University of Southampton

Faculty of Arts and Humanities

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the Space of Authority: Liturgy and Music at St Andrews in 12th-13th Centuries

by

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

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This dissertation re-examines the making of liturgical identity at St Andrews between c.1100 and c.1300. It argues that the cathedral was not a passive recipient of English or Continental practices but a site of "liturgical authorship", where imported forms were selectively adapted and given a distinctively Scottish voice. Drawing on manuscripts, charters, and architecture, the study shows how monarchy, Augustinians, and Céli Dé together shaped a hybrid liturgical culture that expressed both continuity and reform.

The first chapter situates St Andrews within the politics of Scottish kingship. It shows how royal patronage—through the promotion of St Andrew's cult, diocesan organisation, and episcopal appointments—used the Church to consolidate authority and assert independence from York and Canterbury. Chapter 2 reassesses the Céli Dé, challenging narratives of decline. It demonstrates that they survived as secular canons, retained episcopal support, and contributed actively to liturgical practice, often in negotiation and tension with the Augustinians. Chapter 3 turns to architecture, reading St Rule's, St Mary on the Rock, and the cathedral as ritual spaces designed to stage Sarum-based liturgy while accommodating local devotions. Chapter 4 analyses Pn12036 and W1, especially Fascicle XI, arguing that Sarum entered Scotland early through Augustinian networks and was then re-voiced locally by the Céli Dé and cathedral clergy. Fascicle XI emerges as a purpose-built Marian cycle that reveals institutional authorship through its functional, restrained adaptation of Parisian techniques.

Taken together, the chapters show how monarchy provided the framework, the Augustinians the transmission networks, and the Céli Dé the continuity of local tradition. Their interplay produced a distinctive liturgical identity at St Andrews that was both orthodox and innovative. By integrating historical, architectural, and musical evidence, the dissertation demonstrates how conflict between communities fostered integration and creativity, establishing St Andrews as a key centre in the development of liturgical practice and polyphonic music in medieval Scotland.

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List of Manuscripts

All mentioned manuscripts are listed below in Country – Full Source order. Nicknames are given in footnotes to the list. However, due to the frequently use made of the St Andrews and Notre Dame sources throughout this work, these are referred to as W1, Pn12036, Pn1218, the most common accepted abbreviations in *Ars antiqua* studies.

RISM Sigla	**Country**	**Full source**
A-KN 1013	Austria	Klostemeuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift— Bibliothek 1013
D-W Guelf. 628 Helmst.[1]	Germany	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 628 Helmst
D-W Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst[2].	Germany	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 1099 Helmst
F-Pn Lat. 4126	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 4126
F-Pn Lat. 12036	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, Latin 12036
F-Pn Lat. 12044	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, Latin 12044
F-Pn Lat. 1218	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, Latin 1218
GB-AB MS 20541.E	Great Britain	Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS 20541.E
GB-Cu Mm.II.9[3]	Great Britain	Cambridge, University Library Mm.II.9
GB-DRu Bamburgh Select 6	Great Britain	Durham University, Bamburgh Select 6
GB-CHIhc MS Add. 2602	Great Britain	Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Additional 2602
GB-CHIhc 9-14-338d–g	Great Britain	Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 9-14-338d–g
GB-CHIhc 9-15-57	Great Britain	Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 9-15-57
GB-CHIhc 9-24-460	Great Britain	Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 9-24-460
GB-Eu MS 211/IV[4]	Great Britain	Edinburgh University, MS 211/IV
GB-H MS P.IX.7	Great Britain	Hereford Cathedral MS P.IX.7
GB-Lbl 5284A	Great Britain	London, British Library, 5284A
GB-Lbl Add. 25014	Great Britain	London, British Library, 25014

[1] W1
[2] W2
[3] The Barnwell Antiphonal
[4] Inchcolm Antiphoner

GB-Lbl Add. 29598	Great Britain	London, British Library, 28698
GB-Lbl Arundel 36	Great Britain	London, British Library, Arundel 36
GB-Lbl Cotton Tiberius D iii	Great Britain	London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius D iii
GB-Lbl Harley 1001[5]	Great Britain	London, British Library, 1001
GB-Lbl Harley 4628	Great Britain	London, British Library, 4628
GB-Lbl Harley 3601	Great Britain	London, British Library, 3601
GB-MRl lat. 24[6]	Great Britain	Manchester, John Rylands Library, Latin 24.
GB-Ob 579[7]	Great Britain	Oxford, Bodleian Library, 579
GB-Ob Rawl. Lit.d.4	Great Britain	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. Liturgy.d.4
GB-Ob MS. Laud Misc.84	Great Britain	Oxford Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 84
GB-Ob MS. Laud Misc. 299	Great Britain	Oxford Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 299
GB-Ob MS. Bodl. 948	Great Britain	Oxford Bodleian Library, Bodley 948
GB-SB MS 152	Great Britain	Salisbury Cathedral MS 152
GB-WO MS Q.86	Great Britain	Worcester Cathedral MS Q.86
I-Rvat SP B. 79	Italy	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, San Pietro B.79

[5] Old Ordinal of Sarum

[6] The Crawford Missal.

[7] The Leofric Missal.

Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: Yanchen Zhao

Title of thesis: the Space of Authority: Liturgy and Music at St Andrews in 12th-13th Centuries

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;

Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;

Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;

Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;

I have acknowledged all main sources of help;

Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;

None of this work has been published before submission.

Signature: ..... Date: 25. 11. 2025

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[8] I am deeply grateful for the unwavering support of my parents, Zhao Lei and Sun Yanyan, and my grandmother, Zhao Sufen. Their selfless spiritual and financial support has been the foundation of my life. Thank you for raising me and for standing by every decision I have made. Finally, to myself: Thank you for enduring the physical and mental hardships. Remember the willpower and determination it took to earn this Ph.D. There is no obstacle too great that you cannot overcome.

Definitions and Abbreviations

CAO Catalogue of antiphons as in Hesbert's *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, now expanded on the Cantus Database (Koláček, Jan, Debra Lacoste and Kate Helsen. Cantus: A Database of Latin Ecclesiastical Chant. (Waterloo) www.cantusdatabase.org.)

FN The foundation narrative in the B legend of St Andrew. Most probably written by Robert, the first prior of St Andrews.

Holyrood Liber *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis: munimenta ecclesie Sancte Crucis de Edwinesburg*, edited by C. Innes

RCAHMS The Royal Commission on The Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland

RPSA *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree*

RRS *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, edited by G. W. S Barrow. The Acts of Malcolm IV Edinburgh 1960.

SEA *Scottish Episcopal Acta*

St Andrews Lib. *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia : E Registro Ipso in Archivis Baronum de Panmure Hodie Asservato*. Edited by Thomas Thomson.

V Responsory verse

MA1-10 The Placement of an Antiphon in Matins

MR1-9 The Placement of an Responsory in Matins

LA1-5 The Placement of an Antiphon in Lauds

VE Vesper Ending

MI Invitatory antiphon in Matins

MH Hymn in Matins

LE Lesson Ending

WE Versicle Ending

Introduction

Scholars have long assumed that Notre Dame polyphony spread from Paris to distant regions, replacing local traditions with standardized forms of sacred music. But evidence from St Andrews suggests otherwise. Rather than passively receiving imported traditions, the canons of St Andrews actively reshaped them, blending Sarum-based rituals with Parisian, northern English influences and local innovations. What does this tell us about the role of Scottish religious communities in shaping medieval liturgical practices?

This dissertation argues that the development of liturgical music at St Andrews was shaped by a dynamic interplay between royal patronage, the Augustinians' introduction of Continental practices, and the Céli Dé's adaptation of local traditions, resulting in a unique liturgical identity that bridged Scottish and European influences.

Background

Building on the above question, this study focuses on St Andrews during the 12th and 13th centuries, a period of significant political, economic, and cultural transformation. These changes encompassed the consolidation of royal authority, the expansion of urban centres, and the reform of ecclesiastical institutions. Frequent external interactions—through warfare, trade, and cultural exchange with England, Ireland, and France—introduced new intellectual currents that contributed to broader societal shifts. By narrowing its scope to this specific time and place, this study explores how political and cultural forces shaped liturgy and music and, in turn, how these elements reflected and influenced medieval society.

Before engaging with historical and scholarly discussions, the study will first define key concepts central to its analysis. These include *Scotland* as the Kingdom of Scotland, primarily a political entity ruled by Scottish kings but also extending beyond its geographical boundaries in cultural influence; *Kingship* as a framework of authority and governance in the medieval period; Space, refer to *St Andrews* as a site located on the easternmost headland of the city of St Andrews, home to serval religious buildings, including the cathedral of the same name, St Rule's church, and the church of St Mary on the Rock.

Key Concepts and Terminology

A. Scotland

The concept of Scotland in the modern sense differs significantly from its medieval counterpart, both politically and geographically. In the 12th and 13th centuries, Scotland was not a fixed territorial entity with clearly defined borders but rather a fluid and evolving kingdom.

Its boundaries were frequently redefined due to wars, political conflicts, and shifting alliances. For example, The River Tweed witnessed numerous battles between the Scottish and English Marches, with its control frequently shifting until the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed became permanently part of England in 1482. From the reign of Alexander II (1214–1249), the Scottish monarchy had demonstrated ambitions toward the western seaboard, contested with Norway. In 1263, following the military defeat of King Hákon IV and his subsequent death, his successors were compelled to acknowledge Scottish sovereignty over the western seaboard, including the Hebrides and the Isle of Man[9].

Given this territorial fluidity, defining Scotland solely by its borders risks oversimplification. Instead, this study approaches Scotland as a medieval kingdom, a concept that extends beyond geographical boundaries rather than a modern nation-state. Susan Reynolds defines a kingdom as the highest and most honoured secular community of the medieval period, which was deeply tied to ideas of collective identity and governance. She claim a kingdom was not merely the territory by a king, but as a community composed of a 'people' (*gens, natio, populus*) bound by shared traditions, customs, laws, and a collective sense of descent[10]. Unlike modern civic nationalism, which emphasizes voluntary membership based on shared political values [11]. Medieval kingdoms were primarily defined by ethnic and elite identities.

Scotland in the 12th–13th centuries exemplifies the concept of a medieval kingdom, particularly in its alignment with the idea of a lateral ethnie. This term, drawn from sociological theories of ethnicity and nationalism[12], describes a community defined by elite cultural practices, myths of common descent, and exclusivity, yet lacking the inclusivity required for a modern nation. This elite community—comprising kings, royal families, bishops, and the aristocracy—cultivated a distinct identity through shared language, customs, and traditions. Central to this identity was the use of religious and liturgical practices to reinforce their sense of noble lineage and sovereignty.

Religion, deeply intertwined with these elite traditions, reinforced the concept of a distinct Scottish identity. The ruling class used myths to justify their independence and the legitimacy of kingship, with the cult of St Andrew playing a central role. From Queen Margaret to King Alexander II, Scottish rulers consistently supported this religious tradition, employing its

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[9] Geoffrey Barrow, The Anglo-Norman Impact, c.1100-c.1286 in Bob Harris and Alan R.. MacDonald, *Scotland: The Making and Unmaking of the Nation c.1100-1707*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012). 25

[10] Susan, Reynolds and American Council of Learned Societies. *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300*. ACLS Humanities E-Book. 2nd ed. (Oxford, New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1997). 250.

[11] Michael Ignatieff, *Blood & Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism*. (London: Vintage, 1993). 4.

[12] Based on the research of Anthony D. Smith. Turville-Petre Thorlac, *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290-1340*. (Oxford, 1996). 10.

associated myths to counter English claims of superiority. This theme will be explored in detail in later chapters.

Thus, liturgical practices and sacred music in St Andrews were not merely acts of worship but also expressions of elite ideology. Through the liturgy and music performed in honor of St Andrew, the Scottish elite reinforced their claims to sovereignty, embedding these narratives within religious rituals and ecclesiastical spaces.

B. Kingship and Kings

Given the territorial fluidity of Scotland during this period, the concept of kingship became crucial in maintaining unity and governance. For a more cohesive system of governance, the kingdom was regarded as the ideal type of political community, and kingship as the ideal form of rule. Kings served as symbols of unity, deriving their authority from tradition, the Church, and biblical precedent[13]. As part of their efforts to consolidate power, Scottish rulers also promoted religious institutions, reinforcing their authority through liturgical practices and sacred music. Nowhere was this more evident than in St Andrews, where royal patronage shaped the development of ecclesiastical culture.

The territorial boundaries of Scotland in the 12th and 13th centuries were fluid, frequently redefined due to wars and political conflicts. This territorial instability necessitated a strong kingship to maintain unity and governance. Kings ruled indirectly through local lords, who administered their respective regions, while the king's court held the highest jurisdiction[14]. This system contributed to the remarkable stability of the Scottish royal dynasty, with knights and nobles remaining loyal even during the reigns of young or infant monarchs[15] .

As symbols of unity, kings not only wielded political and military power but also shaped Scotland's religious and cultural landscape. Their authority was reinforced through the Church, which played a crucial role in legitimizing kingship. This study frequently references five key rulers: Alexander I (r. 1107–1124), David I (r. 1124–1153), Malcolm IV (r. 1153–1165), William I (r. 1165–1214), and Alexander II (r. 1214–1249). These kings actively promoted religious institutions, using liturgical practices and sacred music to express royal ideology and consolidate their power.

C. Sacred space

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[13] Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300.* Ignatieff*, Blood & Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism*. Turville-Petre*, England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290-1340*.

[14] Geoffrey Barrow, "The Anglo-Norman Impact, c.1100-c.1286" in Bob Harris and Alan R.. MacDonald, *Scotland: The Making and Unmaking of the Nation c.1100-1707*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012). 26.

[15] Barrow, "The Anglo-Norman Impact". 7-8.

The sacred spaces of St. Andrews, particularly the cathedral, were not only sites of religious worship but also symbols of royal authority. Kings actively engaged with these spaces, using them to project their power and legitimacy, while also supporting the Church's role in shaping Scotland's religious and cultural identity. In this study, sacred space in St Andrews is understood as both a physical setting for liturgical performance and a symbolic representation of royal authority. It includes not only religious buildings such as St Andrews Cathedral, St Rule's Church, and St Mary on the Rock but also the external spaces that connected them, where the liturgical processions and music reinforced the power of both the Church and the monarchy.

The concept of sacred space has been widely explored in scholarship, particularly in relation to architecture, ritual, and authority. The creation and significance of sacred spaces can be traced back to the publication of Erwin Panofsky's Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism in 1951. Following the publication of Panofsky's influential study, Gothic architecture has stared been interpreted as the material expression of Scholasticism[16]. Panofsky's research demonstrated how religious buildings embodied intellectual and spiritual ideals.

Expanding beyond material structures, Henri Lefebvre's "*La Production de l'espace*" (published in 1974, translated into English as "The Production of Space" in 1991) proposed a view that space is not merely a backdrop for human activities, but is actively shaped and created[17]. His theory is particularly relevant to this study, as it suggests that the sacred spaces of St Andrews were defined not only by their architecture but by the liturgical practices performed within and around them.

Building on this, Michel Lauwers examined the relationship between architecture, space, and religious authority particularly in Christian cemeteries and churches. Lauwers identified the relationship between the spatial dimension of architecture and the spirituality of the community's followers, noting the control and influence of the institutions of authority over space[18]. In other words, a leader of institutions of authority, like bishop and abbots, controlled and structured sacred spaces. Similarly, Eliade categorises the function of space into the sacred and the profane, exploring the dichotomy between them, and connecting sacred spaces to religious practices[19].

Applying these insights to St Andrews, it is clear that sacred space was not merely a geographical concept. It was neither restricted by the city's boundaries nor confined to the interior of religious buildings. Instead, it encompassed the cathedral, subsidiary churches, and

[16] Erwin, Panofsky. *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (New York: NAL Penguin, 1951)
[17] Henri Lefebvre, "The production of space (1991)." *The people, place, and space reader*. Gieseking, J.J., Mangold, W., Katz, C., Low, S., & Saegert, S. Eds.(Routledge, 2014). 289-293.
[18] Michel Lauwers, and Laurent Ripart. *Pouvoirs, Église et société dans les royaumes de France, Germanie et Bourgogne aux Xe et XIe siècles (888-vers 1110)*. (Hachette supérieur, Paris, DL 2008).
[19] Mircea Eliade. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*. (San Diego, Calif: Harvest.2004)

the external spaces that linked them, creating a network of liturgical procession and symbolic authority. The precinct wall traditionally marked the boundary between sacred and secular space, yet St Mary's church extended beyond it, reinforcing the idea that sacred space was shaped by human activity and institutional control rather than by fixed borders.

For this study, the significance of sacred space lies in its role as a site of both religious and political expression. Ecclesiastical architecture in St Andrews was expanded, repaired, and build to accommodate ritual performance, reflecting the political and spiritual priorities of those in power. The Church, as the institution responsible for these spaces, played a central role in shaping them. Bishops exercised authority over the design of buildings, their internal decoration, and even the arrangement of seating for liturgical performance.

Furthermore, the relationship between sacred space and kingship must be considered. While Scottish kings may not have directly influenced architectural design, they actively engaged with sacred spaces as symbols of royal legitimacy. The Scottish monarchy used religion as an extension of elite culture, embedding their authority within sacred sites. The cult of St Andrew, in particular, played a central role in justifying Scottish independence and kingship, with St Andrews Cathedral standing as a monument to this royal ideology.

In this context, sacred space in St Andrews functioned as both a religious and political stage, where rituals, music, and architecture were carefully orchestrated to reinforce royal and ecclesiastical authority. This interplay between space, liturgy, and kingship forms the foundation of this research, providing a lens through which to examine how sacred music and liturgical practices were used to express and consolidate power in 12th–13th century Scotland.

Historical discussions

In the 12th and 13th centuries, Scottish monarchy maintained a close relationship with the Church, both politically and religiously. Most kings and royal families acted as protectors and benefactors of ecclesiastical institutions, demonstrating their devotion to Christianity by founding religious houses, donating land, and providing gifts. They also promoted the local saints to reinforce the kingdom's legitimacy.

The Scottish monarchy strategically employed the cult of St Andrew to strengthen the kingdom's legitimacy within both Britain and the broader Christian world. The legend of St. Andrew helping King Óengus in securing a military triumph was consistently elaborated and actively propagated by St. Andrews' two main religious groups, the Céli Dé and the

Augustinians[20]. The presence of the Saint's relics and the dissemination of his legend helped establish St Andrews as a major pilgrimage destination.

The monarchy's influence extended to episcopal appointments, particularly in St. Andrews. Bishops Robert (r. 1127–1159) [21]and William Malveisin (r. 1202–1238) [22] were installed under royal authority, reflecting the king's vested interest in shaping the cathedral's religious life. These appointments played a decisive role in the introduction of Augustinian governance and the transformation of the Céli Dé in the 13th century, which redefined St. Andrews' sacred landscape.

The Augustinian canons, introduced to St Andrews under Alexander I (r. 1107–1124) and David I (r. 1124–1153), played a critical role in reshaping its religious practices. Unlike the Céli Dé, who followed a localized and flexible monastic tradition, the Augustinians implemented standardized liturgical practices and administration structure.

While no direct records of Augustinian liturgical practices at St Andrews survive, indirect evidence—such as manuscript traditions and architectural modifications—suggests their lasting influence. Bishop Robert of St Andrews, likely originating from the Augustinian priory at Nostell[23], introduced northern Romanesque architectural elements and Sarum-based rituals at St Andrews, fundamentally altering its sacred spaces.

St Rule's Church, which may have initially housed St Andrew's relics, underwent expansion during this period[24], reflecting some new liturgical needs. Robert also likely influenced the construction of St Andrews in the later years of his episcopacy[25]. By the time of Bishop Malveisin, St. Andrews Cathedral had integrated stylistic elements commonly found in Benedictine and Augustinian houses[26], solidifying its role as a centre of religious and political authority.

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[20] Dauvit Broun, "The Church of St Andrews and Its Foundation Legend in the Early Twelfth Century," in *Kings, clerics and chronicles in Scotland, 500-1297 : Essays in Honour of Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson on the occasion of her ninetieth birthday*. Simon Taylor ed. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999). 108.
[21] A.A.A. Duncan, The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, 1140. Scottish Historical Review Vol.48. 1.(2005) 1-37.
[22] Paul Craig Ferguson and Stair Society. Medieval Papal Representatives in Scotland : Legates, Nuncios, and Judges-Delegate, 1125-1286. (Edinburgh: Stair Society. 1997) 56 . G. W. S Barrow ed. *Regesta Regum Scottorum*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960. ii, no. 115.[RRS ii], 9–11; P. C. Ferguson, Medieval Papal Representatives in Scotland: Legates, Nuncios, and Judges- Delegate, 1125–1286, *Stair Society* 45 (Edinburgh,1997), 56–63.
[23] Duncan, "The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory". 1-37.
[24] Stephen Heywood, 'The Church of St Rule, St Andrews', in Higgitt, John, and British Archaeological Association. *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St Andrews*. (Tring: British Archaeological Association 1994), pp. 38–46; Neil M. Cameron, 'St Rule's Church in St Andrews, and Early Stone Architecture in Scotland', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 124 (1994), 367–78.
[25] R. G. Cant, *St Andrews Preservation Trust Annual report and Year book for 1973*(1974), 12.
[26] Malcolm Thurlby, "St Andrews Cathedral-Priory and the Beginnings of Gothic Architecture In Northern Britain". in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St Andrews*. 47-60.

While the Augustinians restructured St Andrews' liturgical practices, the Céli Dé, an older monastic community, experienced a gradual decline but later regained influence in the 13th century under Bishop Malveisin.

Before their transformation into secular canons, the Céli Dé followed a distinct monastic tradition characterized by a decentralized structure and locally adapted liturgical customs[27]. Their practices, which included the use of private altars and the ownership of property[28], increasingly clashed with royal and papal reforms aimed at centralizing religious authority and standardizing liturgical practices across Europe.

Bishop Robert's arrival at St Andrews in 1127 marked the beginning of this transition. A papal bull issued by Pope Eugenius III, which deprived the Céli Dé of their private property and their right to elect a bishop[29]. This marked a significant turning point in their decline, as they lost much of their autonomy and influence within St. Andrews. However, by the time of Bishop Malveisin, the Céli Dé appeared in the bishop's charter[30], indicated they reestablish themselves as the dominant religious community at St Andrews.

The Céli Dé's resurgence emerged St Mary on the Rock as a key religious site, demonstrating their enduring presence in St Andrews' sacred landscape during this period. This church, located beyond the traditional precinct wall of St. Andrews Cathedral, symbolized their enduring influence and adaptability. The Céli Dé's ability to integrate Sarum-based liturgical practices with local traditions, as evidenced in manuscripts like Pn12036 and W1, further demonstrates their continued relevance in shaping St. Andrews' sacred landscape.

The sacred spaces of St Andrews Cathedral, St Rule's Church, and St Mary on the Rock were not merely sites of worship but also symbols of royal and ecclesiastical authority. These buildings—with their long naves, choirs, shrines, and ambulatories—were designed to accommodate the processional movements essential to the unique liturgical practices of St. Andrews. The architecture of these spaces reflected the interplay between religious rituals, political power, and communal identity, shaping both spiritual experiences and the broader cultural landscape of medieval Scotland.

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[27] William Reeves, *The Culdees of the British Islands, as They Appear in History*. (Dublin: M.H.Gill, 1864).
[28] W. F. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots, and Other Early Memorials of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1867) [Skene, Chron. Picts-Scots], 138-40. "*Keledei namque in angulo quodam ecclesiae quae modica nimis erat suum officium more suo celebrabant*." Taylor and Márkus, *The Place-Names of Fife. Vol.3, St Andrews and the East Neuk*, (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2009) 603. Duncan, *The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, 1140.* 4-5.
[29] St Andrews Lib., 49, and Adrian IV, Migne, Patrologia Latina, vol. 18, 52. G. W. S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots: Government, Church and Society from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century* (Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 197.
[30] *Magnum Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree* printed in the edition of the Register. See Thomas Thomson, ed. *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree* in Scotia (Edinburgh, 1841) [St Andrews Lib.]. xlii-xliii.

The Easter Sunday procession at St Andrews, for example, likely followed a structured route through the ambulatory and choir, pausing at designated stations, such as the rood-step at the western entrance to the choir, where a boy carrying Holy Water and the cross bearer (or bearers) would stand[31].

Similarly, the extension of St Rule's Church suggests a deliberate effort to accommodate these processional rituals. Its elongated layout provided more than enough space for liturgical movements, reflecting the growing importance of processions in the religious life of St. Andrews. The choir stalls and clerical seating arrangements in the cathedral, which align with patterns observed in Sarum-influenced English cathedrals, indicate adherence to standardized practices[32]. These architectural features demonstrate how the design of St Andrews' sacred spaces facilitated the performance of Sarum-based rituals, integrating local traditions with broader European liturgical trends.

The sacred spaces of St. Andrews were not static; they evolved in response to changing liturgical needs and political priorities. The precinct wall traditionally marked the boundary between sacred and secular space, yet St. Mary on the Rock extended beyond it, symbolizing the Céli Dé's enduring influence and the dynamic nature of sacred space. Through these architectural and liturgical developments, St. Andrews Cathedral and its associated churches became not only centres of worship but also stages for the performance of royal and ecclesiastical authority.

To date, W1 and Pn12036 are the sole sources that illustrate the performance of liturgy and music at St. Andrews Cathedral. These manuscripts provide invaluable insights into the cathedral's religious life, reflecting the interplay between liturgical practices, musical traditions, and institutional authority.

Pn12036(Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, Latin 12036), dated to the first quarter of the 13th century, measures 323 × 222 mm and consists of 200 folios. It follows the Sarum Use in its *Temporale*[33] but includes distinctive saints in its *Sanctorale*, such as St. Brigid of Kildare, highlighting the integration of local traditions. The manuscript features pricking on the recto side and margins marking the musical incipits and terminations of antiphons. It contains

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[31] The processional description comes from: W. H. Frere ed., *The Use of Sarum*. (Cambridge: University Press, 1901), 59-61; Bailey, The Processions of Sarum. 16-18.

[32] a 1250 dispute—where canons regular accused the Céli Dé of claiming unauthorized stalls—suggests that seating order was strictly enforced. In Reeves, *The Culdees of the British Islands*. no. 15. And the chapter of St. Andrews organized its canons according to age and seniority. When performed liturgical music, singers consist of elders(*seniore*) and clerics(*clerici*), two groups. In Pn12036, fol. 63r-v.

[33] V. Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques De France* (Paris: Macon, Protat frères, imprimeurs, 1934), vols. IV,382-384.Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews". 10. David Chadd, "An English Noted Breviary of Circa 1200," in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society Centennial Essays*, ed. Susan Rankin and David Hiley (Oxford England: Clarendon Press, 1993), 210.

the full texts of antiphons, responsories, prayers, and hymns, while lessons are indicated by textual incipits. Its format suggests it was a choir book used in the cathedral for communal recitation rather than a private breviary, underscoring its role in public liturgical performance[34].

W1(Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 628 Helmstad.), slightly smaller at approximately 210–226 × 150 mm with 197 folios, a full music manuscript with contains polyphonic settings for the Mass and Office at St Andrews. It includes organum, clausulae, and sequences, reflecting the influence of Parisian polyphony on the cathedral's musical traditions. Friedrich Ludwig divided the manuscript into 11 fascicles based on its contents[35], and its varied layout, differences in parchment quality, and ink colour have led to ongoing debates about the number of scribes involved in its production. Despite these uncertainties, W1 stands as a testament to the musical culture of St. Andrews during this period.

Scholars such as François Avril and Mark Everist have suggested that Bishop Malveisin played a role in commissioning these manuscripts, reinforcing the connection between liturgical reform and episcopal patronage[36]. The inclusion of Sarum-based chants and Parisian polyphonic techniques in both manuscripts demonstrates how St. Andrews adapted external influences while maintaining its own liturgical identity. Together, W1 and Pn12036 not only document the cathedral's religious practices but also illustrate the dynamic interplay between liturgy, music, and authority in 12th–13th century Scotland.

