Walter Bower’s *Scotichronicon*

**Volume 1, Book II**

Ch. 58, p. 311: The translation of the relics of St Andrew etc.

About the same time [the year 360] the emperor Constantius the son of Constantine the Great in the twentieth year of his reign, motivated by enthusiasm for the Christian religion and inspired by a special devotion which he had conceived long before in his heart for the blessed apostle Andrew, longed to do something gas final proof of his devotion. He went to the city of Patras in the district of Achaia where the apostle was martyred and buried, and from there he stealthily removed by main force the saint’s relics, translated them to Constantinople on 9 May and amid great rejoicing and to the accompaniment of hymns and chants placed them in golden and silver reliquaries with great honour.

Achaia is one of the seven provinces of Greece, and almost an island, for it is surrounded by sea on all sides except for the north side, where it adjoins Macedonia.

Therefore when Christ had entrusted the world to his apostles and disciples to be steeped in the catholic faith by their preaching, he allotted to Andrew the area around the Caspian sea, Scythia, Macedonia and Achaia, and also, as some would have it, Scotland. Since, as was previously described, the Picts derived their origins from Scythia, Andrew wished even after his death to convert those whom he was not able to convert while he was alive. This Andrew was the apostle of the Lord, the brother of Simon Peter, older than Peter by birth and first to be called, but second in rank or at least third, Galilean by nationality, born in the city of Bethsaida, gentlest of all the disciples. He excelled almost everyone in justice, piety and sanctity. He was dark-complexioned, handsome of appearance, of medium height, with a luxuriant beard. The translation of certain of his bones from Patras to Scotland was as follows.

It happened that by divine will on the third night before the emperor entered the city, the angel of the Lord appeared to a certain holy, God-fearing man, an abbot Regulus by name, the guardian of the relics, saying: ‘Take with you suitable brethren and proceed to the sarcophagus, in which the bones of Andrew were deposited. You will take from there three fingers of the right hand and the arm-bone that hangs down from the shoulder, one tooth and a kneecap. Guard them carefully in a place which I shall show you, until I return.’ He quickly summoned the chosen brethren, and carried off all the bones, just as he had been ordered to. He hid them in a very secret place indicated by the angel. So the emperor came two days later with quick-marching legions, and captured the city, emptying it of all its wealth. He received the reliquary in which the relics were stored, and ordered it to be taken back to Constantinople with suitable reverence, while he escorted it with the army.

Ch. 59, p. 313: The angel instructed Regulus to take the relics and go to the west-north-west regions of the world.

Finally after several years had passed by, the celestial angel again came back to abbot Regulus, and with an intimidating look on his face gave him the following command in the name of Almighty God and in these words: ‘Take up again’, he said, ‘the relics of blessed Andrew beloved of God, which you recently preserved on my instructions. And take with you a praiseworthy escort of saints, and lose no time in going to the western regions under the west-north-west at the world’s end; and wheresoever the ship that carries you by will of God runs the risk of shipwreck, but with you and your companions remaining unharmed, know that there the course of your hardship, or at least of your prolonged voyage, has reached its successful conclusion. Moreover guard against being negligent or forgetful of this kind of instruction, namely that in that place you should firmly lay the foundations of a church to the honour of the divine name and the glory of his saint and apostle of everlasting veneration, because it will come to pass that, just as the east was for a long time adorned by the sound of his preaching while he was alive, as you are aware, so know truly that the whole of the west will also be adorned forever with the miracles worked by his relics. For since that place has been chosen by God, it will be an apostolic see for ever and a firm rock of the faith, and rightly so because of his brother blessed Peter to whom the Lord said: “You are Peter” etc. So the kingdom in which it is situated will be a steady, strong anchor, and it will be famous for its devotion to the apostle to all the faithful, especially the kings and other powers in the land, from whose estates and endowments it will be abundantly enriched. Therefore crowds of the faithful frequently coming there from abroad from the opposite ends of the world to receive bodily and spiritual health will miraculously receive what they have requested, and will return joyfully to their homes, praising God, who is always glorious in his saints, in his apostle with exultant voices.’ And with these words the angel disappeared from the his sight, and blessed Regulus addressed himself to carrying out his instructions. So wishing to obey the divine commands, he summoned to his side wise and religious men of preeminent learning and character, each of whom had been forewarned by angelic exhortation to take part in his pilgrimage and his merit. He carried the sacred relics with him to the ship, and put to sea, prepared to reach the regions of the west-north-west. The following are the sacred names of the company of saints: St Regulus, abbot, St Damian, priest, Gelasius and Chubaculus, deacons, Merniacus the brother of St Damian, Nerius and Elrisenius from Crete, Mirenus, Machabeus and Silvius his brother. There were eight hermits namely Felix, Sajanus, Matheus, Mauricius, Madianus, Philip, Luke and Eugenius and three virgin saints from Colosia namely Triduana, Potencia and Emerea.

