The Use of the Name Scot in the Central Middle Ages
Part 2: Scot as a surname, north of the Firth of Forth

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The first part of this article (Hammond 2007) examined the use of the second name Scot as a by-name in the central middle ages and explored the contexts for the coining of this ethnonymic among three groups of people: merchants, clerics and knights. The remaining two parts of the article will consider the use of the name Scot as a hereditary surname, asking why families adopted the surname Scot, what contexts they operated in and how their naming practices changed across generations. Part 2 will take in turn three case studies of families based north of the Forth-Clyde isthmus who used the surname Scot – those based at Allardice KCD, Monorgan PER and Balwearie FIF. Part 3, in a future issue, will examine Scot families based in southern Scotland.

I Scot of Allardice KCD

The text of a charter of King William the Lion dated 16 October 1198 at Stirling, which survives only in an official transumpt of the original charter made in 1703 (NRS, GD 49/1), records the gift of Allardice (Arbuthnott parish) KCD to Walter son of Walter Scot ‘for the service of one archer with horse and hauberk and the performance of common aid due from thirteen oxgangs of land’ (RRS ii no. 404; H1/6/372). This was apparently a charter of succession, by which Walter Scot the younger succeeded to the estate of his father, who had recently died. Walter Scot and his son Walter had only recently witnessed the perambulation of Balfeth (Fordoun parish) KCD, which Humphrey of Berkeley had given to Arbroath Abbey (Arb. Lib. i no. 89; H3/83/6). Humphrey’s charter mentions Alexander, the son of King William and Queen Ermengarde, in the pro anima clause; he was only born on 24 August 1198. Thus the charter can be dated to between 24 August and 16 October 1198.

1 I would like to thank Dauvit Broun, Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, Alice Taylor and especially Simon Taylor for commenting on aspects of this article.

2 This article incorporates the new system of referencing charters and people employed in the People of Medieval Scotland database (<www.poms.ac.uk>) and the forthcoming calendar of Scottish charters from the same period. Documents are identified by a three-part ‘H-number’ similar to the ‘Sawyer numbers’ used in Anglo-Saxon charter studies. Persons in the PoMS database each have a unique ‘PoMS number’, such as those in the following footnote. For more details, see <http://www.poms.ac.uk/information/numbering-system-for-documents/>.

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Master Isaac, the clerk of bishop-elect Roger of St Andrews, interviewed the elder Walter Scot,3 ‘a person of known integrity’4 on the matter of Donnchad or Duncan of Arbuthnott’s illegal expropriation of episcopal land in the parish, writing that ‘he saw his death approaching’, sometime in the months leading up to Roger’s consecration at St Andrews on 15 February 1198 (Spalding Misc. v, 211; H4/36/1). In a recent article, Dauvit Broun suggests that Walter Scot the elder had actually died that winter and was thus deceased at the time that the Balfeith charter was produced the following autumn. It is likely that Walter, if he were ill enough to be on his deathbed, would be too ill to venture out to Balfeith and witness a perambulation *en plein air* (Broun 2011, 267–69).

Whenever Walter Scot died, what is clear is that he had been settled in Allardice for some length of time by 1198. Master Isaac’s interview with the dying Walter included a mention that he had lived there ‘in the time of eight thanes or more’. Walter was a perambulator and witness for Richard de Fréville in his gift of Mondynes (Fordoun parish) KCD to the new Arbroath Abbey, 1178 × 4 August 1188 (*Arb. Lib.* i no. 91; H3/235/2). Walter Scot also perambulated another ploughgate on the Bervie Water in Fordoun parish, with William de Montfort, Humphrey of Berkeley and Alan son of Simon, with which the king intended to replace that given by Richard de Fréville, 1183 × 1188 (*RRS* ii no. 277; H1/6/251). Indeed, Walter was evidently already present in the area by 19 August 1179, when he witnessed a charter of Abbot Henry of Arbroath anent the ferry of Montrose (BL, Add. MS 33245, fo. 138v; H2/64/2).

According to the Kirkton of Arbuthnott testimony, from 11 April 1206, Osbert Olifard had possessed the land of Arbuthnott in the time of Bishop Richard of St Andrews (1165 × 1178). G.W.S. Barrow reckons that King William infefted Osbert there during this time (*RRS* ii, 478, no. 569). Isaac of Benvie testified in 1206 that Osbert left on crusade during the time of Bishop Hugh (1183 × 1188), and that Isaac held Arbuthnott from Osbert and from his successor Walter Olifard, who later gave the land to Hugh of Swinton (*Spalding Misc.* v, 207–13; H4/36/1). Indeed, Osbert witnesses three royal charters during the 1160s and 1170s but there is no evidence of his return to Scotland (*RRS* ii nos. 125, 154, 155). Interestingly, King William’s charter to Walter Scot the younger in 1198 is phrased as a gift – with the verb *dare*, rather than omitting that verb, as is usual in charters of succession. It is possible

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3 PoMS no. 848 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/848/>; PoMS no. 5068 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/5068/>. All PoMS numbers in this article accessed 30 November 2012.

4 These portions of translated text from the Arbuthnott case are from an unpublished edition by Dauvit Broun, the use of which I gratefully acknowledge.
that Allardice was a dependent estate of Arbuthnott into which Osbert Olifard ‘subinfeudated’ Walter Scot the elder at some point before 1179; in any case Walter Scot the younger held it directly of the king. The balance of probability is that, like their neighbours the Swintons of Arbuthnott and their other neighbouring landholders, the Frévilles (later Frivills), Berkeleys, Melvilles and Sibbalds, Walter Scot was a newcomer to the Mearns in the 12th century. Unlike the other two ‘Scot’ families north of Forth, there is no evidence of this family using Gaelic names or having close ties with the older aristocracy and institutions of east central Scotland. The name Walter Scot is much more in keeping with examples which were encountered in Part 1 of this article south of the Forth, and indeed we will revisit this family in Part 3.

Walter Scot (II) was present at the perambulation of the maritagem of Eve, daughter of Walter son of Sibald, along with Eve’s husband, Philip de Maleville (Melville), Duncan of Arbuthnott (son of Hugh of Swinton) and Hervey of Pitskelly (by Mondynes) (Arb. Lib. i no. 93; H3/534/1). The dowerlands, which Philip and Eve granted to Arbroath Abbey, were confirmed in a royal charter of probably 17 April 1205. It was probably the younger Walter Scot who witnessed a charter recording a gift by John of Hastings of a saltworks and an acre of land and common pasture in Dun ANG (Arb. Lib. i no. 142; H3/274/1).

The following generation is represented by Hugh Scot, although whether he is the son or some other descendant or successor of Walter Scot the younger is unclear. He was clearly still active in the Mearns, witnessing a charter concerning lands in the parish of Conveth or Laurencekirk KCD probably late in the 1240s (St And. Lib., 285–86; H3/83/15). Again as Hugh Scot, around the same time, he witnessed a charter of Walter of Lundin to his cousin Philip of Feodarg, alongside other KCD and ABD knights (SHS Misc. iv no. 14; H3/369/7).

At some point between the 1240s and the 1270s, the family appears to have dropped the ‘Scot’ surname in favour of the local toponymic. This process was not unknown and, as will become evident in what follows, also occurred in the case of the ‘Scot’ family of Monorgan PER. Alexander of Allardice was the beneficiary of a davoch of land called Inverquharity in the feu of Kirriemuir ANG, from Gilbert de Umfraville, earl of Angus, in a charter dated 12 October 1271 at Ballindalloch (Fraser, Douglas iii no. 286; H3/10/17). The charter

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5 PoMS no. 1116 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/1116/>.
6 RRS ii no. 458; Arb. Lib. i no. 93 (bis); certainly dates to 1201 × 1207.
7 PoMS no. 10470 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/10470/>.
8 Black 1946, 19; Fraser, Buccleuch, I, xxxviii–xxxix; Dalrymple 1705, 411–12.
9 PoMS no. 3197 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/3197/>.

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specified that the land was to be inherited by Alexander’s son Walter and his legitimate heirs. This is presumably the same Alexander of Allardice who witnessed a charter of Bishop Henry Cheyne of Aberdeen to Adam of Pilmore, relating to Glack (Daviot parish) ABD, between 1282 and 1296 (of which more in section II, Scot of Monorgan, below) (Abdn. Reg. i, 36–37; H2/1/41); and the same Alexander of Allardice ‘of the county of Kincardine’ who swore fealty to King Edward at Berwick on 28 August 1296, although it is always possible this was a son of the same name (CDS ii, 209). A Walter of Allardice\(^\text{10}\) performed homage to King Edward on 14 March 1304 along with many other men; he is presumably to be identified with Walter, the son of Alexander (CDS ii, no. 730).\(^\text{11}\) As Black’s *Surnames of Scotland* makes clear, the family continued to be active in the later middle ages (Black 1946, 18–19).

**Genealogical Tree: Scot of Allardice**

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Walter Scot (I)
fl. 1180s, d. c. 1198

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<td>Walter Scot (II)</td>
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<td>Hugh Scot</td>
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<td>fl. 1240s</td>
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Alexander of Allardice
fl. 1270s

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<td>Walter of Allardice</td>
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\(^{10}\) PoMS no. 6391 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/6391/>.  
\(^{11}\) See PoMS for correct date.
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II Scot of Monorgan PER

Bishop Andrew of Caithness and Monorgan in the 12th century

The family holding the estate of Monorgan (Longforgan parish) PER used both the ethnonymic ‘Scot’ and the toponymic ‘of Monorgan’ in the late 12th and early 13th centuries. In a charter dated at Markinch FIF which must have been produced early in 1172, David, younger brother of King William the Lion, and lord of the multiple estate of Longforgan, one of the four royal maneria of Gowrie,\(^\text{12}\) gave Monorgan to Gilbert, ‘nephew of the bishop of Caithness’\(^\text{13}\) (NLS, Ch. 7710; Stringer 1985, 235–36, no. 28; H3/6/1). King William’s charter of confirmation makes clear that Gilbert’s uncle was Bishop Andrew of Caithness (RRS ii no. 133; H1/6/116).\(^\text{14}\) The land was to be held in feu and heritage but no military service was specified; the only expected return to Earl David was a goshawk of less than one year old. Could this indicate that the charter was confirming an existing arrangement on the ground rather than signalling a new gift of land from Earl David? The multiple estate of Longforgan was part of a large package of lands across the kingdom, including Lennox, Garioch ABD, Dundee, Lindores FIF and Newtyle ANG, which King William gave his brother; the surviving charter text appears to date from 1178 but it has long been clear that Earl David was in control of some of these lands well before that date (RRS ii no. 205; H1/6/181).\(^\text{15}\) Clearly this charter of Monorgan to Gilbert in 1172 was produced soon after Earl David’s actual acquisition of the lordship. As charters to laypeople were still not routine, it was likely the involvement of Gilbert’s uncle, Bishop Andrew, which led to the acquisition of Earl David’s charter. Furthermore, Bishop Andrew’s position in the royal court circle since the time of King David suggests a coordinated effort to establish his nephew’s position in light of the new landholding situation from both the new lord, Earl David, as well as the king, whose charter of confirmation was dated soon thereafter at Stirling and includes at least three of the same witnesses.\(^\text{16}\)

Bishop Andrew, who died at Dunfermline Abbey on 29 or 30 December 1184, was a major local landholder in his own right.\(^\text{17}\) Although he held the title

\(^{12}\) The four royal maneria of Gowrie were Scone, Coupar Angus, Longforgan and Strathardle (RRS i no. 243).

\(^{13}\) Gileberto Nepoti episcopi katenessi.

\(^{14}\) Gileberto nepoti episcopi de Catenes Andre.

\(^{15}\) Stringer, Earl David, 145, 82.

\(^{16}\) Earl Donnchad of Fife, Matthew, bishop-elect of Aberdeen, and Robert de Quincy appear in both witness lists. William de la Haye witnesses the royal charter and may have witnessed the charter of Earl David, where the surname has been rubbed off.

\(^{17}\) Chron. Holyrood, 169; Chron. Bower iv, 349; Chron. Melrose, facsimile edn., 45; Chron. Melrose, Faustina B.IX, fo. 24r, s.a. 1185; Fasti, 78.
of bishop of Caithness, this was a titular post probably resurrected by King David I, as the province of Caithness was in practice controlled by the powerful Norse jarls of Orkney in the 12th century. Instead, Bishop Andrew was a court retainer, witnessing large numbers of royal charters (RRS i, 6–7; ii, 6). Andrew held a great deal of land in Angus, but this was probably the result of royal munificence, as King William was able to alienate Dunnichen, Kingoldrum and other lands in favour of Arbroath Abbey after the bishop’s death (RRS ii no. 223; H1/6/199). Bishop Andrew also held land in Longforgan parish PER; late in his reign, King David gave him *Auchtercomon (Hoctor comon) free from all service save common army. This short charter is recorded in the cartulary of Dunfermline Abbey; as the bishop had been a monk there (Dunf. Reg. no. 24; David I Chrs. no. 156; H1/4/83). Barrow has identified Hoctor comon as the upland portion of Longforgan, which later became known as Littleton and Lauriston.\(^{18}\) It seems likely that Bishop Andrew or his family held land elsewhere in the parish and that Monorgan was likely inhabited by them even before 1172. A Fulk of Hontrecommun (no doubt for Houtrecommun, i.e. *Auchtercomon), witnessed a charter dealing with neighbouring Fowlis Easter probably in 1165×1166; it is possible that he was a tenant of Bishop Andrew (St And. Lib., 264–65; H3/389/2).\(^{19}\) Notably, Fulk or Foulques is a relatively rare name in the ‘People of Medieval Scotland’ database, with only 10 individuals of that name. These included Fulk, the first abbot of Coupar Angus,\(^{20}\) who died in 1170, as well as Fulk, a canon of St Andrews\(^{21}\) in the late 1160s: could this Fulk be a relative of one of these men?

Gillebertus scotus, Gilla Brigte or Gilbert the Scot,\(^{22}\) ‘son of Ewen of Monorgan’, ‘with the assent and will of his wife Christina, daughter of Merleswain’, gave 13 acres on the Pillic next to the mill to St Andrews Priory at some point on either side of the year 1200.\(^{23}\) The Pillic can probably be identified as the Huntly Burn that flows through Monorgan (St And. Lib., 269–70; H3/411/1). Gilbert Scot is evidently the same man as the nephew of Bishop Andrew. The charter was witnessed by Magnus son of Earl Colbán of Buchan and uncle of Gilbert’s wife Christina, lords of the nearby estates of Ballindean and Inchtachter, and men associated with Earl David’s household.\(^{24}\) Nothing else is known of Gilbert’s father except that he was

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\(^{18}\) For more on this place-name, which contains a saint’s name, see Taylor 1999, 55 and n. 85.
\(^{19}\) PoMS no. 14572 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/14572/>.
\(^{20}\) PoMS no. 450 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/450/>.
\(^{21}\) PoMS no. 3138 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/3138/>.
\(^{22}\) PoMS no. 1316 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/1316/>.
\(^{23}\) William Giffard, son of Hugh Giffard, who witnessed this charter, had a charter of nearby Tealing ANG that dates to after 1 September 1196 (RRS ii no. 418).
\(^{24}\) Magnus son of Colban, William Giffard, Donnchad or Duncan of Ballindean, Michael of Inchtachter, William Ruffus, Wálkelin son of Stephen, William Wāscelin, Hugh Cameron, Dolfin Dunakin.
presumably the brother\textsuperscript{25} of Bishop Andrew of Caithness. As he seems to have been known as Ewen of Monorgan (unless we are to read this as Gilbert, son of Ewen, of Monorgan), it is possible that Ewen died prior to the 1172 charter of Earl David to Gilbert. Given that Ewen held a dependent estate of one of the four royal manors of Gowrie, and that his family was evidently prominent enough to produce a major bishop and court figure, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that he may have been the man named Ewen (or Old Gaelic Êogan) who was sheriff of Scone in the early 1160s. Ewen, sheriff of Scone,\textsuperscript{26} witnessed Bishop Arnold of St Andrews’ grand confirmation of the cathedral priory’s possessions, turning up after Merleswain (of Kennoway FIF), Ness son of William (of Leuchars FIF) and Orm son of Áed (of Abernethy PER), and before Swain of Forgan and his two sons, Archibald and Hugh (Forgan and Monorgan are neighbouring vills)\textsuperscript{27} (St And. Lib., 130–32; H2/10/38). Gilbert was evidently alive until about the turn of the century: he witnessed a charter of Roger de Mortimer, lord of neighbouring Fowlis Easter, dating to 13 April 1189 × 15 February 1198, alongside a number of people associated with the household of Earl David of Huntingdon (St And. Lib., 41–42; H3/417/2). Gilbert’s status as a tenant of Earl David is also evident from his attestation of a charter of the earl, 1199 × 1215, to Lindores Abbey, of land in Ecclesgreig (St Cyrus parish) KCD, where David was also lord (Stringer 1985, 248, no. 46; Lind. Cart. no. 8; H3/6/26). In summation, Gilbert’s own charter refers to him as Scottus and his father as ‘of Monorgan’, while in his two charter attestations, he appears simply as Gilbert Scot. In the following century, his successors would use both surnames, before apparently settling on Monorgan.

The Scot/Monorgan family in the 13th century

At some point between about 1203 and about 1233, Magnus son of Gilbert (or Gilla Brigte) Scot\textsuperscript{28} renewed the 13 acres on the Pillic for St Andrews Priory and added to it a further one and a half acres (St And. Lib., 270; H3/411/2). Magnus was evidently named for his uncle, Magnus son of Earl Colbán of Buchan, who witnessed Gilbert Scot’s initial gift of the 13 acres. For whatever reason – perhaps to distinguish themselves from the increasingly prominent Scot family based in east Fife and spreading into west Fife and Gowrie at this time (see section III, Scot of Balwearie, below) – the family seems to have

\textsuperscript{25} Or, if nepos means grandson, he was conceivably a son of the bishop. Another possibility is that Gilbert’s mother was Bishop Andrew’s sister.

\textsuperscript{26} PoMS no. 262 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/262/>. See also RRS i nos. 243, 252.

\textsuperscript{27} The names, too, are closely related, Monorgan deriving from G. Móin-Florgruinn (modern G. Mòine Florgriunn) ‘the bog or moss of Forgan’ (Watson 1926, 381).

\textsuperscript{28} PoMS no. 14445 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/14445/>.
dropped ‘Scot’ in favour of the toponymic surname ‘of Monorgan’, much in the same way as the Scot family of Allardice adopted the name of their estate. As Magnus of Monorgan, he gave a toft and an acre lying next to the land of Lord Henry of Stirling, son of Earl David, in Monorgan, to Lindores Abbey (Lind. Cart. no. 65; H3/411/3). In addition to being a neighbour, Henry of Stirling witnessed the charter. Magnus of Monorgan also witnessed a charter of Lord Henry establishing a chapel at his curia of Inchmartine (Errol parish) PER on 1 November 1241 (Fraser, Melvilles no. 11; H3/550/1). This signals an important connection that would apparently continue on into the 14th century. Magnus’s surviving acts reflect the two strands which continue to characterise the family into the 14th century – an ongoing relationship with the descendants of Earl David of Huntingdon and a newfound connection with the kindred of the earls of Buchan; the first, evidently, was due to Gilbert Scot’s late-12th-century tenancy of Monorgan from Earl David as lord of Longforgan; the second is clearly due to Magnus’s mother Christina’s position as a granddaughter of Earl Colbán of Buchan.

The next generation is represented by one Lord Gilbert Scot (II), knight, who was possibly in the service of Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan. The likelihood of this, suggested by his two surviving acts of witnessing, combined with his use of the name Gilbert (probably doing double duty for Gilla Brigte), go a long way toward identifying him as a member of the Monorgan family. Between 1273 and 1289, Earl Alexander Comyn of Buchan gave the monks of Lindores Abbey 10 marks in exchange for certain lands; it should be kept in mind that Lindores was founded by the superior lord of Monorgan, Earl David of Huntingdon, and supported by his successors (Lind. Cart. no. 124; H3/12/37). Moreover, Gilbert Scot (II) witnessed a charter by the same earl to St Andrews Priory, renewing the gift made by his parents of a half mark from Inuereinhe, probably Inverie, St Monans FIF (St And. Lib., 282–83; H3/12/27). Gilbert’s predecessor – probably his grandmother – was Christina daughter of Merleswain, a member of the Buchan kindred, more specifically of a branch of the family tree rooted in Fife. Thus, Gilbert’s appearance as witness in these charters fits with his family’s former overlords (whose male line ended in 1237) and suggests that they may have looked to their Buchan relations for patronage as the situation changed over time.

Another family member appearing in the middle of the 13th century is Andrew of Monorgan, burgess of Dundee. In 1268, Andrew witnessed
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a charter by Henry of Hastings, one of the inheritors of the former earls of Huntingdon lordship which also included Longforgan and Dundee, to Balmerino Abbey, relating to a burgage plot in that burgh (Balm. Lib. no. 32; H3/274/5). Moreover, Andrew is the first of a list of four burgesses to witness, suggesting a role of some importance in the town. His name, Andrew, of course, is redolent of his likely great-great-uncle, a man of power and influence in the region, Bishop Andrew Scot of Caithness.

In 1271, an inquest into the inheritance of the late Dubgall, brother of Earl Máel Domnaig of Lennox, was held by royal precept: this found his true heirs to be Mary, wife of John de Wardrobe, Helen, wife of Bernard of Airth, and Forbflaith, daughter of the late Finlay of Campsie and wife of Norin of Monorgan (Paisley Reg., 191–92; H4/38/20). A document of 12 October 1270 makes clear that this inquest was the result of a dispute between these three couples and Paisley Abbey, where in the court of Earl Máel Coluim of Lennox they supposedly resigned their rights for 140 marks (Paisley Reg., 189–90; H3/598/1). In 1273, however, despite the findings of the royal inquest in their favour, Norin and Forbflaith bound themselves to appear in the earl’s court when summoned at their land of Campsie STL (Paisley Reg., 201–02; H3/411/5). Shortly thereafter, it would seem, after collecting the remainder of their 140 marks (46 marks 8 s. 10½ d.), the couple renounced their claim to the various Lennox lands (Paisley Reg., 198–201, 203; H3/411/4 and 6).

The existence of Norin of Monorgan is a fascinating reminder of the widespread effects of contacts made a century before. The only other person in the PoMS database named Norin was one Norin of Leslie ABD. Evidently a hypocoristic form of Norman, Lord Norman of Leslie, son of Norman the constable of Inverurie, was the grandson of Malcolm son of Bertolf, a man of Flemish descent whom Earl David made one of his most important tenants in the lordship of the Garioch (Stringer 1985, 254–55, no. 55; NRS, GD 204/23/1; H3/6/7). The use of the name Norin by a member of the Monorgan family suggests a marriage tie with a member of the Leslie family, perhaps Magnus of Monorgan’s wife. Furthermore, the family’s ties with the earls of Buchan already gave the Scots of Monorgan a link with Aberdeenshire, and Norman/Norin of Leslie even witnessed a charter of Earl Fergus of Buchan. The most likely suggestion here is that Magnus of Monorgan, whose mother Christina was a descendant of Earl Colbán, and whose father was a tenant of Earl David, married a sister of Norin of Leslie. Neither should we be surprised to see members of this family on the west side of the kingdom, in the Lennox. Earl David had also been earl of Lennox, before it was given or returned to

PoMS no. 2161 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/2161/>.
the predecessors of Earl Máel Domnaig. Indeed, Earl David gave the church
of Campsie STL to Kelso Abbey in 1174 (Kelso Lib. i no. 226; H3/6/4).\textsuperscript{33}

Could descendants of Earl David and his tenants have continued to hold land
in Lennox in the 13th century? That Finlay of Campsie’s daughter Forbflaith
would be married to Norin of Monorgan, possibly the son of Magnus of
Monorgan, suggests as much.

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\textbf{Genealogical Tree: Scot of Monorgan}
\end{center}

\begin{verbatim}
Andrew ‘Scot’,
bishop of Caithness
\textit{d. Dec. 29/30, 1184}
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Ewen of Monorgan
Merleswain
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
‘nepos’

Gilbert Scot,
fl. 1163 × 1200
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
m. Christina,
fl. 1190s
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Magnus of Monorgan,
fl. 1241
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Lord Gilbert Scot,
fl. 1244 × 89
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Norin of Monorgan, m. Forbflaith of Campsie
fl. c. 1273
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Andrew (I) of Monorgan,
burgess of Dundee,
fl. 1268
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
? Andrew (II) of Monorgan,
fl. 1304
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{33} The gift to Kelso was ultimately unsuccessful and it was later re-given to Glasgow Cathedral by Earl Alwine II.

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The above generation is represented by another Andrew of Monorgan,\textsuperscript{34} who witnessed the charter of 21 June 1304 recording the sale by John Butler (‘de Pincerna’) to Lord John of Inchmartine, of land in the holding of Pitmiddle\textsuperscript{35} ‘by reason of the exchange of the barony of Elcho’: Andrew is the last recorded witness in a witness list which includes a number of important Perthshire individuals, such as the sheriff and constable of Perth and members of the Hay, Mortimer, Blair, Alyth and Leys families.\textsuperscript{36} This suggests that the family continued to hold their eponymous estate and in effect take part in the local community as members of the local gentry. Andrew’s likely grandfather had witnessed Henry of Stirling (son of Earl David)’s endowment of a chapel at Inchmartine in 1241; these ties were evidently still important 63 years later. John of Inchmartine was Henry’s direct descendant. The existence of a Gilbert of Monorgan in 1452 suggests the family continued to hold its own, but their dalliance with the ethnonym ‘Scot’ seems to be a thoroughly pre-1300 phenomenon (Black 1946, 607–08; \textit{Perth Blackfriars}, 22).

\textbf{Two comparator families: Forgan and Pilmore PER}

An interesting parallel exists in the family taking its name from Forgan, the main central estate of Longforgan. As early as 1153 × 1156, Bishop Andrew\textsuperscript{37} and Swain of Forgan\textsuperscript{38} both witnessed King Máel Coluim IV’s grant to St Andrews Priory of the half ploughgate of land in the shire of Longforgan called Kingoodie which he had previously given to the church of Longforgan (\textit{RRS} i no. 123; H1/5/17); this is presumably the same half ploughgate which was disputed between Earl David and the canons in the first decade of the 13th century (Stringer 1985, 265–66, no. 74; H3/6/29). Swain and his two sons, Archibald\textsuperscript{39} and Hugh,\textsuperscript{40} were on record in 1161 × 1162 (\textit{St And. Lib.}, 130–32; H2/10/38). As Longforgan was a royal manor to which Scone Abbey had rights, King William commanded Archibald and Hugh to render teinds to that abbey, 1165 × 1174 (\textit{RRS} ii no. 16; H1/6/12). Archibald married the daughter

\textsuperscript{34} PoMS no. 17161 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/17161/>.
\textsuperscript{35} Pitmiddle (Kinnaird parish) PER was part of King William the Lion’s original gift to Earl David (\textit{RRS} ii no. 205).
\textsuperscript{36} As well as, incidentally, Michael Scot ‘the son’, of the family of Scots of Balwearie FIF, who held lands in Caputh parish PER.
\textsuperscript{37} Suggesting he already had a landed interest there?
\textsuperscript{38} PoMS no. 30 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/30/>.
\textsuperscript{39} PoMS no. 27 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/27/>.
\textsuperscript{40} PoMS no. 28 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/28/>.
of William Maule and held the neighbouring estate of Fowlis Easter from him; subsequently, King William gave the estate to Maule’s grandson Roger de Mortimer (RRS ii no. 302; H1/6/273). It is likely that there were no children of Archibald’s marriage rather than that there was any ‘pro-Norman, anti-native’ expropriation taking place on the part of King William. Archibald, as William Maule’s son-in-law, witnessed two of his father-in-law’s charters to St Andrews Priory. In the first, probably in the late 1160s, he gave the chapel and related lands of Fowlis to the priory (St And. Lib., 264–65; H3/389/2); in the second, probably in the 1170s, William Maule seems to have turned the chapel into a church and bestowed it on his nepos (nephew?), Thomas the clerk (St And. Lib., 40–01; H3/389/3). There is no sign of either Archibald or his brother Hugh by the time of William’s gift to de Mortimer, probably in the early 1190s. There is also no real sign that Archibald was a local thane who was given the hand of the daughter of William Maule, and with her the estate of Fowlis, in compensation for the loss of Longforgan, when it was given to Earl David (cf. Grant 1993, 57–58). Indeed, Longforgan was clearly a royal multiple estate whose lordship was transferred from the king to his brother – hardly a radical change on the local level. Not only do we see continuity both in the family of Bishop Andrew and the family using the surname of Forgan, we also see these families being taken into the patronage of Earl David and taking part, quite successfully it might seem, in networks fostered by the earl’s descendants. The families living on these estates and managing them seem to have been the same in 1225 or 1275 as in 1175. The early-13th-century figure Ketill of Forgan was likely part of the same family, if the Scandinavian name is any indicator: he witnessed Magnus of Monorgan’s charter of renewal to St Andrews Priory. Whether the family had any relation to Thor of Fowlis is uncertain, although the use of Scandinavian names and the fact that Archibald of Forgan held Fowlis in the time before Roger de Mortimer might be used as evidence for a speculative connection.

As we have seen with the Monorgan family, ties of tenancy to Earl David and his descendants meant new opportunities in new burghs – in that case Dundee. In the Forgan family, we see the same process. Walter of Forgan was a burgess of Berwick in the mid-13th century; he married Margery, daughter of John Hanyn, burgess of Berwick, so it is quite possible that he was a newcomer to that prosperous burgh, perhaps by way of Dundee. Walter and Margery sold to Kelso Abbey an annual return of two marks which they used to receive on some

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41 PoMS no. 14608 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/14608/>.
42 PoMS no. 11298 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/11298/>.
43 PoMS no. 11297 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/11297/>.
land in Berwick in order to rebuild their (Walter and Margery’s) devastated and demolished lands (Kelso Lib. i nos. 31, 34; H3/632/2 and 3). The charter also mentions that they held land on The Ness in Berwick next to the land of the late Henry of Stirling. Henry of Stirling, illegitimate son of Earl David, held land in Longforgan, and had links to the Monorgan family. This suggests that Walter of Forgan was indeed part of the same Forgan family, and similarly was expanding along new avenues due to that network.

Between the central estate of Longforgan and Kingoodie lies Pilmore. A number of individuals using the toponymic surname of Pilmore existed at this time, and they represent the third family based in the parish. Like the Forgans, they existed within a broader network defined by Earl David of Huntingdon and his descendants. Since the first member of the family to show up in charters does so around 1200, it is impossible to know whether they were on the land before Earl David became lord, or were introduced to it by him. In several ways, however, their experience bears comparison with the Monorgan and Forgan families. Adam (I) of Pilmore, the first on record, witnessed Magnus Scot of Monorgan’s renewal (c. 1203 × c. 1233) of the 13 acres on the Pillic to the canons of St Andrews, along with Ketill of Forgan (St And. Lib., 270; H3/411/2). Magnus of Monorgan's gift around the same time to Lindores Abbey of land in Monorgan was witnessed by Adam ‘my man’ (homine meo): it is possible that this is the same person as Adam of Pilmore, although Adam was a common name at the time and there is no strong evidence that Pilmore was under Monorgan lordship (Lind. Cart. no. 65; H3/411/3). The next generation is represented by John of Pilmore, who witnessed a charter of Matilda, countess of Angus, to Arbroath Abbey, regarding Monifieth ANG, in the 1240s (Arb. Lib. i no. 115; H3/10/15). The next generation on record is that of the 1280s and 1290s, represented by Adam son of Robert of Pilmore. At that time Henry Cheyne, bishop of Aberdeen, gave the land of Glack in the shire of Daviot ABD to Adam, ‘in compensation for benefices which he held of the bishop’s predecessors’, which he would hold at feuferme by the same terms as his father Robert had held it, i.e., for 20 shillings’ annual rent (Abdn. Reg. i, 36–37; H2/1/41). Glack is in Daviot parish just outside the border of the Garioch, a lordship held by Earl David and his successors. Presumably the Pilmore family

44 PoMS no. 22521 <http://poms-stg.cch.kcl.ac.uk/db/record/person/22521/>.
45 Incidentally, Brian of Lindores, who also witnesses this charter, is probably similar to the Forgan, Pilmore and Monorgan families in holding a secular estate under Earl David, in this case at Lindores FIF, where, despite the alienation of most of the lands for the abbey, they retained a secular estate, later building a castle there.
46 PoMS no. 5567 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/5567/>.
47 PoMS no. 3188 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/3188/>.
was able to take advantage of these networks and expand into the northeast. Strengthening this notion is an early 14th-century charter of William Brown, burgess of Dundee, concerning land on Castlegate in the burgh of Dundee, between the land of Adam of Pilmore and the land of William of Garioch (NRS, GD 76/148). Thus Adam (II) of Pilmore links together Longforgan parish, the burgh of Dundee and the Garioch, showing that as with the Monorgan family these patronage networks remained strong up to 1300 and beyond. Adam’s contemporary Roger of Pilmore\(^{48}\) seems to have been based in Dundee; a 1292 charter of William Maule, lord of Panmure, stated that he had received from Ralph of Dundee and Roger of Pilmore payment for 17 sacks of wool (NRS, GD 45/27/115; Panmure Reg. ii, 151–52). The Alan and Thomas of Pilmuir, both of the county of Berwick, who swore fealty to Edward I in 1296 were likely from the place of that name in Berwickshire, as was William of Pilmuir, ‘of the county of Edinburgh’, who also witnesses a charter of John Maitland, lord of Thirlestane, in the 1280s (CDS ii, 206, 207, 211; Dryb. Lib. no. 284). The Robert of Pilmore or Pilmuir ‘of the county of Edinburgh’ who swore fealty in 1296, however, may just possibly have been the father of Adam (II) noted above (CDS ii, 201). The family was to reach its apogee in the 14th century in the ecclesiastical arena, if Dowden and Keith are correct in reporting that the John of Pilmore who was bishop of Moray from 1326 to 1362 was indeed the son of a burgess of Dundee named Adam of Pilmore, presumably to be identified with Adam (II) (Dowden 1912, 152–53, n. 4; Black 1946, 662).\(^{49}\) The family also included Richard of Pilmore, bishop of Dunkeld and probable brother of Bishop John, as well as their nephews Thomas of Pilmore and John of Kettins (Watt 1977, 294, 450–53).

Unlike the Scot family based at Allardice, it is likely that the Scots of Monorgan were a Gaelic-speaking family based in the old heartland of Alba, thus representing the pre-13th century notion of Scottishness defined as someone from Alba. As we have seen in part one of this article, the majority of people using ‘Scot’ as a by-name in the 13th century seem not to have had Gaelic personal names and seem to have lived south of the Forth-Clyde isthmus. The personal names used by the Monorgan family were mostly Gaelic, Scandinavian or saints’ names of a type that would be common in Scotland, such as Andrew. Spelled in Latin, the recurring name *Gilbertus* is as likely to stand for the Gaelic Gilla Bríge as the French name Gilbert. Bishop Andrew is

\(^{48}\) PoMS no. 17429 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/17429/>.

\(^{49}\) Dowden cites a charter dated 14 February 1327 formerly in the possession of the antiquary Walter Macfarlane. Keith’s *Bishops* mentions the charter (p. 140), stating that ‘Adam de Pilmore burgensis de Dundee’ appended his seal, along with the seal of John, bishop of Moray, ‘filii ejusdem Adae de Pilmore’. 

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explicitly called Scottish (nacione Scoctus) in the late 12th-century geographical treatise ‘De Situ Albanie’ (Anderson 1980, 242). It was not uncommon, as we saw in Part 1 of this article, for clergy to have the name ‘Scot’, as did John Scot, bishop of Dunkeld, who was likely born in Cheshire (Hammond 2007, 49–50). What is interesting about Bishop Andrew is that he did not apparently use the by-name Scot (nor did Bishop Gregory of Dunkeld and Bishop Samson of Brechin, also likely Gaelic-speaking colleagues of Andrew), but the use of the term nacione by a contemporary writer, ‘by birth, a Scot’, shows that by late 12th-century definitions, Andrew was a man of Alba (not to mention being a major source for ‘De Situ Albanie’, ‘On the Location of Alba’). The use of the names Éogan / Ewen and Gilla Brigte / Gilbert support this ethnolinguistic identification for the family. But why would a Gaelic-speaking family north of the Forth be an unusual thing? Presumably this was due to the company they kept. As we have seen, the Scot family were settled on one of the four royal manors of Gowrie, a location ripe for Europeanising influences. But it is probably the household of Earl David of Huntingdon and his son Earl John (d. 1237) which provided the context for seeing the Scot family as ‘Scots’. Whether or not their neighbours in the parish, the Forgans and Pilmores, saw themselves as ‘Scots’ in the same way is unclear; at least, the Forgan family seems to have had Scandinavian roots. Bishop Andrew, as a court figure in the reigns of Máel Coluim IV and William I, would have been noteworthy for his Scottishness; the same was likely true of Gilbert (I) and Magnus in the context of the followings of Earl David and Earl John. As with the Scot family of Allardice, this family dropped the use of Scot in favour of its chief estate, Monorgan. While this may have been driven to a certain degree by confusion with another Scot family, that of Balwearie in Fife, it is also likely that increasingly after 1200, ethnic distinctions in Scotland were becoming less noticeable and less important to people.

III Scot of Balwearie FIF

Probably the most well-known Scott family after that of the dukes of Buccleuch are the Scotts, earlier Scots, of Balwearie (Kirkcaldy & Dysart parish) FIF (PNF 1, 473). A prominent family of Fife gentry throughout the later middle ages and early modern period, later scions included Lord William Scott of Balwearie

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50 To date the most complete and useful discussions of the family are the section entitled ‘The Scots and Strathmiglo’ in PNF 4, 657–63, and Barrow, ‘East Fife Documents’, 31–32. Sir Robert Douglas included a chapter on the Scots of Balwearie in his The Baronage of Scotland (1798); this is unfortunately full of errors and should be avoided. In the middle ages, Balwearie was in the parish of Kirkcaldy.
(d. 1532), a keeper of Falkland Palace and lord of council,\textsuperscript{51} as well as Lord James Scott of Balwearie (d. 1607 × 1613), a major supporter of the earl of Bothwell in the 1590s.\textsuperscript{52} We can trace the origins of this family back to c. 1200 and, while the evidence must be considered with care, we probably know more about the early history of this family than any of the other families using the second name ‘Scot’ in the central middle ages.

As with the Scot family of Monorgan, the Scot family based in Fife was descended from an individual using an unequivocally Gaelic personal name, one Malothen. It is difficult to assign the form ‘Malothen’ to any one known Gaelic personal name with absolute certainty but, in a forthcoming publication, Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh suggests Máel Othna and Máel Suthain as the two most likely possibilities.\textsuperscript{53} Malothen himself\textsuperscript{54} does not appear in the documentary record, but his son Michael witnessed three charters as ‘Michael son of Malothen’ in the first half of the 13th century. This Michael was also the first member of the family on record as using the epithet ‘Scottus’; therefore, this is the clearest example of a family adopting the name ‘Scot’ because they were Gaelic-speakers from the old Alba heartland north of the Forth.

**Lord Michael Scot, son of Malothen**

Lord Michael Scot, son of Malothen,\textsuperscript{55} was a knight of the emergent gentry class in Fife. As Michael son of Malothen, he witnessed charters of Máel Coluim (I), earl of Fife, to Archibald Douglas (\textit{Morton Reg.}, App. I, no. 1; H3/16/18) and to Alexander Blair (\textit{SHS Misc.} iv no. 7; H3/16/23), as well as a charter of John son of Michael the clerk to St Andrews Priory (\textit{St And. Lib.}, 269; H3/403/1). As Michael Scot, he witnessed a 1233 agreement between the abbot of Inchcolm and some west Fife landholders (\textit{Inchcolm Chrs.} no. 15; H4/20/28), a royal renewal of the possessions of Kinloss Abbey in 1226 (\textit{Moray Reg.}, Carte Originales, no. 5; H1/7/116), a 1227 royal grant to St Nicholas’s Hospital in St Andrews (\textit{RMS} iii no. 2132(4); H1/7/129), and four documents


\textsuperscript{53} Ó Maolalaigh’s recommendations have been incorporated into the 2012 update of the ‘PoMS’ database. I thank Roibeard Ó M<a href="https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24878" target="_blank" rel="nofollow">aolalaigh for giving me access to his forthcoming paper, ‘Gaelic Names and Elements in Scottish Charters, 1093–1286’.</a>

\textsuperscript{54} PoMS no. 6122 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/6122/>.

\textsuperscript{55} PoMS no. 8830 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/8830/>.
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around the same time as this quitclaim, Constantine son of Philip of Lochore gave a third of Pitfirrane to his brother Hugh (NLS, Ch. 6002), which Constantine’s son Constantine later renewed (NLS, Ch. 6003). Another third of Pitfirrane was held by Michael Scot’s wife Margaret of Ceres and given to her son John (NLS, Ch. 6004). This third of Pitfirrane was still held by her descendant Sir William Scot of Balwearie in 1532, when he gave it to Patrick Halkett. Pitfirrane Writs nos. 80, 81.

Dunf. Reg. nos. 175, 179, 196, 223; St And. Lib., 269.

Bartlett 2003, xli, 84–86; Broun 2009, 64–68; see also A. Taylor 2010, 14.

PoMS no. 4640 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/4640/>. PoMS no. 973 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/973/>.

While this is undoubtedly evidence for strong ties to the comital family, it should be noted that Barrow’s assertion that Adam of Ceres was a younger brother of Earl Duncan II is false; Adam son of Earl Donnchad (I) was a contemporary of Adam of Ceres, and they appeared alongside each other in charters (see St And. Lib., 263–64, and Barrow 1971 no. 7). Adam son of Earl Donnchad (I) was rather the progenitor of the Kilconquhar family. Note also that Barrow states incorrectly that the Michael Scot who made a gift to St Thomas of Canterbury was the son of Duncan son of Michael son of Malothen. Surely this figure is Michael Scot son of Malothen himself, and Barrow is conflating the donor with the more famous Michael Scot of Balwearie of the later 13th century (Barrow 1974, 31). In this, Barrow is following Douglas, Baronage, 303, which is seriously misleading.
They jointly gave to Dunfermline Abbey, with the consent of their son and heir Donnchad or Duncan, Gask (Gaskinienemfi) near Outh (Dunfermline parish) in west Fife at some date before 22 April 1231 (Dunf. Reg. no. 174; H3/529/1). This land had evidently come to Michael through Margaret, who issued her own charter of confirmation at the same time (it has the same witnesses) (Dunf. Reg. no. 175; H3/529/2). The gift was also confirmed by King Alexander II in 1231 (Dunf. Reg. no. 80; H1/7/174). Margaret of Ceres later confirmed the gift in her widowhood, at some point between 1238 and 1250 (Dunf. Reg. no. 176; H3/135/1). The Ceres family, household knights of the earls of Fife who mimicked comital naming practices very closely, seem to have had a fairly far-flung patrimony. As widow, Margaret gave her younger son, John, with the consent of the older son, Duncan, Caputh and the two Mucklies in Perthshire and a third part of Pitfirrane by Dunfermline in Fife (NLS, Ch. 6004). This suggests concentrations of Ceres family landholdings in Ceres parish (east Fife), in Dunfermline parish (west Fife) and in Caputh parish (near Dunkeld), Perthshire. This also provides a context for Lord Michael son of Malothen’s extensive activities in west Fife, particularly if the narrative of Michael son of Malothen’s transformation into ‘Michael Scot’ goes along with a shift of emphasis from east and north Fife to (south-)west Fife, as I am suggesting.

There is also direct evidence linking Lord Michael with east Fife. At some point between 1238 and 5 October 1240, Michael Scot, describing himself as ‘of the kingdom of Scotland’ (de regno Scotie), probably travelled to Canterbury Cathedral in order to make an offering to St Thomas the Martyr, whose cult was widespread in Scotland at this time. Accompanied by a bevy of Fife worthies, including the abbot of Dunfermline, Lord Thomas of Kilmaron (Cupar parish), a comital knight, and Duncan Scot, surely his son, this looks very much like the kind of pilgrimage meant to cap a successful career and prepare for the hereafter (Barrow 1974, 30–32, no. 6). Michael gave 20 shillings annually for the lighting of the martyr’s shrine, from his feu of Rumgally. Rumgally is in the parish of Kemback, also known as Bleboshire, in east Fife; the charter is witnessed by John of Blebo and Adam of Kemback. It is to this region in east Fife that we must look for Lord Michael’s own family’s landholding and background.

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62 For Gaskinienemfi, see PNF 1, 316–17.
63 Pitfirrane Writs no. 4; NLS Ch. 6004 (1238 × 12 May 1250). For Muckly, see RRS v no. 23.
64 PNF 2, 187, 202–03.
Duncan Scot (I), son of Michael

Michael and Margaret had two sons – Duncan (or Donnchad), their heir, and John, to whom we have seen Margaret gave various lands which must have been held by her right and thus were previously part of the Ceres patrimony. The only lands which we have so far encountered which seem to have been directly held by Michael son of Malothen were those of Rumgally FIF. Duncan consented to and witnessed his parents’ gift of Gask to Dunfermline Abbey (Dunf. Reg. nos. 174, 175), in addition to his mother’s gift of lands to his brother John, in her widowhood (NLS, Ch. 6004). As ‘Duncan Scot’, he almost certainly witnessed his father’s gift to St Thomas’s shrine at Canterbury (Barrow 1974, 30–32, no. 6). Fortunately, the only surviving charter text in the name of Michael’s son Duncan can start to flesh out the picture for us. While the witness list was not copied into St Andrews Priory’s cartulary, the text of the document is instructive:


‘To all Christ’s faithful seeing or hearing this writing, Duncan son of Michael son of Malothen, eternal greetings in the Lord. Let it be known to all of you that, for the sake of charity, I have given, granted, and by

65 See also PNF 4, 657 n. 20.
Matthew H. Hammond

this my present charter confirmed to God and the church of St Andrews and the canons there serving God, in pure and perpetual alms, for the salvation of my soul and of the souls of my father and of my lord Máel Coluim earl of Fife, of good memory, and of our ancestors and successors, all my land of Cairns (St Andrews & St Leonards FIF) with the mill built on the same land, and with all liberties and easements belonging to the same land and mill, as freely, quietly, fully and honourably as I or my predecessors held it or ought to have held it, without any contradiction or claim by me or by my heirs forever. I also will that my other lands which I have by gift of the said earl, namely Eglismarten (Strathmiglo FIF), Pitlour (Strathmiglo FIF) and Rumgally should perform the for-insec service of the lord king for the aforesaid land of Cairns. Moreover, so that this my donation may stay strong forever, I have corroborated this present script by the application of my seal and the seal of Lord Adam, archdeacon of St Andrews. By these witnesses [not named].

This document confirms the hints that we have already encountered that the family was closely associated with the earls of Fife and had their own landed centre of gravity in east and north Fife, despite their later tendency to witness charters in the Dunfermline area. This charter is dated by the tenure of Archdeacon Adam – at some point after 9 July 1238 and before 12 May 1250. It is occasionally repeated that it may date to c. 1248 (e.g. PNF 4, 657): this is in fact a typographical error in the Syllabus of Scottish Cartularies: St Andrews for 1240, which was Barrow’s suggestion in his article on ‘East Fife Documents’ (1974). Barrow must have got this date from Archdeacon Adam’s first known attestation on 29 March 1240 (Dunf. Reg. no. 221; Fasti, ed. Watt, 394). In any event, this charter makes clear that Earl Máel Coluim (I) of Fife (d. 1229) was Duncan’s lord, and that he held his lands by gift of the earl of Fife. But only Strathmiglo appeared in a 1294 extent of the earl of Fife’s landholdings (PNF 5, App. 2). We will return to this in short order.

Readers will have noticed that Balwearie (by Kirkcaldy FIF), the estate later most closely associated with the family, has not yet made an appearance. It is only in the life of Duncan’s successor, and likely son and heir, Michael Scot

66 For the complex administrative history of Pitlour, see PNF 4, 663–64.
67 St And. Lib., 309–10. U and V have been standardised.
68 The earl mentioned in the pro anima clause of the charter is already dead and thus must be Earl Máel Coluim (I); of course, it is a safe assumption that at the time Earl Máel Coluim (II) of Fife (d. 1266) was his current lord.
69 Simon Taylor’s new edition of this important text is the first since Joseph Stevenson published it in 1870. See Stevenson, Documents i, nos. 317, 319, 320.
The family also held ‘Inuirkunglas’, which has erroneously been identified with Kinglassie (in west Fife). See PNF 1, 45. Taylor suggests Inverkunglas was in Dunkeld diocese.

Geoffrey son of Richard was active in the king’s service in the later years of William the Lion’s reign. Balwearie Fif, which had been bestowed on the church of Dunfermline by King Alexander I, was later given by Abbot Patrick of Dunfermline to Geoffrey and confirmed by King William in the early years of the 13th century (RRS ii no. 451). Geoffrey was sheriff of Fife (Crail) and Perth at various points in the first quarter of the 13th century and continued to witness charters in the first decade of Alexander II’s reign (1214–49). He was succeeded by Lord Richard of Balwearie, whose career lasted from the 1230s to the 1270s. A dispute between Lord Richard and Dunfermline Abbey was settled by papal judges-delegate in the 1230s (Dunf. Reg. no. 223; H4/32/66). Abbot William asserted that the lands of Balwearie had been illegally alienated from the abbey, but the papal judges upheld Richard’s position, maintaining that Richard merely had to pay the abbey six marks per year and perform military service: this was a decision that suggests that Lord Richard had powerful friends on his side. The fact that this settlement was witnessed by Lord Michael Scot (I) in a prominent position – second after Lord Henry of Abernethy – suggests that there was a close link between the two families as early as the 1230s. The picture that emerges is that Michael son of Malothen became a prominent landholder in west Fife due to his marriage to Margaret of Ceres, a marriage which must have been arranged by the earl of Fife, their common lord: note that Ceres and Rummally are neighbouring estates in a part of the county dominated by the earl. In the 1220s and 1230s, both Michael Scot (I) and Geoffrey son of Richard were active ‘trustworthy men’ (probi homines) in west Fife, and Michael Scot (I) is a prominent witness to the settlement of the dispute between Richard of Balwearie, probably Geoffrey’s son, and Dunfermline. This challenge from Dunfermline is likely to have come soon after Geoffrey’s death, after Richard had inherited Balwearie, as we know Geoffrey disappears from the record in the 1220s. So what is much more likely to have happened is that Michael Scot (I)

70 The family also held ‘Inuirkunglas’, which has erroneously been identified with Kinglassie (in west Fife). See PNF 1, 45. Taylor suggests Inverkunglas was in Dunkeld diocese.
71 PoMS no. 1226 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/1226/>.
72 PoMS no. 8411 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/8411/>.
73 Ferguson 1997, App. I, no. 82.
married his son and heir Duncan to Geoffrey’s daughter and Richard’s sister, and that Richard died much later without children.

**Michael Scot (II) of Balwearie, probably son of Duncan**

Lord Michael Scot of Balwearie is very likely to have been the child of Duncan Scot and this sister of Richard of Balwearie. Richard was alive as late as 1272 but was dead by 12 May 1280, when Dunfermline Abbey made an agreement with the new landholder, Michael Scot (II) (Dunf. Reg. no. 228; App. I, no. 603; H4/20/55). Michael was to continue to hold the lands of the abbey as Richard did, for a pair of white Parisian gloves or 3 d. on the Feast of St Margaret. Furthermore, the abbot agreed to farm out his millpond at Kirkcaldy and two local watercourses to Michael. There is also ample evidence that Michael continued to hold the lands which he inherited from his father and his grandmother. The 1294 extent of earldom of Fife lands notes Lord Michael Scot, knight, as a landholder in Strathmigloshire (PNF 5, App. 2). A 1310 agreement between Lord Michael and Lord Gilbert Hay of Errol shows that Michael Scot had an annual rent of five marks for Caputh and the two Mucklies in Perthshire, although Hay bought him out for 30 pounds (RRS v no. 23).

Lord Michael Scot of Balwearie was the beneficiary of two generations of social climbing and land acquisition, and this fact is perhaps most clearly illustrated by the choice of Michael as an envoy to Norway in 1290. As Walter Bower states, ‘the nobles of Scotland formally despatched to the king of Norway two knights distinguished by their knowledge and character – Michael Wemyss and Michael Scot – to effect the marriage and bring the girl [i.e. Margaret, the ‘maid of Norway’] to the kingdom’ (Chron. Bower vi, 5). He went on to play a significant role in the Wars of Independence period. He first swore fealty to King Edward in the chapel at Kinghorn alongside other knights on 19 July 1291 (CDS ii, p. 124). Michael was captured after the Battle of Dunbar and imprisoned in ‘Crukyn’ Castle in England in May 1296 (CDS ii, p. 177). Michael was evidently moved to Wallingford Castle in Oxfordshire along with several other Scottish knights in February 1297, when the king allocated them each a sum of money (CDS ii no. 873; CDS iv no. 1768). An Isabel Scot of the county of Fife swore fealty to King Edward at Berwick-upon-Tweed on 28 August 1296 (CDS ii, p. 204); given that Lord Michael was in captivity at this time it is perhaps likely that Isabel was his wife or daughter. A Michael Scot also

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74 Richard attached his seal to a Dunfermline Abbey agreement with William of Mastertown dated 12 June 1272. Dunf. Reg., no. 319 (H4/20/47).
75 This document survives as a contemporary single sheet, NLS, Adv. MS 15.1.18, no. 63.
76 This episode is not mentioned in Gesta Annalia.
sware fealty in 1296 but is described as ‘of the county of Linlithgow’: this clearly was a different person (CDS ii, p. 205). We have a record of a petition by Mary, the wife of Duncan Scot, son of Lord Michael Scot, requesting 40 pounds from the king for her support, due to the fact that Duncan was captured in Dunbar and imprisoned in Rochester (Stevenson, Documents, ii, 93; CDS iv no. 1768). This explains the absence of both Lord Michael and Duncan from swearing of fealty at Berwick in August 1296. Duncan is mentioned as one of four ‘esquires’ (armigeris) who, along with two knights, were liberated from the royal castle of Rochester from the morrow of the feast of St Nicholas in year 25 of King Edward’s reign to the Monday after the feast of St Peter ad vincula (either 7 December 1296 to 5 August 1297, or, if the translation of St Nicholas is meant, then 10 May 1297 to 5 August 1297) (Stevenson, Documents, ii, 257). Duncan Scot performed homage to King Edward in 1306 for lands in the county of Forfar (Foedera I, ii, 995).

King Edward issued a writ at Ghent on 25 October 1297 restoring the lands of Michael Scot knight, Duncan Scot and two others (CDS ii no. 952). This is likely Lord Michael Scot of Balwearie and Duncan Scot is likely the Duncan mentioned as his son and heir in the 1310 agreement. Lord Michael had presumably been released and had his lands restored in promise for military service to King Edward, and he seems to have fulfilled this duty around the time of the Battle of Falkirk in 1298, apparently in the company of Fife knight Lord Richard Siward – Michael had a bay horse worth 10 pounds (CDS ii no. 1011). Michael Scot (II) was also a juror at an inquest in Perth on 31 May 1305 regarding the barony of Crail (CDS ii no. 1670).

Lord Michael Scot of Balwearie had a younger son, also named Michael (i.e. Michael (III)). He was described as Michael Scot, the son, when he witnessed the sale of a tenement in Pitmiddle PER by John Butler (‘Pincerna’) on 21 June 1304 (Fraser, Melvilles no. 12). Michael the son was taken prisoner along with Lord Michael and Duncan after Dunbar (CDS ii no. 742) and agreed to serve in King Edward’s army in August 1297, when he is described as a valet (CDS ii no. 942).

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78 This document also lists a Henry Scot of the county of Fife. There is nothing to suggest that Henry was a member of the family; indeed, contemporary evidence suggests that he was a burgess of Edinburgh and probably unrelated.

79 PoMS no. 16800 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/16800/>.

80 PoMS no. 16375 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/16375/>.
Master John Scot of ‘Monedy’

Donald Watt identified a Master John Scot or Master John ‘de Monedy’ as a possible member of the Scots of Balwearie family (Watt 1977, 488). The Walter of Cambo extent of earldom lands identified a recently deceased Master John Scot as tenant in ‘Monethy’ in Strathmigloshire (PNF 5, App. 2);81 as Watt states this must be the Master J. ‘de Monedy’ mentioned as rector of schools in St Andrews (Newb. Reg., 49). The landholdings of the family in Strathmigloshire suggest that John was a family member. However, it must be kept in mind that the land of ‘Monedy’ was held directly of the earl and thus was not part of the Scot of Balwearie patrimony. Furthermore, ‘Scot’ was a very common by-name for magistri, who seem to have picked it up whilst studying abroad, as discussed in Part 1 of this article. Indeed, Watt identifies a number of other Master John Scots in the 13th and 14th centuries. So the identification of Master John as a member of the Scot family is not certain, although the balance of probability still works in that assumption’s favour. Indeed, it is just possible that Master John Scot was the same person as John, son of Michael (I) and Margaret, and brother of Duncan (I). If Margaret’s charter to her son John dates from later in the date range, around 1250, then John could have been born in the early 1230s (NLS, Ch. 6004). If Master John died in 1294, this would have made him about 60 at the time, which is perfectly reasonable. Watt’s suggestion that Master John Scot was the man of that name active in Brechin diocese in the 1270s is entirely plausible but impossible to prove.

Later Scots of Balwearie

In his discussion of the Scotts in Strathmiglo parish, Simon Taylor mentions that Lord Michael Scott was ‘one of the earl of Fife’s men who did homage to Edward Balliol at Perth in 1332’, was present at a Perth parliament in 1344 and was killed at the Battle of Neville’s Cross in 1346, and asks whether he was the same Lord Michael Scot who is mentioned in the 1294 extent of Fife, or perhaps his son or grandson (PNF 4, 658).82 We have seen already that Lord Michael Scot of Balwearie was captured at Dunbar in 1296 with his son Duncan and his younger son Michael. A 17th-century inventory of the barony of Caputh notes that Michael Scot son and heir of Duncan Scot laird of Balwearie resigned his right to these five marks at Scone on 22 January 1327

81 The name has long been obsolete and is discussed under Monethy (Strathmiglo) PNF 4, 698–99.
and that this was confirmed by the king on 1 February 1327 (RRS v no. 315). This Michael son of Duncan, Michael Scot (IV), was likely the man involved in the Second War of Independence and thus a grandson of the Lord Michael Scot who was active in the First War of Independence. As Taylor mentions, this Michael Scot witnessed a charter of Earl Duncan (IV) of Fife to Andrew of Strathmiglo between 1315 and 1332 (PNF 4, 657).\textsuperscript{83}

\textbf{Family of Scot of Balwearie}

\begin{verbatim}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malothen</th>
<th>Duncan / Donnchad of Ceres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord Michael Scot (I) m. Margaret of Ceres</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. \times 1250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duncan Scot (I) m. Sister (?) of John</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fl. c. 1250</td>
<td>Lord Richard of Balwearie (= Master John d. 1294?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord Michael Scot (II) of Balwearie m. (?) Isabel Scot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fl. 1290s</td>
<td>fl. 1296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duncan Scot (II) m. Mary</td>
<td>Michael Scot ‘the son’ (III)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Scot (IV)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 1346</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{83} For the text and translation of this charter, see PNF 4, 654–57. See also PNF 5, 624, for omitted line in PNF 4 translation.
As we have seen, we know more about the lands acquired by the Scots through marriage than those which were initially held by Michael son of Malothen, and possibly by his forebears. Michael’s marriage to Margaret of Ceres brought land in Caputh parish PER (Caputh, Muckly) and lands in Dunfermline parish (Gask near Outh, a third of Pitfirrane). Duncan’s marriage to the heir of Lord Richard of Balwearie, of course, brought Balwearie itself into the hands of the Scots. The lands which seem to have been held independently of these marriages fall into two categories: (a) those in northwest Fife, centred around Eglismarten, the central church settlement of Strathmiglo parish FIF, and the estate of Pitlour, immediately to its north; and (b) those in east Fife. According to Duncan’s charter, these included Rumgally, in Kemback parish FIF. This region was central to the earl’s lordship: Cupar was a caput for the earl himself, and families based on the neighbouring vills of Ceres and Kilmaron were major household dependants of the earls. Rumgally itself, however, was not part of the earl’s demesne. The other estate mentioned in Duncan’s charter is Cairns, which lay in St Andrews and St Leonards parish FIF, to the south-west of St Andrews. By what right and tenure did the Scots hold these lands, and can that tell us anything more about who they were and where they came from?

The lands in Strathmiglo parish seem to have been secular lands held by the earl of Fife, although one (Eglismarten) was the site of the parish church. The lands in east Fife, Cairns (PNF 3, 457) and Rumgally (PNF 2, 202–03), on the other hand, were clearly lands held by ecclesiastical institutions. The first mention of Cairns, in 1198 × 1199, is in an agreement between the Augustinian priory of St Andrews and the house of Céli Dé there (St And. Lib., 318–19; H4/8/10). This agreement is concerned with teinds from a number of lands in east Fife and so it does not necessarily shed light on ‘ownership’. In it, the Céli Dé are to keep their teinds in Cairns, which is paired with neighbouring Cameron, although the canons are to have rights in those lands of ‘spousal dues, purification dues, oblations, baptismal dues and burial dues, except the bodies of the Céli Dé who may be buried wherever they wish.’ Cairns and Rumgally both make an appearance in the c. 1220 terrier of St Andrews lands, where they are more explicitly stated as being ‘held by’ the Culdees: ‘terrae quas tenant Keledei’ (PNF 3, 621). So there can be no misunderstanding that they only held teinds or other rights in the lands: Cairns and Rumgally are Culdee lands. But Duncan Scot (I)’s charter refers to ‘my land of Cairns’. And Michael Scot (I)’s charter to Canterbury mentioned ‘the feu of Rumgally’. The Céli Dé were clearly in the habit of letting out some of their lands in ways that could be described using feudal language. Indeed, Odo, progenitor of the Kinninmonth family and steward of the bishops of St Andrews, held Kinkell, *Pitsporgy and...
By contrast, Odo owed Bishop Richard an annual payment of 40 shillings for Moonzie and Lordscairnie.

See also *PNF* 3, 112, 442.


*Pitkenny (all in St Andrews and St Leonards parish FIF) from the Céli Dé as early as the 1170s (Barrow 1971, 119–20, no. 2; H2/62/1). As confirmed in Bishop Richard’s charter to Odo from around the same time, Odo was to hold the lands from the Céli Dé ‘in feu and heritage’ (Barrow 1971, 120–21, no. 3). Unlike the bishop’s charter to Odo for Moonzie and Lordscairnie FIF (Barrow 1971, 118–19, no. 1), Gilla Crist, abbot of the Céli Dé of St Andrews’ charter to Odo, also specified the forinsec service owed to the king on the lands. The only renders owed by Odo to the Céli Dé for Kinkell, *Pitsporgy and *Pitkenny were apparently 32 melae of cheese, 32 melae of barley and a one-year-old pig every year. So, while Culdee lands carried with them the burden of military service to the king, the bishop of St Andrews’ lands did not. Perhaps this was because Odo’s service to the bishop, as an important member of his household, was already understood by the parties involved.

There is also 13th-century evidence that the Céli Dé were farming out lands heritably to the wealthy lay landholders, whether merchant or knightly. Another of the Culdees’ lands listed in the terrier is Letham (Lambieletham), which Adam son of Adam of Letham gave to William son of Lambin in or shortly before 1235, in exchange for 25 marks and two burgage plots in St Andrews (NRS, GD 45/27/97; H1/7/1239). As is well known, the Céli Dé reconstituted themselves as a college of secular canons, St Mary’s on the Rock, by around 1250 (NLS, Adv. MS 15.1.18, no. 30; H4/32/92). Adam of Makerstoun, who was provost of the college for over 30 years from c. 1250 into the 1280s, issued a charter to William son of Lambin’s son John, at some point between 1273 and 1286 (Laing Charters, no. 15; H2/105/2). In it, Provost Adam makes clear that the Céli Dé had given both Letham as well as ‘Kyninnis’ in feu and heritage, for his homage and service, to Adam son of Gilla Muire son of (mac) Martin, who must have been the father of the Adam son of Adam of Letham whom we have already encountered. As Simon Taylor describes, ‘Kyninnis’ and Letham were both part of the original endowment for the Augustinian cathedral priory of St Andrews in 1140, but were given in exchange to the Céli Dé for part of Strathkinnness at some point between 1156 and 1160; in any event, both ‘Kyninnis’ and Letham are mentioned as Culdee possessions in 1160 and again in the c. 1220 terrier (*PNF* 3, 110). ‘Kyninnis’, like Letham, was in the post-Reformation parish of Cameron and was later known as Carngour (*PNF* 3, 91). Indeed, as the following table makes clear, nine or ten of the 14 lands held by the Céli Dé in the early 13th century were farmed out to local gentry.

84 By contrast, Odo owed Bishop Richard an annual payment of 40 shillings for Moonzie and Lordscairnie.

85 See also *PNF* 3, 112, 442.

or lesser aristocracy; for the remaining four lands, there is insufficient evidence, but certainly not contrary evidence. It is quite possible that all 14 of these lands were held ‘in feu and heritage’ by lay families. This is not to suggest that members of these families were Céli Dé or even had a particular interest in the spiritual life of the Céli Dé; rather these arrangements were more likely to have been in place to help support that spiritual life, just as a donation of land or silver to a reform monastery would have done.

**Lands of the Céli Dé c. 1220**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land</th>
<th>Landholder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kinkell SSL</td>
<td>Odo the steward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinaldy fihs CMN</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinaldy Egu’ (Aoidh) CMN</td>
<td>Aed the Red³⁸⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambieletham CMN</td>
<td>Adam of Letham/William s. Lambin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameron CMN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or Carron Mill SSL</td>
<td>possibly Cameron family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairns SSL</td>
<td>Michael Scot (I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carngour (‘Kyninnis’) CMN</td>
<td>Adam s. Gilla Muire/John s. William s. Lambin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumgally KMB</td>
<td>Duncan Scot (I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceres CER</td>
<td>Ceres family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balquhy ? CER</td>
<td>unknown³⁸⁹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltilly ? CER</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballachton CER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or *Pitsporgy SSL</td>
<td>Odo the steward (if *Pitsporgy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Pitkenny SSL</td>
<td>Odo the steward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingask SSL</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Barrow put it, ‘the earls of Fife may have possessed an interest in the culdees and their estates, suggested by Earl Duncan II and three of his sons witnessing the important agreement of 1198–99, *St And. Lib.*, 319 – and have granted some of their lands to trusted dependants’ (1974, 32). While the exact nature of this ‘interest’ is difficult to tease out, it seems very likely that the earls of Fife had enough influence over the Céli Dé to arrange land deals for his household knights. However, the feuing of lands to Odo the bishop’s steward

³⁸⁷ As identified by Simon Taylor, *PNF* 3, 619–21.
³⁸⁸ See *PNF* 3, 108–09.
³⁸⁹ In 1365 these lands were held by the Uviet or Wingate family; as the Uviets were active in Fife in the preceding two centuries, it is possible that they held it from the célí Dé as well. *PNF* 2, 65.
suggests that the bishop of St Andrews may have been able to exercise similar sway with the Culdees, so perhaps we should not envisage a too well legally defined interest on the part of the earls, so much as the power of the patron to ‘lean on’ the abbot or prior of his favoured institution. The mention of Ceres FIF as one of the lands held by the Céli Dé is perhaps our most compelling evidence of this phenomenon. The knightly family taking the toponymic ‘of Ceres’ were influential figures in the household or familia of the earls of Fife, as evidenced by their prominent position in comital charters as well as their close emulation of the comital family’s naming practices – there were Adam, David, Donnchad/Duncan and Máel Coluim/Malcolm of Ceres. There is no surviving charter of the Céli Dé feuing the land of Ceres to Adam of Ceres or his son Donnchad/Duncan, but the fact that the Céli Dé held Ceres, the use of the name by the knightly family, and their relationship to the earls of Fife, all suggest a similar arrangement as that which the Scot family had. There is no evidence that the earl himself held Ceres but he did hold Teasses and Bandirran (SHS Misc. iv, 311, no. 7; H3/16/23) in Ceres parish, as well as the neighbouring ‘three ‘Tarvits’ which in the middle ages formed the defunct parish of Tarvit (Campbell 1910–11, 222; H3/16/22). The lands of Kilmaron in Cupar parish are not on the above list of Céli Dé lands, but the knightly family taking the name of Kilmaron bears comparison with the Scot and Ceres families. Like them, the Kilmarons had close links with the earls of Fife. Lord Thomas of Kilmaron, knight, witnessed six charters of the earl of Fife and four charters as part of the same group of witnesses as the earl of Fife, as well as witnessing the charter of Michael Scot to St Thomas of Canterbury discussed above (Barrow 1974, 30–32, no. 6). The importance of the family to the earls is suggested by William of Kilmaron’s tenure of Livingston in West Lothian from Earl Máel Coluim I (Morton Reg., i, App. I; H3/16/18). The appearance of the names Duncan (or Donnchad) and Malcolm (or Máel Coluim) and, to a less extent, William – all names used by the comital family at this time – is further evidence of their connections. Little is known about the status of Kilmaron in the early 13th century, but the place-name, indicating a ‘church of St Rón’, and the likely inclusion of Pitlug in Monimail parish, with its own

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90 PoMS no. 889 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/889/>.
91 PoMS no. 14569 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/14569/>.
92 PoMS no. 973 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/973/>.
93 PoMS no. 11219 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/11219/>.
94 The parish of Tarvit was later subsumed into Cupar and Ceres parishes. See PNF 4, 270–73.
95 PoMS no. 5679 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/5679/>.
96 Dunf. Reg. no. 144 (H3/16/14); North Berwick Carte no. 7 (H3/16/13); Monay Reg. no. 50 (H3/16/17); SHS Misc. iv no. 7 (H3/16/23); St And. Lib., 245 (H3/16/21); Hist. MSS Comm. 8 no. 1 (H3/16/24).
place-name indicating a ‘farm of the bell’, are strongly suggestive of associations with the church (PNF 4, 296, 601). It is not known whether a 12th- or 13th-century church establishment had rights in the land of Kilmaron, but viewed against the backdrop of two other families in the Fife comital affinity, a pattern emerges of the earl retaining his own lands in the Howe of Fife for himself and his close kin, while arranging for household knights to hold lands traditionally associated with the church. The Scot landholdings in Strathmiglo parish and the Kilmaron holdings in West Lothian may suggest that the earl was more willing to allow retainers to hold some of his own more peripheral lands.  

Is there any further evidence for landholding by the Scot family in east Fife? A charter of Michael Scot of Balwearie (probably Michael (II)), dating to c. 1300, notes that the ‘trustworthy men of the country’ had upheld that Michael’s ancestors had heritably infefted ‘of old’ (ex antiquo) Ivo of Bruntshiels and his ancestors by charter in the land of Bruntshiels (Fraser, Wemyss ii no. 6). Bruntshiels is in the very north-western tip of Kilconquhar parish and is surrounded on three sides by Ceres parish. In the 1202 agreement between Earl Donnchad (II) and Bishop Roger, the earl retained the lands and right of patronage of the church of Kilconquhar (PNF 5, App. 4). Indeed, a cadet branch of the comital line took their surname from the Kilconquhar estate, eventually marrying into the earldom of Carrick. Further, the right of patronage of the church of Kilconquhar was later disputed between Adam earl of Carrick and the Priory of North Berwick, a Fife comital foundation (North Berwick Carte nos. 19, 20; H3/14/16 and H3/14/17). In 1294, much of Kilconquhar parish was still in the hands of the earls of Fife, in the form of a shire based on Rires and taking in Balcarres and Balniel as well as Rires itself (PNF 5, App. 2). As most of the parish was evidently held by the earl of Fife in the 12th century, it is likely that the estate of Bruntshiels was acquired by Michael Scot (I) or one of his predecessors from the earl of Fife.

The ‘prehistory’ of the Scot family

Now that we have explored the landholding patterns of the Scot family, in particular those going back to the time of Michael Scot (I), son of Malothen, who the reader will recall flourished in the 1220s and 1230s, we can attempt to speculate on Michael’s own background and family ‘prehistory’. It is first
important to stress that there is no surviving evidence identifying definitively the parentage of Michael’s father, Malothen. However, we have a starting place for our investigation in the social milieu around the earls of Fife and the St Andrews Céli Dé which was clearly so important in the early history of the Scot family, so perhaps this will provide us with clues for where to look.

As Geoffrey Barrow points out, the Gaelic personal name ‘Malothen’ is not all that rare in 12th-century Scotland (Barrow 1974, 32). At least, there are four men with that name in the People of Medieval Scotland database (other than Michael’s father):

1. Malothen, first known sheriff of Scone: fl. 1130s (PoMS no. 596)
2. Malothen the marischal: fl. 1140s (PoMS no. 665)
3. Ewen (Éogan) son of (mac) Malothen, thane of Dairsie: fl. c. 1160 (PoMS no. 2996)
4. Malothen son of (mac) Matadín, fl. 1200s/1210s (PoMS no. 6107)

While the existence of Ewen mac Malothen, thane of Dairsie (which is about 2km north-east of Rungally), is intriguing, there are probably two generations separating him from Michael son of Malothen. The only Malothen surviving in the charter record whose dates are consistent with the father of a person who was largely active in the 1220s and 1230s is the final example, Malothen mac Matadín. Fortunately, what we know about this Malothen fits very well with our understanding of Michael son of Malothen (or Michael Scot I). Malothen mac Matadín flourished in the first two decades of the 13th century and appears to have operated in a milieu around the earl of Fife. Malothen witnessed a charter of Máel Coluim (I), earl of Fife, in which he gave the church of St Peter of Inveravon with the davocho and parish of Strathavon (in Moray) to Brice, bishop of Moray, in 1204 × 1222 (Moray Reg. no. 50; H3/16/17). Other witnesses included the earl’s brother and household knights Thomas of Kilmarnock, William of Wyville, Alexander of Blair and Henry of Abernethy. About the same time, Malothen witnessed a charter of Fergus, earl of Buchan, giving Fedderate in Buchan to John son of Uhtred in exchange for Slains and Cruden (Aberdeen-Banff Coll., 407–09; H3/12/6).

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101 Who is identified as PoMS no. 6122.
102 David I Chrs. nos. 44, 56.
103 David I Chrs. nos. 56, 129.
104 This is the PoMS number for Ewen; his father Malothen’s number is PoMS no. 2998. He appears in a charter of Bishop Arnold of St Andrews: St And. Lib., 128.
105 A large estate in New Deer parish ABD consisting of three davochs, namely Estir Auhic[oc] (Easter Aucheoch), [A]u'hetherb (Atherb), Auhethas (Affath) and Conwiltes.
Despite its Aberdeenshire context, this document has very clear links with Fife: also witnessing the charter are Máel Coluim, earl of Fife, and his brother David, the Fife household knights Thomas of Kilmaron, Alexander of Blair and Henry of Abernethy. In this charter, Malothen appears alongside his brother, Cospatric. The appearance of the earls of Fife north of the Mounth should not surprise us; as lords of Strathbogie and Strath Avon they were active there (PNF 5, chapters 3 and 4). Furthermore, as Alan Young has pointed out, there may have been marriage connections between the families of the mormaers of Fife and Buchan in the early and mid 12th century (Young 1993, 179–80).

Malothen’s brother Cospatric was himself the beneficiary of estates in Buchan: Fergus’s successor Earl William Comyn gave him Strichen ABD and Kindroucht ABD in feu and heritage, 1211 × 1224 (Abdn. Reg. i, 14–15; H3/12/13). This charter was probably produced in the Buchan area, with such witnesses as William Prat, sometime sheriff of Aberdeen, and Fearchar, judex of Buchan. It is possible, although far from certain, that Malothen’s brother Cospatric is to be identified with one Cospatric of Rires. Rires, in Kilconquhar parish, Fife, was the centre of a cluster of secular lands (a ‘shire’) held by the earl in the late 13th century and that part of the parish of Kilconquhar not held by the bishop of St Andrews must have been held by the earl of Fife in the 12th century. Furthermore, the likelihood that the Scot family seems to have held the lands of Bruntshiels in north-western Kilconquhar parish at least by the early 13th century fits well with this theory. Admittedly, the dating of Cospatric of Rires’s charter attestations is a bit early, as he witnessed charters in the 1170s and 1180s: a charter of Bishop Richard of St Andrews, 1172 × 1178 (St And. Lib., 135; H2/10/93), an agreement between Bishop Hugh of St Andrews and Earl Donnchad II of Fife, 1178 × 1188 (St And. Lib., 353; H4/15/1) and a confirmation by Máel Coluim, son of Earl Donnchad II (the future earl Máel Coluim I) to North Berwick Priory, c. 1180 × 1204 (SHS Misc. iv no. 4, H3/16/12). Thus, Cospatric of Rires appears in charters linked to the earls of Fife and uses a topoynymic second name linked to an estate probably owned by the earl of Fife. Moreover, Cospatric of Rires seems to have been relatively important in the society of east Fife, rubbing shoulders in witness lists with men such as Odo the bishop’s steward (of Kinninmonth), Merleswain, lord of Kennoway, Hugh of Nydie, the bishop’s butler, and Adam of Kilconquhar and members of the Abernethy family. Whether or not Cospatric of Rires is to be equated with Cospatric brother of Malothen, son of Matadín and uncle of Michael Scot (I), he clearly moved in the same east Fife social milieu. If this

106 PoMS no. 6257 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/6257/>.
107 PoMS no. 3315 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/3315/>.
theory is correct, then we should see Cospatric and Malothen, sons of Matadín, as mainly east Fife landholders using their connections with the earls of Fife and possibly Buchan in order to gain new lands in the North-East; indeed, their charters probably exist precisely because they were incomers; those with longstanding ties to the province probably had no need of written record in the early 13th century.

Following the same principle of exploring the east Fife social world, is it possible to tease out the identity of Malothen and Cospatric’s father, Matadín? We would be looking for somebody with ties to the earls of Fife and the St Andrews church establishment and active in the mid- to late-12th century. Three charters of donation of Earl Donnchad II of Fife to St Andrews Cathedral Priory – those giving the churches of Markinch FIF and Cupar FIF and the right to build a millpond at Nydie FIF, all probably dating from the mid-1160s, were witnessed by Madechin mac Mathusalem, or Matadín son of Methuselah (St And. Lib., 241–44; H3/16/3, 4 and 5). The other witnesses to these charters are retainers and tenants of the earl, so Matadín fits into the same context as Malothen and Michael Scot (I). Are we able to say anything else about this Matadín? His other surviving charter attestation draws together many of the strands we have teased out thus far. A charter of Gilla Críst, abbot of the Céli Dé of St Andrews – the only charter text of such an abbot surviving – dates probably to the 1170s: this is the charter giving Kinkell FIF and other lands to Odo (of Kinninmonth), the bishop’s steward and brother of Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen, who witnesses the charter (Barrow 1971, no. 2; H2/62/1). The other witnesses were Walter, prior of St Andrews, Earl Donnchad (II of Fife), Ness son of William (of Leuchars), ‘Maduchyn et Gyllechrist filiis Machasal’, Robert of ‘Cambun’, Adam of Ceres, William of Hoddam (?), Gilla Míchéil son of Fogan or Sogan and Máel Coluim son of Gilla Míchéil. Earl Donnchad and Ness son of William were the most powerful secular landholders in east Fife in the late 12th century; Adam of Ceres, as we have seen, was a household knight of the earl. Robert of ‘Cambun’ may be ‘of Cameron’, an estate which was probably held by the Céli Dé. Considering the order of witnesses, we would expect ‘Maduchyn’ and Gilla Críst, sons of ‘Machasal’, to be relatively important persons with links to the earls of Fife and the Céli Dé. This document only survives in a 1395 notarial transumpt and the more obscure names are somewhat garbled, but, as Barrow suggests, this is clearly Matadín son of Methuselah and his brother, Gilla Críst. Gilla Críst son of Methuselah also witnessed a charter of Walter son of Philip, lord of Lundin

108 The charter anent Markinch clearly dates to between January 1164 and December 1166; that dealing with Cupar is January 1164 × 1178, and that dealing with Nydie is 1154 × 1178. Their similar witness lists may suggest a mid-1160s date for all three charters.
in Fife, to St Andrews Priory, alongside Earl Donnchad II, Odo the steward and others (St And. Lib., 264; H3/369/1). Furthermore, Matadín may have left his mark on the toponymic landscape through the place-name of Magask Madech in Ceres (formerly St Andrews) parish, the name it carried around 1220 when the St Andrews terrier recorded it as belonging to Adam son of Odo of Kinninmonth (PNF2, 95–96). The place-name Balmeadie in Dunbog parish FIF, which Simon Taylor suggests originally meant ‘Matadín’s or Matadán’s farm’, gives us another tantalising hint at the possible earlier landholdings of the family (PNF 4, 341–42; PNF 5, 231–32). It is noteworthy that Matadín son of Methuselah does not appear in any charters after 1178, around the time that Cospatric of Rires began appearing in charters. Unfortunately, there are no Fife comital charters before the 1150s and it is not possible to say anything about Methuselah himself. Nevertheless, within the east Fife social milieu we have been able to tease out a plausible and hopefully convincing story of the origins of the Scot family of Balwearie. Indeed, it may just be possible to tease out the generation before Mathuselah. The gift, dating to 1131 × 1132, by Gartnait son of Cainnech and Ête, daughter of Gilla Míchéil, a mormaer of Buchan and a probable daughter of a mormaer of Fife, to the clerici of Deer, was witnessed by a Mataidín the judge whose name and social context would make an excellent candidate (if sadly unproveable) for Mathuselah’s father.109

**Proposed family tree for the ‘prehistory’ of the Scots of Balwearie**

```
   Methuselah
     |   
   Matadín  Gilla Críst
           |   |   |
             |   |   
           Cospatric  Malothen, fl. 1200s/10s
             |   |   |
             Cospatric of Rires? fl. late 12th century
             |
             Michael ‘Scot’, fl. 1220s/30s
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109 See Forsyth, Broun and Clancy, *Book of Deer*, 139, Text III (H3/12/1). The appearance of a Máel Domnaig son of MacBethad in both this document as well as in a contemporaneous record of a Fife court case bolsters the possibility of Mataidín the judge as a Fife-Buchan elite figure. See PoMS no. 6218 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/6218/>.
The ‘Scot’ families of Monorgan and Balwearie present us with two relatively clear-cut examples deeply rooted in the social structure of Scotland north of the Forth, the region still often known as Albania in the 12th century. In contrast to many of the individuals using the term ‘Scot’ as a by-name examined in Part 1 of this article, these two families seem to have been using the name ‘Scot’ in the older, ethnolinguistic sense of Gaelic speakers from Alba. In addition to the social milieu which tied them to north-of-Forth institutions like the earldoms of Fife and Buchan and the church at St Andrews, the use of Gaelic and Scandinavian names suggests that these families took the surname ‘Scot’ precisely because they were noticeably ‘Scottish’ in a Europeanising world. For some uncertain reason, the Fife family continued to use the surname ‘Scot’ when the others did not. The family based on Allardice in the Mearns, by contrast, fits a different model: their use of European forenames, especially Walter, and their participation in social networks dominated by immigrant families suggest that they were also outsiders and had more in common with the many individuals using the by-name ‘Scot’ based south of Forth who were discussed in Part 1. The final part of this article will discuss families south of the Forth, in areas not traditionally thought of as ethnically or linguistically Scottish, to ask why the surname ‘Scot’ there caught on, not least among the ancestors of Sir Walter Scott and the powerful dukes of Buccleuch.

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