Literature Reviews

A. Kingship and Religious Reform in Medieval Scotland

The relationship between Scottish kingship and the Church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has been widely acknowledged as foundational to medieval state-building. Most historians agree that Scottish rulers used religious reform and patronage to consolidate power and articulate a distinct national identity, though they differ in their assessments of the extent and nature of royal influence. This section reframes that historiography to foreground how ecclesiastical reform shaped not only institutional structures but also liturgical identity at St Andrews.

Duncan has emphasized David I's pivotal role in reshaping Scotland's ecclesiastical landscape. Through the foundation of monasteries (such as Melrose) and key bishoprics

[34] Stenier, "Notre Dame in Scotland". 191.
[35] Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili.* Edited by Luther A Dittmer. Vol. 1. 2 vols. (New York, Institute of Mediaeval Music,1964).
[36] François Avril and Patricia Danz Stirnemann, *Manuscrits Enluminés D'origine Insulaire, VIIe-XXe Siècle, Manuscrits Enluminés de La Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1987).Mark Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews: The Origins of W1," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 43 (Spring 1990): 1–42.

(notably Glasgow), David's reforms integrated Scotland into broader European religious networks. These initiatives, Duncan argues, served not only to enhance royal legitimacy but to align Scottish religious practice with continental administrative and liturgical norms[37].

Building on this, Broun stresses the Church's ideological function in securing Scottish independence. His work on the foundation narratives of St Andrews shows how these legends resisted Canterbury and York's metropolitan claims. The cult of St Andrew thus became a political instrument: by casting St Andrews as the spiritual centre of Scotland, royal and clerical elites framed the Scottish Church as autonomous and apostolically grounded, bolstering the monarchy's sovereignty within a wider Christian geography[38].

Other scholars, including Oram and Huscroft, place greater weight on structural integration. Oram recognizes persistent tensions—over episcopal appointments, for instance—but ultimately portrays the monarchy as successful in adapting ecclesiastical frameworks to Anglo-Norman feudal models[39]. Huscroft situates these developments within a pan-European trajectory, where royal patronage brought Scotland into alignment with the political, cultural, and devotional patterns of the Western Church[40].

Despite this rich scholarship, little sustained attention has been paid to how royal policies shaped liturgical identity at St Andrews. The cult of St Andrew has received extensive political analysis, but the musical and ritual consequences of royal patronage remain underexplored. This dissertation addresses that gap by tracing how kingship influenced liturgical practice not directly, but institutionally—through episcopal appointments, foundation patronage, and the reshaping of sacred space.

Rather than positioning kingship as the author of liturgical change, I argue that it empowered specific agents: bishops, canons, Augustinians, and Céli Dé clerics who enacted liturgical authorship on the ground. Royal favour created the institutional conditions in which Sarum Use, hybrid architectural forms, and Parisian-inspired polyphony could enter Scotland—not as impositions, but as tools for building a distinctively Scottish, reform-aligned sacred identity. This perspective reframes kingship not as liturgical designer, but as cultural enabler.

B. The Augustinians in St Andrews

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[37] A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland, the Making of the Kingdom*, (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1975). And *Kingship of the Scots, 842-1292: Succession and Independence*. (Edinburgh University Press, 2016).
[38] Dauvit Broun, 'The Church and the Beginning of Scottish Independence: From the Council of Windsor and the Submission of Abernethy (1072) to Cum universi and the Quitclaim of Canterbury (1189)', in *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain: From the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh, 2007).
[39] . Oram Richard. *Domination and lordship: Scotland, 1070-1230*. Edinburgh University Press, 2011.
[40] R. Huscroft, *Power and Faith: Politics and Religion in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Century (*Routledge.2023).

The Augustinians played a pivotal role in shaping Scotland's religious landscape, particularly under the patronage of Alexander I and David I. By the mid-12th century, Augustinian foundations, such as Scone, Holyrood, and St Andrews Priory[41], had expanded rapidly, introducing structured monastic discipline and standardized liturgical practices. However, scholars debate the extent of their influence and the degree to which they shaped St Andrews' liturgical identity.

Skene and Ratcliff emphasize the Augustinians' adaptability, arguing that while they followed the Rule of St Augustine, they modified it to balance monastic discipline with pastoral and administrative duties. This flexibility, they suggest, allowed them to integrate Sarum liturgical elements while accommodating local traditions[42]. In contrast, Cowan and Barrow characterize the Augustinian as loosely structured movement, suggesting that their coherence relied on royal patronage rather than institutional unity[43]. Ratcliff challenges this view, demonstrating that Augustinian houses such as Scone, Holyrood, and Inchcolm exhibited strong organizational continuity, facilitating the spread of shared liturgical practices.

A key point of debate concerns the role of the Augustinians in transmitting Sarum liturgical practices. While no liturgical sources from Nostell[44]—their likely motherhouse—survive, evidence from English Augustinian houses suggests a strong connection between Sarum traditions and Augustinian liturgy. Manuscripts such as the Barnwell Antiphoner (Cul MS Mm 2.9)[45] , GB-Lbl MS Harley 5284A, GB-DRu Bamburgh Select 6 (Blantyre Psalter) [46] and the Holyrood Ordinal[47], indicate a pattern of Sarum adoption, raising questions about whether the Augustinians at St Andrews similarly introduced Sarum-based reforms.

Recent scholarship, including Everist and Steiner, has shifted the focus to manuscript evidence, particularly W1 and Pn12036. Everist argues that the absence of a proper office for St Augustine in Pn12036 indicates no direct Augustinian influence at St Andrews[48]. In contrast,

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[41] Ian Borthwick Cowan and Kirk James. *The Medieval Church in Scotland*. (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.1995).
[42] William Forbes Skene. *Chronicles of the Picts, chronicles of the Scots, and other early memorials of Scottish history.* (HM General register house, 1867). Garrett Bateman Ratcliff, Scottish Augustinians: a study of the regular canonical movement in the kingdom of Scotland, c. 1120-1215. (PhD diss. University of Edinburgh, 2013).
[43] Duncan, A. A. M. "The Kingdom of the Scots." In *The Making of Britain: The Dark Ages* (Palgrave, London 1984): 131-144. Ian Borthwick Cowan and Kirk James. *The Medieval Church in Scotland*. (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.1995).
[44] A. A. M. Duncan, "The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, 1140". In *The Scottish Historical Review* vol.48, No. 1(2005). 1.
[45] It serves as the foundational manuscripts for Frere's partial facsimile, which he titled *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*. Frere, (ed.), *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, 3vols. (London, 1901–24).
[46] see Alexander Boyle and Mark Dilworth, Some identifications of Scottish saints', *Inner Review* 35 (1984), 39–41.
[47] Francis C. Eeles, *The Holyrood Ordinal: a Scottish Version of a Directory of English Augustinian Canons, with a Manual and Other Liturgical Forms* (Books of the Old Edinburgh Club vii) (Edinburgh, 1916).
[48] Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews".

Steiner highlights connections between the Inchcolm Antiphoner, Pn12036, and W1[49], suggesting a broader network of liturgical exchange among Augustinian houses, which may have influenced St Andrews' liturgical practices.

While musicologists have extensively studied individual Augustinian houses, their focus on isolated case studies has obscured broader patterns of liturgical exchange. This research addresses that gap by reassessing the Augustinians' role in transmitting and adapting liturgical traditions at St Andrews, highlighting their influence not only in architectural modifications but also in the hybrid liturgical practices reflected in local manuscripts.

C. The Transformation of the Céli Dé

The Céli Dé (or Keledei, Culdees), meaning "Servants of God," were a prominent clerical group rooted in early Celtic Christianity. Their decline at St Andrews has long been debated, with scholars divided over the nature of their displacement, their liturgical role, and the persistence of their influence.

The earliest Scottish reference to the Céli Dé appears in Jocelin of Furness's *Life of Kentigern*, where he identifies himself as a member of the Calledei or Keledei of Glasgow, describing them as a hermit community[50]. Early scholarship—notably by Skene[51], Dowden[52], and Reeves[53]—characterised the Céli Dé as a residual element of archaic Celtic monasticism, gradually displaced by Augustinian reform in the twelfth century.

Barrow, however, challenges this decline narrative. He argues that the Céli Dé retained a presence at St Andrews until at least 1332, evolving into a secular collegiate foundation at St Mary on the Rock. While he concedes that they no longer followed monastic discipline, he sees them as institutional survivors who were absorbed into cathedral administration[54].

Steiner adds further complexity, foregrounding manuscript evidence from Pn12036 and W1. She argues that the Céli Dé continued to exert institutional and liturgical influence well into the

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[49] Steiner, "Composing St Columba, Hope of the Scots." *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 27, no. 1 (2018): 41–61.

[50] Jocelin was the bishop of Brechin. The manuscript reserved in Primate Marsh's Library, Dublin, V3.4.16., fol.29b.

[51] W. F. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots, and Other Early Memorials of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1867) [Skene, Chron. Picts-Scots], 138-40. Skene, *Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban.* (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1886).387;"Keledei namque in angulo quodam ecclesiae quae modica nimis erat suum officium more suo celebrabant." Taylor and Márkus, *The Place-Names of Fife*. Vol.3, St Andrews and the East Neuk, (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2009) 603. Duncan, *The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory,* 1140. 4-5.

[52] the Inchaffray Charters, ed. W. A. Lindsay, J. Dowden, and J . M. Thomson (Scottish History Society), xxv and liii-liv; D. E. Easson, 'Foundation Charter of the Collegiate Church of Dunbar A.D. 1342', in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society* vi (Edinburgh, 1939), 81.

[53] William Reeves, D.D, *The Culdees of the British Islands, as They Appear in History*. (Dublin: M.H.Gill, 1864).

[54] Barrow, "The Cathedral Chapter of St. Andrews and the Culdees in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 3.1 (1952): 23-39.

thirteenth century. Their participation in sacred music and liturgical structuring suggests that they were not merely vestigial but remained active agents in shaping St Andrews' evolving religious identity, especially in periods of contested authority[55].

This study reinterprets the Céli Dé not as passive remnants of an older tradition, but as adaptive actors who negotiated continuity and reform. Drawing on architectural continuity at St Mary on the Rock, manuscript transmission, and episcopal records, it argues that the Céli Dé played a significant role in preserving and reshaping local liturgical practice. Their transformation was not simply a decline, but a strategic recalibration within a shifting institutional landscape.

D. Architecture and Sacred Space: Evidence for Liturgical Development

While theories of sacred space have been widely applied to churches like Salisbury, their architectural implications for St Andrews remain underexplored. Few studies have systematically addressed how its nave, choir, chapels, and processional routes were designed to accommodate Sarum-based rituals and local adaptations. This oversight misses how St Andrews' built environment shaped ritual movement, reinforced clerical hierarchies, and mediated between universal and regional liturgical norms.

Richard Krautheimer's foundational work on Roman basilicas shows how processional routes and relic veneration informed sacred architecture[56]. Kristina Krüger expands this analysis at Cluny, interpreting monastic processions as performances that turned architecture into a ritual stage. She traces movement from choir to galilee porch, revealing how portals, narthexes, and chapels shaped religious experience[57]. Adapting Krüger's lens to St Andrews Cathedral and St Rule's Church reveals how the Augustinians and Céli Dé adapted architectural space to reinforce evolving ritual needs. Their processional routes, thresholds, and chapels reveal an intentional structuring of religious practice, particularly through Sarum-based rites.

Christian Frost's study of Salisbury Cathedral also offers a comparative model. He shows how architecture and liturgical procession shaped each other across three phases of construction[58]. John Harper further emphasizes the local adaptability of liturgy: even shared rites

[55] Steiner, "Notre Dame in Scotland."
[56] Richard Krautheimer, and Ćurčić Slobodan. *Early Christian and byzantine architecture*. Vol. 24. (Yale University Press, 1992).
[57] Kristina Krüger, Monastic Customs and Liturgy in the Light of the Architectural Evidence: A Case Study on Processions (Eleventh-Twelfth Centuries) in *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny: Du coeur de la nuit à la fin du jour: les coutumes clunisiennes au Moyen Age*. (Brepols Publishers, 2005).
[58] Christian. Frost, *Time, Space, and Order: the Making of Medieval Salisbury*. (Peter Lang, 2009).

like the Use of Salisbury required reinterpretation in new contexts[59]. For a site like St Andrews, less wealthy and more hybrid in tradition, this adaptability was essential.

Applying these insights to St Andrews reveals how space and ritual co-produced one another. The nave supported relic processions and congregational movement. The choir articulated clerical hierarchy. Chapels dedicated to native saints localized the Sarum framework. Informed by Old Sarum rather than later codified forms, the architecture reflects a negotiated liturgical identity. By integrating spatial and ritual evidence, this study contributes a new reading of St Andrews as a sacred environment shaped not only by imported models but by adaptive, local authorship.

E. The Role of Manuscripts: W1 and Pn12036

St Andrews' liturgical and musical identity was forged through a synthesis of Sarum, northern English, and local traditions. This blending is evident in the saints' lists, liturgical calendars, and unique feasts documented in two manuscripts: Pn12036 and W1. These sources, central to understanding the liturgical practices of St Andrews, reflect how the community crafted a distinctive sacred identity within the wider medieval Christian world.

Since Friedrich Ludwig's early 20th-century studies, W1 has drawn scholarly attention for its links to Parisian organum[60]. Later refinements by Baxter, Handschin, and Roesner confirmed its origins at St Andrews in the early 13th century[61]. Similarly, Pn12036's dating was established by Leroquais (1934) and supported by Avril and Stirnemann, who identified its scribe as the same working on Pn1218(the Pontifical of St Andrews[62]) during Bishop Malveisin's episcopate[63]. These

[59] John Harper. Enacting Late Medieval Worship: Locations, Processes and outcomes in Harper, Sally, Barnwell, P., and Williamson, Magnus, eds. *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted: The Experience of Worship in Cathedral and Parish Church*. (Oxford: Taylor & Francis Group, 2017).
[60] Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, ed. Luther A Dittmer, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (New York, Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1964).
[61] Jacques Handschin, "Zur Geschichte von Notre Dame," *Acta Musicologica* 4, no. 1 (1932): 5–17; "A Monument of English Medieval Polyphony. The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel 677 (Helmst. 628)," *The Musical Times 73* (1932): 512; "A Monument of English Medieval Polyphony: The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel 677," The *Musical Times* 74 (1933): 697–704. James Houston Baxter, *An Old St. Andrews Music Book (Cod. Helmst. 628)*, St. Andrews University Publications. New York: AMS Press, 1973. Edward H Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of Its Origins and of Its Eleventh Fascicle" (Ph.D., New York University, 1974); Edward H. Roesner, ed., *Le Magnus Liber Organi De Notre-Dame De Paris*, Musica Gallica (Monaco: Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1993).
[62] Printed version see David de Bernham, Christopher Wordsworth, and University of St Andrews Library St Andrews Collection. *Pontificale Ecclesiæ S. Andreæ. the Pontifical Offices Used by David De Bernham, Bishop of S. Andrews*, with an Introduction by Chr. Wordsworth, M.a., Rector of Glaston. (Edinburgh, Oxford and London: At the Pitsligo Press; James Parker & Company. 1885).
[63] Pn12036, first noted by Montfaucon before the 18th century, was definitively dated in 1934 by Leroquais. See Montfaucon, *Bernard de Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum Manuscriptorum Nova. Vol.2* edited by Parisiis, apud Briasson, (Hildesheim: Olms 1739). Also François Avril and Patricia Danz Stirnemann, *Manuscrits Enluminés D'origine Insulaire, VIIe-XXe Siècle, Manuscrits Enluminés de La Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1987).

connections, affirmed by Everist, demonstrate that both manuscripts represent St Andrews' liturgical landscape around 1200–1230[64].

The question of manuscript use remains contested. Roesner suggested W1 may have served the Augustinian priory[65], while Everist argued against Augustinian ownership, citing the absence of St Augustine's office[66]. Steiner, in turn, pointed to the saints' list—especially St Andrew and St Brigid—as indicative of Céli Dé involvement[67]. Her argument highlights the manuscripts' reflection of older, possibly Gaelic, devotional priorities.

The contents of both books reveal this hybridity. Pn12036's Temporale aligns closely with Sarum, but its *Sanctorale* blends insular and Parisian elements[68]. Chadd and Everist identify East Anglian and pre-Conquest influences[69]. Scholars have singled out W1's Fascicle XI—a Marian Mass cycle—as crucial evidence: Roesner and Flotzinger, and more recently Steiner have all examined its restrained discant textures, cadential clarity, and Marian focus[70]. Rather than a showcase of Parisian virtuosity, the fascicle reveals how continental polyphonic techniques were deliberately adapted for liturgical utility at St Andrews, producing music that was functionally suited to the Lady Mass yet still bore traces of international style.

Debates over W1's scribal attribution further illuminate institutional dynamics. Ludwig, Dittmer, Roesner, and Edwards identify multiple scribes working in sequence[71], while Julian Brown and Steiner argue for a single Céli Dé hand responsible for all fascicles[72]. Steiner supports this claim by citing variations in layout, ink, and parchment as indicators of phased production. She further suggests that Fascicle XI reflects a later phase, possibly produced after the Céli Dé's

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[64] Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews".
[65] Roesner, ed. *Le Magnus Liber Organi De Notre-Dame De Paris*. vol. VII, p. liv.
[66] Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews". 13.
[67] Steiner, "Notre Dame in Scotland". 224.
[68] Delisle and Leroquais identified the Holy Week and most saints' offices as Sarum-based. See V. Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques De France* (Paris: Macon, Protat frères, imprimeurs, 1934), vols. IV,382-384.
[69] Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews". 10; David Chadd, "An English Noted Breviary of Circa 1200," in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society Centennial Essays*, ed. Susan Rankin and David Hiley (Oxford England: Clarendon Press, 1993), 210.
[70] Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis; Rudolf Flotzinger, "Beobachtungen Zur Notre-Dame-Handschrift W1 Und Ihrem 11 Faszikel," *Mitteilungen Der Kommission Für Musikforschung: Anzeiger Der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse Der Österreichischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften* 105,no. 19 (1968). Steiner, "Notre Dame in Scotland"; also Steiner, "The Insular Daily Lady Mass of the Thirteenth Century: Sources, Repertory and Transmission." *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 33, no. 2 (2024): 121–46.
[71] Friedrich, "Repertorium organorum" ; Flotzinger, "Beobachtungen", 245–262. Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis"; also Roesner, ed, *Le Magnus Liber Organi De Notre-Dame De Paris.* Warwick A. Edwards, "Polyphony in Thirteenth-Century Scotland," in *Our Awin Scottis Use: Music in the Scottish Church up to 1603*, ed. Sally Harper, Studies in the Music of Scotland (Glasgow: Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, 2000).
[72] Julian Brown, Sonia Patterson, and David Hiley, "Further Observations on W1," *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society* 4 (1981): 55. Steiner, "Notre Dame in Scotland".

relocation to St Mary's Church, marking a moment of adaptation and continuity within the evolving cathedral community.

This study expands upon three gaps in the literature. First, it re-evaluates the Augustinians' foundational role in introducing Sarum practices—a contribution often overlooked in favor of later Céli Dé activity. Second, it substantiates the claim that Pn12036 reflects Old Sarum usage by tracing its links to earlier English Augustinian manuscripts. Finally, it proposes alternative explanations for Fascicle XI's distinct features: not marginalization, but material and institutional transitions in a hybrid community.

Together, these findings reveal how St Andrews' community curated and reshaped imported liturgical and musical models. Through careful manuscript adaptation, they authored a sacred tradition that was both cosmopolitan and locally grounded.

Research Problem and Questions

The development of liturgical music at St Andrews during the 12th and 13th centuries represents a critical yet understudied aspect of medieval Scottish religious and cultural history. The presence of both Augustinian and Céli Dé communities at St Andrews remains unclear, particularly in terms of their interaction and its impact on liturgical music practices.

This gap in scholarship arises from three significant oversights, each reflecting broader trends in medieval studies.

First, the influence of Scotland's socio-political environment on St Andrews' liturgical developments has been insufficiently explored. Previous discussions have largely focused on bishops[73], while the monarchy—a central force in 12th- and 13th-century Scotland—has been largely overlooked. This oversight likely arises from a traditional emphasis on ecclesiastical figures in religious history, which has obscured the monarchy's role in shaping liturgical practices. However, during this period, the Scottish monarchy played a pivotal role in shaping religious institutions, including St Andrews, as part of broader efforts to consolidate royal authority and modernize the Church. By neglecting the monarchy's influence, scholars have missed a crucial dimension of how royal patronage shaped liturgical music, leaving a significant gap in our understanding of its development.

Second, the function of architecture in creating sacred spaces, facilitating human activities, and interpreting community relationships has not been adequately integrated into the study of liturgical music. This oversight reflects a broader methodological limitation in medieval

[73] Musicologists focus mainly on the role of St. Andrews' bishops as patrons in the creation and preservation of the two manuscripts, Pn12036 and W1.see Avril and Stirnemann, *Manuscrits Enluminés D'origine Insulaire, VIIe-XXe Siècle, Manuscrits Enluminés de La Bibliothèque Nationale*. Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews". Stenier, "Notre Dame in Scotland".

musicology, which has traditionally prioritized textual and musical sources over material and spatial evidence. The architectural perspective offers a crucial counterpoint to the potential biases inherent in purely document-based approaches, yet its absence has left a fragmented understanding of how liturgical music was performed and experienced. By integrating architectural analysis, this study addresses the disconnect between musicology and material culture, offering a more holistic view of medieval liturgical performance.

Third, the contributions of the Augustinians have been overshadowed by the work of the Céli Dé, a situation that is partly a result of the first two oversights. Extant manuscripts, particularly W1 and Pn12036, contain no explicit references to the Augustinians, leading scholars to assume that they played a minor role in St Andrews' liturgical life[74]. This imbalance may also stem from the Céli Dé's reputation as a distinctively Scottish religious group, which has drawn greater attention compared to the Augustinians, who were part of a broader European monastic movement[75]. However, one of King Alexander I's introduction of the Augustinians was intended, at least in part, to modernize the liturgy at St Andrews, suggesting their influence was substantial. A narrow focus on the Céli Dé thus risks oversimplifying the complex religious landscape of St Andrews and obscuring the Augustinians' contributions to liturgical music.

Addressing these oversights requires an integrated approach, combining textual sources, architectural analysis, and historical records to clarify the interplay between Augustinian and Céli Dé influences, royal patronage, and sacred space in shaping St Andrews' liturgical music traditions.

To address these gaps, this study explores the ways in which the Scottish monarchy influenced the development of liturgical music traditions at St Andrews and what this reveals about the relationship between royal authority and religious communities such as the Augustinians and Céli Dé. By analyzing historical documents, royal charters, and ecclesiastical appointments, this research traces how royal patronage shaped liturgical practices, religious buildings, and clerical structures, providing a more nuanced understanding of the monarchy's role in the transformation of sacred music.

Building on this, the study investigates how the architectural spaces of St Andrews' ecclesiastical buildings shaped the performance and experience of liturgical music and what insights this offers into community relationships and religious practices. By integrating architectural and textual evidence, this study examines how spatial design structured musical performances, processional movements, and the interactions between different religious

[74] Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews," 13; Steiner, Notre Dame in Scotland. 187-189.
[75] Skene. *Chronicles of the Picts*.

groups, shedding light on the dynamic relationship between sacred space and sound in medieval St Andrews.

Drawing from these findings, this research then considers how integrating architectural evidence into the study of liturgical music challenges or complements traditional document-based approaches and what new interpretative frameworks this offers. By comparing architectural findings with traditional document-based research, this study highlights the strengths and limitations of each approach, demonstrating how spatial analysis contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of liturgical music history.

Finally, this study asks what the contributions of the Augustinians to liturgical music at St Andrews and explores how the Céli Dé recognized and built upon these contributions. Through an examination of liturgical manuscripts, including W1 and Pn12036, alongside other sources and historical records, this research reconstructs the Augustinians' role in liturgical life and clarifies their interactions with the Céli Dé, providing a more balanced and accurate account of the development of sacred music in medieval St Andrews.

Theoretical Framework

According to the above discussion, This study is guided by an interdisciplinary theoretical framework that integrates political power, sacred space, and liturgical performance to analyse the development of liturgical music at St Andrews during the 12th and 13th centuries. These theories provide a conceptual lens for understanding the interplay between royal patronage, architectural design, and religious practices.

A. Political Power and Religious Authority

Drawing on theories of political power and religious authority, this study examines how the Scottish monarchy used the Church as a tool for consolidating royal authority and shaping national identity. The monarchy's funding and support of religious institutions, such as monasteries and bishoprics, reinforced its political legitimacy and facilitated the integration of Scotland into broader European religious networks[76].

A central example of this dynamic is the cult of St Andrew, promoted by the monarchy as a symbol of Scotland's spiritual independence[77]. By elevating St Andrews as the kingdom's foremost religious centre, the monarchy not only reinforced its political legitimacy but also facilitated the adoption of Continental liturgical practices, such as the Parisian polyphony. This strategic use of religious institutions as instruments of governance[78] aligns with broader theories

[76] Huscroft, *Power and Faith*. Oram. *Domination and Lordship*.
[77] Broun*, The Church and the Beginning of Scottish Independence*. 1-18.
[78] Oram. *Domination and Lordship*.

of how medieval rulers leveraged the Church to project power and resist external interference, particularly from England.

The extension of St Rule's Church by the Augustinians, supported by King David I[79], provides a concrete illustration of how royal patronage shaped architectural and liturgical developments. This project, overseen by Bishop Robert, not only expanded the physical space for liturgical performances but also symbolized the monarchy's commitment to modernizing Scotland's religious institutions. By funding such initiatives, King David reinforced his authority while promoting the integration of local and Continental traditions.

Finally, The monarchy's control over the appointment of bishops at St Andrews further underscores its influence over liturgical and musical traditions. Kings like Alexander I, David I, and William I (the Lion) ensured that their appointees aligned with royal priorities, shaping the daily religious practices and musical repertoire of the cathedral. Although often overlooked, this subtle yet decisive form of influence played a crucial role in defining St Andrews' liturgical and musical identity.

This theoretical perspective will guide the analysis of how royal influence intersected with the activities of the Augustinians and Céli Dé at St Andrews, providing a nuanced understanding of the monarchy's role in shaping liturgical music traditions.

B. Sacred Space and Ritual Performance

The architecture of St Andrews' ecclesiastical buildings played a fundamental role in shaping liturgical practices, reinforcing religious authority, and structuring communal worship. This study applies theories of sacred space and ritual performance to examine how spatial arrangements both facilitated and reflected religious activities.

Sacred spaces are not merely physical structures but symbolic environments that shape the spiritual experience of worshippers. A defining feature of sacred architecture is the dichotomy between the sacred and the profane, which structured liturgical music, processions, and devotional practices[80]. At St Andrews, the cathedral, St Rule's Church, and St Mary on the Rock functioned as both sites of worship and instruments of authority, where spatial organization reinforced clerical roles and ritual movements.

Beyond enhancing sacred experience, ecclesiastical architecture mirrored the hierarchical structure of the religious community[81]. Processional routes, choir stalls, and precinct

[79] Heywood, 'The Church of St Rule, St Andrews', 38–46; Cameron, 'St Rule's Church in St Andrews', 367–78. Duncan, The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory. 1-37.
[80] Eliade. *The Sacred and the Profane.*
[81] Lauwers, and Ripart, *Pouvoirs, Église et société dans les royaumes de France, Germanie et Bourgogne aux Xe et XIe siècles.*

boundaries were carefully arranged to reflect clerical status and function. The placement of St Mary's Church, which housed the Céli Dé, highlights how spatial relationships reinforced institutional authority. Even after Bishop Malveisin's death, the Céli Dé retained a designated position within the cathedral stalls[82], ensuring their continued participation in key rituals, such as processions and choral performances.

The Palm Sunday procession at St Andrews exemplifies the interaction between sacred space and ritual. While Céli Dé on the Sarum Use, its adaptation to the cathedral's unique layout—particularly the positioning of the cloister—demonstrates how sacred space actively shaped the experience of liturgical movement rather than serving as a passive backdrop[83].

These spatial arrangements reveal the dynamic relationship between religious authority, architectural design, and ritual performance. The Augustinians reinforced standardized liturgical practices through architectural modifications, while the Céli Dé preserved their distinct identity by maintaining control over specific sacred spaces. Together, these elements illustrate how sacred architecture at St Andrews functioned as both a spiritual and political stage, shaping the medieval community's worship and identity.

C. Liturgical Music and the Blending of Traditions

The development of liturgical music at St Andrews was shaped by the fusion of external influences and local practices. Rather than adopting foreign traditions wholesale, religious communities selectively blended elements from different sources, creating a distinct liturgical identity. This process is evident in the incorporation of Sarum Use, Parisian polyphony, and northern English musical practices into St Andrews' sacred repertoire.

The Augustinians played a key role in introducing Sarum-based practices, connecting St Andrews to broader European liturgical networks[84]. At the same time, the Céli Dé preserved elements of local Scottish traditions, adapting external influences to fit their own sacred landscape. This mixing of traditions is reflected in manuscripts such as W1 and Pn12036, where imported chants and polyphonic techniques were integrated with existing Scottish liturgical customs.

Manuscripts serve as crucial evidence of this exchange and adaptation. The presence of both Sarum and pre-Norman chant traditions in Pn12036 suggests that liturgical music at St Andrews[85] was not static but continuously evolving through interaction with external traditions.

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[82] Reeves, The Culdees of the British Islands. no. 15.
[83] Lefebvre, "The production of space (1991)".
[84] Ratcliff believed the Scottish Augustinian house displayed significant organizational stability, which supported the propagation of shared liturgical traditions. In his "Scottish Augustinians".
[85] Avril and Stirnemann, *Manuscrits Enluminés de La Bibliothèque Nationale*. Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques De France*. Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews". Chadd, "An English Noted Breviary of Circa 1200," Stenier, "Notre Dame in Scotland".

Similarly, W1, while influenced by Notre Dame polyphony[86], contains adaptations that indicate a distinct regional approach to sacred music.

By examining these manuscripts, this study explores how the blending of traditions shaped the evolution of liturgical music at St Andrews. This perspective challenges the assumption that medieval liturgical practices were imposed from external centres, instead highlighting how local communities actively shaped and reinterpreted sacred music traditions.

Methodology Overview

This study examines how St Andrews shaped its liturgical identity during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. To do so, it uses an interdisciplinary approach that combines historical, musical, and architectural methods. Liturgy is not preserved in a single form: parts survive in manuscripts, others in charters and statutes, and still others in the design of sacred buildings. Each type of evidence is fragmentary on its own, but when read together they allow a fuller picture to emerge.

The approach adopted here is guided by the idea of liturgical authorship. This term is used to describe how communities at St Andrews did not simply inherit practices from England or the Continent but actively reworked them for local use. To uncover this process requires tools from several fields: codicology and palaeography to study scribes and book production; musicology to interpret chants and polyphony; architectural analysis to understand ritual movement in space; and prosopography and political history to connect evidence to the people and institutions that shaped it.

The strength of this interdisciplinary method lies in convergence. No single manuscript, building, or charter can prove how Sarum practices arrived or how local traditions endured. But when their evidence points in the same direction, it becomes possible to see how imported forms were digested, reshaped, and given new voice in St Andrews. This combination of sources and methods is therefore essential for moving beyond narratives of passive reception and for recognising St Andrews as a site of creative liturgical authorship.

This study draws on three primary types of evidence: manuscripts, institutional records, and architecture. Each provides a distinct window into how liturgical practice at St Andrews developed, and each is approached with its own analytical tools before being brought together in a synthetic interpretation.

A. Data Collection： Manuscripts, Documentaries, Architectural Sources

[86] Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum*. Handschin*, "Zur Geschichte von Notre Dame,"*. Baxter*, An Old St. Andrews Music Book*. Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis. Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews". Stenier, "Notre Dame in Scotland".

The central manuscript sources are *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat.12036* (Pn12036) and *Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.* (W1), both produced in the early thirteenth century and securely linked to St Andrews. Pn12036 preserves an antiphoner whose *Temporale* aligns with Sarum patterns, while its *Sanctorale* blends insular and continental features[87]. W1 is a large polyphonic collection, especially notable for its Fascicle XI—a Marian Mass cycle that reworks Parisian techniques for local daily worship[88]. These two manuscripts, introduced here and examined more fully in later chapters, form the backbone of this study's evidence for how Sarum elements were adapted within the St Andrews context.

A wider set of comparative manuscripts helps contextualize the distinctive features of Pn12036 and W1. The Barnwell Antiphoner (GB-CU Mm.II.9) offers a close English Augustinian analogue; Austria, Klostemeuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift— Bibliothek 1013(A-KN 1013) reflects Roman-German liturgical forms within Augustinian networks. BL Add. 12194 and Rylands MS 24 represent later Sarum codifications and help isolate earlier Sarum features. The Parisian clausulae are used as a point of comparison for the polyphonic repertoire in W1. Although not the thesis's primary focus, these sources are crucial for identifying chant variations, calendar structures, and stylistic influences that show what was unique to the St Andrews liturgy.

A second body of evidence comes from charters, episcopal acta, and foundation documents, which offer insight into how kings and bishops shaped ecclesiastical institutions and regulated liturgical life. Records associated with Holyrood, Scone, and St Andrews Priory—including the statutes of Bishop William Malveisin—are especially significant. Prosopographical analysis of bishops, canons, and Céli Dé clerics links documentary traces to manuscript production, illuminating how particular individuals and communities contributed to the creation of local liturgical practices.

The third category of evidence is architectural. The expansion of St Rule's Church and the earliest phases of cathedral construction are assessed in terms of their liturgical function. Elements such as processional routes, relic display, and the spatial organization of clerical zones provide insight into how worship was choreographed. Comparative analysis with Salisbury Cathedral, particularly the earlier layout at Old Sarum, offers a reference point for interpreting these features. In this study, architecture is treated not as passive backdrop but as active evidence for the priorities and spatial imagination of St Andrews' liturgical community.

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[87] Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques De France*, vols. IV,382-384. Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews". 10; Chadd, "An English Noted Breviary of Circa 1200," 210； Steiner, "Notre Dame in Scotland";

[88] Flotzinger, "Beobachtungen"; Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis. Steiner, "Notre Dame in Scotland".

Taken individually, these sources are fragmentary. But when read together, they provide a multifaceted view of how St Andrews crafted a distinctive liturgical identity—one shaped through manuscript production, institutional policy, and sacred space alike.

B. Data Analysis: Tools and Methods

The evidence gathered from manuscripts, records, and buildings requires a set of analytical tools to make sense of it. This study applies methods from codicology and palaeography, musicology, liturgical history, and architectural interpretation. Each method highlights a different dimension of the sources, and together they allow the fragments of evidence to be read as signs of institutional and liturgical authorship.

For Pn12036 and W1, the physical form of the manuscripts is treated as evidence. Scribal hands, ink, ruling patterns, and parchment quality are analysed to establish how and when the books were made. In W1, debates over whether one or several scribes copied the manuscript are considered in light of its fascicle structure and production stages[89]. This analysis helps link changes in copying to the institutional context of St Andrews, including the displacement of the Céli Dé. In Pn12036, rubrics and feasts list(calendar[90]) notes are examined as signs of adaptation to local practice. Codicology thus provides a way of connecting book production with clerical agency.

The chants and polyphony in these manuscripts are read with attention to both style and function. In Pn12036, comparison of the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* against Sarum and insular traditions identifies which elements were imported and which retained local character. In W1, the focus falls on Fascicle XI, where discant textures, cadential formulas, and borrowed clausulae are evaluated not as displays of Parisian style but as functional adaptations for the Lady Mass. Comparative sources such as the Barnwell Antiphoner, Rylands MS 24, BL Add. 12194, and Parisian organum provide benchmarks for identifying Old Sarum layers and continental borrowings. Musicological analysis therefore reveals the selective choices made by St Andrews' clerics in shaping their repertory.

Calendars, feast rankings, and rubrics are analysed as indicators of liturgical identity and authority. These features show how Sarum elements were adopted while local saints and devotions were retained. Institutional records—charters, statutes, and foundation texts—are examined with prosopographical methods, linking individuals such as bishops, priors, and

[89] Scholar who support several scribes like Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum*; Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis. In contrast, Julian Brown and Steiner support one scribe. See Brown et al., "Further Observations on W1," ; Steiner, "Notre Dame in Scotland".
[90] Although Pn12036 doesn't include a calendar, the list of feasts follows the order of the liturgical year. This implies that the manuscript's content was organized according to the St Andrews calendar.

canons to particular reforms or liturgical initiatives. This analysis shows how appointments and patronage translated into ritual practice.

Buildings are read as designed spaces for ritual. Drawing on the approaches of Krautheimer, Krüger, and Harper[91], the study interprets St Rule's and the cathedral not as static structures but as stages for liturgical movement. Processional routes, spatial zoning, and shrine placement are analysed to show how architecture embodied Sarum-based reforms while integrating local cults. Comparative evidence from Old Sarum provides a model for interpreting these features at St Andrews.

Overall, these tools enable the disparate evidence to be read as a coherent picture. By combining codicological, musical, liturgical, and spatial analysis, the study identifies how St Andrews reworked imported forms and authored its own liturgical voice.

C. Limitations and Scope

The evidence used in this study is partial and uneven. No complete liturgical "use" from St Andrews survives, and both Pn12036 and W1 preserve only parts of what must have been a wider repertory. Their testimony must therefore be read alongside comparative manuscripts from England and the Continent. Architectural evidence also poses challenges: much of the cathedral complex is ruined and reconstructions rely on inference, even when supported by parallels such as Old Sarum. Institutional records, while valuable, are selective and sometimes silent on liturgical matters. For these reasons, conclusions in this study are cautious, stressing converging signs across different kinds of evidence rather than definitive proof from any single source. Chronologically, the focus lies between c.1100 and c.1300, though references from the later fourteenth century are included where they clarify continuity, especially in relation to the survival of the Céli Dé.

By combining manuscripts, records, and buildings, this dissertation demonstrates how St Andrews was not a passive periphery but a community actively shaping its worship. The approach shows how Sarum practices reached Scotland early through Augustinian networks, how the Céli Dé remained agents in shaping chant and polyphony, and how architecture embodied reform ideals while accommodating local devotions. The method allows scattered traces to be read together as signs of 'liturgical authorship'—the process by which imported forms were selected, adapted, and voiced anew in a local setting. In doing so, the study not only reconstructs St Andrews' liturgical identity but also offers a model for how interdisciplinary analysis can recover the agency of communities in shaping medieval ritual culture.

[91] Krautheimer, and Slobodan. *Early Christian and byzantine architecture*. Krüger, *Monastic Customs and Liturgy.* Harper. "Enacting Late Medieval Worship".

Thesis structure

Chapter 1 argues that Scottish kings used ecclesiastical reform as a tool of sovereignty. By promoting the cult of St Andrew over older insular saints, founding Augustinian houses, and controlling episcopal appointments, the monarchy embedded royal authority within church structures. This chapter shows how kingship created the institutional framework in which later liturgical authorship at St Andrews became possible.

Chapter 2 reassesses the place of the Céli Dé within St Andrews after the arrival of the Augustinians. Rather than disappearing in the twelfth century, the Céli Dé adapted to new institutional realities: they transformed into a secular collegiate community at St Mary on the Rock, secured episcopal patronage under figures like Bishop Malveisin, and retained a voice in cathedral affairs. Their survival reshaped the balance of power with the Augustinians and ensured that older devotional and musical traditions remained embedded within the cathedral's liturgical life. By examining records of property, appointments, and conflict alongside manuscript evidence, this chapter argues that the Céli Dé were not relics of the past but active agents of continuity and hybridity in St Andrews' religious identity.

Chapter 3 examines the architecture of St Rule's, St Mary on the Rock, and St Andrews Cathedral as active instruments of reform. It argues that their design—processional routes, shrine placement, and choir arrangements—functioned as "ritual machines" that staged Sarum practice while accommodating local devotions. In doing so, architecture embodied the negotiation between imported models and Scottish liturgical identity.

Chapter 4 focuses on manuscripts Pn12036 and W1, with special attention to Fascicle XI. It argues that Sarum practices entered Scotland early through Augustinian networks and were then selectively adapted by the Céli Dé and cathedral clergy. Fascicle XI's Marian cycle, blending Sarum, Parisian, and local elements, is interpreted as an act of institutional authorship, demonstrating how St Andrews curated external traditions into a distinctive liturgical voice.

1. Chapter 1 Scottish Kingship and the Church

Introduction

This chapter examines how the Scottish monarchy, between 1100 and 1286, strategically reshaped the Church—especially at St Andrews—to reinforce royal power and define national identity. More than a site of piety, St Andrews became a political instrument. Through control over sacred space, saintly cults, diocesan organization, and episcopal leadership, kings like David I and William the Lion turned ecclesiastical reform into a vehicle for state-building[92].

At the centre of this effort was the cult of St Andrew. By elevating an apostolic saint with continental prestige, Scottish kings bypassed the insular legacy of St Columba and symbolically distanced their kingdom from English ecclesiastical claims. The promotion of Andrew was not merely devotional—it was diplomatic, tying Scotland to Rome and reinforcing its independence from Canterbury[93].

Yet sacred narratives were only one part of this strategy. Institutional change—especially the reorganization of dioceses and the introduction of Continental monastic orders—enabled the monarchy to bring scattered, semi-monastic bishoprics under tighter royal oversight. The Augustinians, with their administrative strengths and liturgical flexibility, became the preferred agents of this transformation.

Most crucially, episcopal appointments became tools of governance. Bishops like Robert and Malveisin were not just religious leaders; they were royal administrators, responsible for enforcing reform while managing local allegiances. Their contrasting approaches to groups like the Céli Dé reveal how royal priorities—not theological disputes—shaped the contours of ecclesiastical power.

Through these overlapping reforms—cults, dioceses, appointments, and liturgy—the Scottish crown created a Church that was neither wholly native nor fully Continental. Instead, it became a hybrid institution: one that served the monarchy's centralizing agenda while accommodating regional tradition. This chapter argues that the transformation of St Andrews was not a clerical project taken over by kings, but a royal project facilitated through ecclesiastical tools.

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[92] Broun. "Scotland Before 1100: Writing Scotland's Origins". in *Scotland: the Making and Unmaking of the Nation C. 1100-1707: Volume 1: the Scottish Nation: Origins to C. 1500*, edited by Bob Harris, and Alan R. MacDonald, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012). 1-16. Oram. *Domination and lordship: Scotland, 1070-1230*.

[93] Broun, 'The Church and the Beginning of Scottish Independence: From the Council of Windsor and the Submission of Abernethy (1072) to Cum universi and the Quitclaim of Canterbury (1189)', in *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain: From the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh, 2007).

1.1 Scottish Kingship and Royal Authority in the 12th–13th Century

A. The Nature of Scottish Kingship

The 12th and 13th centuries marked the birth of modern Western European nations, and the formation of Scotland as a national concept was one of the great nation-building achievements of this period. As Stringer notes, Scotland's emergence as a unified kingdom was a remarkable feat, shaped by its unique historical and cultural context. [94]. Reynolds further emphasizes that medieval kingdoms were seen as the highest form of secular community, bound by shared traditions, customs, laws, and a sense of common descent. Within this framework, kings served as symbols of unity, deriving their authority from tradition, the Church, and biblical precedent. Kingship was not merely a political institution but an ideal form of rule that embodied the identity and continuity of the kingdom[95].

In the process of nation-building, Scottish kingship enjoyed certain advantages over its English counterpart, particularly in terms of ethnic identity and dynastic continuity. Medieval concepts of the nation were deeply rooted in ethnicity and race, with nationality often determined by birth alone. In England, the Norman Conquest of 1066 introduced a ruling elite of foreign origin, which complicated the formation of a unified national identity. Although Norman rulers like William the Conqueror sought to legitimize their rule through myths and legends, their claims to the English throne were frequently challenged. Opponents often accused the Norman nobility of being unjust oppressors who had deprived the native English of their ancestral rights.

A notable example of this tension can be found in the writings of Matthew Paris, a 13th-century chronicler. During the Barons' Wars, Paris strongly criticized the English monarchy for promoting foreigners to high positions, which he saw as a betrayal of the native English. He sided with the barons, portraying them as defenders of the nation and its citizens' rights. Paris's writings reflect the deep-seated resentment toward the Norman elite and the struggle to define a cohesive English identity in the face of foreign influence[96].

In contrast, Scottish kingship benefited from a more continuous and indigenous lineage. The origins of Scottish kingship can be traced back to the 6th century, with the arrival of the Scots

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[94] Keith Stringer, *The emergence of Nation-State,1100-1300*. In Jenny Wormald, *Scotland: A History.* 38
[95] Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300.*
[96] Henry Richards Luard and Matthew Paris. *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica Majora. Volume 3 AD 1216 to AD 1239. (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). first version published in 1872–87. R. E. Treharne and I. J. Sanders(eds.) *Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion 1258–1267,* (Oxford, 1973), no. 5, PP. 100, III· M. T. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers1066–1272* (London, 1983), 263-80.

from Ireland and the establishment of the kingdom of Dál Riata in western Scotland. By 843, Kenneth MacAlpine, King of Dál Riata, had united the Picts and Scots to form the kingdom of Alba, often regarded as the birth of modern Scotland. From the early 10th century, the kingdom of Scotland was firmly established under a single dynasty, beginning with Constantine II (900–943). Despite repeated invasions and raids by Scandinavian and Norse-Gaelic forces, no permanent Scandinavian settlement was established in Alba. This allowed the Scottish monarchy to maintain a relatively unbroken line of succession, with a single dynasty ruling from the mid-9th century to the late 13th century[97].

The continuity of the Scottish royal dynasty provided a strong foundation for the kingdom's identity and legitimacy. From 1058 to 1286, the Scottish throne was held almost without interruption by a single branch of this dynasty, which included key figures such as Alexander I and David I. This unbroken lineage allowed Scottish kings to present themselves as the natural and rightful rulers of the land, embodying the traditions and customs of their people. Unlike the Norman kings of England, who faced ongoing challenges to their legitimacy, Scottish kings could draw on a deep sense of historical continuity to reinforce their authority.

B. Royal Authority and Territorial Governance

This dynastic stability enabled the Scottish monarchy to focus on internal consolidation and external defence. Throughout the 12th and 13th centuries, Scotland's fluid territorial boundaries necessitated a strong, centralized royal authority to maintain unity and governance. The kingdom's borders were frequently contested, requiring the monarchy to assert control over diverse and often rebellious regions.

The kingdom expanded significantly under subsequent rulers, beginning with Malcolm II (r. 1005–1034), who defeated the Northumbrians at Carham in 1018, incorporating Strathclyde and defining early borders with England. This expansion continued under David I (r. 1124–1153), whose reign marked a turning point in Scotland's territorial and administrative development. David I extended his authority across most of mainland Scotland, pushing westward into Argyll, Galloway, and the Isles, and southward into northern England in the mid-1130s[98] . The River Tweed, a key boundary between Scotland and England, witnessed numerous battles, with control over regions like Berwick-upon-Tweed frequently shifting until it was permanently annexed by England in 1482[99].

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[97] Dauvit Broun. "Scotland Before 1100: Writing Scotland's Origins". in *Scotland: the Making and Unmaking of the Nation C. 1100-1707: Volume 1: the Scottish Nation: Origins to C. 1500*, edited by Bob Harris, and Alan R. MacDonald, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012). 1-16.
[98] Barrow (ed.), *The Charters of King David I. The Written Acts of David I King of Scots, 1124-53 and of his Son Henry Earl of Northumberland, 1139-52*. (Woodbridge, 1999).56-7.
[99] Barrow, The Anglo-Norman Impact, c.1100-c.1286. 25

The frequent military conflicts that accompanied territorial expansion were supported by significant military developments within the Kingdom of Scotland. From the 10th century onward, military developments within the Kingdom of Scotland laid the groundwork for what historians have described as 'feudalism' or the 'feudal system' Knights were central to this system, providing military service to their lords—typically the king or influential nobles—in return for land grants. In addition to their military obligations, knights often served as sheriffs or administrators, exercising local authority and contributing to the decentralized structure of territorial governance[100].

To manage these territorial units, medieval kingdoms relied on shared governance and law to inspire loyalty. Kings ruled indirectly through local lords, who administered their respective regions. These lords often presided over local courts that handled ordinary crimes such as theft, violence, and drunkenness. David I (1124–1153) introduced the office of sheriff, which functioned as a higher court, enforcing royal law, collecting taxes, and maintain order. The king's court, however, held the highest jurisdiction, ensuring that royal authority remained supreme[101].

This Norman-influenced governance system contributed to the remarkable stability of the Scottish royal dynasty. Even during the reigns of young or infant monarchs, most knights and nobles remained loyal to the monarchy. For example, in 1153, the twelve-year-old Malcolm IV succeeded his grandfather, David I, and in 1214, Alexander II ascended the throne at the age of eighteen after the death of William the Lion. Perhaps the most striking example of this loyalty was the nobility's support for Margaret, Alexander III's granddaughter, who was recognized as the heir to the Scottish throne in 1283 despite being an infant[102]. This indicates that Scottish kings were perceived as symbols of the monarchy rather than as mere individuals. The Kingdom of Scotland was governed through a stable kingship, upheld by shared governance and law.

Frequent wars and territorial conflicts also played a crucial role in shaping Scotland's national identity. Concepts of identity become dominant when a kingdom is perceived to be under threat from external attack or influence[103]. Before the 12th century, "Scotland" was largely a concept among the intellectual elite, who envisioned a unified Scottish kingdom encompassing the northern British mainland[104]. However, from the reign of David I onward, Scotland's identity gradually solidified as a distinct nation by the 14th century.

David I's territorial expansion not only introduced the knightly system but also invited Norman settlers, introduced feudal land tenure, and reformed the Church. These changes

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[100] ibid. 17.
[101] ibid. 26.
[102] Barrow, The Anglo-Norman Impact . 7-8.
[103] Turville-Petre Thorlac, *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290-1340*. Oxford, 1996. 4.
[104] Oram. *Domination and Lordship: Scotland*, 1070-1230. 4.

created a multi-ethnic kingdom, blending Celtic, Norman, and other influences[105]. Scotland's identity emerged from its political and military autonomy, allowing it to navigate the challenges of Normanization while retaining its unique character[106]. This hybrid feature, rooted in both Celtic Alba and the feudal system, played a crucial role in shaping Scotland's social and cultural identity.

C. the Norman influence on Scottish kingship

The Norman influence on Scottish kingship, evident in the introduction of feudal governance and the knightly system, was balanced by the monarchy's commitment to a distinct Scottish identity. While Norman settlers and practices transformed Scotland's administrative and military structures, the kings of Scotland skilfully integrated these changes into a broader framework of Celtic traditions and national unity.

David I introduced Norman feudal practices to Scotland, including the establishment of knightly landholders, castles, and charters[107]. However, this "feudalisation" was not a wholesale replacement of native traditions but rather a grafting of Norman practices onto existing Celtic structures. For instance, in Moray, after the overthrow of native rulers in the 1130s, the principal beneficiaries were Gaelic magnates rather than Norman colonists. These Gaelic lords exercised authority over traditional economic units known as *dabhaichean* (upland pastures), maintaining continuity in cultural and economic practices despite the introduction of feudal terminology and relationships with the crown[108].

The upper social structure of Scotland displayed a unique blend of Anglo-Norman and Gaelic cultures. The Scottish royal family itself had close blood ties with Norman. For example, Malcolm IV and William I's mother, Ada de Warenne, was Anglo-Norman[109]. Some noble families, like the Comyns and Stewarts, integrated into Gaelic cultural life through marriage, displaying Gaelic cultural dimensions in their social and political behaviour in the early thirteenth century, even though they were still referred to as "Anglo-Norman."[110] Young's examination of the ruling behaviour of William Comyn concluded that, despite his "Norman" background, Earl William largely adhered to Gaelic traditions and codes of conduct[111]. This indicates that the small number of wealthy great nobles who received large estates directly from the king and served as advisors and officials in the king's court dominated Scottish society in a hybrid manner, blending Celtic traditions with Norman influences.

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[105] ibid. 197-232.
[106] Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*.
[107] Barrow, The Anglo-Norman Impact, c.1100-c.1286. 27-28.
[108] Oram, *Domination and Lordship: Scotland, 1070-1230*. 232.
[109] Keith Stringer, *The emergence of a Nation-State,* 1100-1300. 43
[110] Oram, *Domination and Lordship*. 312
[111] A. Robert Young, *Bruce's Rivals: the Comyns, 1212–1314* (East Linton, 1997). 22–30.

The 12th and 13th centuries saw Scottish kingship consolidate its authority through dynastic continuity, territorial expansion, and the integration of Norman feudal practices with Celtic traditions. Unlike England, where Norman rule faced resistance, Scotland's indigenous lineage and centralized governance allowed its kings to maintain stability and legitimacy, even during the reigns of young monarchs. This balance of Norman influence and Celtic heritage laid the foundation for a distinct Scottish identity, shaped by frequent wars and the need to defend against external threats.

However, political stability alone was not enough to unify a diverse kingdom. Religious narratives and sacred institutions played an equally crucial role in reinforcing royal legitimacy and national identity. The Scottish monarchy strategically aligned itself with the Church, using sacred symbols—particularly the cult of St Andrew—to solidify its authority. As Scotland's patron saint, St Andrew was more than a religious figure; he was a political tool, reinforcing the monarchy's divine legitimacy and distinguishing Scotland from England.

1.2. Kingship and the Church: The Cult of St Andrew

Scotland's cultural construction also distinguished it from Anglo-Saxon England. This hybrid identity was further reinforced through the strategic use of myths and legends, such as the cult of St Andrew, which legitimized royal authority and asserted Scotland's independence.

Turville-Petre argued that the English aristocracy defined its identity through myths of common descent and shared culture, primarily expressed in Latin and French. This group distanced itself from the broader ethnic community they ruled, constructing a sense of national identity that was exclusive and aristocratic in nature. They drew on cultural resources in Latin and French, reinforcing their distinctiveness from the English-speaking populace[112].

In contrast, while the Scottish elite was also deeply influenced by Norman culture in terms of ethnicity, etiquette, language, and culture—with French becoming the primary language of court life and political society—the myths created by the educated clergy served a different purpose. Rather than distinguishing the elite from the populace, these myths aimed to support and defend the nation. The legend of St Andrew is a prime example. It not only legitimized Scottish kingship but also, through the establishment of religious centres, spread widely across the kingdom, uniting the territory and multi-ethnic population into a common identity.

[112] Thorlac, *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290-1340*. 8-10.

1.2.1 The Cult of St Andrew as a Political and Religious Tool

A. Content of the Legend

The most widely known account of the legend of St. Andrew in Scotland tells the story of how the relics of St. Andrew came to Scotland, intertwining religious devotion with the historical and political identity of the kingdom.

The story begins in the 4th century, when a monk named St. Rule (or Regulus) was instructed by an angel in a dream to take St. Andrew's bones to the "ends of the earth" for safekeeping. Following this divine guidance, St. Rule embarked on a journey that eventually led to a shipwreck off the coast of Fife in 347 AD. There, he established a church at Kinrimund (later known as St. Andrews), which became the foundation of one of Scotland's most important religious sites.

The legend also connects St. Andrew to the Scottish monarchy. In 9th century, Óengus II (or Angus), a Pictish king, was preparing for battle against the Angles near Athelstaneford in East Lothian. On the night before the battle, St. Andrew appeared to Óengus in a dream, promising victory. The next day, Óengus won the battle, and in gratitude, he declared St. Andrew the patron saint of Scotland. This event not only cemented St. Andrew's significance in Scottish history but also linked the saint's divine favour to the legitimacy of the Scottish monarchy[113].

It is important to note that medieval saints' legends often reflect local historical narratives, blending fact with symbolic meaning. For medieval people, "history" was a broad and fluid concept, encompassing both factual events and religious or moral lessons. While these accounts were often presented as authentic, they were not intended to be "absolute" history in the modern sense[114]. Historical records confirm the existence of a monastery at Kinrimund during the Pictish period, as evidenced by an entry in the Irish annals from 747: *Mors Tuathalain addatis Cinrighmonai* [115]. However, there is no definitive evidence to pinpoint exactly when St. Andrew's relics were first venerated there.

Scholars have proposed various theories to explain the origins of the cult of St. Andrew in Scotland. Skene, for instance, suggested that the relics were brought to Pictland by Acca, the bishop of Hexham, when he sought asylum with the Pictish king Óengus in 732 [116]. Alex Woolf

[113] Broun, "The Church of St Andrews and Its Foundation Legend in the Early Twelfth Century".
Also Broun, "The Church and the origins of Scottish independence in the twelfth century." 1-35.
[114] Katie Ann-Marie Bugyis, A. B. Kraebel, Margot Elsbeth Fassler eds. *Medieval Cantors and their Craft: Music, Liturgy and the Shaping of History, 800-1500. (*Boydell & Brewer; York Medieval Press. 2019). P1
[115] A.O. Anderson*, Early Sources of Scottish History*. 2 vols. (Stamford, Lincolnshire: Paul Watkins, 1990). i, 238
[116] Skene, 'Notice of the Early Ecclesiastical Settlements at St Andrews', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*. Vol. 4. 1863.*4* (1862), 312–16.

has supported this view, arguing that Acca's arrival in Fife may have introduced the veneration of St. Andrew to the region [117].

Whether based on historical records or legendary accounts, both sources highlight the close connection between the cult of St. Andrew and the Scottish monarchy. The earliest evidence of royal patronage is the Pictish sarcophagus discovered at St. Andrews Cathedral, which dates to the Pictish period and indicates that the site was a royal burial ground[118].

The most explicit early record of royal support for the cult of St. Andrew comes from the late 11th century. The Life of Margaret, written by Turgot, the confessor of Queen Margaret of Scotland (r. 1070–1093), provides valuable insights into the importance of St. Andrews as a centre of the cult of St. Andrew. According to Turgot, St. Andrews had already become a major pilgrimage destination by the late 11th century, attracting so many pilgrims that Queen Margaret commissioned the construction of dwellings and provided ships to ensure their safe passage across the Firth of Forth [119].

The intimate association between the crown and St. Andrew's cult reveals that the legend functioned was far more than a simple religious tale. Rather, it served multiple functions within the political, cultural, and spiritual landscape of medieval Scotland.

B. Function of the Legend

The cult of St. Andrew played a pivotal role in uniting Scotland, both spiritually and politically, while simultaneously enhancing its cultural and religious prestige. The arrival of St. Andrew's relics, likely during the Pictish era, provided Scotland with a powerful symbol of divine favour and apostolic connection. The legend of St. Andrew acted as a unifying force, drawing people from across the kingdom and beyond to St. Andrews. As pilgrims flocked to the site, St. Andrews grew into a major religious centre, rivalling other prominent pilgrimage destinations in Europe. This influx of pilgrims not only bolstered the town's prestige but also fostered a sense of shared identity among the diverse peoples of Scotland. The construction of the great new cathedral at St. Andrews further solidified the saint's role as a unifying figure. The cathedral stood as a physical manifestation of Scotland's devotion to St. Andrew, representing him as the protector and intercessor of the kingdom. It also served as a symbol of national unity, bringing together people from different regions under a common spiritual banner. By the late 13th century, the cult of St. Andrew had achieved unchallenged prominence, and he was revered as the spiritual father of the

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[117] Alex Woolf, "Onuist Son of Uurguist': 'tyrannus carnifex' or a David for the Picts?". in *Æthelbald and Offa: two eighth-century kings of Mercia*, edited by David Hill and Martha Worthington, （Oxford 2005）. 38.
[118] Sally M. Foster(ed.), *The St Andrews Sarcophagus: A Pictish Masterpiece and Its International Connections*. (Dublin: Four Courts Press 1998).
[119] *Vita Margaretae Reginae*, published in *Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea*, ed. J. Hodgson Hinde (Surtees Society 51, 1868), 247. A English translation see Lois L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 172–3.

enlarged Scottish state and nation.

The deep connection between St. Andrew and Scottish unity is vividly captured in the inscription on the reverse of the seal struck for the Guardians in 1286: "[St] Andrew be leader of the Scots, your fellow countrymen."[120] Through his cult, Scotland was able to project itself as a unified and divinely favoured nation, both to its own people and to the wider Christian world.

As St. Andrews grew into a major religious centre, the Scottish kings increasingly associated themselves with the cult, using it to reinforce their divine right to rule and to assert Scotland's sovereignty in the face of external threats. By positioning themselves as the protectors of St. Andrew's relics and the patrons of his cult, the Scottish monarchs were able to present their rule as divinely sanctioned, while also rallying the nation around a shared symbol of resistance against foreign domination. This dual role of the cult—as both a spiritual unifier and a political instrument—was particularly evident during periods of conflict with England, when St. Andrew emerged as a national symbol of Scotland's independence and resilience.

In the late 11th and early 12th centuries, the Scottish people actively promoted the concept of an archdiocese encompassing the entire kingdom. Because the legend of St. Andrew was widely accepted, St. Andrews came to be seen as the natural centre of this archdiocese. Evidence for this concept can be found in the changing titles of the bishops of St. Andrews. For example, Mael Duín mac Gilla Odran, who served as Bishop of St. Andrews, was referred to in 1055 as the "Bishop of Scotland" (Gaelic: *escop Alban*), while in 1093, Fothad II's obituary described him as the "Chief Bishop of Scotland" (Gaelic: *ardepscop Alban*). This shift in titles reflects the growing perception of St. Andrews as the ecclesiastical heart of the kingdom.[121].

However, Scotland's religious independence faced significant challenges. The Archbishop of York, who was under the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury as the "prince of all Britain," claimed metropolitan authority over Durham and all regions north of the Humber River, including Scotland[122]. This claim threatened Scotland's political and religious autonomy, as ecclesiastical subordination to York would imply a form of political subordination to England. For example, in December 1125, Archbishop Thurstan tried to obtain a pallium for St Andrews by convincing the pope that Scotland was a subordinate territory within the English kingdom, and that Scotland's

[120] Stringer, *The emergence of Nation-State,1100-1300*. 67

[121] The Annals of Tigernach, Stokes, Whitley, ed. (Llanerch Publishers 1993). at T 1055 . 5 ; Annals of Ulster Pádraig Bambury, Stephen Beechinor ed.(CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts: a project of University College Cork College Road, Cork, Ireland, 2000-2020) https://celt.ucc.ie/published/T100001A/ access by July 18, 2024.at U1093.2

[122] David Bates (ed.), *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum. The Acta of William I (1066–1087)* (Oxford, 1998), no. 68

monarch was a vassal to England's king.[123].

Such claims were unacceptable to the Scottish rulers. In the years following 1107, King Alexander I was reluctant to the bishops of St Andrews to profess obedience to York or Canterbury. His attitude was very firm, stating that he would not agree to Scottish bishops being subordinate to the Archbishop of Canterbury until his death, and he insisted on the independence of the Scottish kingdom from the Church of Canterbury.[124] Following him, his successors held similar views and continued to support the title of archbishop. This struggle for ecclesiastical independence persisted for decades, with the papacy eventually siding with Scotland. In 1192, the papal bull *Cum universi* confirmed the Scottish Church as a "special daughter" of Rome, free from subordination to York or Canterbury[125]. This marked a significant victory for Scotland's religious and political autonomy.

The legend of St. Andrew played a crucial role in defending Scotland's independence during this period, likely a response to papal communications in the early twelfth century that urged obedience to York[126]. The legend recounts the donation of the site of St. Andrews to Saint Andrew by a Pictish king, emphasizing its long-standing religious importance and its role as a pilgrimage site. By highlighting its special association with Saint Andrew, one of the apostles, the legend elevates St. Andrews to a status comparable to Rome, reinforcing its independence from external ecclesiastical control. The legend also explicitly claims that St. Andrews was established as the "head and mother of all churches" in the kingdom of the Scots, a direct assertion of its archi-episcopal status. The legend also implicitly asserts the jurisdictional integrity of the Scottish kingdom. By proclaiming St. Andrews as the mother church of Scotland, the legend supports the broader idea of Scotland's independent status in relation to England. This was not just an ecclesiastical claim but also a political one, as it underpinned the autonomy of the Scottish kingdom itself.

By the late 13th and early 14th centuries, The legend of St. Andrew was invoked as a rallying cry for Scottish resistance during the Wars of Independence against England, symbolizing the nation's divine favour and unyielding spirit. In 1320, Saint Andrew was officially acknowledged as Scotland's patron saint during the signing of the Declaration of Arbroath. This document

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[123] *Scociam de regno Anglie esse, et regem Scottorum de Scocia hominem esse regis Anglie*: Charles Johnson (ed.), revised M. Brett, C. N. L. Brooke and M. Winterbottom, Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York 1066–1127* (Oxford, 1990), 212; James Raine (ed.), 'History of Four Archbishops of York by Hugh the Chanter', in Raine (ed.), *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, vol. ii (London, 1886), 215;

[124] Eadmer, and Martin Rule. *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia : Et, Opuscula Duo De Vita Sancti Anselmi Et Quibusdam Miraculis Ejus*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2012) 284.

[125] Stringer, The emergence of Nation-State,1100-1300. 58.

[126] London, BL Arundel 36, fos. 15vb-16va(pencil) and London, BL Cotton Tiberius D iii, fos. 93rb-94ra, were considered by Broun to be an original part of the legend, were written in early 12th century. See Broun, "The Church of St Andrews and Its Foundation Legend in the Early Twelfth Century". 110. And Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain From the Picts to Alexander III*, 115.

represented King Robert the Bruce and Scottish nobility's formal petition to the Pope, expressing their desire for peace, freedom, and independence from English dominion[127].

The story of St. Andrew became one of Scotland's most powerful unifying forces, shaping the country's religious, political and cultural identity for centuries. From its beginnings in Pictish times to its importance during the Wars of Independence, the veneration of Scotland's patron saint created both a sense of national unity and a strong defence against outside control. The holy relics at St. Andrews made the town an important religious site, while the growing legend carefully placed Scotland within wider European Christian traditions while maintaining its independence from English church authority. Scottish kings cleverly used the cult to strengthen their power and the country's freedom. Making St. Andrews the leading church centre, resisting control from York, and finally winning papal recognition of Scotland's special status all show how religious freedom and national independence went hand in hand.

At the same time, the cult of St. Andrew strengthened Scotland's connection to Continental Christianity. As one of Christ's apostles, St. Andrew linked Scotland to the broader Christian world, elevating its religious and cultural prestige. This connection aligned with the monarchy's goals of integrating Scotland into the European Christian community, while also asserting its distinct identity. By promoting St. Andrew as both a national and international figure, the Scottish kings were able to balance their aspirations for independence with their desire for recognition and influence within Christendom.

1.2.2 Why St Andrew, Not St Columba?

Scotland's 12th-century elevation of St. Andrew over St. Columba marks one of medieval Europe's most striking religious transitions. How did an apostle with no Scottish ties replace the very saint who had Christianized the kingdom [128]? This deliberate shift reveals how sainthood served royal statecraft.

St Columba(521 to 597 AD), was also known as Colum Cille, was an Irish abbot and missionary who played a pivotal role in Christianizing Scotland. His influence extended far beyond his own lifetime, shaping Scotland's early religious landscape.

Columba's most enduring achievement was the foundation of Iona in 563 AD, which became a major centre of religious scholarship and missionary work. From here, his followers

[127] *The Declaration of Arbroath: History, Significance, Setting*. Geoffrey Barrow and Alan Borthwick, ed. (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. 2003). Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain from the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2007).
[128] Greta-Mary Hair, 'Why St Andrew? Why Not St Columba as Patron Saint of Scotland?', in *Music, Liturgy, and the Veneration of Saints of the Medieval Irish Church in a European Context*, ed. Ann Buckley (Turnhout, 2017), 231–6.

spread Christianity across Pictland, reinforcing his status as the spiritual architect of Scottish Christianity. His legacy was preserved in hagiographies like Adomnán's *Vita Columbae,* which depicted him as a miracle-worker whose authority extended over land, sea, and kingship[129] .

Columba's influence was further cemented through his association with the Céli Dé (Culdees), a reform movement within the Celtic Church that sought to maintain early Christian traditions. Scottish Céli Dé, drawing from the legacy of St. Serf, established monasteries such as Loch Leven[130], ensuring that Columba's teachings remained central to Scottish monastic life. As a member of this tradition, Adomnán helped solidify Columba's image as the spiritual foundation of Scotland's Church[131].

By the 7th and 8th centuries, devotion to Columba had grown significantly, with his relics becoming powerful symbols of royal authority. After the 9th-century defeat of the Picts, his remains were moved from Iona to Dunkeld[132], where they became sacred objects linked to Scottish kingship. For centuries, Scottish rulers honoured Columba as the kingdom's patron saint, but by the 12th century, his prominence gradually gave way to St. Andrew.

Columba's influence remained strongest in Gaelic-speaking regions, particularly the western Highlands and the Isles. His legacy was closely tied to the early Scottish monarchy and the Pictish kingdom, reinforcing his role as Scotland's spiritual foundation[133]. However, as Scotland expanded and integrated Anglo-Norman settlers and burgh communities, a patron saint confined to Gaelic traditions was less suitable for unifying a diverse realm.

Beyond geographic limitations, Columba's legacy was also entangled in the historical divisions between Picts and Gaels [134], associations that conflicted with the monarchy's goal of national cohesion. His cult remained deeply linked to earlier dynastic struggles, making him a less effective symbol for a kingdom seeking to present itself as a unified, European-facing power.

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[129] J. T. Fowler.(ed.) *Adamnani Vita S. Columbae. Prophecies, Miracles and Visions of St. Columba (Columcille) First Abbot of Iona, A.D. 563-597*. (London: Henry Frowde Oxford University Press Warehouse Amen Corner, E.C. 1895).
[130] Skene, *Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban*. 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: David Douglas) Vol.2. 259.
[131] Ibid. 237-240.
[132] John Bannerman, 'Comarba Coluim Chille and the relics of Columba', *Innes Review*, 44 (1993), 14–47, at 29; John Bannerman, 'The Scottish Takeover of Pictland', in *Spes Scotorum Hope of Scots: Saint Columba, Iona and Scotland*, ed. Dauvit Broun and Thomas Owen Clancy (Edinburgh, 1999), 71–94; Dauvit Broun, "Dunkeld and the origin of Scottish identity." *Innes Review* 48.2 (1997): 112-124.; Thomas Owen Clancy, 'Iona, Scotland, and the Celi De ', in *Scotland in Dark Age Britain: The Proceedings of a Day Conference Held on 18 February 1995*, ed. Barbara E Crawford (Aberdeen, 1996), 111–30.
[133] Dauvit Broun, "The origin of Scottish identity in its European context", in *Scotland in Dark Age Europe*, edited by B. E. Crawford (St Andrews, 1994).
[134] Bannerman, 'The Scottish Takeover of Pictland', 71–94;

Another challenge to Columba's suitability as a national patron lay in his association with the Céli Dé monastic movement. Known for their austere practices and adherence to older monastic traditions, the Céli Dé embodied a decentralized, traditionalist form[135] of monasticism that contrasted with the structured, European-style church reforms of Scotland's 12th-century rulers, particularly those promoted under David I. The king favoured a more centralized church structure, aligned with European norms, such as the Augustinian foundations at Scone, Holyrood, and St. Andrews[136]. This shift reflected not only Norman cultural influence but also the monarchy's need for religious institutions that reinforced, rather than challenged, royal authority. The resulting tensions between new Augustinian foundations and older Celtic establishments, particularly visible at St. Andrews, made Columba's cult increasingly politically untenable.

Finally, Columba's cult lacked the diplomatic and ideological weight to strengthen Scotland's position against English claims. While his veneration remained largely confined to Gaelic Scotland and Ireland, St. Andrew offered a far more powerful alternative. His apostolic status provided both religious prestige and a political counterbalance against England, making him a far more effective patron for a kingdom asserting its independence within European Christendom.

Unlike Columba, whose veneration remained largely confined to Gaelic Scotland and Ireland, Andrew's status as one of Christ's original apostles positioned Scotland within the highest echelons of Christian prestige. As the brother of St. Peter, Andrew held unparalleled prestige in medieval Christendom. This apostolic connection proved particularly valuable in strengthening Scotland's ecclesiastical independence from England. While England developed its cult of St. George during the Crusades[137], Scotland's adoption of Andrew established a direct link to Rome's earliest Christian heritage, reinforcing the kingdom's religious autonomy.

The hierarchical implications were profound: as the brother of Rome's founding apostle, Andrew provided Scotland with a sacred genealogy that bypassed England's later conversion through Augustine's mission[138]. The diplomatic value of Andrew's relics had already been well established in continental tradition long before their adoption in Scotland. As early as the 5th century, Paulinus of Nola noted in *Carmina 19* that Constantinople actively sought Andrew's relics to elevate its ecclesiastical standing, given that Peter and Paul's remains were held in

[135] Jocelin of Furness was the bishop of Brechin. The earliest Scottish record the name and discipline of the Céli Dé in his "Life of Kentigern". The manuscript reserved in Primate Marsh's Library, Dublin ,V3.4.16.,fol.29b.
[136] Ian Borthwick Cowan and Kirk James. *The Medieval Church in Scotland*. (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.1995).
[137] Michael, Collins. *St George and the Dragons: The Making of English Identity*. (Fonthill Media, 2018).
[138] Bede. *Histoire EcclésiAstique Du Peuple Anglais = Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. Edited by Michael Lapidge. Translated by Pierre Monat and Philippe Robin. (Paris: Cerf. 2005), chapter 27.

Rome [139]. This ambition was realized in 357 AD, when Emperor Constantius transferred Andrew's relics from Patras to Constantinople's Church of the Holy Apostles [140]. Later, Eastern churches even developed traditions claiming Andrew had ordained Constantinople's first bishop, Stachys, to assert their independence from papal authority [141].

Scotland's monarchy and clergy appear to have drawn inspiration from these precedents. By adopting Andrew as patron, styling St. Andrews as a "second Rome," and referring to its bishop as an archbishop[142], Scottish rulers positioned their kingdom as an autonomous apostolic see within Christendom. The Augustinian reforms promoted by David I facilitated the replacement of localized Gaelic traditions with European monastic structures. While Columba's legacy was firmly embedded in Celtic Christianity, Andrew's cult provided ideological justification for the reorganization of Scottish religious life along continental lines.

Andrew's appeal extended beyond mere status to practical ecclesiastical politics. The Augustinian reforms promoted by David I further supported the replacement of localized Gaelic traditions with European monastic structures. While Columba's legacy was firmly rooted in Celtic Christianity, Andrew's cult provided ideological support for the reorganization of Scottish religious life along continental lines. The St. Rule legend accomplished dual objectives - it undermined English ecclesiastical claims by asserting Scotland's direct Roman origins [143], while simultaneously establishing Scotland's legitimacy within continental Christian traditions.

The rise of St. Andrew as Scotland's patron saint was a deliberate royal strategy, aligning with the monarchy's efforts to integrate Scotland into Latin Christendom. Under David I, the promotion of Andrew paralleled ecclesiastical reforms that replaced Gaelic monastic traditions with European models, reinforcing both Scotland's independence from England and its religious legitimacy. The legend of St. Rule played a key role in this transition, securing Andrew's place in Scotland's sacred history.

Yet, this transformation was not without contestation. The Augustinians and the Céli Dé, representing competing visions for Scotland's Church, crafted distinct versions of Andrew's arrival—each seeking to shape his legacy to their advantage.

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[139] Ritva Jacobsson, "The Antiphoner of Compiègne: Paris BNF lat. 17436," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, ed. by Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 157.
[140] Ursula Hall, *St Andrew and Scotland* (St Andrews: St Andrews University Library, 1994), 27.
[141] Francis Dvornik, *the Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Origins of the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 150-51.
[142] Broun, 'The church of St Andrew', 110-11.
[143] Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. chapter 27.

1.2.3 Two Versions of the Legend

The legend of St. Andrew survives in two distinct versions from medieval Scotland, reflecting the ideological conflict between the traditional Céli Dé and reformist Augustinians during the 12th-century ecclesiastical transformation. While both versions share core elements—the apostle's relics, St. Rule's journey, and King Óengus's victory—their differences reveal competing visions for Scotland's religious identity.

The earlier Legend A (BL Add. 25014 and BnF lat. 4126), likely composed between 1093–1107 [144] by a Gaelic-speaking author[145], presents a concise narrative. It recounts how St. Rule brought Andrew's relics from Constantinople to Kinrimund and describes King Óengus's subsequent victory over the Saxons[146]. The version consistently calls St. Rule a 'monk' who becomes an 'abbot' - terms reflecting writer's own monastic lifestyle. The choice of words is significant: the writer described St. Rule in the same terms used for their own leaders, suggesting that the text originated within a Céli Dé community[147]. The distinct monastic vocabulary preserved the Celtic church traditions.

While the legend acknowledges King Óengus, it does so in a way that suggests a careful negotiation between monastic identity and royal authority. The Céli Dé, though accommodating the monarchy's preferred patron (Andrew), retained their ecclesiastical language and worldview. This adaptation reveals that, by the early 12th century, they had begun serving the monarchy while still blending Celtic traditions with incoming foreign influences. The text reflects an effort to integrate new religious currents without surrendering the older monastic ethos.

The later Legend B, often called the Augustinian legend, appeared in the now-lost register of the Augustinian priory of St. Andrews. The Register of St. Andrews, as copied in the 18th century (GB-Lbl Har. 4628), continued with an account of the foundation of the Augustinian priory in 1140—hence the association with Augustinian influence. Scholars such as Reeves and Duncan have suggested that Bishop Robert may have authored the legend [148], while Taylor has argued

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[144] Broun. "The church of St. Andrews".109.
[145] ibid. 108.
[146] The contents of legend A see Broun, "The Church of St Andrews." 500-1297.
[147] Skene believed that the Celi de first appeared in the territory of the southern Picts, specifically in the history concerning St. Serf. In 8th century, St Serf found many churches in Fife region. See William Forbes Skene, *Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban*. 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: David Douglas) Vol.2. 259.
[148] Reeves first suggested Bishop Robert as the author in William Reeves, *The Culdees of the British Islands, as They Appear in History* (Felinfach: Llanerch 1994).37. Taylor, however, suggests, based on the author's tone when discussing prior Robert, that prior Robert himself is in fact the author. Duncan tends to believe that prior Robert and bishop Robert might be the same person. Taylor, "The Coming of the Augustinians to St Andrews and Version B of the St Andrews Foundation Legend," in *Kings, clerics and chronicles in Scotland*.120. Duncan's The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, 1140. *Scottish Historical Review* Vol.48. 1.(2005) 1-37.

that the legend and the foundation account were only joined together in 1318, with the text undergoing editorial revision in the late 13th century[149].

This Augustinian vision radically reframed the earlier account, adds much more detail, making it almost twice as long as Legend A. It introduced new elements, including Regulus's escape from Patras and, most significantly, synchronized Óengus's battle with Emperor Constantius's 345 CE translation of Andrew's relics to Constantinople[150]. This impossible chronology—given that Óengus II likely ruled in the 9th century—was not an accident. Rather, it was a deliberate attempt to recast Scotland's Christian origins within an imperial Roman framework, bypassing England's later conversion. In line with this agenda, Legend B also revised key terminology: where Legend A called Regulus a "monk," Legend B elevated him to a "bishop"; where A referred to a monastic community, B described Óengus as building a "basilica." These changes were strategic, reinforcing the idea that episcopal leadership at St. Andrews had always existed[151]—despite being a relatively new development.

The legends' treatment of royal power further underscores these ideological shifts. In Legend B, Óengus's victory is directly tied to the movement of Andrew's relics, creating a sense of divine approval for both the king and the Augustinian vision of church leadership. This aligns with the Augustinians' broader strategy: to present Scottish monarchs as apostolic partners, heirs to a sacred covenant with Rome. In contrast, while Legend A also acknowledged Andrew's role, it retained the Céli Dé's monastic ethos, portraying royal authority as significant but not all-encompassing.

These competing versions of St. Andrew's legend capture a pivotal transformation in Scottish history—the nation's shift from its Celtic Christian roots toward integration with European Christendom. While Legend A preserved an older monastic worldview, Legend B systematically rewrote history to serve royal and papal agendas. These textual differences do more than tell two versions of the same story; they document the transfer of power from traditional monastic communities to reformist bishops, a process closely overseen by Scotland's kings.

What began as the Céli Dé cautiously accommodating royal authority ended in Augustinian dominance—mirroring Scotland's broader 12th-century transformation. The evolution from Legend A's careful balance to Legend B's bold assertions reflects the monarchy's growing ambitions. These texts reveal not only evolving religious trends but also a calculated transformation of Scottish identity—from a localized, monastic tradition into a kingdom deeply

[149] Simon Taylor and Gilbert Márkus, *The Place-Names of Fife*.(Donington: Shaun Tyas 2006). 565
[150] The contents of legend B see Taylor, "The Coming of the Augustinians to St Andrews" 115-123.
[151] Ibid. 115-123.

anchored in continental Christendom, driven by monarchs intent on securing their realm's autonomy and stature.

The cult of St. Andrew exemplifies how medieval Scottish monarchs transformed religious tradition into an instrument of state power. By promoting an apostolic patron saint with continental prestige, kings like Alexander I and David I did more than secure divine legitimacy—they laid the institutional groundwork for a national Church that would amplify royal authority. The deliberate shift from Columba's Gaelic monasticism to Andrew's Roman apostolicity mirrored Scotland's political evolution: a kingdom asserting its sovereignty through sacred narratives. As the Augustinian reforms show, hagiography and institutional control went hand in hand, as saints' cults were mobilized to unify the realm and resist external claims—especially from England. Yet the monarchy's ambitions extended beyond symbolic authority. To secure real influence, the crown turned to the very structure of the Church itself: reorganizing dioceses, consolidating administrative networks, and asserting control over clerical leadership.

1.3 The Church as a Tool of Royal Authority

1.3.1 Scottish Religious Reform and Territorial Organization

The 12th-century changes to Scotland's Church weren't just about religion - they were a key part of the king's plan to strengthen his power. Under David I (r. 1124-1153) and later rulers, church reforms helped reorganize districts, change who controlled church lands, and connect Scotland more closely to the rest of Christian Europe[152]. These changes did two important things: they weakened the old Gaelic church system that had resisted central control, while showing the Scottish kings as both religious leaders and strong rulers. Just as the story of St. Andrew had helped create a new religious identity for Scotland (Section 1.2), these practical changes turned the Church into a tool for royal power. From Alexander I's reign (r. 1107-1124) onward, bishops were placed where the king wanted them, monasteries followed the king's orders, and support from the Pope helped block English claims. The result was a Church that served both God and the king's government, with its very structure showing the power of Scotland's rulers.

A. Reorganization of Dioceses

Before the reforms of David I (r. 1124–1153), Scottish bishoprics were semi-monastic in nature, often tied to major monasteries such as Iona or Dunkeld. These ecclesiastical institutions served regional rather than national interests, reflecting Scotland's decentralized

[152] Oram. *Domination and lordship: Scotland*, 1070-1230. 328.

political landscape. As Oram notes, the Scottish Church of this period should be understood within the broader British and European context—its predominantly Gaelic character did not isolate it from mainstream Western Christianity[153]. Early efforts at alignment with Roman practices, such as the presence of a "Romanising group" among Nechtan's clergy (possibly led by Bishop Curitan/Boniface), demonstrate intermittent reformist impulses[154]. For example, the short-lived bishopric of Abercorn (7th century) adopted Roman customs after the Synod of Whitby (664) but was abandoned following the Pictish victory at Dunnichen (685)[155].

These early bishoprics were hybrid institutions, blending abbatial and episcopal roles. The Bishop of Dunkeld, for instance, is first explicitly recorded in the early 12th century (Cormac, 1114?–1131?), but earlier holders of the title likely combined monastic leadership with episcopal functions[156]. This fluidity underscores the absence of a formalized diocesan system.

Bishoprics operated as regional—rather than national—entities, deeply embedded in local governance through ties to secular rulers. Earls and mormaers (regional lords) provided patronage, granting lands (often scattered parcels) to ecclesiastical centres in regions like Moray or Caithness[157]. Boundaries were loosely defined by natural features (streams, roads) or markers (stones, crosses), and lands were frequently exchanged or reassembled for practical use[158]. This irregularity contributed to administrative fragmentation.

Beyond religious functions, bishoprics served as hubs of learning and governance. They maintained scriptoria for preserving religious and secular knowledge, educated elite youth in Latin and Christian doctrine, and facilitated legal literacy by recording land transactions and mediating disputes[159]. In this way, they acted as repositories of cultural memory than political roles, reinforcing community cohesion and strengthening ties between local power structures and the Church.

B. Royal Intervention

Scottish monarchs actively promoted Church reform by importing Continental (Roman) ecclesiastical practices, often in contrast to native Celtic traditions. The reform movement first

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[153] Ibid. 329.
[154] Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom*. 309-519.
[155] J. N. G. Ritchie and A. Ritchie, *Scotland, Archaeology and Early History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2nd edn., 1991), 171–2.
[156] Dauvit Broun, "Dunkeld and the origin of Scottish identity", *Innes Review* 48 (1997). 112–124, reprinted in *Spes Scotorum: Hope of Scots*, eds. Broun and Clancy (1999), pp. 95–111. John Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland*, ed. J. Maitland Thomson, (Glasgow, 1912).
[157] Barbara E. Crawford, *The Northern Earldoms* (Edinburgh: John Donald 2013).
[158] Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom*. 313-316.
[159] L. R. Laing, *The Archaeology of Celtic Britain and Ireland, c. AD 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). 14–15. Kenneth Jackson, *The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer,* Electronic edition compiled by Beatrix Färber (CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts: a project of University College, 2010). http://www.ucc.ie/celt.

gained momentum through the efforts of Queen Margaret, wife of Malcolm III (r. 1058-1093). Turgot's vita of Margaret emphasizes her personal leadership in ecclesiastical reform, noting that she presided over councils that brought Scottish liturgical and doctrinal practices into alignment with European norms, rather than relying on the native clergy to initiate changes[160]. Margaret's exposure to Benedictine reforms in England proved particularly influential, as she played a crucial role in introducing Benedictine monasticism to Scotland [161].

Alexander I's reign (1107-1124) marked a significant acceleration in religious reform structures[162]. Around 1095, the king demonstrated his commitment to Continental models, and establishing an Augustinian priory at Scone in 1115, bringing canons from Nostell in Yorkshire to implement the new foundation[163]. This represented a clear departure from traditional Celtic monasticism and signalled the growing influence of European religious orders in Scotland.

David I (1124-1153) implemented the most comprehensive reforms. While a young man at the court of Henry I, David witnessed the power of royal religious patronage[164].

David steadfastly resisted York's claims over the Scottish Church, refusing to allow bishops to profess obedience to Archbishop Thurstan despite papal pressure and Thurstan's suspensions[165]. To maintain Scottish autonomy and Scottish religious reform, He systematically appointed reform-minded bishops, often with ties to monastic orders or his royal household. in 1123 or 1124, David appointed his chaplain, John, as the bishop of Glasgow after a very long vacancy[166]. And David's success in securing the uncompromised consecration of Robert as Bishop of St Andrews further strengthened royal control over the Scottish Church[167].

The development of an effective episcopate formed the cornerstone of David's ecclesiastical reforms. In 1128, he introduced archdeacons to Glasgow, followed later by deans[168], creating an administrative hierarchy that enforced spiritual discipline and diocesan organization. David complemented these changes with practical measures, conducting

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[160] Anderson (ed.), *Early Sources*, ii, 69–74.
[161] She appealed to Lanfranc, the Archbishop of Canterbury, for help in advancing religious reform in Scotland. In response, Lanfranc selected three Benedictine monks to go to Scotland. These monks later formed the core of Dunfermline Abbey. See Alan Orr. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*. 2 vols. (Stamford, Lincolnshire: Paul Watkins, 1990). 31 – 2, 64 – 5; Richard Oram, "Prayer, Property, and Profit: Scottish Monasteries, c. 1100—c. 1300." In *Scottish Power Centres from the Early Middle Ages to The Twentieth Century*, Sally Foster, Allan Maclnnes, and Ranald Maclnnes, eds. (Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1998). 80 – 1.
[162] Oram, *Domination and Lordship*. 56.
[163] Duncan, *Kingship of the Scots*, 82 – 6.
[164] Duncan, *Scotland: the Making of the Kingdom*. 149.
[165] J. Raine, (ed.), *Historians of the Church of York* (London, 1879–94). iii, 44–7.
[166] N.F. Shead, "the Origins of the Medieval Diocese of Glasgow", *Scotland Historical Review*, xlviii(1969), 220-5.
[167] Oram, Domination and Lordship: Scotland, 1070-1230. 346.
[168] D. E. R. Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevii ad annum 1638* (Scottish Record Society, 1969).152, 170.

inquests into diocesan resources and establishing systematic teind (tithe) payments at the parish level to ensure the Church's financial stability [169].

C. Political Motivations

The systematic appointment of bishops by the crown directly challenged the influence of mormaers and earls, who had traditionally dominated regional ecclesiastical networks. Prior to the 12th century, Scottish parishes emerged through decentralized processes. Some, like Glasgow, developed around early monastic communities or episcopal estates serving localized peasant populations. Others were founded through secular patronage, where local lords exercised advowson (the right to appoint clergy) and claimed parish revenues[170]. This fragment system hindered royal oversight of taxation and ecclesiastical administration.

By asserting control over episcopal appointments—such as David I's installation of his chaplain John as Bishop of Glasgow—monarchs not only maintain Scottish autonomy, like had discussed in the previous section, but also severed the ties between local lords and bishoprics, reorienting ecclesiastical loyalty toward the monarchy. The introduction of archdeacons and deans centralized oversight, displacing local ecclesiastical governance. Royal inquests into diocesan resources and the enforcement of teind (tithe) payments redirected wealth and patronage away from regional elites to crown-aligned institutions. The case of Thor the Long's 1105 grant of Ednam church to Durham monks exemplifies how the transfer of advowsons from lay patrons[171] to reformed monasteries became a key mechanism of ecclesiastical reform. These measures transformed bishoprics into instruments of royal governance, marginalizing local lords while strengthening the crown's reach into territories.

While Queen Margaret initiated Scotland's ecclesiastical reforms and Alexander I accelerated their implementation, it was David I who fundamentally transformed the Scottish Church through systematic reorganization. Under his reign, the gradual replacement of native bishops with reform-minded clerics from Continental monastic orders and his own royal household marked a decisive break from traditional structures[172]. Unlike his predecessors' more piecemeal approach, David pursued comprehensive alignment with Gregorian Reform principles as a deliberate strategy of state-building. His appointments - such as Robert, the first Augustinian bishop of St Andrews - not only advanced liturgical standardization but created an entirely new ecclesiastical hierarchy directly tied to royal authority. This represented not merely a continuation of earlier reforms but their radical expansion, embedding Roman practices and administrative systems into the very fabric of Scottish religious life.

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[169] A. D. M. Barrell, *Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge, 2000). 54–5.
[170] Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 296
[171] I. B. Cowan, *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, ed. J. Kirk (Edinburgh, 1995). 12–20.
[172] Oram, *David I: the King Who Made Scotland* (Stroud, 2005). 156–7.

David I's political consolidation through ecclesiastical reform reached its fullest expression in his strategic promotion of Augustinian canons, who would become institutional cornerstones of the reorganized Scottish Church. The very appointment of Robert, St Andrews' first Augustinian bishop (1127), epitomized this shift: unlike native clergy tied to regional networks, these Continental-trained reformers combined liturgical standardization with administrative sophistication, making them ideal agents for royal ambitions. Their introduction served as the operational framework through which his reforms were implemented. By embedding Augustinians at key sites like Scone and St Andrews, David ensured that the new diocesan hierarchy would remain inextricably linked to royal authority.

1.3.2 The introduction of the Augustinians

A. Context: Why Augustinians?

The Scottish monarchy required a Church that could serve as both a spiritual partner and a political instrument for centralization. Queen Margaret's introduction of the Benedictines[173] had emphasized royal piety and personal devotion, but Alexander I's adoption of the Augustinians marked a more strategic turn. As Duncan notes, Alexander's preference was deliberate: the Augustinians embodied the ideals of the Gregorian Reform while maintaining a practical openness to collaboration with secular authority—unlike the more cloistered Benedictines.[174]. As established earlier, David I's reorganization of dioceses (e.g., through archdeacons and teind audits) demanded a clerical order capable of systematic governance, such as encompass administrative efficiency and fiscal control. These priorities that aligned precisely with the Augustinians' institutional strengths.

The Augustinians emerged as ideal agents for Scotland's religious reform due to their direct ties to the papally-endorsed Gregorian Reform. At the Lateran Council of 1059, convened by Pope Nicholas II (1058–61), the Church hierarchy called upon clerical communities to adopt a higher standard of communal life. A key component of this agenda was the promotion of the *vita apostolica*[175]—a model of disciplined, communal living intended to restore the purity of early Christian practice.

In the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, communities following the Rule of St Augustine gradually became recognized as the primary standard-bearers of this ideal[176]. Their expansion in Scotland—beginning with Alexander I's strategic foundation of Scone Priory in

[173] Anderson (ed.), Early Sources, ii, 31–2.
[174] Duncan, A.A.M. *The Kingship of the Scots*. Oram, *Domination and Lordship: Scotland, 1070-1230*.
[175] J. Mois, 'Geist und Regel de Hl. Augustinus in der Kanoniker-Reform des 11.-12. Jahrhunderts', In *Unum Congregati*, 6 (1959), 52-3.
[176] Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England*. app. 1.

1120[177], represented not only a religious development but a deliberate alignment with continental orthodoxy.

As previously discussed, the Augustinians in St Andrews also contributed to redefining national identity through religious narratives. By rewriting the legend of St Andrew, they helped position him as the national patron, strengthening Scotland's ecclesiastical independence and countering the jurisdictional claims of York.

The integration of the Augustinians in Scotland mirrored broader European patterns, particularly those in England and Normandy—regions whose reform models were familiar to Scotland's increasingly Anglo-Norman monarchy. Their presence illustrates how ecclesiastical reform and political centralization were tightly intertwined. As communities committed to both pastoral care and liturgical uniformity, the Augustinians served as the ideal mechanism for aligning Scottish religious practice with Roman norms while still operating under royal oversight.

The Augustinians' adaptability to the emerging feudal economy made them indispensable to Scotland's fiscal and territorial reorganization. By the late eleventh century, the Benedictine model—based on large, centralized estates—was becoming increasingly unsustainable. As society evolved, feudal barons were less willing to grant vast lands to monasteries. Instead, they offered smaller, scattered assets—such as tithes and churches—which no longer suited the Benedictines' centralized management style[178].

In contrast, the Augustinians thrived under these new conditions. Their modest land requirements allowed them to integrate more easily into the patchwork of feudal holdings. Rather than controlling large estates, they provided practical services—pastoral care, education, and spiritual administration—tailored to local communities. Their interaction with the laity, combined with their economic flexibility, ensured that surplus wealth from Church holdings could enter local markets, often through loans or the development of town infrastructure[179] . This, in turn, stimulated regional economies and reinforced the stability of their communities.

Such a model suited the goals of the Scottish Crown during its reform period. The Augustinians' ability to manage scattered teinds and parish churches turned them into crucial agents for royal revenue collection. Their institutional structure—characterized by fiscal pragmatism, liturgical competence, and political cooperation—aligned precisely with royal priorities: centralization, diocesan standardization, and the assertion of ecclesiastical autonomy. At the same time, their modest economic footprint appeased the concerns of feudal

[177] RRS, I, no. 243
[178] Southern, *Western Society and the Church*. 233.
[179] Ibid. *245-48*.

barons, who were increasingly protective of their estates. In this way, the Augustinians became not only adaptable agents of reform, but reliable pillars of both local stability and national administration.

Unlike Benedictines, whose strict adherence to the Rule emphasized obedience and isolation, the Augustinians adopted a more flexible approach, pragmatic approach to communal life. The Rule of St Benedict opens with a call to perfect obedience, demanding unquestioning compliance in every aspect of monastic discipline[180] . This ideal created deeply regulated, insular communities, whose ultimate goal was spiritual perfection through withdrawal from the world. Such rigidity, however, left little room for the adaptive demands of ecclesiastical reform and secular governance.

By contrast, the Augustinian Rule—derived from St Augustine's writings and adapted over time—allowed for considerable institutional flexibility [181] . It was not written as a strict monastic code but as a framework for communal living among clerics. This openness made it applicable to a wide range of contexts, from urban pastoral settings to royal chapels. The Augustinians could shape their community life around the needs of their environment, accommodating both clergy and laypeople on the margins of traditional monasticism. Their Rule, rather than demanding total isolation, provided a model for religious life that remained spiritually committed while being embedded in secular society[182].

From the views of nobles and town peoples, this more accessible form of religious life may have appeared less austere or "heroic" than the asceticism of older monastic traditions. Yet it filled a vital middle ground. Augustinian communities were strategically situated—close to towns, castles, and diocesan centres—where their pastoral and administrative services were in high demand[183].

Augustinian clerics serving in cathedrals and collegiate churches operated under episcopal supervision and were typically well-educated in Roman Catholic doctrine[184]. They could offer both pastoral leadership and administrative oversight. For regional rulers, their intellectual training and bureaucratic experience made them highly valuable. Many were appointed as royal chaplains or advisors, contributing to the management of dioceses, assisting with teind audits, and serving as intermediaries between secular and ecclesiastical powers. Their administrative

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[180] David Hugh Farmer(ed.) *The Rule of St. Benedict : Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 48*. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, international booksellers and Publishers, 1968). Dom Cuthbert Bulter, *St Benedicti Regula Monasteriorum*, (Freiburg, 3rd ed. 1935). C.43.

[181] St Augustine's letter mentioned the adaptations of the Rule. See D.de Bruyne, Revue bénédictine. Abbaye de Maredsous, Maredsous xlii. (1930). 316-30.

[182] Christopher Brooke. *The Age of the Cloister: The Story of Monastic Life in the Middle Ages*. (Mahwah, N.J: HiddenSpring.2003). 153-7

[183] W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, (Bohn, London 1830). vi. 106-7.

[184] L.K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (London, 1978), 99-100.

talents were especially suited to the diocesan structures introduced during David I's reforms, which required coordination across multiple clerical communities.

In towns, Augustinian canons met a range of spiritual and civic needs: presiding over funerals, offering education, and guiding religious observance. Their integration into urban life reflected Augustine's own vision of religious life as embedded in the community rather than cut off from it. Unlike Benedictines, whose separation limited their reach, the Augustinians moved fluidly between cloister and court, parish and palace[185].

This dual role allowed them to simultaneously advance Gregorian ideals and serve the interests of the Scottish Crown. As scholar-administrators, they held bishoprics (e.g., at St Andrews[186]), served as royal advisors, and managed church lands and revenues—all functions that required a degree of worldly engagement incompatible with monastic seclusion. Their hybrid identity—neither wholly monastic nor entirely secular—became their greatest institutional asset.

By bridging the gap between ecclesiastical reform and royal administration, Augustinian canons helped implement the very systems upon which Scotland's reformed Church would rest. In places like St Andrews, they became indispensable to the kingdom's ecclesiastical bureaucracy: managing dioceses, conducting burgh rites, enforcing liturgical conformity, and integrating local communities into a broader religious framework. Their Rule's adaptability, far from being a liability, made them ideal agents of reform and governance in a changing medieval Scotland.

The Augustinians' liturgical flexibility played a crucial role in advancing ecclesiastical reform across Scotland's diverse religious landscape. Their inherent adaptability meant that, unlike monastic orders bound by strict uniformity, they could accommodate a variety of local practices within a broadly Roman framework. This lack of liturgical rigidity became instrumental in easing Scotland's transition toward Roman norms without alienating established regional traditions.

As a clerical order following the secular rite—the "nine lessons" structure—the Augustinians never adhered to a single, standard liturgical form. Instead, their worship practices varied from house to house, shaped by local conditions and regional influences[187]. Because the texts they used often overlapped with those of secular churches, identifying Augustinian liturgical manuscripts typically requires the presence of their patron, St Augustine, whose inclusion serves as a distinguishing marker.

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[185] Southern, Western Society and the Church. 245-48.
[186] Dickinson, *The Origin of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England*. Duncan, "The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, 1140".
[187] Timothy Meeson Morris "the Augustinian use of Oseney Abbey: A study of the Oseney Ordinal, Processional and Tonale".(PhD diss. University of Oxford, Trinity Term 1999). 25

While committed to promoting the Roman rite and Gregorian ideals, Augustinian houses showed a consistent willingness to adapt to local customs. This resulted in considerable regional variation in their liturgical books. For instance, the Blantyre Psalter (GB-DRu Bamburgh Select 6, c.1175–1220) exemplifies this approach: although rooted in the Sarum Use, it incorporates veneration of distinctly local saints such as Kentigern and Ninian[188] . These practices reveal the canons' efforts to localize Roman observance without compromising reformist objectives.

This liturgical pragmatism enabled the Augustinians to serve as cultural and religious intermediaries. By integrating popular Celtic saints into a Roman framework, they helped bridge the divide between papal orthodoxy and native devotional traditions. Their reforms were incremental, not disruptive—an adaptive process that gradually reshaped religious life rather than replacing it outright. This measured approach eased resistance to change and allowed local communities to retain a sense of continuity.

Crucially, the secular rite structure used by the Augustinians allowed for such adaptability without undermining their Gregorian credentials. Their ability to maintain doctrinal conformity while permitting regional diversity made them uniquely effective agents of reform. In the Scottish context, they played a vital role in mediating between imported ecclesiastical standards and indigenous religious expression, fostering a form of liturgical practice that was both Roman and recognizably local.

B. The Augustinians in St Andrews(1127-1178)

The Augustinians' alignment with royal and papal interests made them powerful instruments of ecclesiastical reform across Scotland, but nowhere was their impact more significant—and more contested—than in St Andrews. As the kingdom's religious centre, St Andrews became the focal point of sweeping institutional, administrative, and liturgical changes. The introduction of the Augustinian canons here not only redefined the local church's structure but also displaced existing Gaelic traditions.

The last Celtic bishop in St Andrew church died in 1093, and it is customary to refer to the Church of St Andrews before that date as 'Celtic' in character[189]. A major turning point came in December 1127, when Robert, prior of the Augustinian house at Nostell, was elected Bishop of St Andrews. By 1140, both the bishopric and the priory were firmly established[190]. Robert is widely credited with composing the foundation narrative (FN) of St Andrews, found in one

[188] see Alexander Boyle and Mark Dilworth, Some identifications of Scottish saints', *Inner Review* 35 (1984), 39–41.
[189] M. O. Anderson, "The Celtic Church in Kinrimund.," in *The Medieval Church of St. Andrews*, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow: John S. Burns & Sons, 1976), 1.
[190] Duncan, "the Foundation of St Andrews". 1-4.

manuscript version of Legend B. The FN provides a rare clerical perspective on institutional memory and reform[191].

In this text, Robert offers a chronological account of the clerical groups present in St Andrews in his time and before. He lists three in order of mention: first, the Céli Dé, the largest group in the diocese; second, seven *personae*; and third, a *hospitale*[192]. The longest-established were the *personae* and a bishop was drawn from this group by the twelfth century.

Robert's account—though clearly biased toward his reformist agenda—provides valuable insight into the condition of St Andrews prior to the Augustinian takeover. He portrays the local clergy, particularly the personae, as corrupt and disordered: these local monks neglected liturgical service at the ancient altars, yet coveted the offerings to the altars. They even owned their own land and property, which, along with the altar offerings, became personal inheritance upon their death, passed on to their wives, children, and other family members[193]. This inheritance practice blurred the line between clerical and lay life, in sharp contrast to the communal ideals promoted by reformers.

To address what he perceived as liturgical neglect and administrative chaos, Robert initiated a program of gradual reform. His immediate goal was to restore order and proper service to the high altar of St Andrew by expanding the number of clergy and introducing effective oversight. Initially, he attempted to base the new priory on existing local structures. Clerics willing to adopt the Augustinian Rule were welcomed as collaborators[194], and the early reform effort appears to have been inclusive rather than confrontational. This integrative strategy—made possible by the inherent adaptability of the Augustinian Rule—was largely successful. Within six or seven years, the only group that still resisted incorporation was the Céli Dé.

To fully consolidate authority, Robert pursued legal measures to gain control over the lands and assets still held by the Céli Dé. In 1147, he appealed directly to Pope Eugenius III, resulting in a papal bull that stated that: upon the death of each Céli Dé member, an Augustinian canon would be installed in his place. This decree also removed the Céli Dé's traditional right to participate in episcopal elections[195]. The wording of the bull suggests that Robert sought two outcomes: first, the gradual acquisition of Céli Dé endowments as church property, transforming communal assets into individual prebends; and second, the establishment of

[191] Skene, *Chron. Picts-Scots*. 183-93. Simon Taylor, "The Church of St Andrew and its Foundation Legends". Duncan, "the Foundation of St Andrews". 4.
[192] Skene, Chron. Picts-Scots. 188-189.
[193] ibid. 189.
[194] Duncan, "The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, 1140". 10
[195] St Andrews Lib., 49, and Adrian IV, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 18, 52. For discussion of St Andrews elections see Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots*, 197-9.

canonical election procedures that would favor Augustinian succession. These provisions reinforced Robert's authority and formally tied the bishopric to the Augustinian community.

The issuance of the bull marked the beginning of open conflict between the Augustinians and the Céli Dé. Under Robert's episcopate, the Augustinians gained substantial control over the Church of St Andrews: they dominated diocesan property, managed parish affairs, and enjoyed the support of both the monarchy and the papacy. Their success laid the institutional groundwork for St Andrews to emerge as the future archbishopric of Scotland. Although the Céli Dé community continued to exist legally until at least 1172–1178[196], its influence waned considerably. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, the balance of power would shift again following the election of Bishop Malveisin— marking the beginning of a new phase of negotiation between older traditions and reformist structures.

According to Bishop Robert's account, the assets of St Andrews had fallen into administrative neglect prior to his appointment. Although King Alexander I had generously gifted property and goods to support the arrival of Augustinian canons—hoping that the altar of St Andrew would be properly served[197]—these offerings had not fulfilled their intended purpose.

Among the most significant of these gifts was Boar's Raik, a stretch of land traditionally associated with King Óengus (Unust), who was said to have dedicated it to God and the apostle. Other royal offerings included high-status items: an Arabian steed with bridle, saddle, shield, and silver lance, as well as an elaborate covering (pallium). Later gifts even included Turkish arms. Yet despite these lavish contributions, the altar of St Andrew remained poorly served until Robert took office[198].

Once appointed bishop, Robert brought administrative order to the church's holdings. He ensured that royal donations were properly used, and he restructured the management of properties such as Boar's Raik. A bishop's diploma—likely authored or influenced by Robert and preserved only through the priory's cartulary[199] —shows his approach to redistribution and oversight. The text specifies detailed arrangements for allocating lands (using donavimus et concessimus) to the Augustinian canons he had installed at St Andrews. It lists eighteen named settlements within Boar's Raik, though the precise place-names are no longer identifiable. In addition, the diploma records the formal transfer of seven altar portions, the hospital, and its associated lands, possessions, and rents into the canons' control.

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[196] St Andrews. Lib., 318-9 and Barrow, 'The Early Charters of the Family of *Kinninmonth*', no. 3
[197] Duncan, "the Foundation of St Andrews".7-9. The gift recorded in the lost register of St Andrews: *Oblatio Alexandri primi regis et Sybillae uxoris eius*. In St Andrews Liber., Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland GD 45/27/8. xxvi, no. 10. the discussion about the gifts see R. L. G. Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland* (Edinburgh, University Press,1954), 172-5.
[198] Duncan, "the Foundation of St Andrews". 5. Skene, *Chron. Picts-Scots*, 190-191.
[199] St Andrews Lib., 122-3; Sir Archibald C. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters prior to A.D.1153* (Glasgow, 1905) no. 162, 124-6, 390-3.

This document reflects a clear shift toward centralized and effective management. Under Robert's leadership, the Augustinians became responsible not only for liturgical service but also for the orderly administration of ecclesiastical property. Their success in doing so was notable enough that King David, who had initially offered limited support to the priory, was persuaded to increase his generosity in light of their demonstrated competence[200] .

The disordered state of parish management in pre-reform St Andrews directly affected the quality of worship. According to the FN, there was virtually no regular veneration at the high altar of St Andrew before the Augustinians arrived. The *personae* neglected the apostle's altar altogether. As Robert describes: "There was no one who served the altar of the blessed apostle, nor was Mass celebrated there, except when the king or bishop came—which happened rarely" [201].

The Céli Dé, meanwhile, served their own altar in a corner of the modestly-sized church, following their own customs[202]. They did not take responsibility for the apostolic shrine, highlighting the fragmented and localized nature of worship prior to reform. The FN offers little insight into how St Andrew was venerated in earlier 'Celtic' practice—suggesting either limited observance or, perhaps more likely, a shift in emphasis under Augustinian redirection.

In response, Bishop Robert undertook architectural reforms to elevate the status of St Andrew's altar and realign the space with new liturgical needs. He expanded St Rule's Church both eastward and westward, as recorded in the Legend of St Andrew[203], physically transforming the structure to reflect the patron's renewed centrality. These spatial changes were not only symbolic but functional—designed to support new processional routes and liturgical ceremonies in line with Roman practice.

While no surviving documents detail the Augustinian liturgy at St Andrews in full, the Foundation Narrative provides a revealing account of King David I's experience during a visit. He came to pray and participate in "Mass and the Hours," and, notably, offered his own judgment on the rites. According to the text, David remarked that the services were "heard by custom, and offering made" [204] —a comment that affirms both the regularity and quality of worship under Augustinian leadership. His statement suggests that the liturgy had not only been successfully reformed but was now functioning in accordance with established tradition and expectation. This royal endorsement signals that the Augustinians had achieved a key goal of the reform: the

[200] David I Charters(G. W. S. Barrow (ed.), The Charters of King David I. *The Written Acts of David I King of Scots, 1124-53 and of his Son Henry Earl of Northumberland, 1139-52* (Woodbridge, 1999). 126-9; and Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*. 124.
[201] Skene, Chron. Picts-Scots. 190.
[202] ibid. 188-9.
[203] Heywood, 'The Church of St Rule, St Andrews', 38-61. Cameron, 'St Rule's Church, 367-78.
[204] Skene, Chron. Picts-Scots. 193.

creation of a coherent, public-facing worship life rooted in Roman practice yet attentive to local sensibilities. In contrast to the earlier inconsistent and outdated service of the apostle's altar, the liturgical order introduced by the Augustinians brought visibility, structure, and prestige to Scotland's national shrine.

The case of St Andrews between 1127 and 1178 illustrates how the Augustinians functioned not simply as religious reformers but as agents of institutional transformation. Under Bishop Robert, the priory became the administrative and spiritual nucleus of a reorganized diocese, consolidating control over land, liturgy, and clerical authority. These changes reflect a broader strategy by the Scottish monarchy to align the national Church with continental models while asserting independence from English ecclesiastical claims. Yet the Augustinians did not act alone: their influence was made possible through consistent royal support. Scotland's kings, through control over episcopal appointments, reshaped the structure and loyalty of the medieval Church.

1.3.3 Royal Control Over Episcopal Appointments

One of the most effective instruments of reform available to the Scottish monarchy in the 12th century was its control over episcopal appointments. By placing trusted clerics—often drawn from monastic orders or the royal household—into key bishoprics, kings like David I ensured that the Church's leadership aligned with royal aims. These appointments did more than secure political loyalty: they had far-reaching consequences for local liturgical practices and musical traditions. At St Andrews, the selection of reform-minded bishops not only restructured diocesan governance but also reshaped the sound and rhythm of worship. Through the authority of the bishop, the monarchy influenced everything from the introduction of Roman and continental rites to the preservation or adaptation of older musical customs, turning episcopal office into a vital channel for cultural transformation.

A. Strategic Nominations

Despite years of royal support, the Augustinians at St Andrews eventually miscalculated the nature of that alliance. Their attempt to assert greater autonomy and challenge the crown's authority ended in the loss of their control over the diocese. A major turning point occurred in the wake of Bishop Richard's death in May 1178, when the clergy of St Andrews proceeded with the election of John without securing King William's approval[205]. This move directly conflicted with the monarchy's long-standing expectation of influence in episcopal appointments.

William, who had his own candidate—Hugh, a royal clerk—refused to accept the outcome.

[205] Paul Craig Ferguson and Stair Society. *Medieval Papal Representatives in Scotland : Legates, Nuncios, and Judges-Delegate, 1125-1286*. (Edinburgh: Stair Society. 1997) 56 .

The conflict escalated into one of the most serious disputes between the Scottish crown and the papacy in the 12th century. When the clerics of St Andrews appealed to Pope Alexander III, they found ready support in Rome, which viewed William's interference as a violation of ecclesiastical liberty. in response, the Pope sent two powerful mediators—Roger, Archbishop of York, and Hugh, Bishop of Durham—to pressure William into accepting John. When William resisted, the papacy imposed severe sanctions: he was excommunicated in 1181, and an interdict was placed on the entire kingdom[206].

The deadlock continued for several years, but by 1188, William had regained control of the situation. His candidate, Hugh, was finally installed as Bishop of St Andrews—a clear victory for royal authority. The king's presence at the election of Hugh's successor, Roger de Beaumont (his cousin), further confirmed the monarchy's dominance in episcopal affairs. This pattern continued with the appointment of William Malveisin in 1202[207], solidifying a line of bishops who were loyal to the crown.

These events demonstrate that the Scottish monarchy did not merely seek cooperation from the Church—it sought to dominate it. Even the Augustinians, who had long benefited from royal patronage, were expected to remain subordinate to the crown. Their overreach in attempting to bypass the king's will in episcopal elections revealed the limits of their autonomy. William's successful imposition of his own candidate, followed by a series of loyal episcopal appointments, shows that royal authority over the Church was not negotiable. Episcopal office at St Andrews—Scotland's most powerful see—became not just a spiritual post, but a tool through which the monarchy enforced administrative, liturgical, and political alignment with its broader state-building goals.

B. Diocesan Restructuring

With the loss of unwavering royal backing, the Augustinian canons at St Andrews entered a period of institutional uncertainty. Their previous ascendancy—secured under Bishop Robert—was politically compromised as episcopal leadership shifted its support toward the Céli Dé. This marked the second major transformation in the diocese's internal structure within a generation.

As Barrow has argued, an agreement from around 1198–99 may reflect the early stages of the Céli Dé's transition into a secular body[208]. Under Bishop Roger de Beaumont and especially his successor, William Malveisin, the Céli Dé were no longer marginalized; instead, they were gradually reintegrated into the institutional life of the cathedral. A papal letter dated 27 April 1217 records that, sometime between 1202 and 1216, Malveisin formally absolved the Céli Dé of

[206] Oram, *Domination and Lordship*. 333.
[207] Barrow (ed.), RRS, ii, 9–11; Ferguson, Papal Representatives, 56–63.
[208] Barrow, "The Cathedral Chapter of St. Andrews and the Culdees1".32-33.

an earlier excommunication[209]. This sentence had been imposed by papal judges-delegate at the request of the prior and chapter—most likely the Augustinian community.

Following this reconciliation, the Céli Dé regained several key privileges: control over specific ecclesiastical properties, restoration of prebendal revenues, and perhaps most significantly, the reinstatement of their right to participate in episcopal elections. Malveisin also incorporated Céli Dé figures into his *familia,* signalling their full institutional rehabilitation. Clerics such as Master Hugh of Melbourne, Master Adam Ovidius, Master Adam of Scone, Henry of Weles, and Roger of Huntingfield—referred to as "certain clergy of St Andrews commonly called Céli Dé" [210]—held visible positions of influence.

This resurgence is perhaps best illustrated by the career of Adam of Scone, who advanced from episcopal service to a royal chaplaincy by 1220[211]. Under Malveisin, the Céli Dé reemerged as a dominant clerical faction in St Andrews, reclaiming many of the powers and responsibilities they had lost during the initial Augustinian reforms. This restructuring reveals not a reversal of reform, but rather a recalibration—reflecting both the adaptability of episcopal policy and the enduring institutional resilience of the Céli Dé.

C. Liturgical and Musical Repercussions

This institutional reintegration of the Céli Dé did not merely alter the administrative framework of St Andrews—it also shaped the liturgical and musical life of the cathedral. No longer sidelined, the revitalized Céli Dé group began to contribute to worship practices in ways that reflected both their historical identity and their engagement with wider continental trends. Their restored position within the cathedral chapter, supported by episcopal authority, allowed them to shape the devotional rhythms of the Scottish Church's most important centre. They developed rites that blended Roman and continental influences with long-standing local traditions. The surviving musical manuscripts associated with St Andrews offer compelling evidence of this transformation.

Two important manuscripts from the 13th century[212]—W1 and Pn12036—offer insight into this hybrid liturgical culture. Both are associated with St Andrews during the episcopate of William Malveisin and reflect the Céli Dé's active participation in liturgical production[213].

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[209] Theiner, No. 6.
[210] Theiner, No. 37. *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree* (Bannatyne Club), xlii-xliii. [RPSA].
[211] Arb. Lib., no. 136 and St A. Lib., 295-96.
[212] Handschin, "Zur Geschichte von Notre Dame" 5–17; "A Monument of English Medieval Polyphony. The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel 677 (Helmst. 628)," *The Musical Times* 73 (1932) 512; "A Monument of English Medieval Polyphony" *The Musical Times* 74 (1933): 697–704; Baxter, An Old St. Andrews Music Book (Cod. Helmst. 628); Edward H Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis" ; Also Roesner, ed., Le Magnus Liber Organi De Notre-Dame De Paris, Musica Gallica.
[213] Avril and Stirnemann, *Manuscrits Enluminés D'origine Insulaire, VIIe-XXe Siècle, Manuscrits Enluminés de La Bibliothèque Nationale*. Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews".

Although the *Temporale* of Pn12036 largely follows the Sarum Use—adopting Roman modal patterns from Salisbury—its *Sanctorale* includes saints of distinctively local significance, such as St Brigid of Kildare[214]. This suggests a careful incorporation of Celtic devotional elements into an otherwise Roman framework. These choices likely reflect the priorities of scribes connected to the Céli Dé, who worked within the expectations of broader liturgical conformity while maintaining links to older Scottish traditions.

W1, a fully musical manuscript, further illustrates this synthesis. Containing polyphonic settings for both the Mass and the Office, W1 features compositional techniques associated with the Parisian Notre Dame school, including organum, clausulae, and sequences. Yet these imported forms were not simply copied—they were adapted to local needs. A particularly significant example is the Great Responsory for the Feast of St Andrew, *Vir perfecte Imitator Jesu Christi*. This chant exists in both monophonic form in Pn12036 and as a two-part polyphonic setting in the third fascicle of W1. Its carefully crafted poetic Latin text—structured in eight paroxytone syllable —was likely composed in the 13th century, possibly by a local scribe[215]. The responsory's direct address to St Andrew and its musical elaboration suggest a new form of devotional intensity that balanced local veneration with continental musical innovation.

Rather than remaining isolated or reactionary, the Céli Dé at St Andrews embraced and contributed to reform. Their engagement with continental chant traditions and adoption of polyphony marked a shift from perceived conservatism to liturgical leadership. In this process, they redefined their spiritual identity—not by abandoning their past, but by integrating it into the new order. Through manuscripts like W1 and Pn12036, the effects of royal and episcopal support become evident in the institutional conditions that enabled this transformation, while the Céli Dé played an active role in reshaping the sonic and ceremonial life of St Andrews.

The control of episcopal appointments gave Scottish monarchs a powerful way to reshape the Church in line with their own goals. From the contested election of John of St Andrews to the king's strategic promotion of bishops like Beaumont and Malveisin, the crown steadily increased its influence over the Church's leadership and direction. These appointments were not just political decisions but also turning points in how the Church functioned. The reorganization of diocesan authority—especially the reintegration of the Céli Dé under Malveisin—helped shift clerical loyalties and resources toward the monarchy. This shift also affected the development of worship and music at St Andrews. With royal support, local

[214] Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques De France*. 382-384. Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews". 10. David Chadd, "An English Noted Breviary of Circa 1200". 210. Steiner, "Notre Dame in Scotland".189.
[215] Steiner, "Notre Dame in Scotland". 261-3.

traditions were blended with continental practices, creating a distinctive religious culture that upheld Scotland's independence while connecting it more closely with European norms.

Conclusion

The transformation of St Andrews in the 12th and 13th centuries was not simply the result of religious reform—it was the product of royal design. Through the strategic promotion of St Andrew's cult, the reorganization of dioceses, and direct control over episcopal appointments, Scottish kings reshaped the Church into an instrument of national consolidation[216]. This chapter has shown that ecclesiastical reform at St Andrews served not just theological purposes, but political ones. Kings like David I and William I (the Lion) used sacred institutions to assert royal authority, resist English interference, and define a uniquely Scottish identity within Latin Christendom[217].

While the Augustinians and the Céli Dé are often cast as rivals—representing innovation and tradition, respectively—their histories in St Andrews reveal something more complex. The original source of conflict was not a doctrinal clash between these groups, but royal ambition. The Scottish monarchy, seeking a Church that would both mirror and support its expanding power, was willing to favour either group when it suited broader goals. Under Bishop Robert, Augustinians were elevated to impose structure and discipline[218]; under Bishop Malveisin, elements of the Céli Dé were restored to ensure continuity and local legitimacy. In both cases, it was royal policy—not monastic ideology—that shaped the outcome.

The crown's control over Church leadership was central to its political strategy. Through the appointment of bishops like Robert and Malveisin, the monarchy selected reformers who would carry out its vision. Under Robert, the Augustinians were empowered to dismantle older clerical structures, seize lands, and implement Roman reforms. Under Malveisin, the revival of the Céli Dé—restored to episcopal elections and absorbed into the bishop's familia—demonstrated how royal favour could reverse earlier policies without abandoning central authority.

The elevation of St Andrew over Columba was more than a spiritual preference—it was a statement of sovereignty. By aligning Scotland with an apostolic saint whose relics and cult had continental prestige, the monarchy asserted both ecclesiastical independence from York and parity with Rome. St Andrew's cult became a national symbol, and the legend of St Rule was deployed as a foundation myth to reframe Scotland's Christian origins, bypassing England's narrative of conversion through Canterbury.

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[216] Duncan, *Scotland, the Making of the Kingdom*; *Kingship of the Scots, 842-1292: Succession and Independence*. Oram. *Domination and lordship: Scotland, 1070-1230*.
[217] Broun, 'The Church and the Beginning of Scottish Independence.'
[218] Ian Borthwick Cowan and Kirk James. *The Medieval Church in Scotland*. (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.1995).

Royal control also extended into the rituals and music of the Church. The integration of Roman rites with local devotions—evident in manuscripts such as W1 and Pn12036—was not merely organic but politically shaped. By supporting a liturgy that featured both apostolic authority and native saints like Kentigern or Ninian, the crown created a hybrid devotional tradition. This allowed rulers to promote unity and orthodoxy while accommodating local piety. The crown's influence on musical traditions at St Andrews further illustrates how even the sonic dimensions of worship became tools of political messaging.

The result was the Scottish Church that emerged not as a fully Romanized institution, nor as a survival of pure Gaelic Christianity, but as a hybrid—rooted in both reform and continuity. The Céli Dé's reappearance under Malveisin, including their restored prebends and liturgical roles, shows that even under royal reform, tradition endured. By combining Augustinian structures with Gaelic legacies, the Church became flexible enough to centralize authority while respecting regional variation. In this way, the Church reflected the very nature of the kingdom it served: not wholly native, nor fully continental, but distinctively Scottish.

The reform of St Andrews was not a one-sided triumph. It was a process of negotiation, adaptation, and shifting alliances. Chapter 2 explores how these tensions continued to shape the Church well beyond the 12th century, focusing on three unresolved questions: the Céli Dé's survival into the 14th century, the continued prominence of St Mary on the Rock, and the veneration of local saints such as Kentigern in later liturgical manuscripts. These questions challenge any simple narrative of Augustinian dominance or Céli Dé revival. Instead, they reveal a Church shaped by conflict but sustained through compromise—where royal power, institutional reform, and inherited tradition were all in constant dialogue.

2. Chapter 2 the Transformation of the the Céli Dé – Survival and Influence in St. Andrews (1202–1350)

Introduction

The previous chapter demonstrated how the Scottish monarchy restructured the Church to serve royal authority, particularly through its control of episcopal appointments. Bishops such as Robert of Nostell and William Malveisin were not merely spiritual leaders but political agents—appointed to reshape diocesan governance, align ecclesiastical structures with continental norms, and centralize liturgical practice at St Andrews. Yet within this top-down reform programme, one group proved unexpectedly resilient: the Céli Dé. Their survival complicates conventional narratives of ecclesiastical transformation, suggesting that institutional change in 12th–13th century Scotland was not simply imposed, but negotiated. Rather than being displaced by Augustinian reform, the Céli Dé found ways to adapt and endure—becoming indispensable to the very regime that had once threatened to erase them.

This chapter argues that the Céli Dé were neither passive preservers of a fading Celtic tradition nor outright opponents of reform. Instead, they emerged as hybrid actors who redefined their role within a changing religious landscape. Under Bishop Malveisin's patronage, they were reconstituted as secular canons, integrated into the cathedral chapter, and entrusted with core liturgical responsibilities. This transformation was not merely cosmetic: it was the product of strategic alliances, institutional flexibility, and a broader royal agenda that favoured continuity as well as reform.

This chapter unfolds across three interwoven lines of inquiry. First, it explores how the Céli Dé leveraged royal patronage and political flexibility to maintain their institutional relevance, particularly after the episcopate of William Malveisin. Despite papal directives mandating their replacement, they navigated reform by adopting a dual identity—presenting themselves as secular canons while retaining deep-rooted local authority. Second, it turns to liturgical manuscripts such as Pn12036 and W1, alongside architectural evidence from St Mary on the Rock, to demonstrate how the Céli Dé inscribed their influence into both ritual practice and sacred space. Finally, it traces the afterlife of this legacy into the later 13th century, revealing how figures like W. de Bernham embodied a mobile, hybrid clerical identity that sustained Céli Dé authority through scribal production and transregional networks. Taken together, these threads reframe the Céli Dé not as passive remnants of a pre-reform past, but as architects of continuity and agents of ecclesiastical adaptation.

Ultimately, this chapter reframes ecclesiastical reform at St Andrews as a dialectical process rather than a clean rupture. The Céli Dé's survival was not an anomaly but a testament to the pluralism of medieval religious change. By adopting a dual identity—Roman in form, Gaelic in memory—they helped craft a distinctly Scottish ecclesiastical tradition, one in which innovation and continuity were not opposing forces, but mutually reinforcing dynamics.

2.1. From Crisis to Opportunity: The Political Foundations of Céli Dé Survival

2.1.1 The 1178 Crisis as Turning Point

Chapter 1 demonstrated how twelfth-century Scottish monarchs, especially David I, initially favoured the Augustinians over the Céli Dé, seeking a Church that could support both spiritual renewal and political centralization. The Augustinians, with their ties to Gregorian reform and administrative efficiency, appeared ideally suited to reshape the ecclesiastical structure of Scotland in ways that reinforced royal authority.

However, by 1178, this ecclesiastical strategy began to unravel. The succession dispute following the death of Bishop Richard of St Andrews revealed the limitations of relying exclusively on Augustinian networks. When the canons of St Andrews elected John the Scot without royal approval, King William the Lion responded by forcefully promoting his own candidate, Hugh, in defiance of both the local clergy and Pope Alexander III[219]. The decade-long conflict (1178–1188), which escalated into excommunication and a papal interdict against the king, exposed the political risks of ecclesiastical autonomy[220]—even from those groups initially backed by the crown.

This key turning point marked a change in royal policy. William's successful placement of Roger de Beaumont as bishop in 1188, followed by the appointment of William Malveisin in 1202[221], signalled a new phase of episcopal management. These bishops, while loyal to the crown, adopted a more cooperative and friendly stance toward the Céli Dé. No longer viewed as mere relics of the past, the Céli Dé were gradually reintegrated into the diocesan structure, now as secular canons aligned with episcopal authority.

The events of 1178 clarified the monarchy's priorities. As Oram and Wormald argue, King William's chief concern was not doctrinal purity or institutional allegiance, but the

[219] Ferguson. *Papal Representatives in Scotland*. 56.
[220] Barrow (ed.), RRS, ii, 9–11; Oram, *Domination and Lordship*.332
[221] Ferguson, Papal Representatives, 56–63.

independence and cohesion of the Scottish Church[222]. Freed from the threat of York's jurisdiction, the crown was unwilling to tolerate any challenge to its internal control—whether from Rome, the Augustinians, or local clerics acting without royal sanction. For the Scottish monarchy, ecclesiastical loyalty was measured not by origin but by utility. Reform-minded foreign clerics were welcome—so long as they advanced royal objectives. Conversely, even favoured groups like the Augustinians could be marginalized if they acted beyond the king's authority.

In short, the 1178 crisis was not just a conflict between crown and papacy—it marked the beginning of a more pragmatic approach to church governance. This reorientation paved the way for the Céli Dé's survival and revival under Bishop Malveisin, setting the stage for the negotiations and adaptations explored in the rest of this chapter.

The 1178 crisis marked a turning point in the monarchy's relationship with the Church. After a decade of conflict over episcopal succession, the crown no longer viewed the Augustinians as reliable allies. Their prior confrontation with royal authority had weakened their position, revealing the dangers of overreliance on a single reformist faction. In response, the monarchy recalibrated its ecclesiastical strategy, turning to clerics it could trust more fully to uphold royal interests.

Two key episcopal appointments reflect this shift. Roger de Beaumont (1188–1202), a cousin of King William, restored royal control over St Andrews after the contested election of John the Scot[223]. His successor, William Malveisin (1202–1238), would carry this strategy further. This political realignment set the stage for Malveisin's innovative approach—one that would transform the Céli Dé from marginal figures into institutional linchpins.

2.1.2 Malveisin's Dual Approach

Malveisin's background and career clearly show him to be a firm royal supporter. Likely from a Norman family in the Lower Seine region of northern France[224], he may have entered Scottish service as one of several Frenchmen invited to William I's court[225]. His career advanced significantly in 1199 when he assumed dual roles as royal chancellor and bishop-elect of Glasgow[226]. It appears he continued in both positions, even after he was consecrated as bishop

[222] Jenny Wormald. *Scotland: A History*. 186-188
[223] Ferguson. *Papal Representatives*. 56-63 . Barrow (ed.), RRS, ii, 9–11.
[224] On the family tree, see Ash, "The Administration of the Diocese of St. Andrews 1202-1328," 392–393.
[225] G. W. S. Barrow, *Kingship and Unity: Scotland, 1000-1306*. 49.
[226] Walter Bower, a fifteenth-century canon of St Andrews chronicled Scottish history using sources from St Andrews in his *Scoticronicon*. Bower reported that Malveisin's predecessor died after only a few months in office. Watt edited Walter Bower's recording in *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*. Vol.4. (Aberdeen and Edinburgh 1987-98). 423.

in 1200.[227] After only two years as bishop of Glasgow, he was quickly translated to the see of St Andrews at the request of King William I of Scotland.[228] Throughout his episcopate, he remained actively engaged in royal service, serving as Scotland's ecclesiastical leader and participating in diplomatic negotiations between Kings John of England and William I of Scotland[229]. Throughout his episcopate, Malveisin remained a trusted political actor, serving as ecclesiastical leader, royal advisor, and diplomatic mediator between Scotland and England. His experience gave him a clear understanding of how deeply ecclesiastical independence was tied to the survival of royal sovereignty.

Malveisin's loyalty to the crown shaped his priorities at St Andrews. Observing the weakened political position of the Augustinians—discredited after their failure to align with the king in 1178—he sought out more stable allies. He turned to the Céli Dé, a group often dismissed as outdated but whose enduring ties to the local community made them useful partners in a period of ecclesiastical recalibration. Under Malveisin, the Céli Dé were not merely tolerated; they were strategically reintegrated into diocesan administration. Their familiarity with local tradition, combined with their willingness to cooperate under new terms, made them uniquely positioned to serve both pastoral needs and royal goals.

This shift highlights an essential theme of this chapter: royal patronage did not simply favour innovation or tradition—it rewarded utility. Malveisin's turn to the Céli Dé underscores the adaptive strength of this older group and begins to explain how they survived and thrived, even in an era of sweeping reform.

Although their influence had declined in the face of Augustinian reform earlier in the century, support for the Céli Dé began to re-emerge as early as the episcopate of Roger de Beaumont (1188–1202). A pivotal agreement from around 1198–99 marked the beginning of their formal reintegration into St Andrews' ecclesiastical structure[230]. This agreement reorganized the Céli Dé's holdings into a more compact block of land southeast of St Andrews, consolidating their teinds (tithes) while transferring the more contested estates of Strathtyrum to the Augustinian canons. The Céli Dé retained income from their lands, but their pastoral responsibilities were officially brought to an end—their status was redefined as non-parochial. This marked a shift in their role: no longer pastoral leaders of the local flock, they were now positioned as institutional figures within the cathedral structure.

[227] See the witness in RRS, ii, no. 427. Malveisin's work in a charter as chancellor of the king and bishop of Glasgow between 1201 and 1202.
[228] *Scotichronicon*, vol. III, 392.
[229] ibid, p. 392.
[230] Barrow, "The Cathedral Chapter of St. Andrews and the Culdees1".32-33.

The process culminated in 1217 with a papal letter that officially lifted the sentence of excommunication previously passed against the Céli Dé at the urging of the prior and chapter of the cathedral. This absolution restored their standing as secular canons, granting them the rights traditionally associated with that role: control over property, prebendal income, and most significantly, participation in episcopal elections[231]. These developments were likely the result of Bishop William Malveisin's intervention. He had been present at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215[232], where he may have successfully advocated for a resolution to the long-standing dispute between the Augustinians and the Céli Dé.

Malveisin's support proved decisive. By formally integrating the Céli Dé into the cathedral community as secular canons, he laid the groundwork for their full return to ecclesiastical prominence. Two members of the group rose to particular importance, becoming part of Malveisin's own episcopal *familia*[233]—a sign not only of trust, but of institutional rehabilitation. Under his leadership, the Céli Dé once again became a core component of the St Andrews clerical establishment.

Rather than disappearing, the Céli Dé adapted to the changing institutional environment. Their reintegration under Malveisin marked a shift from an autonomous clerical community to a recognized part of the diocesan structure. By accepting the status of secular canons, they secured a stable position within the Church hierarchy, ensuring the continuity of their presence and influence at St Andrews. This repositioning allowed the Céli Dé not only to survive the challenges of the reform era but also to continue influencing the religious life of St Andrews throughout the 13th century.

2.1.3. The Céli Dé as Political Instruments

Malveisin's support for the Céli Dé stemmed primarily from pragmatic considerations of ecclesiastical governance. As a newcomer to St Andrews without an established local power base, he faced significant challenges in administering the diocese. The limited number of familia members and canons accompanying him proved insufficient for maintaining daily services and parish oversight. Like his predecessor Bishop Robert, Malveisin had to rely on local clergy. However, the Augustinians—formerly the crown's favoured reformers—had become politically unreliable. In addition to having lost royal trust following the 1178 election crisis, they had also developed a bad relationship with Malveisin himself. Beginning in 1206, just five years after his

[231] Theiner, No. 6.
[232] Ash, "The Administration of the Diocese of St. Andrews 1202-1328", 19.
[233] Records frequently document Master Hugh of Melbourne's presence within the episcopal *familia* during the tenures of both Bishop Malveisin and his successor, David de Bernham. See St Andrews. Lib.156-7, 160-1,163-8, 281, 306; C. Innes (ed.), *Registrum de Dunfermelyn. Liber Cartarum Abbatie Benedictine S.S. Trinitatis et B. Margarite Regine de Dunfermelyn.* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1842), No. 11.

arrival at St Andrews, the Augustinians launched repeated complaints to the papacy. Beyond protesting the continued presence of the Céli Dé[234], they went so far as to accuse Malveisin of destroying papal letters and imprisoning workers who were helping built the cathedral[235]—allegations clearly designed to undermine his authority.

Faced with the Augustinians' political unreliability and hostility, Malveisin turned to the other clerical group still embedded in the fabric of local religious life. The Céli Dé, though sidelined in earlier reforms, had never disappeared. Even before the papal absolution of 1217 lifted their excommunication, the bull calling for their replacement by Augustinian canons had to be reissued at least four times [236]—strong evidence that its goal of suppressing the Céli Dé had failed. The Céli Dé remained active participants in the clerical life of St Andrews.

Their enduring presence, embedded in both the institutional fabric and devotional rhythms of the community, made them a pragmatic choice. Yet their value was not merely practical. As keepers of pre-reform tradition and symbols of continuity, they brought with them a cultural legitimacy that the Augustinians increasingly lacked. It was this unique dual role—both pastoral and symbolic—that positioned the Céli Dé to reemerge as a central force in the religious life of St Andrews in the decades that followed.

Beyond their utility in Malveisin's liturgical reforms, the Céli Dé's significance lay in their role as custodians of an unbroken Gaelic Christian identity—a cultural authority that neither Augustinians nor Norman newcomers could replicate. Their mastery of native saints' cults, vernacular traditions, and territorial sacred geographies (as evidenced in Pn12036's inclusion of saints like Kentigern) made them irreplaceable intermediaries between Scotland's Romanizing church and its Celtic spiritual heritage.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the origins of the Scottish Céli Dé are closely linked to the arrival on that island of St Columba and his companions from Ireland in 563.[237] Skene place their early presence among the southern Picts, especially in the story of St Serf[238], who established a monastic community at Loch Leven before founding churches throughout Fife. Early charters in the Chartulary of St Andrews from the Celtic period refer to them as 'hermits'[239], and Jocelin of

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[234] St Andrews. Lib., 71-6 and St Andrews. Lib., 76-81.
[235] Theiner, no. 6. See also Ferguson, *Medieval Papal Representatives in Scotland*, App. Case no. 41.
[236] The papal bull was reissued in 1151, followed by issuances in 1183 and 1187. Two additional reissues occurred during Malveisin's tenure, in 1206 and 1216 respectively. See St Andrews Lib., 52, 60, 69, 74.
[237] Ian B. Cowan and David Edward Easson. *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland: With an Appendix on the Houses in the Isle of Man*. 2d ed. London: Longman. 1976. 1.
[238] Skene, *Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban*. Vol.2. 259.
[239] *Magnum Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree* was apparently lost in the seventeenth century. See it printed in the edition of the St Andrews. Lib. ix–xi. Also see Reeves, *The Culdees of the British Islands*.125-6.

Furness—a self-identified Céli Dé in his Life of Kentigern—further attests to their ascetic character[240].

Although their solitary practices meant few detailed records survive, scattered evidence—including legends of St Andrew and the cult of Kentigern—shows their role in preserving native devotion. While Robert's FN critiques their church service, it cannot erase the fact that the Céli Dé first tied St Andrew to Scotland and helped define the Church's identity in opposition to English dominance.

Their involvement in promoting Kentigern's cult—likely beginning in Loch Leven and extending to Glasgow by the time of Bishop Herbert—also highlights their role in local hagiographic and devotional continuity. The links between Kentigern and Loquhariot underscore the deep roots of Céli Dé influence. *Loquhariot* (Loch Leven)was granted the priory of Scone by David I[241], and assumed by Jackson was in the diocese of St Andrews[242]. the etymology of Loquhariot's name, which has varied significantly over time due to scribal errors, like Lothwerverd, Lochwerweth, Lohwerwet from Scottish kings' grants. Breeze's research into the now-lost cross made of sandstone at Loquhariot which Jocelin described as being famous for miraculous cures. His analysis shows how Loquhariot became a locus of local devotion, blending landscape, sainthood, and communal memory. The nearby St Kentigern's Well further demonstrates the saint's enduring role in shaping regional identity[243].

By the 12th century, these traditions were strategically adapted by Bishop Herbert(1147-64) of Glasgow. He was likely the patron of the poem on the death of Somerled, in which St. Kentigern rallied all Scottish saints to the Scots rescue[244]. Bishop Herbert commissioned the 'anonymous' life of St Kentigern which survives only as a fragment and which David Howlett considers to have been written by Simeon, archdeacon of *Teviotdale*[245]. Later, Jocelin of Furness completed Kentigern's legacy, *Life of St. Kentigern*. This hagiography was strategically used to bolster the ecclesiastical prestige of Glasgow and reinforce its independence from English and Norse influences. As Clancy note, Kentigern became a political tool—rallying local identities

[240] Jocelin was the bishop of Brechin. The earliest Scottish record the name and discipline of the Céli Dé in his compiled the history of St Kentigern. The manuscript reserved in Primate Marsh's Library, Dublin ,V3.4.16.,fol.29b.
[241] C. Innes, (ed.), *Liber ecclesie de Scon: monumneta vetustiora monasterii Sanete trinitatis et sancti Michaelis de Scon.* (Edinburgh: T. Constable, 1843).33; K. H. Jackson, The Sources for The Life of St Kentigern, In *Studies in the Early British Church*, ed. Nora Chadwick (Cambridge 1958). 337-338.
[242] K. H. Jackson, The Sources for The Life of St Kentigern. 337-338.
[243] A. Breeze. "St Kentigern and Loquhariot, Lothian." *Innes Review* 54 No.1 (2003).103-107.
[244] T.O. Clancy, "Scottish saints and national identities in the Early Middle Ages" In Thacker, A. and Sharpe, R. eds. *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2002). 406.
[245] David Howlett, *Caledonian Craftsmanship: The Scottish Latin Tradition* (Dublin: Four Courts P., 2000) 91.

into a broader national framework. But underlying this appropriation was the legacy of the Céli Dé: their sustained memory and stewardship of native devotion.

Taken together, these strands of evidence show that the Céli Dé were more than just useful clerics for liturgical maintenance—they were deeply rooted custodians of Scotland's Gaelic Christian memory. Their association with saints like Serf, Columba, and Kentigern linked them to some of the earliest foundations of Scottish Christianity. Their communities preserved and reactivated local sacred geographies, devotional practices in ways that newly arrived Augustinians could not replicate. the Céli Dé remained embedded in a native ecclesiastical tradition with real spiritual and cultural legitimacy. Their presence within the diocese—though institutionally marginalized—offered continuity with pre-reform Christianity and grounded Malveisin's episcopate in a local religious landscape still resonant among the laity. In short, their survival was not just practical but meaningful: the Céli Dé brought with them an enduring legacy of Gaelic piety that continued to shape the spiritual identity of St Andrews well into the fourteenth century.

For promoting the reputation of St Andrews, Malveisin's vision for St Andrews required a level of liturgical sophistication that the Augustinians could not provide. By the twelfth century, major European cathedrals had begun developing elaborate ceremonies to honour patron saints, attracting pilgrims and enhancing prestige. Glasgow Cathedral's development under Bishops Herbert (1147-64) and Jocelin (1174-99) offered a relevant model. Jocelin had commissioned *Life* of St. Kentigern and introduced more elaborate ceremonies, following the cathedral's reconstruction after the 1189 fire[246]. Although records of Malveisin's tenure in Glasgow (1199-1202) are scarce, his subsequent actions at St Andrews suggest he sought to replicate this successful model.

Between 1200 and 1218, Malveisin made at least three visits to France, where he likely encountered the sophisticated polyphonic music of Notre Dame de Paris in some ceremonies[247]. According to later chronicler John Spottiswood (1615-29), Malveisin recruited French clerics during these journeys and brought them back to Scotland[248]. Their influence is thought to have introduced more advanced musical practices to St Andrews, ultimately reflected in manuscripts like W1, which showcases a wide range of polyphonic techniques.

In contrast, Augustinian houses demonstrated limited interest in polyphony throughout the twelfth century, like the case at St Victor, Fassler has shown Augustinian canons were usually

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[246] Greta Mary Hair, Betty I Knott, and Musica Scotica Trust. *Vespers, Matins and Lauds for St Kentigern, Patron Saint of Glasgow*. (Glasgow: Musica Scotica Trust. 2011). 35.
[247] Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews,"
[248] John Spottiswood, *History of the Church of Scotland, Beginning the Year of Our Lord 203 and Continuing to the End of the Reign of King James VI*, ed. Mark Napier, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1847), 86.

resistant to organum[249]. Their more restrained liturgical traditions could not satisfy Malveisin's ambitions to elevate St Andrews to a status comparable with the grand cathedrals of France and England.

Faced with these limitations, Malveisin turned to the Céli Dé. Already undergoing a transition toward secular canon status, the Céli Dé offered an unusual advantage: their flexibility. They could adapt to new ceremonial forms while retaining local devotional practices. Their longstanding ties to regional saints, their familiarity with existing sacred spaces, and their institutional resilience positioned them perfectly to enact Malveisin's vision. By integrating continental musical and liturgical innovations into their practices, the Céli Dé helped reimagine St Andrews as a cathedral worthy of its role as the centre of Scotland's sacred identity.

Thus, their role in Malveisin's project was not simply functional—it was symbolic. The Céli Dé, embodying both continuity and adaptation, became vital agents in constructing a hybrid ecclesiastical environment: one rooted in ancient Scottish piety yet dynamically engaged with European reformist currents.

2.2. Cultural and Spatial Markers of Continuity

2.2.1 Hybrid Liturgy in Manuscripts

The reintegration of the Céli Dé under Malveisin was not simply a political or institutional event; it also left lasting traces on the cultural and spiritual landscape of St Andrews. Their survival reshaped how sacred space, saints' cults, and liturgical practices evolved in the cathedral and its wider community.

The manuscripts Pn12036 and W1, both securely dated to the episcopate of Bishop Malveisin (1202–1238), provide crucial evidence for understanding the liturgical life of St Andrews in the early thirteenth century[250]. Their contents suggest that they were produced not for private devotion but for use by the cathedral's core clerical community.

W1 is a full music manuscript, containing a wide range of polyphonic settings for both the Mass and the Office at St Andrews. The inclusion of genres such as organum and clausulae—as well as the technical sophistication of the music—strongly indicates that W1 was created for performance within a cathedral context, rather than for a smaller religious house.

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[249] Margot E. Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-century Paris*, 2nd ed. (Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), 89–90.
[250] Avril and Stirnemann, *Manuscrits Enluminés D'origine Insulaire, VIIe-XXe Siècle, Manuscrits Enluminés de La Bibliothèque Nationale*. Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews".

Pn12036 is less straightforward to categorize. While some of its features could theoretically suit a bishop's private chapel, codicological and liturgical evidence more strongly supports its use by cathedral clerics. Its size—measuring approximately 32 cm by 22 cm across 200 folios—is too large and unwieldy for a portable breviary[251]. Although musical incipits and terminations of antiphons were added in the margins at a later date, its content more closely resemble that of an antiphoner[252]. It was likely placed on a lectern in the choir, where it would have served as a visual prompt for clerics who had memorized the melodies. The manuscript include full antiphons, responsories, hymns, and prayers, as well as lesson incipits—features designed for the choral recitation of the Divine Office.

The rubrics in Pn12036 offer further evidence for its liturgical context. The detailed instructions for Holy Week and the Easter Octave clearly presuppose a bishop's presence and a full complement of clerics. For Maundy Thursday, the rubric describes how clerics performing Tenebrae are joined by the bishop, who then proceeds to the chapter house with the deacon to strip the altar and wash the feet of their disciples[253]—acts performed only in a bishop's own cathedral. the scale and complexity of this ritual described here suggest a cathedral setting.

Processional rubrics further reinforce this interpretation. During Easter Week, three clerics are instructed to sing the responsory *Alleluia v. Laudate pueri* at the font, then at the cross, and later an antiphon to the Virgin Mary at the choir entrance[254]. On Easter Monday, the chant *Crucifixum in carne*—which survives as a three-part setting in W1—is to be sung by two clerics at the font during its blessing[255]. These elaborate instructions indicate an organized liturgical program involving trained singers, with the bishop presiding and a community of clerics executing ceremonial transitions across liturgical space.

In thirteenth-century cathedrals, responsibility for such complex performance fell under the cantor, the second-most senior dignitary of the chapter after the dean. The cantor supervised the choir and maintained the church's music books[256]. This context strongly suggests that Pn12036 was produced by—and for—a central clerical group at St Andrews, one responsible for organizing and performing the liturgy, and for safeguarding the continuity of ceremonial practice.

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[251] Michel Huglo, "Breviary," Grove Music Online (Oxford University Press), Accessed 21 May. 2025. https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000003961.
[252] See definition of "Antiphoner" in Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England*, 7–8.
[253] In Pn12036, fol. 64r and 64v.
[254] Fol. 69r-v.
[255] Craig Wright discussed this practice detailly at the cathedral of Notre Dame in his books, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 270.
[256] For a detailed discussion of the cantor's duties see Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550,* 19.

In short, Pn12036 and W1 were not peripheral or personal items: they belonged to the institutional heart of St Andrews' religious life. Their contents reflect a clerical community with both administrative authority and liturgical expertise.

Having established that Pn12036 and W1 were not private or peripheral productions but central liturgical books used within the cathedral, the next question arises: who were the individuals responsible for compiling, copying, and performing from them? The scale and complexity of the liturgies described—along with the music's sophistication—point to a skilled and well-organized clerical group at the heart of St Andrews' religious life. Yet the content and structure of these manuscripts complicate any assumption that they were purely Augustinian products. Instead, they suggest continuity with pre-reform traditions and reveal the presence of a hybrid clerical identity—one in which the revived Céli Dé played a central role.

The question of who used these manuscripts has been debated. According to Roesner, the manuscript W1 might have been assembled for use by Augustinians at St Andrews, considering the connections between the Augustinian priory and religious houses in England and Paris[257]. However, Mark Everist countered this view by noting that Pn12036 lacks a proper office for St Augustine—a significant omission if it were used by the canons regular. This absence, along with other features, suggests that these books were not compiled for the Augustinians[258].

Instead, the contents of Pn12036 strongly suggest it was compiled and used by the Céli Dé. The *Temporale* in Pn12036 follows the Sarum Use[259], but the *Sanctorale* shows a more complex structure. Many local and pre-Conquest saints appear in the calendar (see Appendix C), indicating diverse liturgical influences. Everist noted that the *Sanctorale* reflects an East Anglian adaptation of Sarum[260], while David Chadd's analysis of the offices for St Benedict and St Mary Magdalene reveals a mixture of Sarum structure and older traditions. This suggests a layered manuscript, shaped by both Norman and pre-Conquest liturgical influences[261].

Several saints included in the *Sanctorale* do not appear in standard Sarum usage, further underscoring this hybridity. As Steiner has shown, the presence of four related English female saints—Etheldreda, Sexburga, Withburga, and Eormenhilda—derives not from Ely Cathedral, as once thought, but from earlier Benedictine sources[262]. Saint Brigit of Kildare offers another case of layered significance. She appears in several pre-Conquest liturgical sources, such as the

[257] Roesner, ed. *Le Magnus Liber Organi De Notre-Dame De Paris*. vol. VII, p. liv.
[258] Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews". 13.
[259] Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques De France*. 382-384.
[260] Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews". 10.
[261] David Chadd, "An English Noted Breviary of Circa 1200,". 210.
[262] Steiner, Notre Dame in Scotland. 202.

Missal of Robert of Jumièges (c. 1020), associated with Benedictine foundations at Ely and Peterborough[263].

Brigit's presence in Pn12036 reflects not only broader Benedictine transmission—evident in her appearance alongside other Anglo-Saxon female saints in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges—but also a specifically Scottish and Céli Dé context. In medieval Scotland, Brigit held a prominent place in native devotion, and her cult was closely associated with the Céli Dé, who saw her as a symbol of continuity with the Irish ecclesiastical roots of their order. According to the B legend of St Andrews, one of St Rule's companions established Brigit's cult at Abernethy, dedicating a church to her there. Abernethy itself was a Céli Dé foundation near St Andrews that retained this identity until it was transferred to Augustinian control in the 1270s[264]. Brigit's inclusion in Pn12036, then, suggests the persistence of a Céli Dé liturgical memory that reached back to the pre-reform period and was still being expressed through manuscript production in the early thirteenth century.

The inclusion of St Kentigern further strengthens the connection to the Céli Dé. While Steiner argues that Kentigern's presence in Pn12036 may have resulted from Malveisin's influence—carried over from his earlier episcopate in Glasgow[265]—this view underestimates the saint's earlier associations with eastern Scotland. As discussed previously, Kentigern was venerated at Loch Leven, key Céli Dé centres. Archaeological and textual evidence—such as the now-lost cross at Loquhariot and the enduring tradition of St Kentigern's Well[266]—suggest a longstanding devotion that predates Malveisin's tenure. In this sense, Kentigern's appearance in Pn12036 is best understood not as a Glasgow import, but as a reflection of the Céli Dé's enduring devotional geography in Fife and beyond.

Taken together, the saints listed in Pn12036 testify to a community grounded in pre-Conquest liturgical traditions, but also engaged with newer reformist influences. These patterns align with the Céli Dé's unique position during the early thirteenth century—as clerics who survived institutional marginalization and re-emerged, under Malveisin, as ritual leaders. That their traditions were preserved in both Pn12036 and W1 suggests not only their continued presence in St Andrews' liturgical life, but their control over ceremonial practice itself.

[263] Pfaff, The Liturgy in Medieval England, 88–91.
[264] Warwick A. Edwards, "Chant in Anglo-French Scotland," in Our Awin Scottis Use: Music in the Scottish Church up to 1603, ed. Sally Harper, Studies in the Music of Scotland (Glasgow: Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, 2000), 217.
[265] Steiner, Notre Dame in Scotland, 32-33.
[266] Breeze. "St Kentigern and Lothian.". 103-107.

2.2.2. Architectural and Spatial Evidence

If Pn12036 and W1 preserve the musical and textual memory of a clerical group rooted in pre-reform traditions, spatial evidence offers a parallel line of continuity. While liturgy reveals who shaped religious time, architecture and site usage reflect how communities occupied and controlled sacred space. In particular, the case of St Mary on the Rock—the house of the Céli Dé in St Andrews—offers vital archaeological and topographical insights. Contrary to earlier assumptions of an Augustinian total takeover, material evidence from this site reveals a more complex spatial arrangement, one that points to the continued presence and authority of the Céli Dé well beyond their supposed suppression. This section reexamines St Mary on the Rock's architectural footprint to reassess the physical and institutional geography of power at St Andrews.

In the thirteenth century, the eastern headland of St Andrews featured several prominent ecclesiastical buildings: St Andrews Cathedral, St Rule's Church, and St Mary on the Rock. Today, only ruins remain of St Mary's, situated dramatically on the cliff's edge northeast of the cathedral and separated from it by the cathedral precinct wall (Figure 2.1). According to G.W.S. Barrow, referencing a charter issued by Bishop William Malveisin before 1249, the Céli Dé were relocated to St Mary's following sustained tensions with the Augustinian canons[267]. At first glance, this relocation appears to mark their marginalization—physically removed from the cathedral precinct and its symbolic centre of authority. However, archaeological evidence complicates this narrative and suggests that the Céli Dé retained a degree of spatial and institutional prominence well into the thirteenth century.

[267] Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, 200.

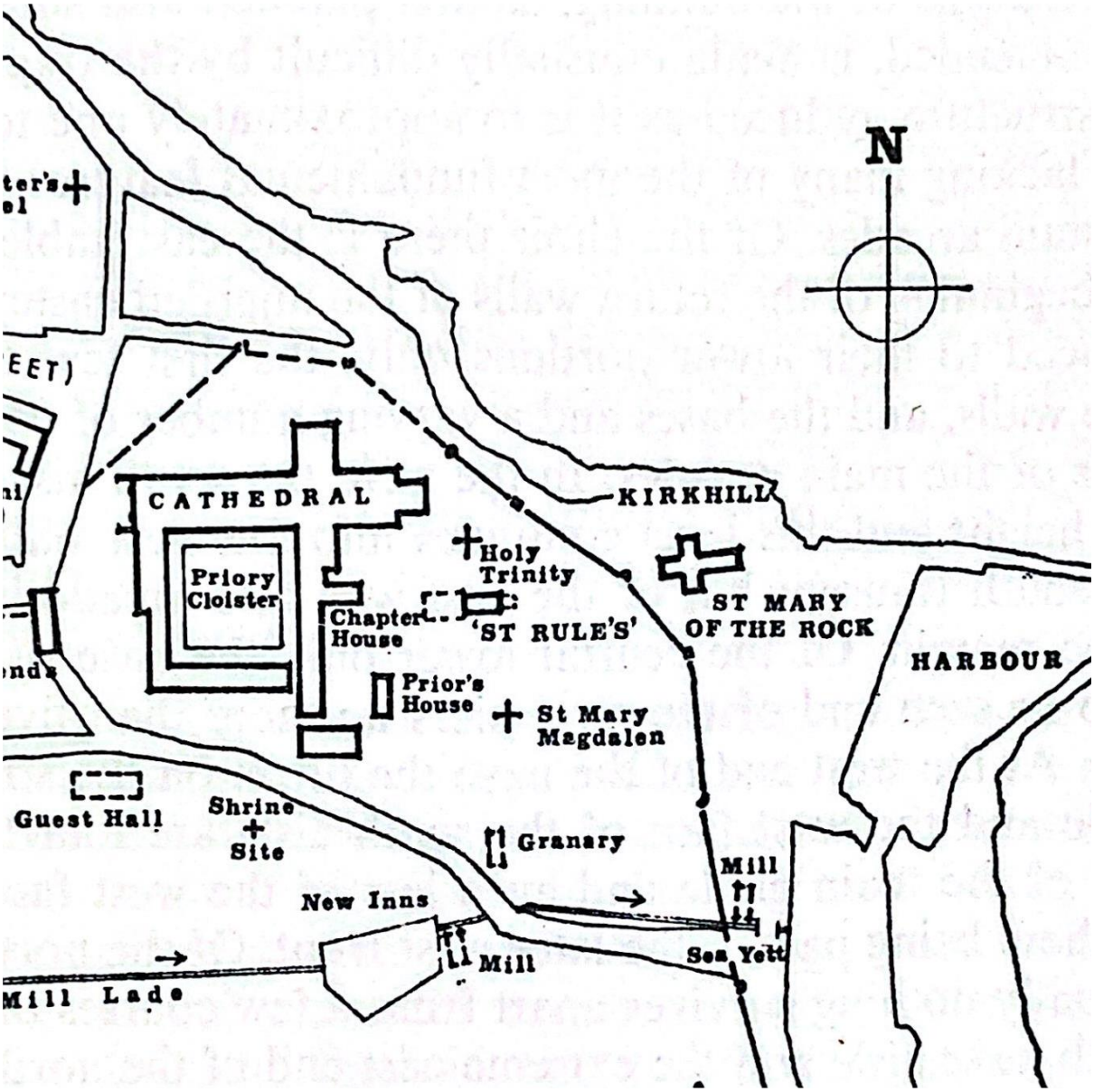

Figure 2.1 Medieval St Andrews East End in Cant, 'The Building of St Andrews Cathedral',13.

The Céli Dé community had long been present in St Andrews prior to the arrival of the Augustinians. Yet, the precise location of their early base remains unclear. A twelfth-century record by Bishop Robert merely notes that the Céli Dé served in a corner of a modestly sized church, without naming the building[268]. Duncan proposed that this referred to St Rule's Church, but this structure was built only during the episcopate of Fothad II[269], raising the question of where the Céli Dé had been based earlier.

Archaeological finds provide compelling clues. In 1860, several early medieval cross-slabs were discovered at the site of St Mary's during the construction of a coastal defence battery[270]. These Pictish cross-slabs, dating from before 700 AD, exhibit Christian iconography and stylistic parallels with illuminated manuscripts from Anglo-Saxon Northumbria and Gaelic Iona. The

[268] Taylor and Márkus, The Place-Names of Fife. Vol.3, St Andrews and the East Neuk, (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2009) 603.
[269] Hector Boece, *Scotorum Historiae* a prima gentis origine (Paris, 1575) VI 15.
[270] Wordsworth and Clark, "Kirkhill," in Excavations in St Andrews 1980-89. 10.

archaeological evidence suggests that the site later known as St Mary's was an early Christian centre, likely associated with the Céli Dé by the 8th century, making it a plausible candidate for one of their earliest known foundations in the region.

Additional textual evidence reinforces this early chronology. The Scottish Chronicle and the Irish Annals mention a monastery at "Kinrimund" (a name sometimes applied to St Andrews) as early as 747[271]. Furthermore, a set of *notitiae* concerning the Céli Dé of Loch Leven indicates that Bishop Fothad I (active mid-10th century) extended protection to the Loch Leven Céli Dé. This arrangement, described using the legal term *precarium*[272], likely reflects a longstanding tradition of monastic landholding and continuity. Taken together, these sources suggest that the religious community that would later become known as the Céli Dé may have occupied the site that later bore the name St Mary's as early as the eighth century.

Archaeological campaigns in the 1980s revealed more direct evidence of continuity. As part of stabilization works to prevent erosion, numerous tombs were uncovered beneath the northern transept of St Mary's Church. The human remains, dated to between the fifth and twelfth centuries[273], confirm the site's continuous use as a Christian burial and worship site well before the Augustinians' arrival. The building present in the twelfth century may have been a successor to earlier structures on the same site.

The current ruins of St Mary's belong to a later medieval construction likely initiated under Bishop Malveisin. According to Jonathan Wordsworth and Peter R. Clark, the church itself was not completed until the thirteenth century[274]. Cant suggested that Malveisin was not originally planning for the canons regular to occupy the cathedral, but rather for his own group of secular canons[275]—possibly including the Céli Dé—because the original cathedral design lacked essential features, a cloister. It was only after Malveisin's death the cloister were added. Under Prior John White (1236–1258), key architectural modifications were introduced to support communal life, including raising the sills of the nave's south wall and the south transept's west wall—likely to accommodate a cloister[276]. White also oversaw the construction of a dormitory, refectory, and a large guest hall[277], indicating a deliberate expansion of the cathedral's

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[271] Alan. Orr. Andreson. *Early Sources of Scottish History, A.D. 500 to 1286*. (Hardpress, 2013). 238.
[272] F. M, C. R Cheney Powicke, Arthur West Haddan, and William Stubbs. Councils & Synods: *With Other Documents Relating to the English Church*. Vol. II, 1205-1313. (Oxford: Clarendon. 1964).147; Barrow, Ronald Gordon Cant, and Geoffrey Wallis Stewart Barrow. *Scottish Tradition Essays in Honour of Ronald Gordon Cant*. (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic press.1974).3.; On *precarium*, see Andreason. "The Celtic Church in *Kinrimund*" in *The Medieval Church of St. Andrews*. 5
[273] Wordsworth and Clark, "Kirkhill," in *Excavations in St Andrews 1980-89*. 9-15.
[274] Jonathan Wordsworth and Peter R Clark, "Kirkhill," in Excavations in St Andrews 1980-89 : a Decade of Archaeology in *a Historic Scottish Burgh*, ed. M. J Rains and D. W. Hall (Glenrothes: Tayside & Fife Archaeological Committee, 1997), 17-8.
[275] Ronald Gordon Cant, "The Building of St Andrews Cathedral," in *the Medieval Church of St Andrews*, ed. David McRobert (Glasgow: Burns.1976). 1976, 21.
[276] Cant, 'The Building of St Andrews Cathedral', 21.
[277] *Scotichronicon*, III: 418.

infrastructure to support his Augustinian group. These changes imply that the original plan had not envisioned such a communal layout, reinforcing Cant's argument about Malveisin's intentions.

The surviving architecture of St Mary's supports this interpretation. The building can be divided into two distinct phases: an earlier nave and a slightly misaligned choir and transepts added later. The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland dated the nave to the twelfth century based on its Romanesque buttresses at the north-western angle and pilasters on the northern wall[278], while the choir and transepts are considered thirteenth-century additions. The northern transept of St Mary's church had two corner buttresses at its eastern end which appeared to be contemporary with the main building.

Notably, the construction techniques used throughout the church—including large, undressed, sandstone blocks bonded in fine, slightly gritty, oink clay. The foundation trench for these walls was only identified on the eastern side of the church and contained large quantities of disarticulated human bones, chiefly long bones and skulls[279]. those found in the early phases of the cathedral's construction. These similarities in materials and methods suggest that the same team of masons and builders may have worked on both sites, possibly as part of an integrated building campaign initiated under Bishop Malveisin. This architectural continuity reinforces the argument that St Mary's was not an isolated or marginal space but may have been part of a coordinated campaign of ecclesiastical construction under Bishop Malveisin's direction. This architectural continuity reinforces the argument that St Mary's was not an isolated or marginal space but part of a coordinated vision for sacred infrastructure at St Andrews.

The layout and structure of St Mary's also reflect the liturgical needs of the Céli Dé. Though only the wall footings remain, the church's cross plan is clear. The choir—its longest arm—contains the base of the high altar near the east end (Figure 2.2). Measuring approximately 30 meters in length and 17 meters in width, the space could accommodate a moderate number of clergy but would have been too small for large public liturgies. The finest masonry was reserved for the choir, and at some point, the area was extended to create additional space for clergy. The eastern end's configuration, which left no room for housing relics, further suggests the church was not designed for elaborate processions or high ceremonial occasions.

[278] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), it became a part of a new organization called Historic Environment Scotland (HES) in 2015. Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland. 1933. *The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland. 11th Report Monuments and Constructions in the Counties of Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan.* (Edinburgh: H.M.S.O.1933) ,227.
[279] Jonathan Wordsworth and Peter R Clark, "Kirkhill," in *Excavations in St Andrews 1980-89.* 11-16.

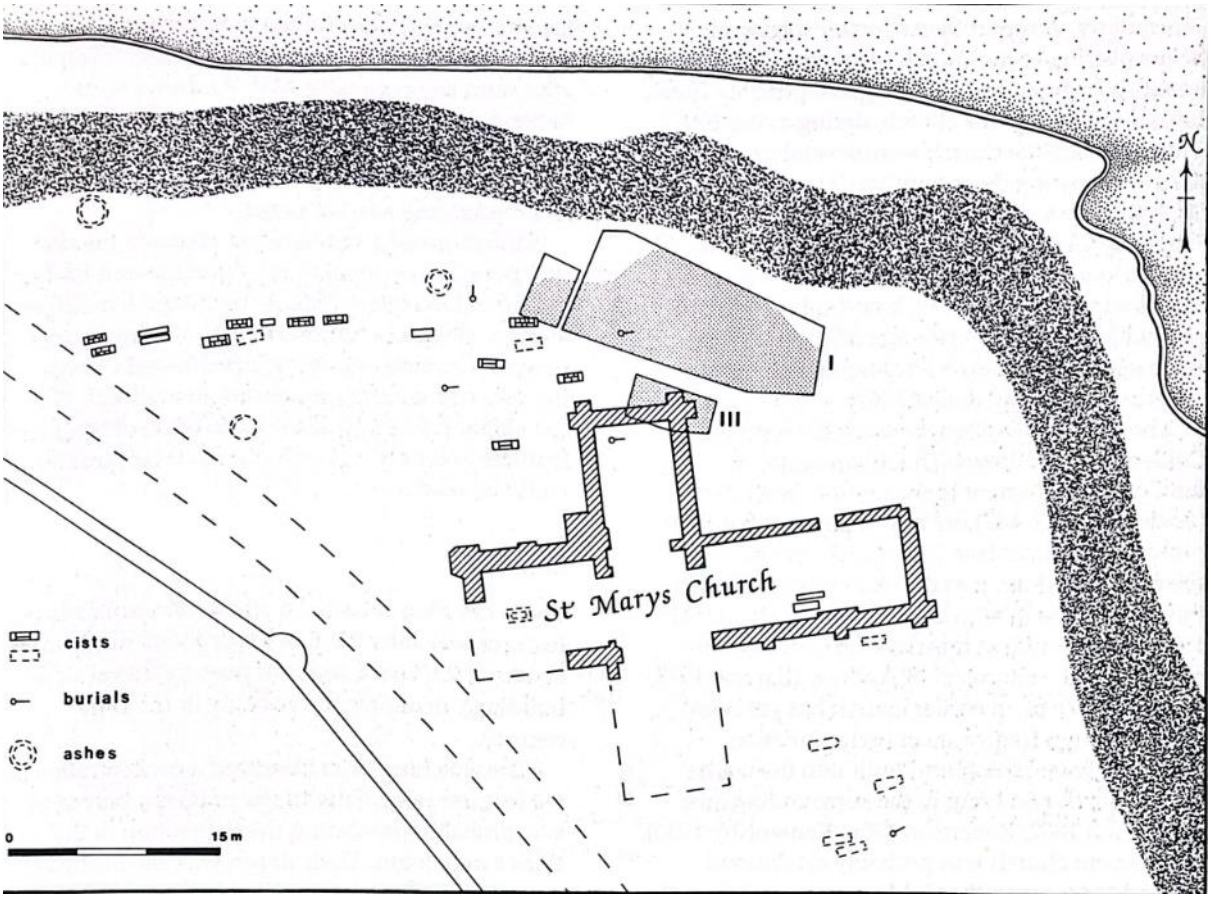

Figure 2.2 St Mary's Church plan of 1860 excavations in Wordsworth and Clark, "Kirkhill," in Excavations in St Andrews 1980-89. 17.

By the time of its completion in the thirteenth century, St Mary's was likely larger than the extended St Rule's and capable of accommodating a more sizable clerical community. The layout and surviving remains suggest a well-resourced complex: the presence of a choir spacious enough for communal worship, a base for the high altar, and architectural features such as sedilia and sacristy point to an active liturgical centre[280]. Of particular note is the evidence for a dormitory structure to the south-east of the church, likely connected to the transept[281]. The design aligns with typical arrangements for communal religious life, where a doorway between the transept and dormitory enabled clergy to move directly between their living quarters and the church, like the clergy will return to their dormitories after Vespers. Such a facility implies a larger residential clerical population than the Augustinians housed at St Rule's. These features indicate that the Céli Dé were not merely tolerated on the margins of St Andrews, but maintained a significant presence in a substantial and purpose-built complex. Their relocation to St Mary's was not necessarily the result of a forced expulsion but may have

[280] Warf Barney, and Arias Santa. eds *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*.164.
[281] Wordsworth and Clark, "Kirkhill," in Excavations in St Andrews 1980-89. 16-18; Anderson, "The Celtic Church in Kinrimund ". 1-10; Richard Fawcett, Sally M. Foster, C. J. Tabraham, *St Andrews Cathedral*. (Edinburgh, Scotland: Historic Scotland 2003), 20. Wordsworth and Clark, "Kirkhill," in *Excavations in St Andrews 1980-89*, 17-8; and Fawcett et al., *St Andrews Cathedral*. 20.

been a deliberate redistribution of space, aligned with Bishop Malveisin's broader reform programme and possibly intended to accommodate the Céli Dé as secular canons within his reorganised ecclesiastical structure.

These features, taken together, suggest that the site was not simply reused, but reactivated in a way that negotiated past and present forms of clerical authority. The apparent marginalization of the Céli Dé may stem in part from misreadings of the cathedral precinct wall. The walls around the cathedral divide the sacred space of the church from the secular world outside. Scholars have often viewed St Mary's position outside the wall as evidence of exclusion from sacred space[282]. However, the main gate—the Pends—was not constructed until the late fourteenth century[283]. Its architectural similarity to the west front of the cathedral, remodelled after 1378, suggests it was part of a unified later campaign. This indicates that St Mary's was not physically walled off from the cathedral during the Céli Dé's occupancy.

The architectural continuity at St Mary on the Rock challenges claims of Augustinian dominance by preserving key spatial and symbolic markers of the earlier Céli Dé community. Archaeological investigations have confirmed that Malveisin's early 13th-century church was constructed on the same site, and possibly on the same footprint, as the previous church, preserving the alignment, elevation, and liturgical orientation of the older sacred space. This was no accident of convenience. The site already housed a long-standing burial ground, the reused cross-slab (potentially Céli Dé), and the notitiae highlighting clerical activity well into the 13th century. Such features made it a place of memory and religious authority in the local imagination. By choosing to rebuild here, Malveisin not only secured continuity with St Andrews' religious past but may have actively reinforced the legitimacy of the local clergy—perhaps even seeking to reconcile the reformed cathedral structure with residual loyalties to the Céli Dé. This strategy aligns with broader patterns seen in reform-era Scotland and Ireland, where ecclesiastical reform often involved incorporating pre-existing monastic sites to lend symbolic weight and smooth institutional transition. Although Augustinian narratives positioned the new canons as heirs to the entire cathedral complex, this spatial choice suggests that the bishop retained final authority and sought to preserve, rather than erase, the local sacred tradition. Thus, architecture becomes a medium through which liturgical identity and clerical continuity were negotiated.

2.3. Legacy and Long-Term Influence

[282] Wordsworth and Clark, "Kirkhill," in *Excavations in St Andrews 1980-89*. 16-18; Anderson, "The Celtic Church in Kinrimund ". 1-10; Richard Fawcett, Sally M. Foster, C. J. Tabraham, *St Andrews Cathedral*. (Edinburgh, Scotland: Historic Scotland 2003), 20.
[283] *St Andrews Cathedral and St Mary's Church, Kirkheugh - Statement of Significance.* (Historic Environment Scotland, 2017), 2 and 6.

The legacy of the Céli Dé after Malveisin's death reveals a remarkable pattern of continuity shaped not by resistance alone, but by adaptation and strategic negotiation. Though reform-era rhetoric often painted them as remnants of an outdated past, they remained central to the ecclesiastical fabric of St Andrews well into the later thirteenth century. Their role in episcopal elections—particularly the 1239 contest where they helped secure papal confirmation for Bishop David de Bernham—exemplifies their ability to operate effectively within both royal and curial structures. Master Richard Vairement's mission to Rome, undertaken in the name of the secular chapter rather than explicitly as a Céli Dé, highlights the group's nuanced use of institutional duality: presenting themselves in forms acceptable to canon law while preserving their deeper cultural and monastic identity.

Their integration extended beyond politics. Manuscripts like W1 continued to bear the imprint of Céli Dé influence, particularly in Fascicle XI, where codicological features suggest a scribe working independently, possibly while traveling. The probable identity of that scribe—W. de Bernham—bridges the manuscript's Parisian stylistic elements with a deeply local devotional framework. His career, spanning charter-copying in St Andrews and later study in Paris and Oxford, embodies the intellectual mobility and institutional connectivity that allowed the Céli Dé to adapt while maintaining influence.

Even as their direct control over St Mary on the Rock gradually waned—eventually absorbed into broader structures like the Chapel Royal—the symbolic and spiritual resonance of the Céli Dé endured. Their transformation from Gaelic ascetics into integrated royal clerics was neither abrupt nor coerced. Rather, it unfolded through a series of calculated compromises: legal, spatial, liturgical. This allowed them to maintain continuity while adapting to new expectations of ecclesiastical authority and reform.

In this light, the Céli Dé were not relics absorbed by reform, but agents of transformation in their own right. Their story challenges linear narratives of ecclesiastical change and instead reveals a dynamic interplay between tradition and innovation—between memory and reform—that helped define the distinctive shape of Scottish religious identity in the later Middle Ages.

2.3.1 . Power, Patronage, and Institutional Survival

The death of Bishop William de Malveisin in 1238 marked a significant test of the Céli Dé's institutional resilience. Although they had successfully transitioned into integrated secular canons during his episcopate, their position remained precarious in the face of persistent Augustinian efforts to enforce the 1147 papal bull, which had originally mandated the Céli Dé's replacement. The episcopal election of 1239 offered the Augustinians a strategic opportunity to reclaim influence over the bishopric of St Andrews. However, the political manoeuvres that

followed revealed the continued vitality and adaptability of the Céli Dé within the structures of the Scottish Church.

In response to the vacancy, King Alexander II endorsed David de Bernham, his royal clerk and preferred candidate. The Céli Dé aligned themselves with the king's interest and actively participated in securing Bernham's election. Two members of their community, including Master Richard Vairement—who acted as the sole proctor of Bernham's election—were sent to Rome to obtain papal confirmation[284]. Their diplomatic mission was a success: despite the Augustinians throwing their support behind Geoffrey of Dunkeld, Bernham's candidacy was approved by the papacy[285]. Theiner reports that the Augustinians were later accused Vairement's efforts were instrumental in this outcome[286], indicating that the Céli Dé not only maintained access to the highest ecclesiastical authorities but also retained the political skill necessary to influence them. The episode marks a clear victory for the Céli Dé, not merely in terms of the result but in the demonstration of their ability to operate effectively within the papal curia and royal court.

Particularly revealing is Vairement's decision to present himself in Rome as a secular canon of St Andrews, rather than explicitly identifying as a member of the Céli Dé. This choice reflects the group's continued strategic use of dual identity. On the one hand, they had embraced integration into the diocesan structure, occupying formal positions within the cathedral chapter and presenting themselves in terms acceptable to canon law and papal expectations. On the other hand, their spiritual and institutional identity remained rooted in their monastic past and local traditions, as evidenced by their continued presence at St Mary's and their alignment with royal authority. This hybrid identity—neither fully assimilated into Augustinian reform nor entirely removed from the Celtic ecclesiastical heritage—allowed them to navigate the complex intersection of local custom, royal politics, and Roman canon law.

The aftermath of the 1239 election did not resolve tensions between the Céli Dé and the Augustinians. Instead, it ushered in a new phase of contestation, as the Céli Dé's growing entrenchment within diocesan structures increasingly clashed with Augustinian attempts to enforce their ecclesiastical dominance. Yet despite sustained opposition, the Céli Dé continued to consolidate their position—drawing legitimacy from both the papacy and the Scottish crown, while reinforcing their institutional presence through legal, liturgical, and spatial claims.

Central to this period of resistance was the Céli Dé's association with the church of St Mary on the Rock. Long regarded as their traditional base in St Andrews, the site emerged as a potent

[284] Barrow inferred that the Céli Dé obtained voting rights in 1239 and 1253, based on an appeal made by the Augustinians to the Pope in 1255. See Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, 197–8.
[285] Theiner, no.177; *Scotichronicon*, III: 394.
[286] Theiner, No.177.

symbol of their enduring autonomy. In 1249, Ralph de Helig', acting on behalf of the community at St Mary's, secured a papal confirmation of the church's possessions and privileges[287]. This move was more than an act of preservation; it was a deliberate assertion of institutional independence, implicitly defying Augustinian efforts to absorb or marginalize the Céli Dé. The document underscores Rome's continuing willingness to protect St Mary's chapter as a distinct legal entity within the diocese.

The Augustinians responded by escalating their efforts to discredit the Céli Dé, particularly during the run-up to the 1253 episcopal election. Their strategy increasingly involved moral and disciplinary accusations. One such instance occurred when Abel de Gullane, later archdeacon of St Andrews and a leading Céli Dé figure, was accused of performing the divine office while under sentence of excommunication[288]. The charge—advanced by the Augustinians—sought to exclude him from the election process and challenge the legitimacy of the Céli Dé's ongoing clerical role. Yet the thinly veiled political motive behind the accusation did not go unnoticed.

In 1254, a papal mandate reversed the Augustinians' attempt to Abel de Gullane. Not only was his right to participate in episcopal elections affirmed, but the mandate also explicitly acknowledged his continued possession of a prebend. Additionally, Master Gullane himself argued that had remained in the cathedral and bishop Bernham had given him a stall in the cathedral chapter and liturgical responsibilities[289]. This recognition was a decisive moment: it confirmed that key members of the former Céli Dé were still fully integrated within the ecclesiastical hierarchy of St Andrews, and that papal authority was willing to defend their rights despite local opposition. It also highlighted how their hybrid identity—secular in canon law, yet distinct in tradition—remained institutionally viable well into the mid-thirteenth century.

The events of the 1240s and early 1250s thus reveal a Church in which competing visions of reform and authority coexisted uneasily. The Augustinians, armed with an earlier papal mandate, sought to present themselves as the singular face of ecclesiastical legitimacy in St Andrews. Yet the persistence of the Céli Dé, bolstered by both papal and royal recognition, demonstrates the limitations of this claim. Rather than being absorbed or eliminated, the Céli Dé adapted to shifting institutional frameworks, using legal instruments, spatial autonomy, and political networks to resist Augustinian encroachment and maintain their foothold in one of Scotland's most important religious centres.

Even after the mid-thirteenth century, the institutional legacy of the Céli Dé remained visible in both symbolic and administrative forms. Though their influence gradually declined, their role within the ecclesiastical and political fabric of Scotland endured for over two more centuries.

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[287] Ferguson, *Medieval Papal Representatives in Scotland* App. V, no. 1.
[288] Reeves, *The Culdees of the British Islands*. no. 15
[289] Theiner, no. 162

A striking piece of evidence is a surviving late thirteenth-century seal inscribed "Seal of the Church of Saint Mary and Chapel of the Lord King of the Scots" [290]. This title reflects the Céli Dé's continued dual identity: rooted in their ecclesiastical tradition while formally aligned with royal authority. Their integration into the monarchy's religious infrastructure did not go unnoticed abroad. In 1298, King Edward I of England acknowledged the office of Master William Comyn as provost of the King's Free Chapel of St Andrews[291], underscoring the Céli Dé's elevated legal and diplomatic status within wider British politics.

However, by the fourteenth century, this once-powerful group began to experience institutional decline. The transition from Céli Dé to collegiate clergy was gradual. King David II (r. 1329–1371) still recognized the significance of St Mary's, assigning funds for its upkeep—twenty shillings annually for church repairs and an additional five for the resident chaplain[292]. Yet such royal support, while meaningful, increasingly functioned as symbolic patronage rather than a reflection of active ecclesiastical leadership. The transformation of St Mary's into a collegiate church during this period marks a clear shift from monastic tradition to a more formalized, chapter-based structure, aligned with broader trends in late medieval Scottish church governance.

The final stage of the Céli Dé's institutional presence unfolded during the reign of James IV (r. 1488–1513), as part of a broader royal effort to centralize ecclesiastical authority. In 1501, the king founded the Chapel Royal at Stirling, establishing a new liturgical centre closely tied to the crown[293]. At first, this new foundation operated under the jurisdiction of the provost of St Mary's, reflecting the enduring prestige of the Céli Dé's former seat and its senior position among Scotland's royal chapels. This arrangement did not last. Later, the king successfully petitioned the papacy to grant the bishop of the Chapel Royal at Stirling authority over all other royal ecclesiastical foundations in Scotland—including St Mary's. This marked a decisive shift in institutional hierarchy: the Church of St Mary, once the preeminent royal chapel and administrative stronghold of the Céli Dé, was formally superseded. While their cultural and devotional legacy endured, their administrative authority was now dissolved.

Though no longer a political force by the sixteenth century, the Céli Dé had succeeded in embedding their legacy within the royal and religious institutions of Scotland. Their slow institutional transformation—from Gaelic ascetics to royal chaplains—demonstrates not

[290] The seal is attached to a letter c. 1290. *Calendar of the Laing Charters, A.D. 854-1837*: Belonging to the University of Edinburgh (Edinburgh: J. Thin, 1899), no. 15.
[291] The Cambridge Digital Library (CDS), ii, no. 1017.
[292] George Burnett(ed.), *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland 1359-1379*,(Edinburgh 1878), 136-8.
[293] Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi*, 333–4. See also Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland*, xxxi–xlii.

decline alone, but also a remarkable capacity for adaptation. The spiritual memory of the Céli Dé endured long after their administrative power had passed.

The survival and long-term influence of the Céli Dé at St Andrews was neither accidental nor purely conservative—it was the result of strategic adaptation to a rapidly changing ecclesiastical and political environment. Under Bishop Malveisin's patronage, the Céli Dé transitioned from marginal monastic figures to integrated secular canons, aligning themselves with the crown's desire for a politically loyal and administratively effective church. Their continued participation in episcopal elections, control of St Mary's Church, and papal recognition in moments of crisis reveal not just endurance, but institutional agility.

What made the Céli Dé particularly successful was their embrace of a dual identity. As secular canons in form and practice, they gained legal status within the cathedral chapter; as heirs to Gaelic spiritual tradition, they retained the cultural and symbolic authority rooted in Scotland's pre-reform past. This hybrid role allowed them to mediate between royal expectations, papal structures, and local religious life in a way that their Augustinian rivals could not. The latter, by contrast, clung to rigid interpretations of the 1147 papal bull and struggled to adapt to the crown's preference for flexibility over external interference.

By the late thirteenth century, the Céli Dé had become deeply embedded in both ecclesiastical governance and royal ideology. Their seal as the "Chapel of the Lord King of the Scots," recognition by Edward I, and sustained royal patronage through David II all testify to their elevated standing. Even as institutional reforms in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries gradually eroded their power, the Céli Dé had already imprinted their legacy on the evolving Scottish Church.

Ultimately, the Céli Dé exemplified a uniquely Scottish solution to the tensions between reform and tradition. Their story reveals that survival in medieval religious politics did not depend solely on doctrinal alignment or institutional conformity—but on the ability to adapt, to integrate, and to remain useful to the crown. In doing so, the Céli Dé helped shape a version of ecclesiastical identity that was both politically effective and culturally resonant—an enduring legacy woven into the very fabric of Scotland's sacred landscape.

2.3.2. Liturgical Continuity in Manuscript Evidence

Among the most compelling material witnesses to clerical continuity at St Andrews is the composite liturgical manuscript known as W1. As discussed earlier, its contents reflect sophisticated musical and ceremonial practice rooted in the early thirteenth century. However, W1's significance extends beyond its musical contribution. It provide rare insight into the

evolving personnel and institutional memory of the cathedral. While earlier fascicles reflect the cathedral's established ceremonial practices, while fascicle XI reveal how liturgical production continued to evolve through more informal and mobile contexts. Fascicle XI stands apart from the rest of the manuscript in both codicology and palaeography[294]: its parchments, distinct layout, and rapid script point to a scribe working outside the scriptorium, likely during travel. These material features suggest that fascicle XI was produced under different conditions and by individuals whose clerical identity lay at the intersection of continuity and adaptation. This section argues that the palaeographic and codicological features of fascicle XI offer evidence of continued Céli Dé influence well into the later thirteenth century. The hands involved, their training, and the functional use of the fascicle within the larger manuscript suggest that the Céli Dé retained the capacity to shape liturgical texts, bridging older devotional frameworks with the needs of a reforming but locally grounded Church.

A. Codicology & Palaeography

The manuscript W1, an thirteenth-century source of Notre Dame polyphony, holds a central place in discussions of medieval liturgy and music at St Andrews[295]. Scholars have long acknowledged W1's importance as a locally adapted compilation of Parisian and insular repertoire. Recent research places W1 earlier than its continental counterparts, such as W2 and F, and sees it as reflecting both external influences and internal ecclesiastical dynamics. In particular, Fascicle XI—containing polyphony for the Lady Mass—has drawn scholarly attention for its distinct codicological and notational features. Earlier analyses by Ludwig, Dittmer, and Flotzinger identified between three and five textual hands within W1[296],while Roesner, focusing on ink variation and letterform, posited three scribes working in succession[297]. By contrast, Julian Brown and Kimberley Steiner argued for a single scribe, likely a member of the Céli Dé, copying the manuscript in multiple stages[298]. Steiner attributed the inconsistencies in Fascicle XI to the declining institutional position of the Céli Dé following their relocation to St Mary's Church[299].

This chapter proposes an alternative interpretation: that the irregularities of Fascicle XI arise not from institutional marginalization, but from the conditions of its production during travel.

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[294] Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*; Roesner, "*The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis*".
[295] Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris*, 267–72.
[296] Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*; Flotzinger, "Beobachtungen", 245–262;
[297] Friedrich, "Repertorium organorum" ; Flotzinger, "Beobachtungen,"245–262. Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis"; Roesner, ed, *Le Magnus Liber Organi De Notre-Dame De Paris.*
[298] Julian Brown, Sonia Patterson, and David Hiley, "Further Observations on W1," *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society* 4 (1981): 55.
[299] Steiner, "Notre Dame in Scotland".

Rather than signalling decline, these features reflect the continued influence, mobility, and adaptability of the Céli Dé in the thirteenth century.

1.Parchment and Layout

W1 comprises twenty-six quires of four bifolia each, exhibiting a wide range of parchment quality. The finest parchment appears in Quire 9, while the roughest is concentrated in the last three quires—those of Fascicle XI. The parchment in Fascicle XI is notably uneven in thickness, with the outer bifolio of its first quaternio (fols. 193 and 200) being especially thick and stiff. Its texture is coarser, surfaces more wrinkled, and preparation less careful than that of earlier fascicles. In addition, its general colour is browner, and numerous holes mar the surface—features indicative of ad hoc material sourcing under constrained circumstances. These inconsistencies suggest not simply a decline in scribal standards, but rather that Fascicle XI was produced outside the usual scriptorium setting, perhaps while the scribe was traveling.

While earlier scholars have treated Fascicle XI as an odd exception, its connection to the overall book structure of W1 is more complex. As Ludwig noted, Fascicle XI contains unique two-part polyphony for the Lady Mass. This music is arranged by where it belongs in the Mass service, rather than following the annual cycle[300]. Though it has often been analysed in isolation, it shares critical physical characteristics with the rest of the manuscript—most notably, identical pricking.

Every quire in W1, including those in the debated Fascicles VI, VII, and XI, exhibits the same pricking method: horizontal lines are marked by prick-holes in the outer margins of the recto, and vertical bounding lines indicated by pricking in the top and bottom margins[301]. This consistency confirms that the same scribe retained training from a formal scriptorium environment, regardless of where each fascicle was produced. However, it does not necessitate that all quires were prepared in a single location. The scribe's ability to replicate this pricking pattern from memory supports the idea that he was operating independently—likely away from the formal institutional centre.

Ruling practices reveal further insights. While most of W1's fascicles—including I–V and VIII–X (the so-called "main fascicles")—are ruled with double vertical bounding lines, Fascicle XI adapts this system by drawing only single vertical bounding lines, derived from the same pricking pattern[302]. This suggests not a different scribal hand, but an intentional adaptation by a scribe familiar with the full manuscript's layout and content. Similar single-line rulings appear in

[300] Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, vol. 1, vols. I, 7–57.
[301] Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis," 71; Roesner, "The Origins of 'W1'," 340–2.
[302] W1's layout pattern see Steiner, Notre Dame in Scotland. Appendix I.

Fascicles VI and VII, which use a pricking pattern appropriate for single bounding lines[303], and their text boxes match that of Fascicle XI[304]. Thus, these fascicles reflect deliberate variants on a shared layout model, customized for the musical contents of each quire.

The layout of polyphonic manuscripts depends on the number of voice parts to be accommodated. In W1, the scribe adapted the ruling patterns in advance, pricking parchment for two- or three-voice settings as required. This practice is especially evident in Quire 13 (Fascicle IX), where a conductus beginning in three voices ends in a two-part section—proof that the layout was pre-planned according to the exemplar's demands.

Some scholars, like Roesner, have interpreted the altered layouts and ruling inconsistencies in Fascicles VI, VII, and XI as evidence of multiple scribes imitating a central model[305]. However, the consistency of the pricking system, combined with systematic adjustments in layout and spacing, supports the theory of a single scribe improvising based on planned musical content. This level of coordination—especially across fascicles with different parchment qualities and ruling styles—strongly supports the travel hypothesis. It implies a scribe who not only retained formal training but also had an intimate knowledge of the manuscript's overall design, and the flexibility to adapt that design to shifting conditions of production.

2. Scribal Practices: Unity and Anomalies

The evidence suggests that both the text and music throughout W1—including the divergent Fascicle XI—were copied by the same individual, rather than by separate scribes for music and text. While codicological inconsistencies such as parchment quality, ink variety, nib size, and letterform differences have led some scholars—most notably Roesner[306]—to propose multiple hands, others have challenged this view. Steiner, building on Julian Brown's foundational argument, contends that these inconsistencies are better explained by the manuscript having been copied at different times and under varying circumstances by a single Céli Dé scribe[307].

A core aspect of this argument is the consistency of key letterforms—particularly "a," "d," and "g"—which appear in fascicles I–III, VI, VII, and XI. While Fascicle XI has often been singled out for its supposed scribal irregularities, Steiner demonstrated that the so-called "unusual" forms are in fact consistent with the rest of the manuscript, reinforcing the theory of a single hand[308].

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[303] Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis," 71; Roesner, "The Origins of 'W1'," 340–2.
[304] Steiner, Notre Dame in Scotland, 74-76.
[305] Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of Its Origins and of Its Eleventh Fascicle," 28; Staehelin, Die Mittelalterliche Musikhandschrift, W1, 42.
[306] Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis" 47-51.
[307] Steiner, Notre Dame in Scotland. 78.
[308] ibid. 78-88.

The internal scribal practices across the manuscript further support this conclusion. W1 exhibits a distinctive dual approach to text and music copying: in conductus settings, the scribe first copied the text and left space for melisma to be added later; in organum, the music was copied first, with the text added afterward. This two-stage copying method occurs consistently across the manuscript and required the scribe to anticipate the amount of space needed for elaborate musical structures, particularly in melismatic passages.

For instance, in the conductus *Porta salutis ave* (fol. 63r), the scribe left ample room for the cauda on the first "ave," a practice consistent with his approach throughout other conductus. In contrast, in organum passages, