> In Cluster A the first two of these texts was entered by Hand 4. Richenda’s ratification was then copied by Hand 5, who logically copied the associated royal confirmation immediately below it. However, in the Arbroath BL the royal confirmation was entered at ff. 148v–149r.<sup>43</sup> As noted above, the Arbroath BL hand copied many of the documents relating to the Barclay family which do not seem to have been copied elsewhere. The short grouping in the Arbroath *RN* shows a more logical arrangement of texts, but compared to the number of documents copied by the Arbroath BL scribes, it provides only a snippet of a much larger collection.

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 130.

<sup>40</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 1, nos. 116 & 308.

<sup>41</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 2, nos. 118, 116 & 119.

<sup>42</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 1, no. 261, *RRS*, iii, no. 265 & *Arb. Lib.*, 1, no. 263).

<sup>43</sup> *RRS*, iii, no. 307.

Two texts concerning boundary issues sit at ff. 180r–181v. These are a boundary statement of Kingoldrum carried out by Abbot Malcolm, and a complaint by the same abbot against the lord of Meldrum over the towns of Aquhorthies and Craigie.<sup>44</sup> Both of these items were written in Scots and the first is the only document copied into the cartulary by a different hand. Both were also copied into Cluster G, although in reverse order, at ff. 86r–87v, by Hand 56 and 57. Once again these are unrelated items, both of which contain boundary statements, and both of which are copied closely together in two different cartularies.

Three boundary statements on ff. 182r–v can be seen in Cluster C on f. 27v. In the Arbroath *RN* they are copied in this order: a statement of the boundaries of Dunbarrow entered by two hands (Hands 22 and 23), a boundary statement and valuation of the land belonging to Sir Richard Bryson (Hand 25), and a boundary statement for Milton and *Eisterbrekkie* (Hand 26).<sup>45</sup> However, the boundary statement for Dunbarrow and the valuation of Sir Richard Bryson's land are separated by a boundary statement for the land of Auchnieve copied by Hand 24.<sup>46</sup> In the Arbroath BL these three boundary statements can be found on f. 182r, but in a different order. The first is that for Sir Richard Bryson, followed by Dunbarrow and then the bounds of Milton. In the Arbroath BL the scribe describes this final document as the bounds between Milton and *Westerbrekkie*, although the text is clearly the same one as found in the Arbroath *RN*. This is another example of boundary statements for unrelated pieces of land being copied in a very similar order in two different cartularies. And once again it raises the possibility that boundary statements were either stored or copied in a place or manner which was used by scribes copying this material into different cartularies.

Perhaps one group of texts which might have been expected to be included in a secular cartulary such as the Arbroath BL would be records of lands being leased to tenants. These are the dominant type of documents copied into the latter part of the Arbroath *RN*, particularly from the election of Abbot David Lichtone onwards. Yet the Arbroath BL scribe chose to ignore these completely when he was creating his own cartulary. Perhaps he was not interested in copying them, or perhaps he felt that they had been adequately recorded by the scribes who created the Arbroath *RN*.

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<sup>44</sup> The boundary statement is unpublished and the complaint is published as *Arb. Lib.*, 2 no. 123.

<sup>45</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 2, nos. 73, 362 & 75.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 2, no. 74.

The above analysis shows the groups of texts which are mirrored in different cartularies, and the reasons why this may occur. Single texts occur in multiple cartularies, but it is harder to discern whether or not there is a relationship between the different copies. It is hardly surprising that documents might be copied multiple times, but what is perhaps more surprising is that only three documents can be found in all four cartularies. These are:

- Richard de Melville's gift of the chapel of St Laurence in Kinblethmont, datable to 13 April 1189 × 10 July 1199 (*Arb. Lib.* 1, no. 143).
- Thomas Malherbe's gift of 2s from the land of Balneaves, datable to after 17 February 1215 (*Arb. Lib.* 1, no. 98).
- King Alexander II's confirmation of Richenda Barclay's ratification of the donations made when her husband was alive, dated 7 March 1246 (*RRS*, iii, no. 307).

Only one of the above is a royal document, and none represent the most lucrative gifts or important privileges which the abbey received. It was noted above that the full extent of Richenda Barclay's relationship with the abbey was not made clear until the production of the Arbroath BL. Yet a confirmation of her ratification is one of only three texts to appear in all four cartularies, and perhaps the monks were more interested in her situation than the cartularies otherwise would suggest. The two remaining texts are not especially grand, but for some reason they resonated with Arbroath's scribes enough to merit inclusion in all four cartularies.

### Conclusion

One of the most striking things to come out of the analysis above is that the Arbroath BL, a cartulary which was overwhelmingly the work of a single scribe, contains the highest number of repeated copies of a single document of any of the cartularies studied. It might have been expected that there would be more repeated texts within the earlier three cartularies, which were all the work of multiple hands. The fact that there are not suggests that scribes were indeed reading the volumes into which they were copying, and were aware of what had already been written before they made their own contribution. Only one of the repeated texts, a record of the lease of the garbal teinds of the church of Dunbog, entered into the Arbroath *RN*, can be clearly identified as a scribal error, and it appears to have been identified as such by the copying scribe himself, who abandoned his task without completing it. The reasons why the duplicates exist within single cartularies can often be explained, as with the repeat of Robert of London's charter in the Arbroath BL,

where the scribe was interested in different aspects of the donation depending on what he was copying beside it. Even if the motives for copying something twice in the same manuscript are obscure, the evidence from the indices of the Arbroath *RN* and *BL*, in which duplicates were generally accorded their own discrete listing, suggests each one was considered as an individual entity, and not just a copy made by mistake.

Identifying groups of texts which were copied into different manuscripts in the same (or a similar) order reveals that scribes were sometimes copying short sequences they had seen elsewhere. Although the comparison between the multi-scribe gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie and the Arbroath *RV* serves as a reminder that when the scribes read ‘older’ cartularies, that does not mean those volumes were ‘finished’. They may still have been growing, and what the scribe saw on them may not reflect what we see now. This phenomenon may already have been the case during the second overlapping period during which the Arbroath *RN* was being developed, as well as the final two multi-scribe gatherings of the Arbroath *RV*. It seems likely at least that Hand 31, who created all the sequences in the Arbroath *RN* which contain fifteenth-century texts, up to the election of David Lichtone as abbot, was interested in copying similar documents to the scribes who worked on Gatherings I and XVII of the Arbroath *RV*. He may have been contemporary with them, or perhaps he was working slightly later, and read what they had written and was influenced by it.

The inclusion by the Arbroath *BL* scribe of 97 texts seen in the Arbroath *RN* represents a significant overlap in interests, all the more so, in that the vast majority of these documents are dated to the period before Abbot David’s election. The inclusion of so many texts, entered by different hands, into a single-scribe campaign is rather reminiscent of the way Hand 8 of the Arbroath *RV* incorporated items from the multi-scribe gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie into his own body of work. Perhaps by reading earlier cartularies, absorbing the interests of other scribes, and incorporating their interests in their own work, the interests of the wider community could be reflected and accommodated in the work of a single scribe.

One last point of interest is the similar arrangement of unrelated boundary statements seen in the Arbroath *RN* and the Arbroath *BL*. These are not always copied in exactly the same order, but there is enough similarity to suggest that when the scribes were copying them, they were looking at the same source, or finding them in places where they were stored in

a specific way. Sometimes these are quite short texts, only a few lines long, but sometimes the boundary statement forms part of a longer documents, such as an agreement over a dispute.

Because they are often short texts, are frequently undated, and were sometimes copied informally (as with the two statements for Kingoldrum copied into the Arbroath Ethie) boundary statements can seem unimportant. Yet the frequency with which they occur in the cartularies, and the evidence which suggests there was a particular way in which they were stored, or perhaps already copied, points to these short documents being of significant interest and value to the community.

The above analysis shows that scribes were very engaged with the contents of all their cartularies, not just the ones into which they were actively copying. In particular, the lack of evidence that repeated texts copied by mistake would suggest Arbroath's scribes had a good working knowledge of what the manuscripts created by earlier scribes contained. In the next chapter we will build on this impression by looking for more explicit references that tell us scribes were readers, as well as creators, of their own cartularies.

There is no single explanation that would account for the appearance of repeated texts across the corpus. Where there are repeats within a single-scribe cartulary like the Arbroath BL that was created as a formal piece of work, the duplication seems to be deliberate. This could be because two copies of the same charter exist, or because the separate components within a single document are relevant at different points within the manuscript. The infrequency of duplicates in multi-scribe cartularies is telling, and shows us that even where a scribe contributed a single text, he must have been aware of what else the volume contained. So the act of copying a single document would hide a wider history of reading.

The same documents do of course appear in different cartularies, and where this happens we can sometimes detect a purpose behind it. David Peterson, for example, has shown how, during the late twelfth century, the monastery of San Millán reorganised much, but not all, of the material in one cartulary and incorporated into a new one for the purpose of upholding territorial claims.<sup>47</sup> However, in the case of Arbroath, with the exception of the

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<sup>47</sup> Peterson, 'Order and disorder', pp. 123–5.

numbered sequence that appears in both the Arbroath Ethie and Arbroath *RV*, there is little suggestion that direct copying was taking place. What we see more commonly is that scribes approach their own projects with a fresh eye, influenced by what they have read before but not bound by it. And as we have seen from the Arbroath *RV*, a scribe involved in creating a formal body of work was influenced by both earlier cartularies containing coherent campaigns, and by multi-scribe, piecemeal accrual.

## Chapter 7 : Repeated Texts and Other Cartularies

In Chapter 6 we looked at the documents which were copied more than once into the four manuscripts, and the investigation showed that the phenomenon did not seem to be the result of scribal error. Instead, it would seem that scribes had a good understanding of the contents of all of their manuscripts, and the re-copying of documents was intentional. One further way to investigate this is to look for evidence where the repeating of documents is indicated on the manuscripts themselves. To do so, it will be necessary to look not only at the four manuscripts studied so far, which are communal in nature, but also to briefly examine the registers associated with individual abbots and commendators.

### Registers associated with individual abbots/commendators

As mentioned in the introduction, three sixteenth-century manuscripts created at Arbroath are also still in existence, and these have not so far been discussed. These are different from the cartularies focused on in this thesis because they are primarily manuscripts containing documents relating to specific abbots, or the time in office of individual commendators (perhaps including earlier documents as a form of introduction or prelude) as opposed to being manuscripts about the community itself. The first of these, the Arbroath Regality Register is not immediately identifiable with a specific abbot. However, both this register and the Register of Abbot George Hepburn are of a similar rather small size with folios measuring of 18 x 11cm, and it seems likely that they were created as a two-volume series to be read together – the first volume containing texts drawn from before Abbot George's time in office and the second containing documents which all date to his abbacy. The manuscripts were not available for consultation during the Covid-19 lockdown and no digital images are available.<sup>1</sup> The opportunity to examine them has therefore been limited, and it has not been possible to do an in-depth analysis of them and there has not been the opportunity to do a complete palaeographic analysis, or to check if any of the hands appear in more than one of the manuscripts. What can be observed, though, is that there is not a great deal of difference between the hands and all would fit within a timeframe datable to the first half of the sixteenth century.

Because the focus of this thesis is on the creation of cartularies that related to the community, those relating to an individual abbot or commendator are not analysed in detail

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<sup>1</sup> Angus Archives did not reopen until October 2021.

here. They will, however, be examined for evidence of references to where repeated texts might be found in other manuscripts.

A/3/1 (The Arbroath Regality Register)	A/3/2 (The Register of Abbot George Hepburn)	A/3/3 (The Register of Commendators James Betoun and David Betoun)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 paper flyleaf.</li> <li>• 2 parchment flyleaves.</li> <li>• 5 unnumbered folios.</li> <li>• 193 folios (ff. i–clxxxix).</li> <li>• 2 parchment flyleaves.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 parchment flyleaves.</li> <li>• 1 unnumbered folio.</li> <li>• 91 folios (ff. i–xc).</li> <li>• 3 parchment flyleaves.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 parchment flyleaves.</li> <li>• 2 unnumbered folios.</li> <li>• 28 folios (ff. i–xxviii).</li> <li>• 6 unnumbered folios.</li> <li>• 181 folios (ff. i–clxxxix).</li> <li>• 2 parchment flyleaves/folios (ff. xxix, xxviii).</li> </ul>

Table 7-1: The Angus Archives manuscripts

All three manuscripts were included in the 1958 edition of *Medieval Cartularies* (along with the Arbroath *Registrum Nigrum*) under the subheading of ‘other registers etc’.<sup>2</sup> Table 7-1 provides a very basic outline of each manuscript.<sup>3</sup> These are now in the possession of Angus Council, and identical inscriptions at the beginning of each volume provide more information about their post-reformation history.<sup>4</sup> The first flyleaf of each manuscript contains a note stating the name of the volume written in pencil and this looks to be modern (perhaps nineteenth century). On the recto of the second flyleaf of each manuscript an inscription, written by the same hand, reads:

‘Given to John Maule Esq, one of the Barons of His Majesty’s Exchequer for North Britain, and only brother of William, earl of Panmuir, by John Smith of Bathary and James Smith, writer to the signet, Clerks of the Regality of Aberbrothock, upon that as well as other heritable jurisdictions being by act of parliament abolished, 1748’.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Med. Carts* (1958), p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> It has not been possible to do a full collation of these manuscripts. Table 7-1 shows only how the manuscripts look today, and does not provide a complete understanding of their structure.

<sup>4</sup> A/3/2 (The Register of Abbot George Hepburn) and A/3/3 (The Registers of Commendators James and David Betoun) are held at Angus Archives in Forfar. A/3/1 (The Regality Register) is on long-term loan to Historic Environment Scotland is currently on display at Arbroath Abbey Museum.

<sup>5</sup> James and John Smith were clerks on behalf of the Airlie family, who retained the role of baillies of the Regality until the act of abolishment. David Miller, *Arbroath and its Abbey: or the Early History of the Town and Abbey of Aberbrothock: Including Notices of Ecclesiastical and Other Antiquities in the Surrounding District* (Edinburgh, 1860), p. 180.

Whilst a shorter inscription entered onto the verso in a different hand reads ‘Given to the town of Arbroath by the Honourable William Maule of Panmure, December 1822’.

### *A/3/1 – The Arbroath Regality Register (Arbroath RR)*

The first of the Angus Archives manuscripts is described in *Medieval Cartularies* as a register of leases, and by the editors of the *Arbroath Liber* as the Regality Register: we do not know how the monks themselves referred to it.<sup>6</sup> At the front of the manuscript are five unnumbered folios which contain a table of contents in which the entries are listed in the order in which they appear in the manuscript. Unfortunately, there is no rubric of the type seen at the beginning of the indices in the Arbroath *RN* and Arbroath *BL* to provide further information. The recto of the first unnumbered folio is very stained, as though it has lain unbound for a period of time: although the manuscript itself has recently been rebound and has a new white vellum cover. Photographs provided by Historic Environment Scotland show that prior to this the bindings were of a worn red leather, and the information provided by the conservator who rebound the manuscript suggests that the older binding was made when the volume was gifted to the Panmure family in 1748.<sup>7</sup>

The manuscript contains texts from 1280 to 1502, arranged in a general chronological order. As noted in both *Medieval Cartularies* and the *Arbroath Liber*, the documents copied into this manuscript were also copied into the Arbroath *RN*.<sup>8</sup> Although not the work of a single hand, far fewer hands are visible in the manuscript than in the Arbroath *RN*, and there is no evidence of the clustering of multi-scribe growth that was apparent in that manuscript. The scribes who created this volume must have read the Arbroath *RN*, but they chose not to copy every item it contained. There are perhaps, fewer duplicated texts from the clusters of the Arbroath *RN* than from sequences (although there are a few), and not every text within the sequences is copied.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps most intriguingly, none of the four texts which document the arrival or departure of an abbot which were entered into the

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<sup>6</sup>To avoid confusion, it will be referred to here as The Arbroath Regality Register (Arbroath RR).

<sup>7</sup> I am grateful to Beth Spence of Historic Environment Scotland for the images supplied of the manuscript prior to rebinding, and to Richard Aitken of Highlife Highland for information about what he found when he removed the old bindings (personal communication 14 March 2022).

<sup>8</sup> There do not seem to be any documents copied into the Arbroath RR which did not appear in the Arbroath *RN* (and this is also what is indicated in the index to volume two of the *Arbroath Liber*). To be absolutely sure of this however, would really require a longer examination of the manuscript than has been possible.

<sup>9</sup> For example, eight out of nine of the texts seen in Sequence 1 of the Arbroath *RN* are copied into the Arbroath RR, but none of the 17 texts entered into Sequence 11 have been copied across. None of the 26 texts copied into Cluster A have been copied, and only one from Cluster K.

Arbroath *RN* were copied into the Arbroath *RR*. One possibility behind this may be that by omitting the documents recording the election of previous abbots, the focus of this register remained on George Hepburn, with whom the manuscript was associated.<sup>10</sup> The scribes who read the Arbroath *RN* with an eye to re-copying some of the material it contained did not therefore strictly differentiate between documents copied into sequences and those copied into the multi-scribe clusters, nor did they feel the need **or want** to link their material to specific abbots. Although, therefore, containing much of the same material and being organised in a similar, chronological, fashion, the Arbroath *RR* is a new creation and not merely a copy of the Arbroath *RN*.

### *A/3/2 – The Register of Abbot George Hepburn*

The next manuscript held by Angus is known as the Register of Abbot George Hepburn. The manuscript is contained within red leather bindings, similar to those which until recently covered the Arbroath *RR*, and as noted above they are of a very similar size and are likely to have been created together, although it has not been possible ascertain if there are scribes common to both manuscripts. At the front of the manuscript are two parchment flyleaves which contain the inscriptions common to all three manuscripts. Following this are two folios with red ink still visible. They are followed by a single unnumbered folio, which contains the end of an index. This appears to have been arranged by type of document, as the final category, seen on the bottom half of the verso, shows where texts recording the presentation of vicars to churches can be located. The texts are then entered onto folios which show a Roman numeral foliation running ff. i–xci. At the end of the manuscript are three further parchment flyleaves. The first flyleaf is a reused folio. It is not taken from a cartulary or a liturgical book, and appears to be part of a narrative written in French.<sup>11</sup> The remaining two flyleaves are blank.

Although the manuscript is known as the Register of Abbot George Hepburn, the only reference to it being so in the manuscript is the pencil inscription on the first flyleaf, which

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<sup>10</sup> A similar, but more extreme, example of this can be found from Fountains Abbey, where Abbot John Greenwell omitted details of several abbots from the chronicle of the monastery's abbots in order to create a new and more favourable history for the house. Spence, *The Late Medieval Monastery of Fountains Abbey*, pp. 76–7.

<sup>11</sup> A little bit is known about the books owned by Arbroath Abbey. When Abbot Richard Guthrie died in post in 1472 he bequeathed 28 volumes to the monastery, and a list of what these were is still in existence. John Durkan, 'An Arbroath book inventory of 1473', *Bibliothek* (volume 3, issue 4), pp. 144–6, at p. 146. Nearly half a century later, in 1517, Arthur Boece, a priest from Brechin, said that Arbroath's library held in excess of 200 books. R. L. Mackie and S. Cruden, *Arbroath Abbey* (Edinburgh, 1954), 22–4.

as noted above was probably made in the nineteenth century. The most obvious place to find such information would have been at the start of the index, which has been lost. The documents copied into the manuscript do, however, coincide with George Hepburn's time in office (1504 to 1513).<sup>12</sup> Additionally, the first text entered on f. i recto is a record of his postulation, and the texts thereafter run in a general (although not exact) chronological order.<sup>13</sup> This is not the first time we have seen the announcement of a new abbot chosen as the document with which to begin a campaign of copying, there being three sequences in the Arbroath *RN* which do so as well. The most striking similarity is with the section of the Arbroath *RN* which runs from f. 106r to the end of the cartulary and which contains copies of documents drawn from the period when David Lichtone was abbot. It too begins with a document recording his postulation, and it too runs in a general (but not exact) chronological order. An examination of the documents copied into the register of Abbot George Hepburn shows one further similarity in that it too contains a great many copies of leases and documents recording the presentation of vicars to churches. This may merely reflect the fact that these were the most common documents in circulation during both Abbot David's and Abbot George's time in office, but it may also be indicative of a shared interest by both sets of copying scribes.

### *A/3/3 – The Register of Commendators James Betoun and David Betoun*

The final register surviving from Arbroath is described as the Register of Commendators James Betoun and David Betoun.<sup>14</sup> This is one large volume (the folios measuring approximately 22cm x 15.5cm) which contains a separate register for each of the commendators. There are three parchment flyleaves at the front of the manuscript. The first and second flyleaves contain the inscriptions common to all three manuscripts, while the third flyleaf is a reused folio from a liturgical book and appears to belong to the middle of the twelfth century.<sup>15</sup> The first two folios of the manuscript are unnumbered. The recto of the first of these is blank. On the verso in large red ink is a rubric which announces that this is a register from the time when James Betoun, archbishop of Glasgow, was in charge of Arbroath (see Plate 7.1). Underneath this, towards the bottom of the folio, is a smaller

<sup>12</sup> Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland*, p. 7.

<sup>13</sup> *Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 438.

<sup>14</sup> James Betoun was commendator from 1517–1523 × 24, and David Betoun was his immediate successor, presiding over Arbroath from 1524 to 1545. Watt & Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland*, pp. 8–9.

<sup>15</sup> Very little of Arbroath's liturgical library is known to survive. Only three folios from a thirteenth-century calendar have been identified. Stephen Mark Holmes, 'Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments in Scotland before 1560', *The Innes Review*, 62.2 (2011): pp. 127–212, at pp. 141–2.

rubric, also in red ink, which states that an alphabetical tabula of the contents of the register follows. The tabula covers the recto and verso of the following folio. The register itself starts at the top of the next recto, and is entered on folios which have been numbered ff. i–xxviii. The final text ends on the top line of f. xxviii verso, and on the line below a note in red ink informs readers that they have reached the end of the register of Archbishop David. After a space of around six lines, another rubric (this time in black ink with only the capital entered in red) indicates the start of another tabula. This second tabula covers the rest of this folio, and all of the next five folios, ending on line 7 of the sixth recto, with a note in red ink stating *tabule finis*. (As with the previous tabula, the folios on which this tabula are entered have not been numbered.) The top half of the verso of the final folio of the tabula is blank. On the bottom half someone has written four lines of religious text in a hand which looks to be late medieval or early modern.<sup>16</sup> Underneath this is a large rubric stating that this is a register from the time when David Betoun presided over Arbroath and providing a date of 1524 (see Plate 7.2). The Register itself then follows, entered onto folios which contain a Roman numeral foliation running ff. i–clxxxii.

At the end of the volume are two flyleaves, both of which are rather stained, and which show the foliations f. xxix and f. xxviii (bound in that order). The text at the top of f. xxviii matches the text at the top of f. xxviii of the Register of James Betoun. These, therefore, appear to be the original final two folios of James Betoun's register. It seems likely that these two registers were originally discrete units. However, at some point, it was decided to bind (or rebind) them into a single volume. By this point the final two folios of the Register of James Betoun may have already been loose or detached. An additional gathering was created to hold the tabula for the Register of David Betoun (whether this was a new tabula or the replacement for an existing one we don't know). The first folio of this gathering was used to make a replacement f. xxviii for the one which had become detached.<sup>17</sup> However, only one of the texts from the two detached folios was copied (a lease of the church of Glamis).<sup>18</sup> Rather than discard the loose folios, they were bound at the back of the volume. Only seven folios of this new gathering were required ('new' f. xxviii + 6 folios for the tabula) and so the final folio of the gathering was cut-away and the

<sup>16</sup> The text is religious, and look as though it might be taken from a catechism.

<sup>17</sup> A note at the top of new f. xxviii made in pencil probably by the editor of the *Arbroath Liber* indicates that this folio is a replacement for the two flyleaves.

<sup>18</sup> The lease of Glamis church is published as *Arb. Lib.* 2, no. 581. The texts which were not copied onto new folios are an arrangement for payments from 'beyond the mountains' (*Arb. Lib.* 2, no. 579) and the other is the release of the countess of Huntly from payment of teinds of the church of Glamis. (*Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 582).

stub of these can be seen between the end of the tabula and f. i of the Register of David Betoun (visible on Plate 7.2).

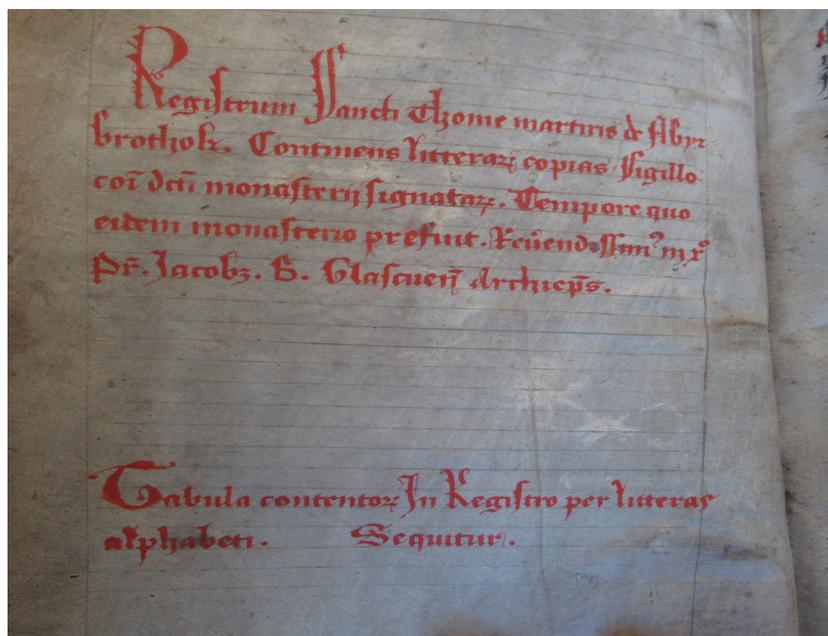


Plate 7.1: Rubric in the Register of James Betoun

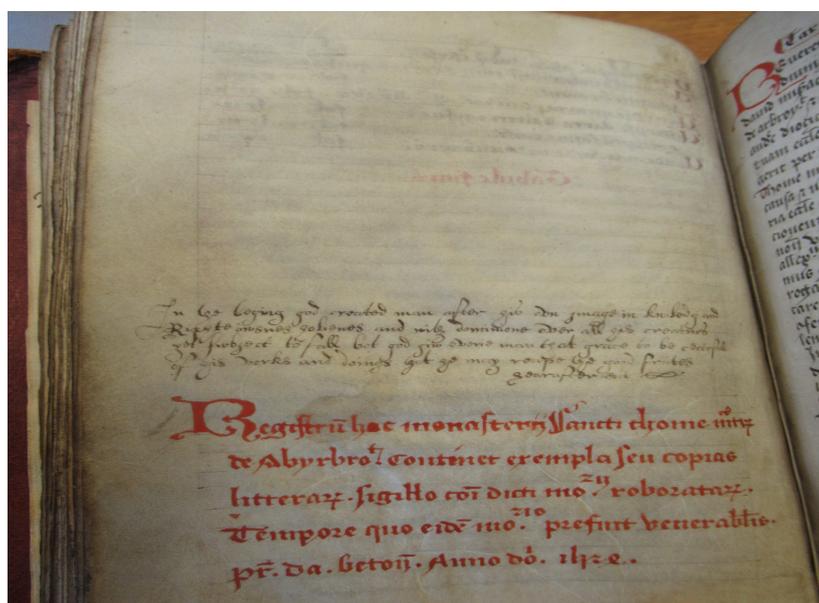


Plate 7.2: Rubric in the Register of David Betoun

The texts copied into the Register of James Betoun cover the dates when he was commendator (1517–24) and are organised chronologically. The register of David Betoun, however, poses a bit of a puzzle. David Betoun was commendator from 1524 to 1545, but the texts, which are also arranged in a general chronological order, date no later than 1536. There are several possibilities for why the register stops mid-way during his time at

Arbroath. One is that the register is incomplete, and that folios have been lost. This seems unlikely, as the copying stops two-thirds of the way down f. clxxxi recto with the verso remaining blank, and there are not similar blank spaces seen elsewhere within the register. Or it could be that the register was created around 1536 while David Betoun was still commendator, rather than at the end of his period in office. Whatever the reason, the Register of David Betoun provides an endpoint for evidence of copying taking place at Arbroath. The latest text entered into it is dated 5 September 1536, and we have no surviving evidence for the monks of Arbroath copying any archival documents which post-date this (the latest text in the Arbroath BL dating to 6 July 1531). Unlike the Register of Abbot George Hepburn, the registers of the commendators do not commence with documents which herald each incumbent's arrival. This might be because no equivalent documents were available to copy.<sup>19</sup> Despite this initial difference, the texts they contain are very similar in nature to those seen in the Register of Abbot George Hepburn, and the latter part of the Arbroath *RN*, including many leases and records of the presentation of priests to churches.

The question remains as to when these three late manuscripts were created. The association with specific abbots makes it likely that the register of Abbot George Hepburn and the register of James Betoun were created either during or soon after the abbot or commendator's reign, and that compilation of the Register of David Betoun stopped while he was still in office. The Arbroath *RR* is not intrinsically associated with an individual abbot, but post-dates the Arbroath *RN*, and probably also belongs to the second or third decade of the sixteenth century.

The three sixteenth-century manuscripts held by Angus Archives are quite similar in nature and they are also quite similar to the Arbroath *RN*. This is particularly true of the Arbroath *RR*. All show a particular interest in copying documents which record leases and the presentation of priests to churches (although the former are more numerous than the latter). They also provide the first evidence for manuscripts being associated with individual abbots. The structure of the Arbroath *RN* raised the possibility that the scribes were organising their material around the time periods of different abbots, but the link was never made explicit. A more in-depth examination of the Angus Archives manuscripts would be

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<sup>19</sup> George Hepburn was technically a commendator too, but only became so after he gained the additional title of Bishop of the Isles (while remaining as well as abbot of Arbroath) in 1511. For a full discussion of the commendator system in Scotland see Mark Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1995), pp. 14–23.

required to fully understand how they were created (especially the complicated nature of the Registers of the Commendators James and David Betoun), but they point to there being copying taking place between the completion of the Arbroath *RN* perhaps around about the year 1510 and the creation of the Arbroath BL 20 years later. It also seems possible that there was another overlapping period, during which work was progressing on the Arbroath BL as well as the Register of David Betoun. These three registers also provide evidence that the practice of copying leases into manuscripts, that began during Abbot David Lichtone's time, continued beyond his death. The amount of resources attached to these volumes suggest they were formal pieces of copying, and that there was a plan as to what sort of documents would be included in them. However, in comparison to the Arbroath *RN*, they seem to have been contributed to by fewer scribes. This would explain why they lack the sort of 'clustering' we see in the Arbroath *RN*, and it may indicate that unlike the earlier manuscript, copying was restricted to a specific group of scribes.

The three Angus Archives manuscripts form the last surviving pieces of the jigsaw of how the copying of documents into manuscript books was carried out at Arbroath. The purpose in examining them here is not to carry out a full analysis of these volumes, but they (along with the four main cartularies studied in this thesis) contain evidence which helps to tell more about how scribes of Arbroath engaged with all the manuscripts they created, and not just the ones on which they actively copied texts.

All cartularies contain types of scribal engagement over and above the copying of texts, and the creation of rubrics or indices, and which provide nuggets of additional information. Sometimes these are entered by the creators of the manuscript themselves, perhaps as part of a rubric, or a note at the end of the text added by the copying scribe. Alternatively, they are responsive contributions, made by subsequent readers of the cartulary, who add notes beside or below texts. Frequently the meaning of these notes has been lost with the passage of time, such as the *manicula* found dotted around the margins of manuscripts, pointing at texts for reasons that cannot no longer be fathomed. As well as this usual type of marginalia, throughout the Arbroath corpus there are notes (listed below) which appear to be references to other manuscripts. It is worth taking a closer look at these notes, as the medieval ones provide evidence for the scribes' awareness of what each manuscript contained. They also offer information about how the monks of Arbroath described their own creations and help to shed light on a number of 'lost' cartularies.

	<b>Cartulary</b>	<b>Text</b>	<b>Note</b>	<b>Location/hand</b>
1	Arbroath <i>RV</i> , f. 120v.	Agreement between Arbroath and Thomas & Christine Rattray, over the bounds of the land of Kingoldrum. (2 Jul 1253). ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 294)	<i>Vide vol ii, fol 77.</i> 'See volume ii, f. 77'.	Entered in the outer margin next to the text in a hand which is modern or perhaps early modern.
2	Arbroath <i>RN</i> , f. 84v	Agreement between Arbroath and Thomas & Christina Rattray, over the bounds of the land of Kingoldrum. (2 Jul 1253). ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 294)	<i>Vide vol I, fol. 126</i> ( <i>b</i> ). 'See volume 1, f. 126b'.	Entered in the outer margin next to the text by the same hand who entered the note next to no. 1 above.

Table 7-2: Cross References (modern)

	<b>Cartulary</b>	<b>Text</b>	<b>Note</b>	<b>Location/hand</b>
1	Arbroath <i>RV</i> , f. 125v	Abbot Malcolm grants lands in Tarves in feu and heritage to William of Udny. (22 Sep 1469). ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 182).	<i>Hic idem habes in</i> <i>registro co(mmun)i</i> <i>fol. lxxvii.</i> 'You have this in the common register'.	Entered at the end of the text in a different hand, which is perhaps late fifteenth or sixteenth century.
2	Arbroath <i>RN</i> , f. 34r	Agreement between Arbroath and Sir Peter Maule regarding the boundaries of Conon and Tulloch. (22 Jun 1254). ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 366)	<i>In Rotula antiqua</i> <i>vide.</i> 'See in the ancient roll'.	Entered as part of the rubric by the same hand who entered the text (H27).
3	Arbroath <i>RN</i> , f. 85v	The boundaries of Kingoldrum as per Abbot	<i>Ut habentur hii</i> <i>limites in quoda(m)</i> <i>registro papireo</i>	Entered at the end of the text by the same scribe

		Malcolm. (Scots) (1458) ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 122)	<i>vetere Walteri Panetar quo(n)da(m) abbatis de Ab(ir)br(othoc).</i> ‘These boundaries can be found in the old paper register of Walter Paniter, former abbot of Arbroath’.	who entered the text (H46).
4	Arbroath RN, f. 87v	Complaint made by Abbot Malcolm against the lord of Meldrum. (1456-1470) ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 123)	<i>Supradicta querimonia habentur in quodam vetere registro papireo.</i> ‘The above complaints are held in a certain old paper register’.	Entered at the end of the text by the same scribe who entered the text (H28).
5	Arbroath RN, f. 87v	The boundaries of Kingoldrum as per Abbot Malcolm. (Scots) (1458) ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 121)	<i>Habent(ur) predicti limites de Kyncold(rum) in vetere quoda(m) registro papireo Walteri Paneter quondam abbatis de Ab(ir)br(othoc).</i> ‘The boundaries of Arbroath mentioned above are written in a certain old register of Walter Paniter, former abbot of Arbroath’.	Entered at the end of the text by the same scribe who entered the text (H47).
6	Arbroath RN, f. 158v	The establishment of officers within the regality of Arbroath and <i>Ethcarmur</i> . (29 Sept 1500) ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 412)	<i>Ut habentur in novo registro folio centesimo tricesimo secondo.</i> ‘These are held in f. 132 of the new register’.	Entered at the end of the text by the same scribe who entered the text (H6).
7	Arbroath BL, f. 181v	Complaint made by Abbot Malcolm against the lord of Meldrum. (1456-1470). ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 123)	<i>Supradicta querimonia habetur in quodam vetere registro papireo.</i> ‘The above complaints are held in a certain old paper register’. <i>Et in reg(istro) co(mmun)i folio</i>	Entered immediately below the text in a different hand, but which looks to be contemporary with the cartulary.

			<i>lxxxii</i> ‘And in the common register f. lxxxii’.	
8	Arbroath RR f. 170v	The lease of Balfour, Kirkton and the mill. (17 Feb 1496). ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 369)	<i>Require in registro d(omin)i Georgii abbatis</i> . ‘Look for in the register of Abbot George’.	Entered in red ink at the end of the text by a contemporary hand.
9	Arbroath RR f. 182v	The lease of Banff and Inverboyndie to James Ogilvie. (28 Mar 1498) ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 389)	<i>Require in nigro registro folio cxlix</i> . ‘Look for in the black register f. cxlix’.	Entered in red ink at the end of the text by a contemporary hand.
10	Register of Commendator David Betoun (various folios).	Entered below various texts and always referring to where an order of sasine can be found.	<i>Vide in registro papireo numero..</i> <sup>20</sup> ‘See in the paper register number...’.	Entered by hands who enter the text.

Table 7-3: Cross References (medieval)

Checking the cross-references against the surviving cartularies gives varied results. Some are easily tracked down. If we turn first to Table 7-2 which shows notes which post-date the cartularies on which they are written, the first and third items on the list clearly refer to the same text, an agreement regarding Kingoldrum, and are entered in the same modern, or perhaps early modern, hand. Assuming the foliations refer to the oldest foliation seen on the manuscript, both of these items can quickly be found, with *vol II, f. 77(b)* referring to modern f. 84v of the Arbroath *RN*, and *vol I, f. 126(b)* referring to modern f. 120v of the Arbroath *RV*. The Arbroath *RV* and the Arbroath *RN* were both previously owned by the manuscript collector Sir James Balfour and were bought by the faculty of advocates from his estate. It is possible, therefore, that the labels ‘volume 1’ and ‘volume 2’ were used to refer to the cartularies after they had passed out of the ownership of Arbroath Abbey and were held either in the Balfour Collection or by the Faculty of Advocates, but before the modern pencil foliation was made.

<sup>20</sup> This phrase (or a very similar one) is then followed by the number of the text to look for in the paper register: these are nos. 227, 274, 249, 251, 251, 262, 264, 267, 271.

If we look at Table 7-3 we can see the notes which were made either by the hands who created the cartularies themselves, or those working not long after. Three of these can also be traced back to one of Arbroath's cartularies. The note underneath the charter for Tarves on f. 125v of the Arbroath *RV* (no. 1) references f. lxxvii of a *registro co(mmun)i*, and the note next to a complaint against the Lord of Meldrum on f. 181v of the Arbroath *BL* (no. 7) references f. lxxxii, also apparently, to be found within a *reg(istro) c(ommun)i*. These can be seen as plates 7.3 and 7.4 below. Once again these texts can be located using the oldest, Roman numeral foliation, this time in the Arbroath *RN*, where they can be found on modern f. 70r–v and modern ff. 86r–87v respectively. Although not entered by the hands who contributed the texts to the cartularies, these notes appear to be contemporary with the manuscripts. The note in the Arbroath *BL* cannot have been entered any earlier than 1531 and palaeographic comparitors for the note in the Arbroath *RV* place it in the late fifteenth century.<sup>21</sup> This provides us with the information that the Arbroath *RN* was considered by the monks to be their common register. The cartulary is better known today as the *Registrum Nigrum*, which itself derives from a reference found within the Arbroath *RR*, on f. 182v (see no. 9).<sup>22</sup> Both these notes have to have been made after a point at which the Arbroath *RN* had received its earliest foliation, which perhaps occurred when the index was compiled. The note in the Arbroath *RV* may not post-date this by much, but the one in the Arbroath *BL* has to be significantly later. The scribes who made these notes were not contributing texts to the volumes they made notes on, but adding comments which might be beneficial to other readers.

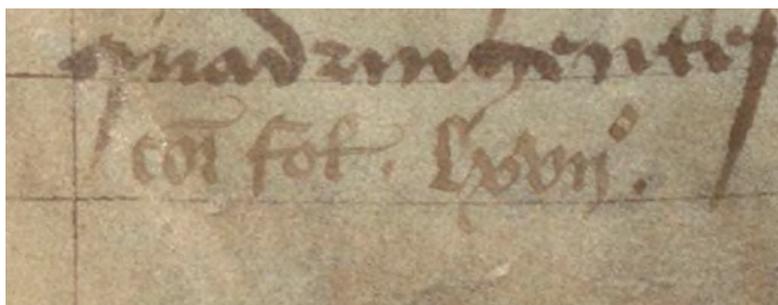


Plate 7:3: Note on f. 125v of the Arbroath *RV*

<sup>21</sup> These are very small samples on which to base a palaeographic analysis. However, for a comparator for the hand at f. 125 of the Arbroath *RV*, see NLS 15.1.18, no. 64, 1472.

<sup>22</sup> The note refers to a text recording the lease of land in Letham to Alexander of Orkney which can be found on modern f. 152v of the Arbroath *RN* (Roman numeral foliation f. cxlix).

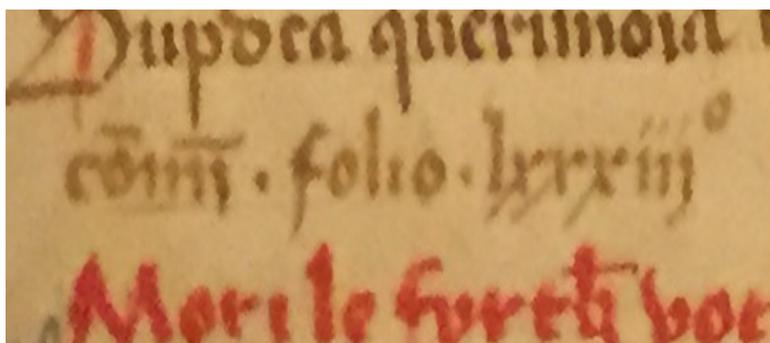


Plate 7:4: Note on f. 181v of the Arbroath BL

These notes also tell us that there were two different ways by which the Arbroath *RN* was referred to by the monks of Arbroath. The references to ‘common register’ are datable to the fifteenth century, while the note in the Arbroath *RR* calling it the *registrum nigrum* is early sixteenth century (see Plate 7.5). It may be, though, that the volume was generally known to the monks as their common register until it was bound at some point in the early sixteenth century, presumably in a black binding, and thereafter gradually acquired a different name reflecting the colour of its new covers, but that the process of renaming was not formal or clear-cut and the manuscript was thereafter known to the monks by both names.

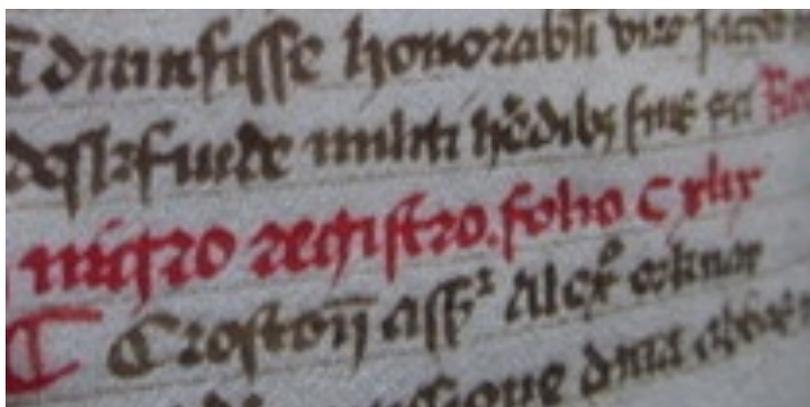


Plate 7:5: Cross Reference on f. 182v of the Arbroath RR

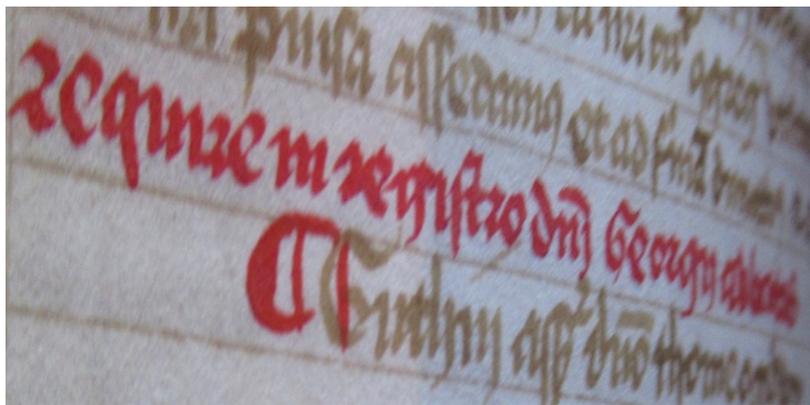


Plate 7.6: Cross Reference on f. 170v of the Arbroath RR

The Arbroath RR also appears to be the source of the name for the register of Abbot George Hepburn (no. 8). Although the volume that contains documents from his period in office is referred to as his register, there is no surviving evidence of the name being used in the manuscript itself, except in a modern inscription on the flyleaf. The reference to the register of Abbot George in the Arbroath RR is the only written evidence we therefore possess. It sits after a document concerning the lease of Balfour, Kirkton and associated mill, and suggests the reader should look in the register of Abbot George (see Plate 7.6). Unfortunately, it does not provide an associated folio reference, although a document concerning the same land can be found in Abbot George's register at f. xxxix.<sup>23</sup> The note looks to be contemporary with the Arbroath RR itself, and if so, we must assume that the Register of Abbot George Hepburn was created perhaps slightly earlier (or perhaps around the same time) as the Arbroath RR, but that the scribe who copied it was aware of what was in Abbot George's register. (It also provides confirmation of the modern note on the flyleaf of George Hepburn's register associating the volume with him.) The fact the note was made in red makes it stand-out, and if not read carefully enough it looks very much like the rubrics which sit above the texts. Perhaps it was made as part of the same process, but it highlights the links between these manuscripts, which as noted above seem to be part of a two-volume set.

The remaining manuscripts referred to in the notes prove harder to find. There is no trace of the *rotula antiqua* mentioned alongside the rubric to an agreement between the monks of Arbroath and Sir Peter Maule regarding the boundaries of Conon and Tulloch entered onto f. 34r of the Arbroath RN (no. 2). The most we can infer from this is that at least one roll was present in Arbroath's archive, in the period after 1254, and that although still in

<sup>23</sup> This is another lease dated 16 March 1509. *Arb. Lib.*, 2 no. 492.

existence when the Arbroath *RN* was created in the late fifteenth century, it was by that time already considered to be very old.<sup>24</sup> The reference to the roll's antiquity suggests it was no longer an 'active' project, but it was obviously still being read and the scribe knew what it contained, and he thought that other readers might want to know too.

One further note on f. 158v of the Arbroath *RN* refers to a *novo registro* (no. 6). It is written in the same late fifteenth-century hand as the memorandum itself, so must refer to a cartulary already in existence by that time. The 'new register', however, proves elusive. 'New' can hardly be a descriptor for the Arbroath Ethie, and the text cannot be found in the Arbroath *RV*. What the *novo registro* was, therefore, remains a mystery, but it suggests that there was a relatively recent cartulary in existence at Arbroath during the late fifteenth century, and that although documents concerning the appointment of procurators had recently been copied into the 'new register' they were considered worth copying again. The reference to the 'new register's is interesting in one further way. Although it may not have survived, the knowledge of its existence provides the first hint that we should reconsider the evidence on the timeline showing the first half of the fifteenth century to have been devoid of cartulary production.

The remaining references are the most intriguing of all. Three in the Arbroath *RN*, and one in the Arbroath *BL* make references to a paper register, as do several references in the Register of Commendator David Betoun. Those found in David Betoun's register describe it only as 'paper' (no. 10). One each in the Arbroath *RN* and Arbroath *BL* (nos. 4 and 7) refer to an 'old paper register', while the other two, both found in the Arbroath *RN* (nos. 3 and 5) refer to a paper register belonging to the former abbot Walter Paniter. The last of these is easiest to identify. Walter Paniter was abbot from 1410 to 1449, and any register he created (or which was created on his behalf) is likely to have fallen within those dates.<sup>25</sup> Alternatively, it may have been created in his memory after his death, but its existence certainly raises the possibility that copying did not pause at Arbroath around the year 1400, but continued during the first half of the fifteenth century. We cannot recreate exactly what abbot Walter's register contained, although from this reference it would seem that it did at least include boundary statements. A parallel might be drawn here between the lost register of Abbot Walter, and the surviving *Copiale* or 'letter-book' of John of Haldenstone, who

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<sup>24</sup> Rolls were used to create early cartularies, but there is no surviving evidence of this from Scotland. See Georges Declerq, 'Originals and cartularies: the organization of archival memory', pp. 152–3.

<sup>25</sup> Watt and Shead, *Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland*, p. 6.

was a contemporary of Walter Paniter's, being prior of St Andrews from 1417 to 1443.<sup>26</sup> The *Copiale*, also a paper manuscript, consists of 66 folios and mainly includes personal letters and leases.<sup>27</sup> The registers of Arbroath associated with specific abbots do not contain the diversity of correspondence seen in the *Copiale*, but they do contain many leases. It also reinforces the evidence we have seen from the relationship between the Arbroath *RN* and the Arbroath *RR* and the Register of Abbot George Hepburn, that although some volumes might contain texts associated with a specific individual (rather than reflect community activity) all were available to be read by the community.

This leaves the references to a paper register in the Register of David Betoun and the references to an 'old' paper register in the Arbroath *RN* and the Arbroath *BL*. With the exception of the *Copiale*, there are few paper cartularies surviving from Scotland. Only four examples remain in the collection of the NLS, and these are later creations, three of which are ecclesiastical cartularies and are datable to the sixteenth century, and one secular cartulary, datable to the seventeenth century.<sup>28</sup> Although the evidence for early paper cartularies is slim, better evidence for the use of paper to create manuscript books in Scotland can be found in the surviving corpus of historical texts. Two versions of Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* written on paper manuscripts still survive. One, which once belonged to Coupar Angus Abbey dates to between 1450 and 1480, and an even earlier version, originally held by Inchcolm Abbey is datable to the 1440's.<sup>29</sup> It is therefore not inconceivable that a paper cartulary could have been created at Arbroath, and the evidence for surviving historical texts means that it could have been created as early as the 1440's.<sup>30</sup> The note regarding the paper register below the complaint of Abbot Malcolm in the

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189.

<sup>27</sup> James H. Baxter, ed., *Copiale Prioratus Sancti Andree, the Letter-book of James Haldenstone, Prior of St. Andrews (1418–1443)* (London 1930), pp. xxxiv–xxxv. The *Copiale* has been digitised and can be viewed at Wolfenbüttel, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Codex Helmstedt 411 <<https://diglib.hab.de/mss/411-helmst/start.htm>>. Another parallel can be found in the President Book of Fountains Abbey. Although not bearing his name, this paper volume is personally associated with Abbot John Greenwell (1442–71). Spence, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey*, pp. 61–74 and pp. 143–57.

<sup>28</sup> The three ecclesiastical cartularies are Deer (MS 21183), Paisley (Adv. MS 34.4.14) and St. Andrews/Pittenweem (Adv. MS 17.1.3). The secular cartulary is that of the earls of Winton (MS 1010). See Joanna Tucker, 'Medieval cartulary manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland' in *Scottish Archives*, 25/26, pp. 23–41 at p. 35, n.7, and pp. 39–40.

<sup>29</sup> The version from Coupar Angus can be found at *Abbreviated version of the Scotichronicon by Walter Bower*, NLS, <<https://manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/16247#dates>> (accessed 1 December 2021).

The Inchcolm Abbey version can be found at Cambridge, *Scotichronicon volume 2*, Corpus Christi College MS 171B, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/cr633rp5601> (accessed 1 December 2021).

<sup>30</sup> One of the books left to Arbroath by Richard Guthrie is described as *sermones in papiro*. Durkan, 'An Arbroath book inventory', p. 146.

Arbroath *RN* was made by the hand who copied the document itself. In the Arbroath BL the note was added by a later hand to the one who copied the complaint, but he used exactly the same words as the note-maker in the earlier volume. So it is likely that he was copying from the Arbroath *RN*, and thought it was worth alerting readers to the fact that the document could be found in the paper register.