Ch. 60, p. 315: Blessed Regulus first reached Scotland with the relics after shipwreck

Those very saintly men together with the virgins went on board a ship laden with all necessary supplies, and sailed around the shores of Europe by way of the Mediterranean Sea until they came, worn out by many hardships, to the islands situated in the Ocean beneath the setting sun. And when they had been wandering for the space of almost two years over unknown seas, as the breeze chanced to take them, not knowing what was their goal, suddenly a fierce wind from the east rushed into their sails with unusual force. Under its violent impulse their boat was driven onto the kingdom of the Picts amid the rocks of the island of Albion, just as the angel had foretold, and was smashed to pieces. Given strength however by God, blessed Regulus reached land unharmed with his companions on 28 September in great joy, with the sign of the Lord’s cross going on before. And there in a grove of pigs, which is called ‘Mucross’ in the native language, he later dedicated a church to the glory of the apostle. In this place there occurred many astounding miracles from touching the relics, such as had not been seen or heard of,, since the adoption of the faith in these islands up to that time. For sight was given to those who were blind from birth, speech to the bumb, walking to the lame, and on all who piously sought the apostle’s support, no matter with what infirmity they were afflicted, healing was immediately bestowed through the compassion of God. After frequent miracles of this kind occurred daily, people came from all the nations bearing gifts, clapping their hands, and as suppliants raising endless hymns of praise to God for such a patron.

For this reason the following lines are found to have been written in olden times at Rymont:

Here that bay of the sea was a barren shore,

Which now surpasses the richest places of the world in fertility.

Here a region previously bare is now green.

It was poor before and is now rich.

Long ago it was vile and is now beautiful.

Hither therefore come men who are lords of remote castles to pray,

A motley throng setting out from their native land.

The boastful Frank, the war-loving Norman,

The Flemish weaver and rough Teuton,

English, German, Dutch, the man from Poitou with no knowledge of wool

And the bloodthirsty man from Anjou

Those who drink the waters of the Rhine and Rhone and the powerful Tiber

Come here to lay their pryers before Andrew.

We too, provided we have a name among such great people,

Come here carried along on a prosperous wheel.

At that time, Hurgust son of Fergoso king of that region was delighted with the sanctity of the pace, and built his own palace there beside the church, and granted certain lands to blessed Regulus and his brethren for sowing corn, to be cultivated as alms forever. Later kings followed his example, as the warmth of their devotion dictated, and their property increased, although modestly until King Hungus, who ruled over the Picts after 800, handed over a tenth part of his kingdom to blessed Andrew, in return for the miraculous aid afforded him in his expedition against the Saxons as will appear below in Book 4, Chapter 13 and following. The blessed men founded a little cell in the form of a monastery, and appointed guardians of the relics. The blessed men went out preaching through the countryside, not on horseback but, just as long ago the apostles went, two by two to sow the word of God everywhere among the heathen, miraculously performing innumerable miracles. When therefore they had imbued these people with the faith, inspired by heavenly teaching, and confirmed their faith with various miracles, the most blessed Abbot regulus died full of days and at a great age at Kilrymont (the name having been changed from Mucross by the king) thirty-two years after he had come shipwrecked to the island of Albion, during which he engaged in the work of the Gospel and wonderfully pleased God.

**Volume 2, Book IV**

Ch. 11, p. 299: The list of the kings of the Picts

The first of their kings was Cruithne son of Judge Kynne who founded the monarchy in the kingdom of the Picts and reigned for fifty years. The second after him was Ghede, the third was Tarain. To these two are ascribed two hundred and fifty years, as was mentioned above. Duchil succeeded King Tarain and reigned for forty years. He was succeeded by Dinorthesi who reigned for twenty years. Duordeghel succeeded him and reigned for twenty years. He was succeeded by Decokheth who reigned for sixty years. Combust came next and reigned for twenty years. Caranatherech succeeded him and reigned for forty years. Garnarthbolg succeeded him and reigned for nine years. Wypopneth succeeded him and reigned for thirty years. He was succeeded by Blarehassereth who reigned for seventeen years. Frachna Albus succeeded him and reigned for thirty years. Thalarg Amfrud succeeded him and reigned for sixteen years. He was succeeded by Canatalmel who reigned for six years. He was succeeded by Dongarnethles who reigned for one year. Feredath Finyel succeeded him and reigned for two years. Garnard-dives succeeded him and reigned for sixty years. He was succeeded by Hurgust son of Forgoso. During his reign, as was mentioned in Book II, Chapter 59 and following, certain relics of St Andrew were brought by blessed Regulus to Scotland and were reverently deposited in Kilrymont…

Ch. 24, p. 341: More about Constantine and the savage battle of Brunanburh

Unlucky was that day for the Scots for all the dominions acquired in the time of Giric or earlier, which had been held for fifty-four years or more were lost on that day by the right of conquest. William [of Malmesbury] writes: ‘There fell on that same field Constantine king of the Scots, a man of great spirit and vigorous old age, five kings etc.’, But the lie is given to this statement of William’s by various reliable chronicles, because after the tragic destruction of this battle Constantine held sway over the kingdom for four more years. Then giving up the kingship of his own accord, he put on the monk’s habit and devoted himself to God. He lived for five years after becoming abbot of the Culdees at St Andrews. He died and was buried there. Then the monks of Iona immediately with permission dug up his bones, took them and buried them in the tomb of his fathers in the church of blessed Oran in 947. Therefore it is not tenable that he was killed at the battle of Brunanburh, since he survived for about ten years after the battle. The following lines of verse are about him:

Constantine, whose father was Aed Albus

Was king for thiry and ten years.

For five he was in the city of St Andrews

There he died, living under religious rule.

**Volume 3**

**Book V**

Ch. 33, p. 107: King Alexander I [1107-1124]

King Alexander reigned for seventeen years. He was a well-educated and devout man, deferential and friendly to clerics and religious, but excessively terrifying to the rest of his subjects; he was a great-hearted man, extending himself in all directions beyond his strength. He was very enthusiastic in constructing churches, searching for relics of the saints, and in the manufacture and arrangement of priestly vestments and sacred books; he was also very generous beyond his means to all comers; so devout was he in respect of the poor that there was nothing that seemed to give him greater pleasure than receiving, washing, feeding and clothing them. Following his mother’s footsteps, he rivalled her in holy deeds to such an extent that he endowed three churches with many gifts, that is to say the church of St Andrew at Kilrymont and the churches of Dunfermline and Scone, the one founded by his father and mother, the other founded by himself to the glory of the Holy Trinity and St Michael the archangel, which was founded and built at Scone the chief seat of their kingdom. It was he who conferred the Boar’s Chase on blessed Andrew, and who also founded the monastery of canons of the Island of Incholm near Inverkeithing, and who conferred so many great privileges on the aforesaid church of the Holy Trinity at Scone, which he founded and built in the place where both the Pictish and the Scottish kings from ancient times had established the chief seat of their kingdom; and he had it dedicated after it had been built of stone construction in the manner of that time. In response to the king’s command almost the whole of the kingdom flocked to its dedication, which was performed by Turgot, bishop of St Andrews.

**Book VI**

Ch. 24, p. 343: The bishops of Kilrymont (that is St Andrews) from the time of the expulsion of the Picts until now

But because (as has been stated) the most saintly King David increased the number of bishoprics by new foundations, it seems to me appropriate (even if I do not deal separately with the other bishops) at least to insert something here about the succession of the bishops of St Andrews at least from the time of King Kenneth son of Alpin, the first monarch of the Scots (who swept away the Picts and their achievements) down to the present day, especially since each of them in his own time was regarded not as primate, but as the first and foremost [bishop] in the kingdom, lest if this information were to be scattered through the annals, enquirers would find a notice about [each of] these bishops less readily.

I find that the first was Kellach I and the second Fothad I, who was driven out by King Indulf; and after his expulsion from the see he lived for eight years. Regarding him I have found this inscription round the edge of the silver cover of a gospel book which is still preserved at St Andrews:

Fothad, who is the leading bishop among the Scots,

Made this cover for an ancestral gospel-book.

Then Kellach and Maelbridge, who was bishop for eight years. [This Maelbridge, as we read in the *Life* of the glorious and excellent confessor the blessed Duthac prophesied that he would be one of the bishops of the Scots; and this was fulfilled]. Then came Kellach II, son of Ferdlag, who was the first to go to Rome for confirmation. Then in succession came Malmore, a second Maelbridge, Alwin who held the see for three years, Maelduin Makgillandris, Tuthald for four years, Fothad II, Giric, Cathre, Edmar and Godric, who died as bishops-elect.

In 1109 Turgot prior of Durham was elected on the day of the Translation of St Augustine, and served as a consecrated bishop for about seven years. He wrote a little book about the saintliness of St Margaret the queen and about the virtues of her offspring. He was also her confessor. In 1117 ‘Edmund’ a monk of Canterbury was elected, but on renouncing his desire to become a bishop, he turned to his cloister. (But this man in the *Life* of St Anshelm calls himself Eadmer. He it was who dictated and wrote the *Life* of Anshelm.)

In 1122 Robert prior of Scone was elected to the see on the urging of King Alexander. He [the king] restored in its entirety the land called the Boar’s Chase, which had been taken away from the church of St Andrew, on condition that a religious community was established there, as had been previously arranged by King Alexander in a ceremony involving the king’s Arabian steed with its special harness and saddle, covered with a voluminous and precious caparison, along with a shield and silver lance (which now forms the shaft of a cross) – all these things the king in the presence of the magnates of the land had brought up to the altar, and he had the church invested with, and given sasine of, the said liberties and royal customs. David his brother, then an earl, was present there and confirmed this gift. This same Robert was consecrated by Thurstan archbishop of York without a profession of obedience, saving the privileges of each church and the authority of the apostolic see as was then specified. He remained bishop-elect for two years, and once consecrated served for thirty-five years, and so as elect and bishop he served for thirty-seven years. (Elsewhere I find it written thus: ‘He served as elect for two years and after consecration served for thirty-two years, so that as elect and bishop he served for thirty-four years.’) He died in 1159, and was buried in the old church of St Andrew during the reign of King Malcolm.

Ch. 25, p. 347: The election of St Waltheof abbot of Melrose to the see of St Andrews

After Robert’s death, as Jocelin the monk of Furness writes,

The episcopal see of St Andrews in Scotland was vacant, and by the request of the people, the election of the clergy and the assent of the princes Waltheof the saintly abbot of Melrose was chosen as pastor and bishop of their souls. Therefore the leading clergy came with some magnates of the land to Melrose with sufficient authority to embrace the man they had elected and bring him away with them; and the father abbot of Rievaulx, who happened to be present then, ordered Waltheof to comply with the election, assume the burden and undertake the office. But he excused himself on account of the weakness of his physical powers and his inability to undertake so weighty an employment; and he privately informed the abbot Rievaulx that he had not much longer to live on this earth. Replying to those who persisted in carrying through the plan for his election which had been conducted, and as the father abbot persisted in his command, the saint spoke truthfully in a prophetic spirit: ‘I have put off my robe; how can I put it on again? I have bathed my feet; God forbid that I dirty them again with the dust of worldly care.’ And he added, saying: ‘Believe me, you will elect and have a bishop other than me.’ Pointing his finger outside the chapter-house at Melrose, indicating his burial place there, he said: ‘This is my resting place. Here I shall dwell as long as the Lord pleases, since I have chosen it as a consolation for my sons.’ After these words the business was suspended; once it had been suspended it was adjourned by a stay of proceedings, and once delayed it was not carried through into effect. Once he had finally and utterly refused to consent to the election, another (namely the abbot of Kelso, who will be mentioned later) was elected, and Waltheof was buried at the time chosen by the Lord, lying asleep in the place which he had pointed out.

Ch. 35, p. 371: The election of Arnold abbot of Kelso to the see of St Andrews

In 1160 Arnold abbot of Kelso was elected as bishop of St Andrews on the feast of St Brice, which fell on a Sunday, and he was consecrated on the following Sunday in the old church of St Andrew by William bishop of Moray as legate of the apostolic see in the presence of King Malcolm. He was succeeded as abbot of Kelso by John, the precentor of that community, who was elected on the eve of the feast of St Andrew, and blessed by Herbert bishop of Glasgow on the Epiphany. In the same year Bishop Arnold was made legate of the lord pope and with King Malcolm founded the great church of St Andrew. He served as bishop for one year, then months and seventeen days, and died on 13 September 1162.

He was succeeded by Richard, a chaplain of King Malcolm, who was elected in 1165 and consecrated at St Andrews by the bishops of the kingdom on Palm Sunday, that is 28 March in the presence of the king. He served as bishop-elect for two years, and as a confirmed bishop for twelve years and one month. He died on 5 May in the canons’ infirmary in good old age and in saintliness of life. An inscription on wood about these three foregoing bishops buried in the old church reads as follows:

You who come as a pilgrim, pause, and first look on Robert,

Then on what remains of Arnold; the last tomb covers Richard;

They were once bishops, now they are citizens of Heaven.

In that same year, that is 1177, Master John called Scot was elected to the see of St Andrews. King William was totally opposed and, confident in the royal power, had Hugh his chaplain consecrated as bishop in the church of St Andrew in accordance with his wishes. On both sides a serious dispute and dangerous rift arose, as will be clear in what follows, because although Scot was so called, nevertheless he had been born an Englishman in the township which is called Budworth in the county of Chester. He had spent some time as a student of the liberal arts first at Oxford and then at Paris; and it was not only in the liberal arts, but also in physics and finally in theology that he seemed to everyone good enough to teach as a master. Then when he had returned from the schools and had stayed for some time with his relatives in his family home, he decided to go in person to Scotland and visit the church of St Andrew the Apostle, where he was taken up as an honoured protégé by the bishop. Now regarded not as a guest and a foreigner, but as a citizen and a native, after the death of the archdeacon he obtained the archdeaconry. And not many years later on the death of the bishop, when the day for an election had been arranged and everyone had gathered who was supposed to attend, and in the presence also of John de Monte Celio, the cardinal who had been appointed a legate from the lord pope’s side in Scotland in particular, the grace of the Holy Spirit was invoked, and all and sundry cast their votes for the archdeacon, and jointly elected him as bishop with no dissent.

Ch. 36, p. 345: How King William drove John out of the bishopric and how John appealed to the Roman court because of this

At that time William king of Scotland, on hearing that the archdeacon had been elected bishop without him being consulted or giving any consent of approval, took it badly; and unable to hide the anger aroused in his mind, he burst out with these words: ‘By the arm of St James (for this was his usual oath) ‘as long as I live he will never enjoy the bishopric of St Andrews, nor will he exercise episcopal authority in that see.’ Soon therefore the property and revenues of the bishop were seized, and the king ordered that both John and all the others connected in any way with his family or household be condemned to exile. This servant of Christ therefore did not know what to do or where to go, for since he was not allowed to remain in his own country, he was necessarily forced to live in exile. He calculated therefore that the one and only refuge left to him was to appeal to the apostolic see, and to commit both himself and his case to the protection of the lord pope. He underwent exile four years after the exile of St Thomas of Canterbury. With the Lord guiding his journey, therefore, he went to visit the apostolic see, and as one might expect in a man of experience and polished eloquence he set forth his case to the lord Alexander who was then supreme pontiff very intelligently and effectively. He omitted none of the circumstance, nor added anything untrue, but set forth the sequence of events in the matter to him stage by stage. On hearing this, the lord pope was struck with very considerable surprise that a man of such character and discernment who had been canonically elected should have been so readily rejected without reasonable cause, and in addition forced into exile. Therefore he undertook to defend his just case, and promised reliable advice and assistance in accordance with the merits of his case.

By order of the pope therefore Alexis, a subdeacon of the holy Roman church and nuncio of the apostolic see to find out the facts about the church of St Andrews, entered Scotland along with John the bishop-elect, who had previously been confirmed by the pope, though King William was reluctant to allow the visit. The said confirmed man had secured agreement that in conformity with the dignity of the church of St Andrews and the king’s honour he was to be consecrated to the episcopal see by whatever bishops he wanted. After many discussions and many troubles, with even the excommunication of some of the king’s clerks and a threat of interdict over the see of St Andrews besides (though John by no means agreed to this being done), when nearly all the bishops, abbots and eminent clergy designated by eminent office had been called together at Edinburgh in the church of the monastery at Holyrood, Alexis had John splendidly consecrated as bishop for the aforesaid see on Holy Trinity Sunday, 8 June, by Matthew bishop of Aberdeen by virtue of a mandate of the lord pope Alexander. The man this consecrated, realizing that he was without a bishopric, immediately left the province sadly for fear of the king and the wrath of the king’s men, and sought to return to the Roman court.

Ch. 37, p. 377: How he remained an exile at the Roman court for seven years

When he had stayed at the Roman court for a fair amount of time while the pope was taking advice and on his instructions, fearing that he was perhaps a nuisance to the lord pope or any of his court, he sought permission to leave immediately and stay somewhere else where the lord would allow it. The pope spoke to him: ‘Stay with us; don’t be afraid and do not take it on yourself to go anywhere away from the court, lest it happen that in your absence your adversaries sent from the king of Scotland’s side arrive, to accuse you on many points, and lest there is no one here to set himself up as a wall of defence on your behalf, or speak up for you against your accusers. But if you are complaining that you are short of the necessities of life, do not worry or be upset in any respect about these things, for we, by reason of our power, possess in abundance and superabundance what is lacking for your needs. Let there be one purse for all of us.’

Meanwhile, the lord pope sent a letter to the king admonishing and requesting him to allow the bishop to come home, and to receive him honourably on his return with proper filial affection. Otherwise lest so just a case for the case for the church appear to be lost by his neglect, the pope threatened to act more severely soon. For the pope wanted to pursue peaceful means of action, because a report of long standing made him cautiously take care for the future, that is lest a situation arise between the king and the bishop like that four years earlier when the same pope issued thunderbolts of judicial censures against King Henry of England (a relative of King William himself), who had nonetheless contemptuously and cruelly allowed Thomas archbishop of Canterbury to be killed in the bosom of mother church, whose rights the bishop was protecting. Therefore in the manner of a deaf snake closing his ears lest he hear the voice of a wise man casting a spell, the king neither yielded to warnings nor was frightened by threats, but persisted unmoved in his earlier purpose; he despised the menaces of the man who was issuing threats, and passed by with a deaf ear the prayers of the suppliant. Thereupon the supreme pontiff was much angered, and determined to place an interdict on the whole kingdom of Scotland unless the king without excessive delay were to make amends and promise to take the bishop under his protection with due honour. When he heard this, the bishop prostrated himself at the feet of the lord pope, vehemently imploring him to deign to cancel his intended purpose in this matter lest the Scottish church should be suspended on account of any case affecting him, and lest prayers of thanksgiving be not offered in it to the Lord in the usual way. ‘I prefer, holy father’, he said, ‘to surrender my right now, and resign the episcopal rank into your hands with the responsibilities attached to this rank, rather than that the masses being celebrated for the redemption of souls lying in Purgatory should be discontinued for even one day on account of any dignity conferred or to be conferred on me.’ The pope’s resolution was broken by his tearful entreaties, seeing that he wanted to surrender the bishopric rather than allow proceedings for the maintenance of his suit; and full of great admiration he restrained himself, and from that day forward it turned out that John found so much goodwill in the eyes of the supreme pontiff that whatever he asked of the pope which could legally be granted, he immediately acquired, and he did not suffer the rejection of the request which he had justifiably and reasonably made. He was compelled to stay in exile for seven years continuously, like Thomas of Canterbury, so that not even by letters from the lord pope and the cardinals, who wrote very warmly on his behalf, was he able to obtain permission from the king to return home.

Ch. 39, p. 387: How the bishop divided the see of Dunkeld

…At length John was elected bishop of Dunkeld, so that all grounds for dispute would be removed, and a lasting settlement achieved, with both king and clergy cheerfully consenting, and he was accepted by everyone with the greatest devotion. But seeing that he had suffered much expense, and wearisome hardships and damages while an exile for seven years, and the see of Dunkeld was far inferior to the see of St Andrews in revenues and estates, it was decreed in common council as some compensation that all the revenues which he held in the diocese of St Andrews when he held his archdeaconry were to remain permanently with him in full, and after his death they were to be returned to the diocese of St Andrews without argument. He was therefore harmoniously elected bishop of Dunkeld, confirmed by the lord pope, consecrated by his authority…

Sir Hugh, his successor in the see of St Andrews, remained a bishop there for ten years and many months, and when he went to the Roman see regarding the case between him and John of Dunkeld, and had been received into the pope’s favour and absolved regarding his intrusion into the see, died six miles from the city on this side on 4 August 1188.

Ch. 41, p 393: The succession of Roger and William as bishops of the same

In 1189 after bishop Hugh’s death Roger, the son of a nobleman who was early of Leicester, and a kinsman and chancellor of the lord king William, was elected to the bishopric of St Andrews on 13 April (a Friday); and in 1198 he was consecrated to his episcopal see by Richard bishop of Moray on the first Sunday in Lent, in the presence of the king, etc. And he served as bishop-elect for ten years, and as a consecrated bishop for three years and a half . He died at Cambuskenneth on 7 July 1202, and was buried in the old church of St Andrew.

In this year a certain legate called John who had been sent to Scotland translated William bishop of Glasgow at the request of King William, and appointed him bishop of the church of St Andrews. His postulation and translation took place at Scone on 20 September (a Friday). He ruled the church of St Andrews with vigour and distinction through many misfortunes for thirty-five years, ten months and two weeks. For he devoted himself with ever-watchful attention to restoring property that had been dispersed and alienated to its original condition, to preserving with discerning purposefulness what had been gathered together and assigned for the church’s purposes, and with cheerful countenance and jovial disposition to making generous distributions. Yet he arbitrarily took from the house of Dunfermline, it is said, the right to nominate to the vicarages of Kinglassie and Hailes, because on one occasion when he was spending the night at Dunfermline he had insufficient wine to drink in his room after supper. And this was not the fault of the monks’ servants, but of his own, who by reckless serving of the amount of wine which had been calculated as sufficient for his need used it up earlier than expected. At length he died at Inchmurdo on 9 July 1238 (a Friday), and is buried in the new church of St Andrew…

Ch. 43, p. 399: Bishops William Fraser and William Lamberton

On 4 August 1279 William Fraser, the king’s chancellor, was elected, with the Culdees again excluded then as in the preceding election. He was consecrated in the Roman court by the lord pope Nicholas on 19 May 1280. He served as bishop-elect for ten months and six days, as bishop for seventeen years, three months and eight days; and so as elect and bishop for eighteen years and fifteen days. Wanting to avoid the tyranny of Edward Longshanks king of England and the hostile acts of the English, he withdrew to France and met his end at Auteuil on 20 August 1297; and he was buried in the church of the Friars Preachers in Paris. Then after a little while his heart was brought to Scotland, and was buried by his successor William de Lamberton in the wall of the church of St Andrews next to the tomb of bishop Gamelin.

In the meantime in 1295 indeed, while the said Bishop William was staying in France, all Englishmen holding benefices in the diocese of St Andrews were ejected permanently from all their benefices by judicial decree of Master William de Kinghorn and Master Peter de Campania on account of the clearest grounds for suspicion of treason, and credible proofs of criminal conspiracy against the king and state of the kingdom. In like manner all and sundry of the rest of the English, both clerics and laymen, were expelled by the king’s council on account of their plotting, William Wallace being the man who put their decree into effect.

William Fraser was succeeded by William de Lamberton, who was then chancellor of Glasgow. He was elected on 5 November 1297, with the Culdees then entirely excluded as in the two previous elections. On this account William Comyn who was then provost of the Culdees opposed this election. He went to Rome, and in the presence of the lord pope Boniface VIII challenged the said election and the man who had been elected in every way that he could, but to no effect. For notwithstanding his objections, the lord pope approved the election, confirmed the bishop-elect, and on 1 June 1298 consecrated him in due fashion.

It should be noted that episcopal jurisdiction during a vacancy rests entirely with the chapter. This jurisdiction was effectively administered throughout the whole diocese by Master Nicholas de Balmyle, the official of the court of St Andrews appointed by the chapter of the same place, and was exercised in the name of the chapter as fully as possible under the law.

This William had an affectionate love for his canons and did many good things during his lifetime. While extremely concerned with the repair of the monastery buildings and making much available for that, he repaired little on his own estates. After he had served as bishop for some eighteen years, when shown by members of his household to be guilty of not building his own manor houses, he is said to have once replied in some agitation: ‘With the help of the grace of God, I intend to erect buildings of such size and of such strength that many as my successors will think it important to maintain them in a suitable or similar condition’. From then on he completed one of his manor houses nearly every year at quite considerable expense, namely his own fortress palace at St Andrews, his manor houses at Inchmurdo, Monimail, Dairsie, Torry, Muckhart, Kettins, Monymusk, Liston, Lasswade and Stow in Wedale; he also built a new chapter-house at his own expense. He splendidly adorned the beams of the great church with shaped boards and carvings, and left to the canons of the same a valuable red vestment adorned with embroidered pictures, along with a mitre and pastoral staff and a great many books. He ruled his church in a praiseworthy manner with wisdom and foresight and complete integrity of character; he preserved its rights and ecclesiastical liberties intact all his days, and adorned it in many ways with other signs of his virtues. He served as bishop-elect for seven months and two weeks, and as bishop for thirty years, thirty weeks and six days. Then he fell ill with the complaint by which he was carried off from this life in the monastery of St Andrews, in the room of the lord prior of that place; and he was buried in the great church to the north of the altar on 7 June 1328.

Ch. 44, p. 403: The bishops sir James Ben, sir William Bell elect, and William Laundels

On 19 June of the said year the canons of St Andrews held an election, with the Culdees entirely excluded as with previous elections. The method of a general vote was used, and with some agreeing on sir James Ben who was then archdeacon of St Andrews, and some on Alexander de Kininmund who was then archdeacon of Lothian, the election was a disputed one. But sir James, who as then staying at the Roman court in person, before news of the outcome of the election reached him, obtained the bishopric by appointment of the lord pope John XXII, who had reserved for his own appointment nearly all the bishoprics in the world. Sir Alexander then went to the Roman court and was made bishop of Aberdeen by the lord pope’s provision. Sir William Comyn, who was then provost of the Chapel Royal, challenged this election, but this was a pretence of an appeal, as it were; and on this account he did not follow it up by going to the Roman court. Later he was promoted archdeacon of Lothian by favour of the lord pope. This bishop sir James, in fear of the ferocity and intolerable cruelty of the English, who were on the rampage everywhere in the kingdom of Scotland after the battle of Dupplin, for the young boy David had earlier been crowned by him, came to St Andrews by night from Loch Leven, bidding farewell to the prior and convent he boarded a ship there the next night with a few companions. Not many days later he landed safely in Flanders, and while staying in the town of Bruges he departed this life on 22 September 1332, and was buried at the Eeckhout monastery of regular canons of Bruges. He served as a bishop then for four yearsm two weeks and as many days.

In this year on 19 August William Bell dean of Dunkeld was elected by means of the compromise procedure; the Culdees were then entirely excluded, claimed no right in that election, and raised no objection. He went to the curia which was then Avignon, where he encountered many opponents and adversaries, by whom the processing of his case was in the end held up until the promotion as bishop of sir William Laundels. Smitten indeed by various afflictions, and in the end overtaken by old age and stricken with blindness, he resigned his right of election. After returning from the curia in the company of the said William de Laundels who had now been promoted to the see, and assuming the habit of the regular canons in the monastery at St Andrews, he breathed his last in the infirmary there on 7 February 1342.

On 18 February of the previous year sir William de Laundels rector of the church of Kinkell was promoted to the bishopric by provision of the lord pope Benedict XII, and on 17 March he was consecrated. The support which came in many requests to the supreme pontiff and his venerable college of cardinals from the illustrious kings of France and Scotland and also from other venerable persons recommended him as worthy of a bishopric on the strength of the merits of his life. But it was especially the letters (both public and private) of the chapter of St Andrews, sent on various occasions to the same see on his behalf, and taking into account the resignation of the said master William Bell, which achieved the processing of his business. Without them any other letters in the form of petitions would have entirely failed to achieve processing, a fact that is more fully made clear in the public bulls of the lord pope himself. In these William is not recommended as if by the request of some individual, but he is openly named as the elect of the same church. This see from the death of sir James Ben to the promotion of sir William Laundels was vacant for nine years, five months and eight days.

Ch. 45, p. 405: The same [William Laundels] and sir Walter Trayl

This William Laundels was a man from a leading family, generous and kind, the lord and heir of all the lands and estate of Laundels, witty, generous, cheerful, gentle, forbearing, handsome and peaceable, a [sincere] lover of the canons as his own sons. When he had held office for forty-four years, he met his end at a good old age in the monastery of St Andrews. He died on the feast of St Tecla the Virgin 1385, on the seventh anniversary of the burning of the church of St Andrew, and he is buried in the paved floor in the great church opposite the door to the sacristy under a finely carved stone.

He was succeeded by Walter Trayl, a champion of the church, a knight of civil law, a doctor of canon law, and a man equipped with all the liberal arts, who was, however, not elected, but appointed by provision at the wish of the lord pope Clement VII. (This pope was in the straight line of descent from Mary Countess of Boulogne, the daughter of Margaret the queen and Malcolm the king of Scotland). Walter was then a referendary in the court of this pope at Avignon, one of the inner circle of his household and a distinguished auditor of cases. As a mark of the pope’s exceptional esteem for this man, it is said that when news came of the vacancy in the bishopric of St Andrews, the pope suggested concerning him that in his judgement the same Walter was more worthy of the papacy than of a bishopric. By his [Trayl’s] provision the person would be far worse provided for than the place.

Despite this, after the death of the said sir William de Laundels the chapter, on some unknown day, elected sir Stephen Pay prior of St Andrews, a very generous man inclined to plain speaking, lofty in stature, attractive to onlookers and extremely popular. Making a rapid start on a journey to the Roman court with his election decree and letters of recommendation from the king and the chapter to acquire confirmation, he accidentally when at sea fell into the hands of pirates, and was taken as a captive to England. And because he knew that the monastery of St Andrews was threatened by the great expense of the burden of his ransom and the unfortunate fire which had burnt their church not long before, he chose rather to end his life in England than through a ransom of this kind do too much harm to the bishopric or the monastery. There by God’s will he took ill at Alnwick, as a result of which he was borne away from this world; his soul departed from its bodily dwelling-place and, it is hoped, entered into the joy of the Lord on 2 March 1385.

After his death, as has been said above, the said Walter Trayl succeeded to the bishopric. Although he belonged to a family of middling status, nevertheless by the nobility of his character he surpassed his lineage. Once he had been made bishop therefore, with his appointment graciously expedited and confirmed by bulls of the lord pope, he hurried to his native land and satisfied the demands of his office well enough; as priest, bishop, and a good skilled master of the virtues, a good pastor among his people, he had been given authority by the pope over peoples and kingdoms, that is those of good birth living in his diocese and the magnates of the kingdom, to eradicate deeply-rooted sins, and tear down the ramparts of heretics, and destroy the deliberations of the wicked and build on the foundation of morals and plant on faith. For it was suitable for such a man to be put in charge of such a church, on whose judgement depended the government of almost the whole kingdom in matters of difficulty. He bestowed on everyone what was of advantage to them – advice to the king and court, cash payments to his church: and being thus involved in the concerns of the court, because he had concern for everything, he left room for neglect in neither of his administrative functions. By thus adorning himself everywhere with the embellishments of the virtues, he inculcated spiritual lesson dint he people all the more on that account. Thus he suppressed vices in himself, lest they held sway; he tamed the flesh, lest it be in control; he raised up the spirit to take the lead; not as it were lording it over the clergy, but, having become a model for his flock, he presented himself as an example of good works towards everybody. He reproached laymen who maligned the church with ecclesiastical censure; he curbed clerics from worldly affairs and commerce; and he restrained priests with concubines from all brother-keeping throughout the whole of his diocese, and banished them from vile filth of this kind, so that there was no cleric there at all among the men of holy church who obviously and openly kept a concubine without Walter either humbling him, however eminent he may be, with imprisonment, or depriving him of his benefice, or otherwise very shrewdly sanctioning a permanent separation.

This sever critic of morals therefore and corrector of faults, than whom no one was more severe in his rebukes, more gentle in his compassion, more lavish in his expenditure, more friendly in his conversation, ore ready with his assistance, had no fear of the threats of magnates, nor was he a respecter of persons, nor was anyone found like him in maintaining the law Most High. Broken by old age, when he was about seventy, he died in the castle at St Andrews which he had himself built from the foundation on [ ] 1401. He served as a bishop for sixteen years, and was honourably buried in the burial place of the bishops next to the high altar in the church of St Andrew on the north side within the screen. There is was written of him:

This man was an upright pillar of the church, a bright window, a scented censer, a resounding bell.

Ch. 46, p. 409: Bishop Henry Wardlaw

After the death of the said sir Walter Trayl, Thomas Stewart was elected. He was a son of the elder King Robert, a brother of King Robert III, a paternal uncle of James I, archdeacon of St Andrews, a man of very retiring disposition and dove-like innocence. After his election had been approved and the election decree was about to be transmitted to the curia, he renounced his election; and Master Walter Danielston was postulated, who took possession of the fruits of the see until his death.

This Walter Danielston with a large force of armed men set himself up as lord in Dumbarton castle, causing great annoyance to the king and the kingdom. A man of action, he could not be prised away from the king’s other castle, other than by a transfer of this kind. Yet he died as keeper of the castle. Someone has written this about both Walters, that is Trayl and Danielston, first about the former:

Vessel of Virtue! Food and light for the emaciated

Who revives the sick with life-saving abundance.

He changes his style for the latter, saying thus:

Because you fail to do these things you will change your fame and fame.

An etymology arising from the contrast:

Vessel of the Vices! Food of indulgence

Who without pity holds the sick in check by a sulphurous lash.

After the death of this Walter de Danielston, the venerable father, Master Gilbert Grenlaw was postulated. A man supported by the dignity of all the virtuous habits, he was bishop of Aberdeen and chancellor of the kingdom of Scotland, tenacious for justice, firm and calm in all his conduct. But meanwhile, following a provision of the Lord Benedict XIII, there came home from the curia at Avignon a man of distinguished blood, that is Master Henry de Wardlaw the cardinal bishop of Glasgow. This man was gentle, kind and liberal, handsome in appearance and more handsome in his character, slight of build but pleasing in personality. In his endeavour to please everybody in doing good, he entertained daily at great cost beyond his means, but was an agreeable innkeeper who charged nothing. It was he who as the prime founder brought the university to the city of St Andrews, who built the Guardbridge at great expense, and who obtained from King Robert III two-thirds of the great custom of St Andrews for himself and his successors as bishops forever, while he previously held no more than one third. Between him, however, and the said sir Walter Trayl the see was vacant for three and a half years. He served as bishop for nearly forty years, and when worn out by age after this present life’s course, he was buried in the church of St Andrew in the wall between the choir and the Lady Chapel with greater honour than that given to his predecessors. He died in the castle after Easter on 6 April 1440. Consider his further praise on his epitaph:

Alas for one whom the fretful stone presses upon as he is weighed down by the tomb.

See I commence my mournful verse expressing my grief for a father.

The earthly flesh of the noble Henry Wardlaw is thus buried: the circumstance demands that, within a short space of time, it becomes that from which it was created.

My Muse, groaning, add in your lamentations, redoubling your grief, since the rampant rage of death thus lays low all honours.

Dust is turned to dust hidden here in this burial.

See, equal desolation subdues high and low alike.

This man was a guide to the blind and a foot to the lame; a source of salvation to the sick,

By his outstanding fame, giving teaching to those who followed him.

He was clothed in piety, goodness, the integrity of the law, virtue, peace and probity; he in person removed harmful scourges.

Fair in his judgements, he balanced the scales of justice with impartiality.

He was a model, an example, and the glory of the people, of the clergy and his country.

As a teacher he rightly propagated God’s decrees by his example.

The schools founded on the Rymont stream are his noble achievement.

The whole of Scotland drinks at the waters of this stream.

The school flourishes in the wake of this bishop everywhere renowned.

If someone seeks to find out who is the subject of these verses, he will soon be able to find out by looking at their initial letters.

Ch. 47, p. 413: James Kennedy bishop of St Andrews

On the following 22 April 1440 the nobleman Master James Kennedy, the nephew of King James I by his sister the countess of Angus, and bishop of Dunkeld, was postulated by the method of accepting the guidance of the Holy Spirit. He was then at the curia at Florence with the lord pope Eugenius, from whom in the previous year he obtained the monastery of Scone in commend. But before his election decree and the royal letter of recommendation reached the curia, he was provided with the bishopric of St Andrews. He celebrated his first mass with great splendour in his church on the feast of St Jerome, which fell on a Sunday, in 1442.

[Chapters 49-57 discuss the Priors of St Andrews]

Book VIII

Ch. 25, p. 323: The fickleness of the men of Galloway; and the attempt by the English to make the Scottish church subject to them

In this year [1178] Master John surnamed Scot but English by race was elected to the bishopric of St Andrews. But King William refused to agree to his election and caused his own chaplain Hugh to be consecrated as bishop. Between the two parties a grave dispute and f=dangerous division emerged (concerning which see above, Book VI, where there is an account of the bishops of St Andrews).

Ch. 67, p. 441: The privilege of the Scottish church that it be subject to no one except the Roman pontiff [transcription of the papal bull *cum universi*]

Innocent the bishop, servant of the servants of God sends his greeting and apostolic blessing to his most beloved son in Christ, William the illustrious king of the Scots and to his successors in perpetuity.

Although all the faithful should find protection and favour with the apostolic see, yet it is right and proper that those whose faithfulness and devotion that see has experienced on many occasions should be especially cherished by the bulwark of its protection, so that they may be all the more encouraged to fervent love for it and with even more devoted affection may allow themselves to be governed by reverence and devotion which we know you have shown toward the Roman church from long times past, and following the example of our predecessor Pope Celestine of happy memory, we most strictly enjoin in this our present letter that since the Scottish church, which is recognized as comprising the bishoprics of St Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Dunblane, Brechin, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross and Caithness, is directly subject without intermediary to the apostolic see, of which it is a specially favoured daughter, no-one save only the Roman pontiff or a legate despated a latere should be permitted to proclaim an interdict or sentence of excommunication upon the kingdom of Scotland.