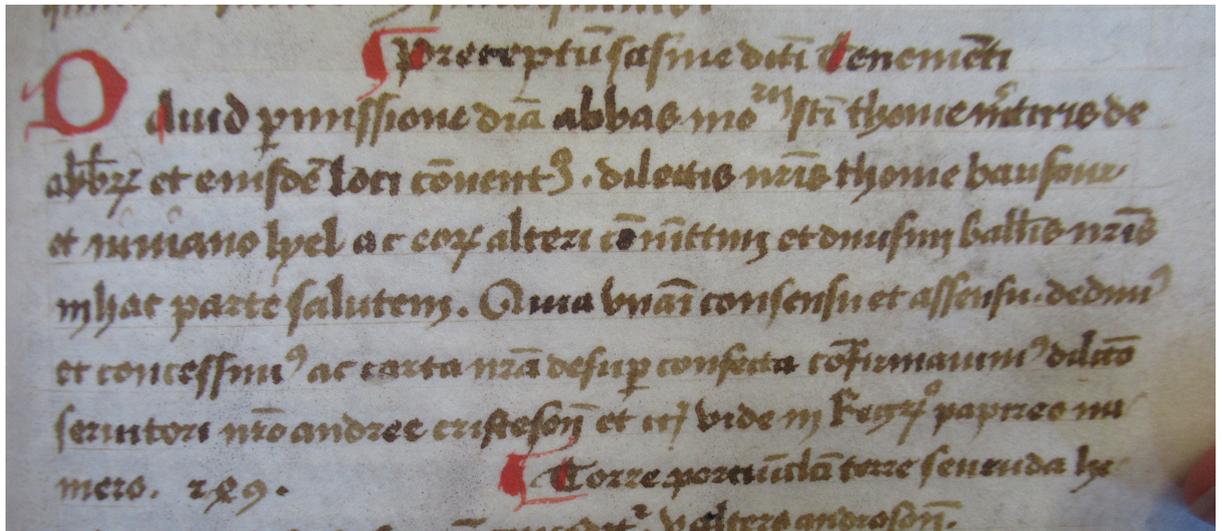


Plate 7:7: Reference to a paper register on f. clxviii recto of the Register of Commendator James Betoun

This means it is entirely possible that by the start of the sixteenth century (which is likely when Hand 87 of the Arbroath *RN* was working), Arbroath could have had a register, made of paper, which they considered to be old, but which was clearly still being read by the scribes. It does not, however, explain the notes in the Register of Commendator David Betoun. These all sit towards the end of the manuscript, and all seem to be related to orders of sasine (see plate 7.7). The notes do not refer to folio locations in the paper register, but to numbers, presumably assigned to each item entered into the manuscript. The contents of David Betoun's Register are arranged chronologically, and it is noticeable that the numbers of items referred to in the paper register seem to increase as the volume progresses. This suggests that the paper register (or at least part of it) was also arranged in a similar chronological manner. The texts which have these notes sitting next to them are, of course, datable to David Betoun's time in office, and it is possible, therefore, that the associated orders of sasine are contemporary with him as well. This would mean that the paper register was also a sixteenth-century creation (or at least may still have been growing during David Betoun's time). The number of references to it in the Register of David Betoun and the way both registers were arranged chronologically means that these two manuscripts may have been growing in tandem, perhaps containing related material.

## Conclusion

The cross-references found in Arbroath's surviving corpus of cartularies (perhaps with the exception of the two listed in Table 7-2 which are likely to post-date the Reformation) indicate several things. The first and most significant of these is that scribes were aware of what was copied into all of their manuscripts. Several of the notes make reference to where something might be found in an 'old' volume or 'ancient' roll, so the scribes were not just reading the cartulary to which they contributed, or merely aware of what was being selected for the manuscripts which were actively receiving texts (as the 'new register' seems to have been). The discussion in Chapter 6, which showed that repeated texts were rarely the result of scribal error suggested that this was likely to be the case, and the evidence from these cross-references confirms it to be so. This reinforces the conclusion that scribes were readers of cartularies, as well as being creators of them. Even those who were not contributing texts themselves might want to leave notes to inform others where the same (or perhaps related) documents could be read elsewhere. What is noticeable is that none of the cross-references refer back to where a document might be stored in the abbey's archive, only to where they might be found in other cartularies.

Arbroath is not the only monastery where the existence of cross-references can be used to gain a better understanding of cartularisation. Michael Spence has shown how the cross references in the manuscripts of Fountains Abbey were used to facilitate a process of redaction and reorganisation of archival material to create new cartularies which aided the changing management requirements of this wealthy house.<sup>31</sup> The cross-references in the manuscripts from Arbroath however do not seem to have had quite such a defined purpose. The references within the Register of Commendator David Betoun, to a 'paper register' where orders of sasine could be found, do perhaps suggest that the information these volumes contained complemented each other, and reading both might provide a better understanding of how land was administered. The remaining cross-references, however, are not to where associated texts can be found, but to where the same document was copied elsewhere. There is no indication that these notes were made in preparation for a new cartulary, rather than that they provided incidental information for the monks who read the

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<sup>31</sup> Spence, *The Late Medieval Monastery of Fountains Abbey*. See, for example, Chapters 5–7, pp. 75–142.

manuscripts. Sometimes that information was provided by the copying scribe himself, on other occasions a later hand has added the note.

Perhaps, reading how documents were copied in other cartularies provided opportunities for thinking about the same issue from a different perspective, depending on what else was copied around it. It also points to the cartularies being considered to be a corpus which could be read in their own right, and not just a substitute for the archive. Although there was no overarching theme which determined what the cartularies should contain, the informal way the cartularies evolved resulted in volumes which were of long-lasting interest to the community of Arbroath. This means that reading texts copied into ‘ancient’ or ‘antique’ manuscripts might allow monks to examine their house’s past. It is worth considering as well, that several of these notes were made by scribes who were copying texts informally, rather than undertaking a large piece of work. Once again, this provides us with evidence that a scribe who may only contribute one, or at the most a handful, of texts to a manuscript, and whose hand we may never see again, had read widely amongst his abbey’s cartularies.

Tracking these notes also provide us with an insight into how the scribes referred to the manuscripts they created. ‘Register’ seems to have been the term generally used to refer to all manuscript books. There may, however, have been a distinction between registers that were created at the behest of, or in memory of individual abbots, such as Walter Paniter, and registers such as the register of the community, which were spaces made available to the wider community for recording their own concerns and interests.

It goes without saying that there have been a great many cartularies lost over time. *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain* lists 15 ‘untraced’ ecclesiastical cartularies for Scotland alone, plus one more (a cartulary of Culross Abbey) which was destroyed in a fire during the seventeenth century.<sup>32</sup> None of these ‘untraced’ volumes are listed as belonging to Arbroath, yet the evidence from the cross-references above is that Arbroath alone has four (or perhaps five) lost manuscripts, be they in the form of a codex or a roll. The knowledge of these ‘lost’ cartularies has an impact on our understanding of the rhythm of cartularisation across the time period in question. The references to the three paper

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<sup>32</sup> *Med. Carts* (2010) nos. 1132 (Coupar Angus Abbey), 1138.1 (Dunblane), 1141 (Dunkeld), 1143 (Holyrood), 1151.1 & 1151.3 (Glasgow Cathedral and See), 1155.1 (Glenluce), 1157 (Inchaffry), 1162.2 (Kilwinning), 1172.1 (Moray), 1176 (St. Andrews), 1181.1 (Soulseat Abbey), 1185 (Torphichen) and 1185.1 (Turrieff). The cartulary of Culross Abbey destroyed by fire is no. 1136.

registers and the new register mean we can add at least a further four (and maybe five) lost manuscripts known to have been created by the monks of Arbroath, but most strikingly we can say with confidence that copying was not an intermittent activity, and that far from being devoid of copying, the first half of the fifteenth century would have been a busy time for Arbroath's scribes, with two (and possibly three) manuscripts under construction. Although it is likely that one of these was associated with an individual abbot – Walter Paniter – and therefore less obviously 'communal' than the four cartularies included in this thesis. It would also seem that during the early decades of the sixteenth century, between the creation of the Arbroath *RN* and the Arbroath *BL* there were three further parchment manuscripts created and a paper register was also created, or at least still being updated.

## Conclusion

Cartularies can often be identified as having an institutional purpose. For example, the selection and arrangement of texts might present a history, upholding the legitimacy of a monastery's rights and possessions.<sup>1</sup> Other cartularies, can be seen to have served a functional purpose, aiding the administration of land and wealth.<sup>2</sup> Neither cause can be detected in the cartularies we have studied here.

The creation of cartularies at Arbroath was a regular rather than an intermittent activity in the years between *c.* 1250 and *c.* 1530. In total, seven volumes survive from the course of those three centuries, and it has been possible to identify another five lost manuscripts, one of which was in the form of a roll, and three of which were constructed out of paper. Of the seven surviving manuscripts, four cartularies have been studied closely in this thesis. These were chosen because they were in different ways communal spaces where the monks of Arbroath could engage with their archival documents (unlike the registers associated with individual abbots, which had a more personal dimension). By concentrating on manuscripts which were not associated with a particular abbot or commendator, it has been possible to examine how the activity of copying archival documents was undertaken within the monastery and to identify that despite it being a communal activity, it was not one with a conventual purpose.

The analysis of four individual manuscripts has shown that although cartularisation was a regular part of life at Arbroath, the activity did not have to be undertaken in any regulated or consistent way. Despite this seeming lack of formal processes, the cartularies were not random or chaotic creations. The physical construction of the manuscripts was flexible, allowing the volumes to be shaped by scribal interest and engagement. This flexibility is apparent throughout the process of creation, from the initial campaigns to the multi-scribe accruals.

If we look first of all at how each cartulary was begun, we can see that the intense campaigns which signal the creation of a new cartulary seem to be a shared feature, but there was no one way in which such a campaign was undertaken. The inclusion by Hand 8

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<sup>1</sup> Hermína Vasconcelos Vilar, 'From copy to register: organising memory in the diocese of Évora in the first half of the fourteenth century, in *From Charters to Codex: Studies of Cartularies and Archival Memory in the Middle Ages*, ed. Rodrigo Furtado & Marcello Moscone (Basel, 2019), pp. 233–55.

<sup>2</sup> Spence, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey*.

of much of the multi-scribe accrual on the Arbroath Ethie, and the collaborative nature of the Arbroath *RN*, suggests that even the uniform appearance of a single scribe's campaign could contain within it the interests of the wider community. Sometimes this took the form of the incorporation of previous campaigns (or parts of them) into new cartularies. Doing so may not have been the result of a formal process instigated by the abbot, but rather the consequence of monks reading and absorbing the contributions made by earlier scribes in existing manuscripts. How far this flexibility extended within each manuscript is, however, uncertain, although the focused nature of the initial campaigns of the Arbroath Ethie and of the Arbroath *RN* mean that the scribes must have had particular preferences.

Looking more closely at each initial campaign it becomes apparent that although there are areas where they display intersecting interests, each one was also a unique creation. Hand 1 of the Arbroath Ethie copied documents datable from the period of the abbey's foundation in the late 1170s to late within the reign of King Alexander II. The texts record how much of the abbey's wealth and rights were acquired, but it is a selective arrangement; he did not, for example, copy King John's charter of 1206. Nor did he copy any of the documents in which the abbey was the donor, rather than the benefactor, which were already accumulating in Arbroath's archive by the time he was working.<sup>3</sup>

Hand 8 of the Arbroath *RV* included Hand 1's campaign in his own work and extended the time period to include the reign of King Robert I. He too was being selective, although he was interested in copying a much wider range of documents, including the recording of land boundaries and taxation lists. He also looked beyond the limits of the abbey's own holdings to the secular world, copying the Statutes of King Robert I. The extent of his campaign means he must have spent a considerable amount of time on it, but it does not seem to have served any particular function within the monastery. The organisation of texts would not have aided the administration of lands, nor would it have brought together all the documents that would have extended Hand 1's sequence to create a new and up-to-date history of Arbroath.

There is no evidence that the six scribes who created the Arbroath *RN* were incorporating sequences from a previous cartulary and their selections seem to reflect a different set of

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<sup>3</sup> For example, he could have copied Abbot Henry's gift of the Montrose ferry to Hugh of Benvie datable to 19 August 1179 × June 1208. This can be found only on f. 138v of the Arbroath BL and has not been published. Details of it can be found on PoMS <<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/2264/>> (accessed 21 April 2022).

priorities to the scribes of the Arbroath Ethie and Arbroath *RV*. Although they did copy documents from their archival past, they were mostly interested in recording documents which detailed the management of their wealth (especially leases) rather than recording the generosity of kings. This gap was, however, filled by the Arbroath BL scribe, who did not copy many leases but showed a marked interest in royal documents.

When scribes creating new manuscripts did reuse sequences seen in previous cartularies, they did not copy the texts in exactly the same order, but chose what seemed suitable to them at the time. The reason for their choices are not readily apparent. The inclusion of elements from an earlier campaign (both single-scribe and piecemeal accrual) also occurred between the Arbroath *RN* and the Arbroath *RR*. The Arbroath *RR* was not included in the main part of this study, because it is part of a two-volume series that seems to be associated with a single abbot (George Hepburn) rather than being unambiguously a communal space for the monks to express their own interests. However, many of the documents copied into the Arbroath *RR* had also been copied into the Arbroath *RN* and in roughly the same order (both have a general chronological arrangement). Not everything was copied across to the Arbroath *RR*: one conspicuous omission is the texts which recorded the arrival and departure of named abbots. The Arbroath *RN* was a community endeavour, but that did not prohibit later scribes from using what they read there for a different purpose, when creating a record of documents associated with a single abbot. When initial campaigns were being created, therefore, the work of previous scribes was read and sometimes considered suitably appropriate to repeat, including the piecemeal accrual contributed by multiple scribes. That would only have been possible if all the contributions to manuscripts were considered to be of equal value, and not just the significant single-scribe campaigns. The scribes who copied an entire campaign and those who contributed only a single text must all have considered themselves to be taking part in an ongoing conversation that transcended the limits of any codex. With the exception of the Arbroath BL, therefore, it does not seem to be the case that the initial campaigns were meant to set the theme for the entire cartulary, but they would have provided the monks with something to read, and which could be the starting point for those who wished to make their own response.

It is the earliest sections of cartularies that have generally attracted most attention from historians, often because they provide a coherent arrangement of texts from which a theme can be discerned. Although we have found that the scribes engaged in these four

campaigns of copying did have specific interests, we have not identified a particular function that any of the resulting manuscripts served. Despite this, each one must have taken a lot of time and effort to complete, as well as requiring the allocation of other resources, such as parchment, and it is unlikely that they were copied without being given permission to do so. So even if these campaigns do not represent formal or ‘institutional’ projects, they must have been seen as an acceptable form of work for the scribes involved, and they must have been completed with the agreement of the abbot or the wider community.

If we turn now to how the cartularies changed after the initial campaigns we can see that this too did not happen in any fixed fashion. The three cartularies that did subsequently grow also evolved in different ways, resulting in unique manuscripts. The Arbroath *RV* grew slowly, acquiring only four texts in perhaps 50 years and the four multi-scribe gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie contain hands which stretch over as much as two centuries, from the middle of the thirteenth century to the second half of the fifteenth century. In contrast, the Arbroath *RN* seems to have attracted multi-scribe contributions very quickly.

In Chapter 5 two overlapping periods were identified (one in the late fourteenth century and one in the late fifteenth century) during which scribes may have had more than one manuscript available in which to copy documents. The lack of evidence for hands contributing to more than a single cartulary during these periods is a surprising discovery, especially as there were multi-scribe gatherings on the go in both overlapping phases. During the first overlapping phase it could be that there was so little space left on the gatherings of the Arbroath *RV* (especially if it had already been bound) that scribes were happy to continue contributing to the ever-growing Arbroath Ethie. During the second identifiable overlapping phase the Arbroath *RV* gained two new gatherings (and perhaps the manuscript had to be rebound to accommodate these) while work was commencing on the Arbroath *RN*. It could be that during this period the Arbroath *RN* was only available to the hands that were creating the chronological sequences of texts and did not become an ‘open’ space for monks to contribute to until at least part of this process was complete. It is important to be cautious about this assumption, though, because the analysis in Chapter 4 suggests that some of the multi-scribe clusters occurred not long after the creation of the sequences. Added to this is the fact that it was known as the ‘register of the community’, so the manuscript cannot long have been the exclusive preserve of just a few scribes.

One other factor affecting multi-scribe growth to consider is whether or not all the manuscripts were ‘open books’ available to the entire community. It is notable that during both overlapping phases it was the Arbroath *RV* which received fewer texts, and which attracted less multi-scribe accrual. During these periods the spaces available to scribes on the Arbroath *RV* seem to have been limited: no new gathering was created during the first overlapping phase, and only two during the second. The final two gatherings did not provide quite enough space for all the contributions that the scribes wished to make to the manuscript. Instead of creating another gathering, one further document was copied onto a single sheet (now bound as f. 124 at the start of Gathering XVII). Perhaps we could speculate that by this time, the scribes were turning their attention to the Arbroath *RN*. However, it could be that access to the Arbroath *RV* was purposefully limited. It may have belonged to (or was the responsibility of) a smaller group of scribes, rather than the community as a whole.<sup>4</sup>

The Arbroath BL doesn’t fit into the pattern of being formed in an initial campaign, with spaces left for multi-scribe accrual. Once the scribe had completed his task the word *finis* was inscribed in red ink under the final text on f. 186v, and there were no spaces left on folios, or new gatherings that might accommodate community contributions. The lack of options for scribes to add further texts might mean that this cartulary was not, like the Arbroath *RN*, an open forum, available to the wider community on which to copy texts, although the level of detail in the index would suggest that it was available to them to read. However, just because the manuscript was not available to the general community for copying, does not necessarily mean that it only reflects the interests of a single scribe. The contents of the cartulary may represent a completely new arrangement of the abbey’s archival documents but once again, we have to be careful with this assumption. The internal arrangement of documents does not differ markedly from what could be seen in multi-scribe cartularies, and it is possible that the Arbroath BL scribe was influenced by reading the manuscripts created by earlier scribes, in the same way as Hand 8 of the Arbroath *RV* and the scribes who created the Arbroath *RR*.<sup>5</sup> It is also possible that the

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<sup>4</sup> Durham Cathedral Priory had two manuscripts simultaneously growing in the early thirteenth century, and it has been suggested that they might each have been created for the use of different members of the community. *Durham Cathedral Archive: Early Cartularies*, ‘The Cartularium Vetus and related material’ [https://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ark/32150\\_s1tq57nr01j.xml](https://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ark/32150_s1tq57nr01j.xml) (accessed 9 April 2022).

<sup>5</sup> The *Registrum Vetus* of Glasgow Cathedral contains a list which includes a selection of texts from the cartulary and which looks as though it may have been a scribe planning-out the contents for a new (but probably never realised) manuscript. Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, pp. 92–8.

scribe who created the cartulary had access to archival documents that not all scribes did. Many of the royal documents he copied cannot be found in the abbey's other cartularies. This might of course be because many were created at quite a late date, but he is also the only cartulary source for many of the documents which record the relationship between Arbroath and the Barclay family, which stretched all the way back to the early years of the abbey's history (including four charters of King William I which do not appear in any other cartulary).

Whether or not they were open to a limited number of scribes or the wider community of monks, the multi-scribe gatherings were not therefore created to hold subsequent 'campaigns' but must have been designed as a forum specifically for scribes to make their own individual contributions to their institution's written archive. The spaces left in the cartularies, as well as the piecemeal way in which the multi-scribe gatherings of the Arbroath Ethie and Arbroath *RN* were covered, point to these contributions being expected and welcomed. The number of hands making single contributions means there are few patterns which can be detected within the sections of multi-scribe accrual. Although this can make it seem as though scribes added texts randomly, this does not seem to have been the case.<sup>6</sup> By reading across the cartularies, for instance, it is possible to see that the two last additions to the Arbroath Ethie were part of a wider concern regarding a particular possession. The repeating of texts between the two late gatherings of the Arbroath *RV* and the Arbroath *RN* also suggests scribes could be preoccupied with similar types of texts. It is possible, therefore, that scribes were influenced by what they found in one cartulary, but made their contribution to a different one. This would be possible if at least some of the manuscripts which were active were considered to be part of a single ongoing process of copying, rather than all belonging to separate projects. It is also possible to imagine that while some of the manuscripts were available to be read and extended, the Arbroath *RV* may not have been available to the wider community for copying (perhaps if copying there was limited to a specific group of scribes).

If the copying of a significant campaign of work was regarded as one of the ways that a monk could fulfil the Benedictine requirement to perform labour constituted, the addition

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<sup>6</sup> For the idea that multi-scribe accrual may have been random in nature, see for example David Walker, 'The organisation of material in medieval cartularies' in *The Study of Medieval Records: Essays in Honour of Kathleen Major*, eds. D.A. Bullough & R. A. Storey (Oxford 1971) pp. 132–50 at p. 144; Theodore Evergates, *The Cartulary of Countess Blanche of Champagne* (Toronto, 2009), p. 11; and Kathleen Thompson, 'The cartulary of the monastery of Tiron', p. 69.

of a single text is unlikely to have done so. The piecemeal way the cartularies grew by multi-scribe engagement suggests that, unlike the early campaigns, this type of copying could have been undertaken in personal time. Importantly, though, that form of ad hoc accrual also seems to have been an expected and approved activity, as resources were provided for it in the form of new gatherings (or space left within the existing gatherings), and it was retained and bound, rather than being discarded.

The two types of copying - single scribe committed campaign, perhaps undertaken as a recognised form of labour, and irregular, limited engagement, more likely to have been carried-out in personal time - need not be part of different things. It was noted above that monastic historical texts were generally aimed at the monks within the community in which they were written. We have not identified any way in which the four cartularies studied here could have been used in any administrative or institutional setting, but they could have been intended for a less formal purpose. At a time in which genres of writing were not so clearly delineated, reading chronicles, hagiography and archival documents would all have been ways which the monks of Arbroath could examine and think about their abbey and its history.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps those with the interest and writing skills were the scribes who started off cartularies, by selecting and copying a large body of texts. Their work would be of benefit to the rest of the community who did not have the time or inclination to be as absorbed by the archive, but who still wanted to read and learn about the monastery, and occasionally to make their own contribution.

Medieval monks laid great importance on ensuring that the past was not forgotten.<sup>8</sup> Documents, even ones that dealt with the administration of lands, were a way of engaging with that past. Thomas O'Donnell described the way readers might use Matthew Paris's map of the route from London to Jerusalem as a substitute for going on pilgrimage.<sup>9</sup> It is perhaps too much to suggest that monks of Arbroath were using archival documents to walk through the abbey's past. But reading cartularies, and contributing to them, even in a small way would help to preserve that past, and perhaps on a personal level, aid monks in understanding the community to which they belonged and their place within it.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Jennifer Jahner, Emily Steiner, Elizabeth M. Tyler (eds), 'General introduction' in *Medieval Historical Writing: Britain and Ireland. 500–1500* (Cambridge, 2019), pp. 1–15 at p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 192.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas O'Donnell, 'Monastic history and memory', pp. 35–50, at pp. 46.

<sup>10</sup> For a discussion about the link between reading, writing and understanding in the medieval world see Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Cambridge 2008), pp. 1–11.

The benefit of considering copying over the longer period means that it is possible to look at individual acts of copying within a wider context, and that is more in tune with how the scribes themselves would have regarded their own work. Until the point of binding, the manuscripts seem to have remained in a dynamic state, being read and available to take new contributions at any time. Even once bound, it was not impossible for a cartulary to acquire further gatherings at a subsequent rebinding stage. A cartulary started in around 1250 was not consigned to the archive, but remained a working document, as much as a cartulary started a century later. By reading across the corpus, we can see when the scribes were particularly engaged with specific concerns, and individual entries can be identified as part of larger patterns of work. The sole contribution of an individual scribe seen on a particular manuscript might therefore be a consequence of him having read widely among Arbroath's cartularies.

For cartularies to have remained active for so long and still acquire texts, it must have been necessary for the scribes to have been reading them, and to be aware of their contents, and know where spaces still existed. This was also a finding in Joanna Tucker's study of two multi-scribe cartularies from different institutions, and it seems also to be true for the corpus of cartularies from Arbroath.<sup>11</sup> Scribes were not just aware of the contents of the cartulary into which they were copying, but they also had a working knowledge of what the other manuscripts contained, as the cross-references seen in Chapter 7 make clear. The location of the texts referenced are not to storage places within the archive, but to where the texts can be found within other registers and cartularies. This raises another possibility: that the cartulary copies of texts had a particular value to the scribes in a way that was different from the value attached to the original documents. There is not much evidence that cartularies were used to provide legal evidence of the rights to property or privileges (perhaps obviously as they generally lacked seals) and there has sometimes been a tendency to assume that they are less valid (or authentic) than the original documents themselves.<sup>12</sup> A willingness to cross-reference only to other cartularies, and not to the archives, however, suggests that manuscripts were not seen by the scribes of Arbroath as a lesser way than original documents to understand the abbey's written history. The scribes

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<sup>11</sup> Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, pp. 211–3.

<sup>12</sup> Constance B. Bouchard, 'Monastic cartularies: organizing eternity', p. 25. The sixteenth-century cartulary of Cambuskenneth Abbey is a notable exception, having been sealed by the Lord Clerk. See *Chartulary of Cambuskenneth Abbey* (Edinburgh, NLS) <<https://manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/21320>> (accessed 23 May 2022).

must therefore have trusted that what they read in the cartularies was an accurate reflection of what could be found in the archive.

The existence of these cross-references also means that it is necessary to revisit the timelines at the beginning of Chapter 5. On the basis of the findings in Chapters 1 to 4 a reasonable scenario could be proposed in which cartulary copying commenced at Arbroath in the middle of the thirteenth century, around 70 years after the abbey was founded. The initial phase of activity lasted for about a century, during which two cartularies (the Arbroath Ethie and Arbroath *RV*) were created and received most of their texts. Once this had been achieved, the pace of work slowed, with only a handful of texts being copied between during the latter half of the fourteenth century. By this point, both cartularies may have received their first bindings. In Chapter 5 it was shown that a protracted lull seems to have ensued for around 50 years during which no new manuscripts were created. Then, in the second half of the fifteenth century, the monks of Arbroath once more turned their attention to cartularies. The two remaining spaces in the Arbroath Ethie were filled (perhaps by the same hand) with short boundary statements for Kingoldrum. These small spaces could not accommodate all that the scribes wished to copy, and so two new gatherings were created which would subsequently be bound as the first and last gatherings of the Arbroath *RV*. Additionally, an entirely new cartulary was planned. Instead of relying on the efforts of a single scribe, this was conceived of as community project, with the task of compiling and copying sequences of documents belonging to different periods of time shared out between six different hands. As the hands finished these sequences they were read by members of the wider community and it wasn't long (perhaps even while some of the sequences were still being created) before responses began to accumulate. Quite quickly the spaces left at the end of sequences began to fill up, and the multi-scribe clusters were formed. Once the clusters had received most of their texts, an index was created and the volume was bound. By around the year 1510, the Arbroath *RN* manuscript was full, and it received no more texts. Finally, sometime after 1531, an impressive and committed campaign of copying was undertaken by a single scribe, and a final cartulary was created at Arbroath.

This, indeed, is how the picture looked until the research for Chapter 7 was undertaken. Once the archives reopened in October 2021 it became possible to identify the three Angus Archives manuscripts as having been created in the fallow period shown on the timelines at the beginning of the sixteenth century, filling in the gap between the last texts being

entered into the Arbroath *RN* and the creation of the Arbroath *BL*. The final investigations also revealed a series of cross-references found within the manuscripts. As well as highlighting the different names by which the scribes referred to the Arbroath *RN*, this brought to light the fact that Arbroath's cartulary scribes were much busier than the timeline would suggest, and that in addition to the seven surviving volumes, the abbey possessed at least four further codices and a roll. The knowledge that these additional manuscripts once existed does not change the evolutionary course of the four cartularies discussed above. It does, though, change the overall timeline of cartulary production at Arbroath, and raises the possibility that there were more than just two periods during which multiple manuscripts actively receiving texts. In particular it brings into question the idea that there was no copying into manuscripts undertaken at Arbroath during the first half of the fifteenth century. Walter Paniter was abbot for nearly four of those five decades. It is not known whether the register which bore his name was created at his behest while he was still in office, or in memory of him.<sup>13</sup> If it were during his time in office, then it would indicate that cartulary production did not pause, but continued from the middle of thirteenth century all the way to the 1530s. This would tie in with Joanna Tucker's emphasis that the copying of archival documents was an activity in its own right, rather than just being a mechanical process related to the creation of individual cartularies.<sup>14</sup> This does not mean that those projects did not exist (as the registers of various abbots attests), but it does mean that there could have been different ways the activity was carried out, and that there may have been varying degrees of community involvement with different manuscripts.<sup>15</sup> For example, even if bound and not receiving any texts during the first half of the fifteenth century, the Arbroath *RV* may not have been considered a 'completed project'. It was likely being read, and by the middle of the century became available to the scribes (or perhaps a specific group of scribes). The peaks and troughs seen in the production of that cartulary may reflect when the manuscript was available, rather than any overall lack of copying activity during certain periods at Arbroath.

Although copying may have continued unabated into the fifteenth century, it is also possible that the nature of cartulary creation changed to include manuscripts which bear an association with a particular abbot or commendator. Walter Paniter's register is the first

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<sup>13</sup> According to the information provided within a complaint made by Abbot Malcolm Brydy against the lord of Meldrum, Walter Paniter resigned his position due to the effects of old age. *Arb. Lib.*, 2, no. 123.

<sup>14</sup> Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, pp. 225–7.

<sup>15</sup> David Walker discusses the phenomenon of manuscripts which bear the name of the person who ordered their creation in Walker, 'The organisation of material in medieval cartularies', pp. 146–7.

indication of this phenomenon, but we see the association with individual abbots within specific gatherings of the Arbroath *RN* too (although the link is never made explicit and it is therefore worth being cautious when assuming how strong the association was). The registers of Abbot George Hepburn, and Commendators James and David Betoun show this trend continued into the sixteenth century. So, although the cross-references provide evidence for copying continuing during the first half of the fifteenth century, because there have been losses we don't know if it was restricted to Walter Paniter's register, or if it included the communal type of activity associated with the Arbroath *RN*.

The type of activity described here, of scribes being able to copy what interested them, rather than merely working to plan, suggests that there must have been some degree of free choice. This might seem to run contrary to the rule of obedience under which the monks of Arbroath lived. Although copying was accepted as a form of the manual labour which was required under the Rule, we might expect the material to be copied to be set for the monks by the abbot, rather than be a matter of personal choice.<sup>16</sup> Chapter 33 of the Rule specifically states that monks must not have anything of their own – books included – and that 'all things shall be common to all'.<sup>17</sup> Of course it is difficult to know if the regulations were observed in exactly the same way in every religious house, but an early sixteenth-century inventory of the possessions of a Carthusian monk of the monastery of Mount Grace in Yorkshire showed he owned fourteen books.<sup>18</sup> There is evidence, as well, that at local level, the degree of observance was far from uniform.<sup>19</sup> It could also be that reading and copying documents relating to the history of Arbroath was a popular way for scribes to occupy themselves when not engaged in theological study or working. The number of individual contributions by scribes who copy only a single text would suggest that some form of engagement with reading and copying archival documents was encouraged. Individual monks may have been able to exercise a degree of freedom which copying texts into a cartulary; this was, however, an intrinsically communal activity.

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<sup>16</sup> Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 192.

<sup>17</sup> Martin Heale (ed and trans.), *Monasticism in Late Medieval England c. 1300–1535* (Manchester, 2009), p. 79.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 105–6.

<sup>19</sup> Christian D. Knudson, 'Daily life in late medieval monasteries' in *Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, pp. 1109–24 at p. 1117–21.

One question which remains is what triggered the creation of a new cartulary.<sup>20</sup> Once Hand 1 of the Arbroath Ethie completed his campaign of work, the manuscript was not considered ‘completed’. Instead, it remained active for at least a further two centuries, acquiring texts which bore no obvious relation to the campaign of Hand 1. His campaign was therefore not an end itself, but served as a springboard. It provided his wider community with a curated selection of archival documents, and reading them provoked some individuals to make their own contributions. As different hands made different contributions, the focus of the manuscript would change, and what started out as a single campaign became part of a larger, longer lived conversation, one which might be seen to resonate across more than a single manuscript and over successive generations of scribes. Perhaps a fresh manuscript would be created when a new generation of scribes wanted a clean space on which to make their own contributions, but if so they did not discard the work of their predecessors. The mirroring of sections from the Arbroath Ethie in the Arbroath *RV* makes it natural to consider that the latter was created as a copy of the former. However, the choices made by Hand 8 of the Arbroath *RV* suggest that while he may have been influenced by reading the Arbroath Ethie, he was not trying to make a carbon copy of it. If, as suggested above, the scribes considered themselves to be engaged in a long-running written conversation, then new manuscripts were perhaps merely a new chapter in what was regarded as a single corpus within their archive.

An aspect which is often overlooked in cartulary studies is the discussion about whether or not the volumes held any spiritual significance. This is understandable, cartularies are clearly not manuscripts made for liturgical use, and they generally do not contain religious texts. It is, however, perhaps worth bearing in mind that they were created within the context of a monastic setting and, as Sarah Foote observed, the property and rights they record were gifted to God, and only administered by the monks on His behalf.<sup>21</sup> So although it is hard to know exactly what impetus was behind individual contributions, the possibility that monks were engaging with their house’s archive on a more spiritual basis cannot be entirely excluded. The copying of archival documents could serve to remind and preserve the memory of gifts for their value as offerings to God (as well as to the patron saint) rather than building up a picture of institutional wealth or glory.

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<sup>20</sup>Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, pp. 13–25 has a very full discussion of what might trigger the creation of a cartulary and the risk of confusing this issue with the idea of what a cartulary’s function might have been.

<sup>21</sup> Sarah Foote, ‘Mental maps: a sense of place in medieval British historical writing’, in *Medieval Historical Writing: Britain and Ireland 500–1500*, ed. Jennifer Jahner, Emily Steiner and Elizabeth M Tyler (Cambridge 2019), pp. 139–156 at pp. 154–5.

At first glance, the possibility that there were any spiritual associations with Arbroath BL seems to be particularly unlikely. The absence of documents which record the abbey's ownership of churches from that manuscript is striking, and it led to the speculation in Chapter 4 that the cartulary may date to later than we think, perhaps post-dating the Reformation. Yet despite the lack of documents related to churches, the Arbroath BL is not without references to spiritual gifts. As noted in Chapter 6, there is a run of texts which seem to have been included specifically for their devotional requests. So although churches are not the focus of this cartulary, it is not without a spiritual dimension.

Joanna Tucker has shown that the modern term 'cartulary' lacks any clear or stable meaning.<sup>22</sup> We do not know the terms used by the monks of Arbroath to refer to the Arbroath Ethie or Arbroath *RV*. We do, however, know that five of the cartularies they created (surviving and lost) were referred to by the monks as registers. This might be the term that they had settled on by the late fifteenth century, as that is the earliest point at which we can identify it being used. The term was used, however, to refer to all sorts of volumes. There are 'registers' of abbots and commendators, and it is the term which can be seen at the start of both the Arbroath *RN* and the Arbroath BL. The Arbroath *RN* and the sixteenth-century manuscripts do have a certain amount in common, but the Arbroath BL holds a much wider variety of texts. The adjectives attached to the registers (not those specifically associated with abbots) such as 'paper', 'old', and 'new' are descriptive rather than prescriptive. They would help to identify a manuscript if it were being looked for, but they do not determine what it might contain. Perhaps this vagueness in the way the monks referred to their manuscripts reflects the ethos at Arbroath. The creation of cartularies was an important enough activity for it to be sustained for three centuries, but it was also an informal and organic process, facilitated by the flexible way in which cartularies could grow as required.

The process by which scribes copied a selection of documents from their archive was described by Laurent Morelle as 'filtering reality', a sentiment echoed by Patrick Geary who noted that they were more like authors than archivists.<sup>23</sup> These ideas suggest that the scribes who copied into manuscript books articulated a consciously defined institutional

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<sup>22</sup> Tucker, 'Understanding Scotland's medieval cartularies', pp. 136–49 and Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, pp. 8–13.

<sup>23</sup> Laurent Morelle, 'The metamorphosis of three monastic charter collections in the eleventh', p. 174. Patrick J. Geary, 'Medieval archivists as authors', pp. 106–13.

identity. One of Joanna Tucker's key findings, however, was that the activity of cartulary copying in fact helped to create that identity, but in an unconscious manner.<sup>24</sup> This is borne out by what has been found within the corpus of Arbroath Abbey, where we can see the process of copying played-out over a long period of time. The initial campaigns provide a starting point but where the cartulary goes from there is at the whim of individual scribes, and it cannot but change over time as the concerns of successive scribes change too.

What the volumes contain was determined by the responses of the individual scribes, rather than any overarching theme. The resulting cartularies are not narratives, nor are they chronicles, but reading across the corpus makes it possible to map the interests and concerns of the monks over nearly three centuries, and this provides readers with an insight into the shared and changing identity held by the community. This emphasises the organic nature of cartularisation, as opposed to the idea that cartularies were planned repositories of any single specific meaning or function. Scribes were responding in different ways to what they read across the spectrum of their cartularies, and the contents of their institutional archive. The result was the creation of volumes which do not speak formally, but far more personally, of the interest and concerns of the community of monks of Arbroath.

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<sup>24</sup> Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*, p. 220.

## Appendix I : Original Documents Surviving from Arbroath Abbey

Date	Details	Shelf-mark	Later copy	Printed
17 Feb 1215	King Alexander II grants and confirms the properties of Arbroath Abbey.	NRS RH6/25	Arbroath <i>RV</i> , ff. 63v–66r Arbroath Ethie, gathering II, ff. 7v–8r	<i>RRS</i> , iii, no. 6.
25 Mar 1230 × 24 Mar 1231	Arbroath quitclaims to Balmerino the payment of 40 merks and grants they may hold the church of Barry.	Darnaway Castle, Earl of Moray Muns., Box 32, Div. V. Bundle 1, no. 17	Arbroath <i>RV</i> , f. 20r–v Arbroath Ethie, Gathering N, ff. 2v	<i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, no. 258
1279	Abbot William gives the lands of <i>Kenny Murchardyn</i> to Adam Wishart.	NRS GD 16/14/1.		<i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, appendix no. vi.
15 Aug 1279	The abbot and convent of Arbroath promise to pay 100s annually for feeding the poor every Tuesday.	Canterbury, CCA-DCc-ChAnt/C/168		
1304	Petition requesting the return of the church of Haltwhistle.	TNA C 47/22/9/40 (Tower Misc. Rolls)		
1304	Petition of Arbroath requesting confirmation of their charter and other grants	TNA C 47/22/13/2		
12 Apr 1312	King Robert I gives, grants and confirms to Arbroath lands in the parish of Tarves in regality.	NRS RH6/72A	Arbroath BL f. 56r–56v	<i>RRS</i> v. no. 19
25 Mar 1312 × 24 Mar 1313	King Robert I inspects the charters of charters of King William I.	NRS RH6/72B		<i>RRS</i> , v. no. 390
26 Feb 1313	King Robert I confirms lands in the parish of Tarves in regality.	NRS RH6/73 and 6/74	Arbroath <i>RV</i> , ff. 106r–v Arbroath Ethie, Gathering <i>E</i> , f. 12r–v	<i>RRS</i> , v. no. 28

1 Mar 1313	King Robert I inspects the charter of King Alexander II, regarding rights to take wood in forests.	NRS RH6/75	Arbroath <i>RV</i> , f. 112v.	<i>RRS</i> , v, no. 30
1 Mar 1313	King Robert I inspects the confirmation of King William I of 25 February 1213.	NRS RH6/75A		<i>RRS</i> , v, no. 29
1 Mar 1313	King Robert I inspects the charter of King Alexander II concerning the land of Nigg.	NRS RH6/75	Arbroath <i>BL</i> , ff. 57r–v & ff. 57v–58r.	<i>RRS</i> , v, no. 31
9 Mar 1317	King Robert I takes the abbey of Arbroath and its possessions into his protection.	NRS RH6/83A		<i>RRS</i> , v, no. 112
1317	The abbot and convent of Arbroath give land in the burgh of Peebles to William Maceon.	NRS B58/18/4		
20 Aug 1319	King Robert I takes the abbey of Arbroath and its possessions into his protection.	NRS RH6/86A		<i>RRS</i> , v, no. 153.
17 Apr 1320	King Robert I takes all of Arbroath's possessions into his protection.	NRS RH6/86B	Arbroath <i>BL</i> , f. 44r–v	<i>RRS</i> , v, no. 164
1 Dec 1322	King Robert I inspects the confirmation of King William I charter of 14 Oct 1178 x 1182.	NRS RH6/86C		<i>RRS</i> v, no. 213
1 Dec 1322	King Robert I inspects the confirmation of King William I date 25 February 1213.	Edinburgh University Library, dept of manuscripts, SRC.1.7/5	Arbroath <i>BL</i> , ff. 30r–31v & ff. 31v–34r	<i>RRS</i> , v, no. 214.
20 Mar 1323	King Robert I takes the abbey of Arbroath and its possessions into his protection.	NRS RH6/87		<i>RRS</i> , v, no. 221
1328	Petition of the abbot of Arbroath to King Edward III, requesting the return of the church of Haltwhistle	TNA S 8/16/757.		

3 May 1329	King Robert I writes to King Edward III requesting him to restore the church of Haltwhistle to Arbroath Abbey.	TNA C81/162/2645		<i>RRS</i> , v, no. 376
17 Jun 1341	King David II inspects the confirmation of King William I dated 25 February 1213.	NRS RH6/105A	Arbroath BL, f. 34r–v	<i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 25
18 Jun 1341	King David II inspects King Robert I's gift of lands in the parish of Tarves in regality.	NRS RH6/105B	Arbroath BL, ff. 56v–57r	<i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 28
6 Feb 1358	King David notes that he wishes Arbroath to continue to hold the great custom and have their own seal.	NRS RH 6/123a		<i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 172
14 Apr 1369	King David II grants to Arbroath the half merk from the customs of their burgh, which they received before this was allocated to paying the king's ransom.	NRS RH 6/146a	Arbroath BL, f. 53v	<i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 433
24 Apr 1409	Notarial Instrument narrating extract from the register of Arbroath of the special service of Alexander of Ochterlony.	NRS GD 16/14/3		
6 Feb 1483	William, abbot of Arbroath, gives notice that he has given the land of Forglen and the advowson of the church to Alexander Irvine.	NRS GD185/8/1	Arbroath BL, f. 125r–v Arbroath <i>RV</i> . f. 128v	<i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 236
6 Feb 1483	William, abbot of Arbroath, gives the land of Forglen and the advowson of the church to Alexander Irvine.	NRS GD185/8/2/2-3	Arbroath BL, ff. 124v–125r Arbroath <i>RV</i> , ff. 128–129r	<i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 235

12 Aug 1490	Alexander Maule, grants land to John Erskine at Hedderwick, to be held of Arbroath Abbey.	NRS GD4/230		
12 Aug 1490	Alexander Maule, resigns the lands of Hedderwick to Arbroath.	NRS GD4/232		
21 Dec 1496	Instrument on the resignation of Hedderwick by Alex. Maule.	NRS GD4/239		
28 Dec 1496	David, abbot of Arbroath gives sasine to John Erskine of the lands of Hedderwick.	NRS GD240		
1500	Robert Ayton gives a tenement outside Perth to the Carmelites of Tullylum, to be held of Arbroath.	NRS GD79/3/16		
26 Apr 1500	Charter by John Simpson to the prior of Tullylum of land outwith Perth in the regality of Arbroath.	NRS GD79/3/17		
24 Sept 1526	David, abbot of Arbroath grants land in the ward of Logie Wishart to John Wishart.	NRS GD16/14/10		<i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 629
19 Jun 1527	Instrument of Sasine in favour of Andrew Fraser of tack of the land of Cairnbrogie.	NRS GD33/18/1		
22 Oct 1527	Instrument of tack by the abbot of Arbroath in favour of John Gifhart of the lands of Brax.	NRS GD90/1/112		<i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 2, no. 670
25 Nov 1527	Instrument of tack by the abbot of Arbroath of the lands of Cairnbrogie in favour of Andrew Fraser.	NRS GD38/18/1a		

Appendix II : Documents copied onto missing folios of the Arbroath BL  
(based on associated index entries)

Missing folio	Location in index	Details	Comment
f. xxv	f. 28v	Testimonial letters of the late Hugh de Tough and William Meldrum, officers of William earl of Ross, justiciar north of the Forth, regarding the holding of a toft in the burgh of Aberdeen in freedom and exempt from regality rights.	
f. xxv	f. 28v	King Alexander III commands his justiciars, sheriffs, officer and their baillies that the tofts, burghs and lands given to the monks by King William I be free from aid and operations.	
f. xxvi	f. 28r	David Graham, David Fleming and Alexander justiciars of the lord king testify that the late Abbot William of Arbroath granted them permission to exercise their office of justice within the abbey's properties in Aberdeen held in freedom and regality.	
f. xxvi	f. 7r–v	Richenda, daughter of the late Humphrey Barclay, in the power of her widowhood by charter grants to Arbroath lands in the parish of Conveth (named) to fund candles to light the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary.	This <i>may</i> be the same document copied at f. 145r–v (the index entry for that is also on f. 7v).
f. xxvi	f. 24r	King Robert confirms to Arbroath the grant of a full toft outside the burgh of Perth as per the grant of King William. Moreover, he grants that the men who remain on that land shall have the rights to buy and sell, and other rights pertaining to the burgh.	
f. xxvii	f. 13r	King Robert confirms one full toft in Forfar granted by King William.	
f. xxvii	f. 6v	King Robert confirms that the burgers of Arbroath who are in that burgh and those who hold tofts in other royal burghs she be free from toll and conventions throughout the kingdom as per the grant of King William.	
f. xxviii	f. 13v	King Alexander (II?) commands the foresters throughout his kingdom to allow the men of the abbot of Arbroath to take from the king's	This may be <i>RRS</i> , iii, no. 18.

		forests whatever they need for building and for other uses.	
f. xxviii	f. 14r	King Robert I? confirms to the foresters throughout his kingdom that the men of the Abbot of Arbroath be allowed to take from the king's forests whatever they need for building and for other uses.	This may be <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 30.
f. xxviii	f. 14r	King David II confirms to his foresters that the men of the abbot of Arbroath shall be allowed to take whatever they need from the king's forests for building and for other uses.	
f. xxix	f. 23v	King Robert confirms King William I's grant of communal pasture.	
f. xxix	f. 14r	King David II commands the foresters of his whole kingdom not to harass or impede the men of the abbot of Arbroath from taking timber from the forest for their own use.	
f. xxix	f. 14r	King Robert confirms King William's grant to Arbroath the licence and authority to take what they require from his forests.	
f. xxx	f. 23v	King Robert I? gives the monks of Arbroath free entrance and exit through his park of Drum for timber.	This may be <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 132
f. xxx	f. 14r	King Robert orders the foresters and park-keepers of Drum that no-one may harass the men of the monastery of Arbroath from free entry and exit of the park of Drum for the taking of timber or other good things for the monastery.	
f. xxx	f. 14r	King Robert II commands that the men of Arbroath are not harassed when taking what they need for their own use and buildings in the forests within the sheriffdom of Forfar.	
f. xxxi	f. 9r	King David II orders the chancellor of Scotland to draw-up a charter for Arbroath stating that they shall have all the customs of the port and regality of Arbroath in free alms and that they shall have their own cocket seal.	<i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 116?
f. xxxi	f. 9v	King David II orders that no-one shall harass or hinder the monks of Arbroath or their men in regard to their rights of the port and burgh of Arbroath etc.	<i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 172?
f. xxxi	f. 9v	King David to his justiciars, etc .. he has granted to Arbroath the customs	<i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 116?

		of the port and burgh of Arbroath and the right to have their own cocket seal.	
f. xxxi	f. 9V	Robert Erskine, chamberlain of Scotland to the officers of Dundee, Montrose, Aberdeen and their baillies etc. orders that they shall accept and allow the cocket seal of the monastery of Arbroath as granted by the charter of King David.	
f. xxxii	ff. 9v–10r	Walter of Biggar, rector of Errol and chamberlain of Scotland orders payment be made to Arbroath of the ½ merk which they used to receive of the customs of Arbroath.	King David II's command is printed as <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 433.
f. lxxix	ff. 2v–3r	Letter ? to James, archbishop of St Andrews primate of the kingdom of Scotland and legate.. the burgesses of Arbroath shall be free from tolls and conventions throughout the kingdom?	There is a partial text sitting on modern ff 96r–98v – immediately before the lost folios - which is a letter of King James V ordering that the rights and privileges of Arbroath be upheld, and this seems to be a related document.
f. lxxx	f. 21r	King William grants one toft in the burgh of Montrose made to Robert of London. Between the toft of Alexander, sheriff of Stirling? and the toft of Jocelin, durward of the lord king. To be held in free burgage.	<i>RRS</i> , iii, no. 351 (This may be a repeat of the document copied at f. 100r).

## Appendix III : Texts copied only into the Arbroath BL

Folio	Text	Date
ff. 1r–29v	[Alphabetical index]	
	[Missing folio]	
ff. 30r–31v	King Robert I inspects King William's confirmation of 25 February 1213 (partial text). ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 214 <sup>1</sup> )	1 Dec 1322
ff. 31v–34r	King Robert I inspects King William's confirmation of 25 February 1213 (complete text). ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 214)	1 Dec 1322
f. 34r–v	King David II inspects King William's confirmation of 25 February 1213. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 25)	17 Jun 1341
ff. 34v–37v	King James I inspects King William's confirmation of 25 February 1213.	1 Jan 1436
ff. 37v–39r	John Fyfe, officer, and John of Kintour and Patrick Bagenoch, baillies of Aberdeen, in the burgh court, inspect King James I's inspection of 5 November 1436 confirming the possessions of Arbroath.	23 May 1457
f. 39r–v	Notary public John <i>Ydill</i> records an inspection of King James I's inspection of 5 November 1436 confirming the possessions of Arbroath.	26 Aug 1439
ff. 39v–43r	King James III inspects King William's confirmation of 25 February 1213 and King James I's inspection of 5 November 1436 confirming Arbroath's possessions. <sup>2</sup>	20 Jun 1486
f. 44r–v	King Robert I takes all of Arbroath's possessions into his protection and forbids harm to them under his full forfeiture. ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 164)	17 Apr 1320
f. 44v	King Robert I takes all of Arbroath's possessions into his protection. ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 175)	24 Feb 1321
f. 44v–45r	King David II takes all of Arbroath's their possessions into his protection. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 22)	17 May 1341
f. 45r–v	King David II writes to his chancellor, Patrick, bishop of Brechin, commanding him to issue letters to Arbroath forbidding them from continuing to pay profitless pensions. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 255)	14 Apr 1361
ff. 45v–46r	King David II commands his justiciars and other officers not to take any exactions from Arbroath from which they are exempt, unless for urgent necessity. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 384)	3 Oct 1367
f. 46r	King David II writes to justiciars and other officials compelling the payment of dues to Arbroath. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 19)	28 Jun 1340

<sup>1</sup> This version not referenced in *RRS*, v.

<sup>2</sup> Although the text inspected is King William's confirmation of 25 February 1213, the scribe has written the date as 25 February 1178.

f. 46r–v	King David II forbids Arbroath from continuing to pay profitless pensions. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 256)	14 Apr 1361
f. 47r	King John grants and confirms to Arbroath the liberty to trade throughout England free of tolls, saving the liberty of London. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , 1, appendix iii) <sup>3</sup>	19 Feb 1206
f. 47r–v	King Henry III inspects King John’s grant and confirmation of 19 February 1206.	16 Nov 1260
ff. 47v–48v	King Henry VI inspects King Henry III’s <i>inspeximus</i> of 16 November 1260.	29 Jul 1462
f. 48v	King Robert I forbids Arbroath from paying pensions which are a burden on the revenues of the house. ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 14)	3 Dec 1310
ff. 48v–49r	King Robert II/III writes to justiciars and other officials compelling the payment of dues to Arbroath. <sup>4</sup>	[penultimate day of January <i>a.r. I</i> ]
f. 49r	King Robert I commands the sheriffs of Forfar to take sasine of lands alienated from Arbroath. ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 4)	14 Oct 1308
f. 49r–v	King Robert I grants to Arbroath that they need admit only religious poor to their house, and that no prises are to be taken in the burgh of Arbroath or in the abbey’s lands except for king’s necessity. ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 20)	12 Apr 1312
ff. 49v–50r	King Robert II grants to Arbroath that they need admit only religious poor to their house and no prises are to be taken in the burgh of Arbroath or in the abbey’s lands except for king’s necessity.	3 Feb 1388
f. 50r	King David II commands his justiciars and other officials not to exact tallages and prises in the lands of Arbroath. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 109)	17 Dec 1346
f. 50r–v	William, earl of Ross, justiciar north of the Forth, commands the sheriffs of Forfar, Kincardine and Aberdeen that no tallages or prises are to be exacted from Arbroath or their men.	30 Apr 1349
ff. 50v–51r	King Robert I inspects King Alexander II’s command that bequests made towards the buildings of Arbroath are to be allowed. ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 32)	1 Mar 1313
f. 51r	King Robert I commands the burgh officers of Crail to observe the exemption of the burgesses of Arbroath from any toll. <sup>5</sup> ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 22)	4 Oct 1312
f. 51r–v	King Robert I confers on Arbroath the escheated goods found on the abbey’s lands of John of Pollock. ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 13)	15 Apr 1310

<sup>3</sup> Cosmo Innes’ source for this was an original Tower Roll document, which I cannot trace at The National Archives catalogue.

<sup>4</sup> The text is the same as that of King David II’s letter patent on f. 46r.

<sup>5</sup> A note to *RRS*, v, no. 22 suggests this might in fact be an act of King Robert III.

ff. 51v–52r	King David II writes to James Stewart of Kelly commanding him to cease injuring the men of Arbroath. <sup>6</sup> ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 276)	12 Sept 1362
f. 52r–v	King David II gives, grants and confirms to Arbroath all the forfeitures incurred by the royal protection of the abbey. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 512)	7 Jun 1329 × 22 Feb 1371
f. 52v	King Robert inspects the charter of King David II donating to Arbroath all the forfeitures incurred by the royal protection of the abbey (partial). <sup>7</sup>	unknown
	[8 folios missing] <sup>8</sup>	
f. 53r	4 lines of text. <sup>9</sup>	14 Apr 1369
f. 53r	King David II commands the customars of Montrose answer to Arbroath for half a merk due from the customs of their burgh. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 440)	20 Apr 1369
f. 53r–v	King David II writes to the chancellor, Patrick, bishop of Brechin, commanding him to issue letters confirming the half merk due to Arbroath from the customs of their burgh. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 432)	14 Apr 1369
f. 53v	King David II grants to Arbroath the half merk from the customs of their burgh, which they received before this was allocated to paying the king's ransom. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 433)	14 Apr 1369
ff. 53v–54r	William Meldrum, sheriff of Aberdeen, inspects the letter of Robert of Erskine, chamberlain of Scotland, dated 30 August 1348, ordering that Arbroath be free of customs at all ports within Scotland.	1 Sep 1348
f. 54r–v	King Robert III makes it known to his chamberlain and other officers that he gives and grants to Arbroath a half merk from the customs of the burgh of Arbroath, as well as a quarter of all customs on sheepskin and hides.	4 May 1392 <sup>10</sup>
ff. 54v–55r	King Robert III gives and grants half a merk from the customs of Arbroath, as well a quarter of all customs on sheepskin and hides. <sup>11</sup>	4 May 1392
f. 55r–v	King Robert I inspects King Alexander II's charter of the land and wood of Kingoldrum. ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 33)	1 Mar 1313

<sup>6</sup> See *RPS* for a translation of this document 'Letters patent to James Stewart of Kellie to cease injuring the men of Arbroath Abbey', *RPS*, <https://www.rps.ac.uk/trans/1362/1> (accessed 22 April 2022).

<sup>7</sup> The loss of the end of the charter means it cannot be dated or attributed to a specific king.

<sup>8</sup> It is worth noting here that many of the documents seen in Appendix II cannot be identified as having been copied into any of Arbroath's other extant cartularies. However, because no dates are provided in the index listings it is probably best to be cautious when assuming they do not appear elsewhere and they are therefore not included in this list.

<sup>9</sup> This seems to belong to a document of King David II, and may be *RRS*, vi, no. 434.

<sup>10</sup> *a.r.* 3

<sup>11</sup> *a.r.* 3.

f. 56r–v	King Robert I gives, grants and confirms to Arbroath lands in the parish of Tarves in regality. ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 19) <sup>12</sup>	12 Apr 1312
ff. 56v–57r	King David II inspects King Robert I’s charter of 26 February 1313, giving to Arbroath lands in the parish of Tarves in regality. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 28)	18 Jun 1341
f. 57r–v	King Robert I inspects King Alexander II’s charter of 3 July 1233 donating the land of Nigg. <sup>13</sup> ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 31)	1 Mar 1313
ff. 57v–58r	King Robert I inspects King Alexander II’s charter of 3 July 1233 donating the land of Nigg. <sup>14</sup> ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 31)	1 Mar 1313
f. 58r–v	King David II inspects King Alexander II’s charter of 3 July 1233 donating the land of Nigg. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 26)	18 Jun 1341
f. 59v	King David II writes to the sheriff and baillies of Aberdeen to prevent Laurence of Garvock from infringing the rights of Arbroath in the land of Nigg. <sup>15</sup> ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 152)	11 Nov 1357
f. 60r–v	King Robert III approves, ratifies and confirms Robert of Lundie’s gift to Arbroath of one chalder of grain or 16s per annum, as well as granting and confirming Thomas Malherbe’s gift of 2s of the land of Balneaves.	27 Apr 1398 <sup>16</sup>
f. 61r	Henry of Stirling, burgess of Berwick, gives, grants and confirms to Arbroath 8 stones of wax or 40d.	× 27 May 1268
ff. 61v–62r	Margaret Stewart, countess of Angus, gives, grants and confirms to Arbroath the land of Braiklay.	?1319 × 1343 <sup>17</sup>
f. 63v	King David II inspects Robert de Montfort’s charter giving one chalder of wheat per annum from Kinneff. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 314)	8 Mar 1364
ff. 63v–64r	Robert de Montford gives, grants and confirms to Arbroath one chalder of wheat of Kinneff. <sup>18</sup>	unknown
ff. 65r–66r	John Fyfe, burgess of Aberdeen, gives, grants, sells and confirms to Ranald Cheyne an annual return of £5 from his land in Aberdeen.	15 May 1461

<sup>12</sup> This version is not referenced in *RRS*, v.

<sup>13</sup> This text seems to be incomplete, finishing with the witness list to the original charter of Alexander.

<sup>14</sup> This copy is the full version including the witnesses.

<sup>15</sup> See *RPS* for a translation of this text ‘Letters: privy seal letters to the sheriffs and baillies of Aberdeen’, *RPS*, <https://www.rps.ac.uk/1357/11/21> (accessed 22 April 2022).

<sup>16</sup> *a. r.* 9

<sup>17</sup> This text is undated, but one of the witnesses is Maurice, bishop of Dunblane whom PoMS suggests was in post between 1319 × 22–1347 <https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/person/22858/> (accessed 22 April 2022).

An inspection of this document was carried out by King David II on 31 Oct 1343 (*RRS*, vi, no. 76).

<sup>18</sup> This charter is not entered into the PoMS database, however one of the witnesses (all of whom are repeated in full in the *inspeximus* of King David II at f. 63v) is Master Henry of Nottingham, whom PoMS dates to the second half of the thirteenth century. <https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/person/7698/> (accessed 22 April 2022).

f. 69r–v	<i>Latin &gt;Scots&gt;Latin</i> . Public instrument recording Thomas Fife's letter of obligation to pay annual rents for holdings in Aberdeen. <sup>19</sup>	22 Feb 1492
ff. 69v–70r	<i>Scots</i> Decreet of the Lords of Council regarding the distraint of the lands and goods of Thomas Fyfe, burgess of Aberdeen, for the amount of £45 covering outstanding rent due to the monastery of Arbroath.	16 Apr 1502
ff. 72v–73r	<i>Scots</i> Decreet of Lords of Council in the case pursued by the abbey of Arbroath against Thomas Fyfe for nine outstanding annual payments of £5 each on lands of Aberdeen.	12 Jan 1496
ff. 73r–74r	Testimonial letter of Thomas Fyfe regarding the administration of the lands of the late Gilbert of Kintore.	10 May 1473
f. 74r–v	<i>Scots</i> . Mandate of King James [IV?] enacting the decret of the Lords of Council regarding £45 outstanding to be paid to Arbroath.	Last day Dec <i>a.r.</i> 14?
ff. 74v–75r	<i>Scots</i> King James IV to the officers of Aberdeen ordering that Andrew Fyfe, son of Thomas Fyfe, appears before the king regarding 45s owed to Abbot George Hepburn and the abbey of Arbroath.	11 Jun 1509 × 10 Jun 1510 <sup>20</sup>
f. 75r–v	<i>Scots</i> . William Roland, sheriff, at the command of the king, orders Andrew Fyfe, burgess of Aberdeen, to appear before the king and his Lords of Council.	14 Feb 1509
ff. 75v–76v	Seizure of sasine of possession of the eastern tenement of Thomas Fyfe in the burgh of Aberdeen for non-payment of annual rents due to the abbey of Arbroath.	19 Sep 1530
ff. 76v–77v	Public instrument inspecting King James V's brieve to the baillies of Aberdeen informing them he has given and granted a toft within the burgh to Abbot David and the monastery of Arbroath.	6 Jul 1531
f. 77v	King James V writes to his officers and baillies of Aberdeen concerning the toft he has given to David, abbot of Arbroath.	26 Jun 1505. <sup>21</sup>
ff. 77v–79v	King James V orders and commands that Arbroath be given sasine of the eastern tenement which he has given to them in the burgh of Aberdeen.	26 Jun 1531
ff. 79v–80r	William Brade gives, grants and confirms to Arbroath the render of 12d from the heritable land of John <i>Chirchan</i> burgess of Arbroath.	1374
f. 80r	Thomas de Coffin, knight, gives, grants and confirms to Arbroath 12d per annum to light the	1275

<sup>19</sup> The start and end of this document are copied in Scots whilst the middle section is in Latin.

<sup>20</sup> *a.r.* 22.

<sup>21</sup> *a.r.* 18.

	church, to be paid of Adam Todelach and his heirs.	
f. 80r–v	Simon Sungl, son of Edward the constable, gives, grants and confirms to Arbroath 13d per annum.	1178 × 6 Jun 1199
f. 80v	Walter Clerk, gives to Arbroath land in the burgh of Arbroath to light one lamp at the altar of St Peter. <sup>22</sup>	6 ides Feb 1286
ff. 84v–85r	David Torry resigns his holdings in Arbroath into the hands of Thomas Tulloch.	12 Oct 1496
f. 86r–v	<i>Scots</i> . An inquest is undertaken into the disobedience of Nicholas of Boyng.	23 Jan 1474
ff. 86v–87r	An agreement is formed between Nicholas, bishop of Dunblane, and Abbot Bernard regarding the grange of Ethie. <sup>23</sup>	30 Sept 1312 <sup>24</sup>
ff. 87v–88r	<i>Scots</i> . King James I asserts Arbroath's privilege of holding justice courts within their regality.	10 Jan 1426
ff. 88r–89r	King James V approves, ratifies and confirms to Arbroath the donations, infeudations and customs given by his predecessors. ( <i>Arb. Lib.</i> , ii, no. 738)	10 Jan 1529
f. 89r–v	Recognition by Abbot George of 33s 4d from John Robertson of the land in Fitty in Aberdeen.	1 Dec 1481
f. 94r–v	King Robert I inspects King Alexander II's charter of April 1244 assigning Banchory-Devenick to Arbroath. ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 34)	1 Mar 1313
f. 95v	Alexander Lindsay, lord of Baltroddy, resigns to Arbroath all his rights to Banchory-Devenick.	20 Sep 1396
ff. 96r–98v	(Partial text) <i>Scots</i> . King James V commands that the privileges of Arbroath must be observed. <sup>25</sup>	unknown
	[2 folios missing]	
ff. 99r–100r	(Partial text) The archbishop of St Andrews inspects a papal bull of Pope Lucius III. <sup>26</sup>	29 Apr 1530
f. 101r–v	Abbot William gives, grants and confirms to John of Ledhouse, burgess of Aberdeen, and his wife, land in Fitty.	5 Apr 1349
ff. 101v–105r	James, archbishop of St Andrews, and conservator of privileges of Arbroath Abbey, inspects the letter of Pope Pius II of March 1461, granting privileges to Arbroath.	30 Mar 1529
ff. 105r–108v	George, abbot of Dunfermline, judge and executor of privileges of Arbroath, inspects the	25 Sep 1530

<sup>22</sup>This is not entered into PoMS.

<sup>23</sup> This is not entered into the PoMS.

<sup>24</sup> Friday after the feast of St Michael the archangel 1312.

<sup>25</sup> This is a partial text only. The order in which the holdings of the monastery are listed in Scots follow quite closely (but not completely) the order in which they are listed and described in Latin in the early royal charters and confirmations of the abbey (see, for example *RRS*, ii, nos. 197 and 513).

<sup>26</sup> This text is incomplete. The papal bull inspected can be found in the Arbroath *RV*, ff. 101r–102r and was printed as *Arb. Lib.*, 1, no. 220.

	letter of Pope Pius II of March 1461 granting privileges to Arbroath.	
f. 109r	Robert of Erskine and Beatrice his spouse give, grant and confirm to Arbroath 40d annually in recognition of their fraternity.	2 Dec 1342
f. 109r	Robert of Erskine to Henry Lichten, baillie of the barony of Dun, orders the payment of 40d to Arbroath.	28 Oct 1360
f. 109r–v	Robert of Erskine, lord of Dun, writes to Thomas Cant (receiver of our fermes), to ensure payment of 40d.	24 Jul 1365
f. 110r–v	Gregory, bishop of Brechin, with the consent of his chapter, gives, grants and confirms the land of Drumsleed to Arbroath.	15 Dec. 1218 × 19 Aug. 1235
ff. 110v–111r	Isabelle, lady of Kinblethmont, quitclaims 5 merks and gives to Arbroath all of her land of <i>Conanmurchapel</i> .	unknown
f. 112r	The abbot and convent of Arbroath make known they have the land of Drumsleed from the bishop of Brechin in feuferme and are held to the chapter of Brechin for 50 merks per annum, which has been assigned to the bishop and chapter of Brechin for the support of one chaplain, and 20s for support of a bridge.	21 Mar 1225 × 17 Jun 1239
f. 112v	King David II inspects King Alexander II's charter of 16 December 1246 giving to Arbroath ten merks per annum to light the church. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 27)	18 Jun 1341
f. 113–v	King David II inspects Thomas Strachan's charter of 7 March 1351 giving to Arbroath one merk per annum. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 360)	6 Sep 1366
ff. 115v–116r	<i>Scots</i> . King James V? commands John Strang, sheriff, to summon William Menteith to answer to the complaint made by Arbroath that he has withheld a saltpan in Carse along with certain of their lands and privileges.	1 Sept 1518? <sup>27</sup>
f. 116r–v	<i>Scots</i> . Letter of obligation by John Scrymegour, burgess of Dundee, regarding a toft and tenement in Dundee held in feu and heritage.	28 Dec 1475
ff. 116v–117r	Alexander Baldwin surrenders land in Dundee into the hands of Abbot Malcolm.	29 Apr 1469
f. 118r	King Robert I orders his sheriff of Forfar to hold an inquest into whether Arbroath was infeft by Alexander, earl of Buchan, of the annual merk from Finavon, and whether this is being withheld unjustly. ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 219)	14 Jan 1323
f. 118v	Return of inquest initiated by the above order of King Robert I of 14 January 1323. <sup>28</sup> ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 219)	14 Feb 1323

<sup>27</sup> *a.r.* 5.

<sup>28</sup> This follows-on immediately from King Robert's brief ordering the inquest and has no associated rubric.

ff. 118v–119r	King Robert I writes to the chancellor commanding that Arbroath be put in possession of the one merk annually from Finavon granted by Alexander, earl of Buchan, and withheld by John Comyn, earl of Buchan, as evidenced by return of inquest. ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 241)	2 Aug 1323
f. 119r	John, lord of Finavon, for himself and his heirs, recognises the one merk due to be paid to Arbroath from the tenement of Finavon.	7 Nov 1345
f. 119r	John, lord of Finavon, instructs the receiver (of the letter) to pay a merk of Finavon to Arbroath.	26 Sep 1346
f. 122r–v	King James III recognises of the lands of Forglen to Abbot Malcolm of Arbroath.	11 Oct 1464
ff. 123v–124r	<i>Scots</i> . Decreet of Lords of Council for Abbot David against Alexander Irvine of Drum and William Meldrum of Fyvie.	8 Nov ‘1587’ (i.e., 1487) <sup>29</sup>
f. 124r–v	<i>Scots</i> . King James IV enforces the judgement of the Lords of Council as above.	24 Feb 1490 <sup>30</sup>
f. 126v	Stephen of Kinnerley sells to Gregory, bishop of Brechin, his land of Drumsleed for 95½ marks. <sup>31</sup>	19 Aug 1235
f. 127r	An agreement is made between the abbot of Arbroath and the bishop of Brechin regarding the arrears of annual pensions due of Drumsleed. <sup>32</sup>	1301
f. 128r	An agreement is made between Henry, the king’s physician, and Niall mac Ímair, in which Niall remits to Henry the church land of Inverlunan along with all the cain, conveth, lay service and exactions of that land. Henry remits to the said Niall eight merks for the said cain, conveth and exactions. ( <i>RRS</i> , ii, no. 590)	1189 × 1195
ff. 129v–130r	<i>Scots</i> . William of Ochterlony makes known that he is obliged to do duty and service to Abbot Walter for the lands of <i>Mekyll Keny</i> in the shire of Kingoldrum.	18 Oct 1474 <sup>33</sup>
f. 130r–v	<i>Scots</i> . King James IV makes known that Peter Dempster has lost the superiority of the lands of <i>Kennemukkart</i> a.k.a. <i>Kenneneyll</i> and that this should be given to Alexander Wishart of Logie Wishart, by decree of the Lords of Council.	10 Mar <i>a.r.</i> 20
ff. 130v–131r	Abbot George acknowledges (for the benefit of Alexander Wishart), that Abbot William gave <i>Kennemukkart</i> to Adam Wishart, which land Duncan <i>judex domini regis</i> gave to Adam	17 Jan 1508

<sup>29</sup> The date of 1587 on this document seems to be a scribal error.

<sup>30</sup> *a.r.* 2.

<sup>31</sup> This text seems to be the same gift and much of the same wording as the text found at Arbroath *RV*, f. 15v (*Arb. Lib.*, 1, no. 245) but there are differences; the version in the Arbroath *RV* includes a witness list which isn’t in this version, but this version is longer and includes details of the resignation into the king’s hand.

<sup>32</sup> This text is not entered into PoMS.

<sup>33</sup> The scribe has dated this text as 1574 in error.

	Wishart in free marriage with Agnes his daughter: charter dated 1279. <sup>34</sup>	
f. 132r–v	John of Inchyra, in recognition of his fraternity, gives to Arbroath a stone of wax or 40d at the fair of Dundee.	1273
f. 133r	Reginald Cheyne, in exchange for the land of Ardlogie in Formartine, gives, grants and confirms to Arbroath the land of <i>Ledbothy</i> in the tenement of Inverarity, from the gift of Hugh of Abernethy.	23 Jun 1285
f. 134r–v	King Robert I commands his sheriffs and baillies of Forfar to pay 10 merks per annum from the thanage of Monifieth to light candles around the tomb of King William, and 100s from the fermes of the sheriffdom. ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 75)	10 Oct 1315
ff. 135v–136v	Public instrument making known that William Strachan has resigned the lands of Letham into the hands of Abbot Malcolm. <sup>35</sup>	9 Sep 1458
f. 136v	Norman Leslie, lord of Rothies, instructs Henry Lichten the baillie of his lands in Angus, to pay to Arbroath the 40d owed from the ferme of his land of Delvane.	18 Dec 1363
f. 137r–v	An agreement is made between Geoffrey, abbot of Arbroath, and John, abbot of Coupar Angus, concerning the arrears due to Coupar of 20s from teinds of <i>Ardory</i> .	16 May 1467
ff. 137v–138r	William, abbot of Arbroath, gives, grants and confirms a full toft in the burgh of Arbroath to Peter of <i>Syres</i> for 6d payable at fair of Montrose.	1275 × 18 Dec 1284
f. 138v	Henry, abbot of Arbroath, gives, grants and confirms the ferryboat of Montrose and adjacent land to Hugh of Benvie for 1 merk p.a.	19 Aug 1179 × Jun 1208
ff. 138v–139r	John of Udney agrees to pay £12 to Arbroath should the abbot's lands be troubled by him after he was taken by Abbot William to the court of the justiciar in Aberdeen for breaking the king's protection.	1347
f. 139r	John of Udney resigns his claim and right to the land of <i>Glenmenquhar</i> possessed by Arbroath and lying next to his land of Udney.	unknown
f. 139v	William, bishop of St Andrews, inspects King Robert I's letter patent of 10 October 1315 ordering the payment to Arbroath of 4 merks p.a. from the ferme of Kinghorn.	8 Jun 1349
f. 140r	Robert Erskine, chamberlain of Scotland, to the constable of Kinghorn, orders the payment of 4 merks due to Arbroath of the fermes of Kinghorn.	8 Jan 1348

<sup>34</sup> Abbot William's original charter of 1279 still survives (NRS GD16/14/1) and was printed in *Arb. Lib.*, 1, appendix no. vi.

<sup>35</sup> Includes the full text of William Strachan's letter patent of 16 August 1458 entered on ff. 134v–135r.

f. 140v	Robert Erskine, chamberlain of Scotland, in the name of King David II, orders the sheriff and baillies of Fife to pay 4 merks due to Arbroath from the fermes of Kinghorn.	14 Jun 1349
ff. 140v–141r	Robert Stewart, lieutenant, on behalf of King David II, to the baillies of Kinghorn, orders them to pay to Arbroath four merks annually from the ferme of Kinghorn, as granted by King Alexander II. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 11)	16 Apr 1335
f. 141v	Mael Domnaich, earl of Lennox, in recognition of fraternity gives, grants and confirms to Arbroath four cows annually as well as eight oxen.	2 Nov 1208 × 1265
f. 143r	King Robert II/III to the chamberlain and sheriff & baillies of Fife, commands the payment of 4 merks due to Arbroath from Kinghorn for lighting the tomb of King William.	Penultimate day of January <i>a.r.</i> 1 <sup>36</sup>
f. 143r–v	The bishop of Dunblane and the abbots of Scone and Coupar Angus inspect two charters of King Alexander II; the gift of Banchory-Devenick and the gift of 100s. from the ferme of the <i>manerium</i> of Forfar.	1292
ff. 143v–144r	Eustace Balliol grants and confirms the donations of his predecessors, namely his grandfather, Walter Barclay, and his father, Ingram de Balliol, of the church of Inverkeilour with associated rights.	<i>c.</i> 1244 × 1276
f. 144r–v	King William gives, grants and confirms four ploughgates of arable land in Conveth to Humphrey, son of Theobald, and thane's rights in Kirkton, plus multure in Conveth. ( <i>RRS</i> , ii, no. 345)	1189 × <i>c.</i> 1193
f. 144v	King William gives, grants and confirms four ploughgates of arable land in Conveth to Agatha, wife of Humphrey, son of Theobald, in exchange for Ardoyne. ( <i>RRS</i> , ii, no. 344)	1189 × <i>c.</i> 1193
f. 144v	King William grants and confirms that Humphrey, son of Theobald, may hold seven davochs (named) in the Mearns in forest. ( <i>RRS</i> , ii, no. 346)	1189 × 1195
f. 145r	King William grants and confirms the gift of Humphrey, son of Theobald, to Humphrey, son of Theobald de Addeville, of a davoch in Glenfarquhar. ( <i>RRS</i> , ii, no. 423)	29 Dec 1195 × 1203
f. 145r–v	Richenda Barclay demits at perpetual ferme to Arbroath certain of her lands in Conveth in the Mearns.	25 Mar 1245 × 24 Mar 1246

<sup>36</sup> Where possible, regnal years have been checked against Archibald H. Duncan *Scottish Kings: A Revised Chronology of Scottish History, 1005–1625*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Edinburgh 1906). This would suggest that if this command was in the name of King Robert I it dates to 20 Feb 1371 (p. 170) and if in the name of King Robert III it dates to 17 April 1391 (p. 181).

ff. 146v–147r	Robert, son of Warnebald, and his wife, Richenda Barclay, demit at feuferme lands in Conveth to Arbroath, for an annual rent to Richard and Richenda of 100s.	1242
f. 147r	King Alexander II grants and confirms the agreement between Arbroath and Richard and Richenda, regarding all of Humphrey Barclay's inheritance in Scotia, which Richard and Richenda are to hold of Arbroath. ( <i>RRS</i> , iii, no. 76)	22 Dec 1222
f. 147r–v	John, son of Theobald Barclay, and his heir, Robert, give to Arbroath all their rights to the lands and inheritance of Humphrey Barclay.	c. 1 Jan 1221
f. 148r	King Alexander II grants and confirms the agreement made between John, son of Theobald, and his heir Robert, and Arbroath, regarding the lands and inheritance of Humphrey Barclay. ( <i>RRS</i> , iii, no. 55)	1 Jan 1221
f. 148r–v	Richenda Barclay grants and confirms the agreement made when she was married to Robert, son of Warenbald, of the gift to Arbroath of lands in Fordoun, for the provision of an allowance and the gift of the Mill of Conveth.	25 Mar 1245 × 7 Mar 1246
f. 149r	Richenda Barclay gives, grants and confirms, for the provision of an allowance during her life, all her feu in the parish of Fordoun and the Mill of Conveth, and all the multure of Conveth.	25 Mar 1245 × 24 Mar 1246
f. 149r–v	Richenda Barclay notes that when she was married to Robert, son of Warenbald, they demitted at feuferme to Arbroath the lands they held in the parish of Conveth for 20s per annum, and ratifies and confirms this agreement.	25 Mar 1245 × 7 Mar 1246
ff. 149v–150r	King Alexander II grants and confirms Richenda's charter recording the demission of her lands in the parish of Conveth. ( <i>RRS</i> , iii, no. 308)	7 Mar 1246
f. 151r–v	Robert, son of Warnebald, and Richenda, his wife, demit at feuferme the lands they hold in the parish of Conveth for 100s per annum.	17 Jun 1239 × 1242
ff. 151v–152r	The abbot and convent of Arbroath demit at feuferme the Mill of Conveth to John Wishart, in return for 100s payable at Pentecost and 100s payable at the feast of St Martin.	1242
f. 152r	John, son of Theobald, grants and quitclaims to Arbroath his lands in the Mearns as they were given by King William to Humphrey Barclay, for a render of 4 merks per annum and 13 merks from the Mill of Conveth after the death of Richenda Barclay.	c. 1 Jan 1221
f. 152r–v	Robert, son of Warenbald, and Richenda, his wife, give, grant and confirm to Arbroath an oxgang of land next to the Mill of Conveth.	1214 × 1245

ff. 152–153r	John of Rait gives, grants and confirms to Arbroath his land of Culbak in the Mearns.	26 Jan 1348
f. 153r–v	William, earl of Ross, inspects John of Rait’s charter of donation of Culbak.	27 Jan 1348
f. 153v	John of Rait gives, grants and confirms to Arbroath his land of Culbak in the Mearns.	26 Jan 1348
ff. 153v–154r	Hugh Heem, son and heir of Constance, niece and heir of Richenda, renounces his claims on Richenda’s lands in the Mearns and on the Mill of Conveth.	1284
f. 154r–v	King Robert I grants that Arbroath may recognosce various lands in the Mearns in default of the earls of Buchan. ( <i>RRS</i> , v, no. 49)	15 Feb 1315
f. 155r–v	King David II commands his sheriff and baillies of Kincardine to cease taking suits from, and imposing burdens on, Arbroath for their lands of Scotston, Culbak and Auchenblae. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 182)	14 May 1358
f. 155v	King David II commands William of Keith not to aid his brother, John, in any invasion or occupation of the lands of Culbak. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 124)	4 Nov 1353
f. 156r	King Alexander II grants that no-one shall take poinds from the abbot of Arbroath’s men in three places (named) in Fordoun. ( <i>RRS</i> , iii, no. 157)	11 Jan 1230
f. 156v	William Semple, Adam son of Uchtred, and William Caldwell, lieutenants and justiciars north of Forth, and sheriff of Kincardine, note that an assize held in full justiciar’s court at Inverbervie on 26 April 1342 found that William Moubray had disseised Arbroath of the lands of Culbak, Glenfarquhar, <i>Fasdavach</i> , half of <i>Tobertath</i> and 2 parts of Kinkell, and order that he makes recompense without delay.	After 26 Apr 1342
ff. 156v–157r	Repeat of the above record of the judgement against William Moubray, with minor changes to the names of lands and to the sealing clause.	After 26 Apr 1342
f. 158r	John of Keith, son of the late Edward Keith, writes to William, bishop of St Andrews, in recognition of his error in claiming the land of Culbak.	1362
f. 158r–v	Robert Doig, king’s mair, reseises Arbroath in the lands of Culbak, Glenfarquhar, <i>Fasdavach</i> , half of <i>Tobertath</i> and two parts of Kinkell.	27 Apr 1342
f. 158v	Robert Stewart, lieutenant of the realm, writes to Thomas Stewart, earl of Angus, informing him that Arbroath has complained that John Keith has disturbed certain of their lands. The king commands the earl to defend the abbey’s lands. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 133)	17 Oct 1354
ff. 158v–159r	Arbroath demits the Mill of Conveth to Sir John Wishart.	2 Mar 1399

f. 160r	Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan, gives, grants and confirms to Arbroath 2 pounds of wax or a half merk from the ferme of the land of Culbak.	19 Apr 1255
f. 160r–v	Gilbert, earl of Strathearn, announces a perambulation has been made of lands in Fordoun belonging to Sir Geoffrey de Melville.	1199 × 1214 <sup>37</sup>
f. 160v	John Wishart of the Mearns states that he will not alienate lands pertaining to Arbroath in the Mearns.	unknown
f. 160v	King Alexander II, at the request of the monks of Arbroath, grants that Richard of Moray will have free court and suit of the lands he holds of Arbroath in Clydesdale. ( <i>RRS</i> , iii, no. 59)	26 Apr [probably 1221]
ff. 160v–161r	Robert Stewart and John Randolph, earl of Moray, inspect King David II's <i>inspeximus</i> of the letter patent of King Robert I of 15 February 1315 regarding Arbroath's right to recognose lands in the Mearns. ( <i>RRS</i> , vi, no. 13)	27 May 1335
f. 162r	An agreement is made between Arbroath and Marjorie, countess of Buchan, over the limits and boundaries of certain lands.	3 Aug 1236
ff. 162v–163r	Mael Brigitte, <i>judex regis</i> , declares that he received testimony regarding the perambulation of lands to resolve the dispute between Humphrey Barclay and Walter Sibbald.	11 Nov 1221
f. 163r–v	Alexander Lindsay, lord of Glenesk, justiciar north of Forth, and David Lindsay, his son, record the perambulation of the bounds of the lands of Lour, belonging to John Lindsay, Alexander's son, and Craigie, belonging to Arbroath.	21 Nov 1381
f. 165r–v	An agreement is formed between Arbroath and John Comyn, in which the abbey grants and demits to John part of the land of Dunnichen.	November 1335
ff. 168r–169r	A perambulation is made of the bounds between Patrick of Glamis' lands of <i>Luchlandis</i> and the abbey's lands of Mundurno.	31 Jul 1451
ff. 169v–v	King James I orders John Lyndsay, his justiciar, and his sheriffs and baillies of Forfar to gather on a certain day and place to resolve the issue of the disputed lands of Burnton and Newtyle.	Glasgow 15 Jan. <i>a.r.</i> 10
ff. 170v–171r	Public instrument noting the protest of the prior of Fyvie, agent of the abbey of Arbroath, over the boundaries between Tarves and Meldrum.	25 June 1470
f. 171r	<i>Scots</i> . A request is made to the Lords of Council order that an inquest be made into the boundaries of the land of Tarves.	unknown
f. 171r–v	Decreet of the Lords of Council ordering letters be written to the sheriff (unnamed) to bring the	25 Jun ?

<sup>37</sup> Date taken from C.J. Neville, 'The Earls of Strathearn from the twelfth to the mid-fourteenth Century, with an edition of their written acts.' Unpublished University of Aberdeen Ph.D. Thesis, 1983. Volume 2, p. 65.

	parties before an inquest into the possessions and boundaries of the abbey of Arbroath.	
f. 173r	King James I writes to his sheriff and baillies of Aberdeen commanding a perambulation be made between the lands of Arbroath and of Patrick of Udney. <sup>38</sup>	5 Jun 1424
f. 176v	Statement of the bounds of <i>Pettmakery</i> and <i>Bethly</i> .	unknown
ff. 176v–177r	Statement of the bounds of Cowie, <i>Tulymaid</i> and the lands of the lord of Udney.	unknown
f. 177r	<i>Scots</i> . Statement of the bounds between Mundurno and Belhelvie.	unknown
f. 179r–v	Alan Durward quitclaims his rights to the land of Kingoldrum (by stated boundaries).	1253
f. 180r	Statement of the boundaries of <i>Conandunsy'th?</i>	unknown
ff. 181v–182r	<i>Scots</i> . Statement of the bounds of <i>Morile fyrth(h)</i> .	unknown
f. 182r	Statement of the boundaries of lands outside the burgh of Perth and valuations of those lands.	unknown
f. 182v	<i>Scots</i> . Statement of the boundaries of the barony of Tarves.	unknown
ff. 182v–183	<i>Scots</i> . John Anderson of Elgin, procurator for the abbey of Arbroath, complains that the abbey cannot get entry into their holding in Elgin.	24 Apr 1515
f. 183v	Inquest into the portion of land within the abbey's toft of Perth.	5 Sep 1373
f. 184v	Inquest into Walter Tulloch's lands at Tulloch and Craigie.	28 Jan 1438
f. 186v	Inquest into the lands of Alexander Seton of <i>Hadyrwik</i> .	14 May 1515

<sup>38</sup> See *RPS* for a translation of this document, 'Letters: of James I ordering a perambulation on the orders of the deutes of parliament for determining complaints', <<https://www.rps.ac.uk/1424/39>> (accessed 22 April 2022).

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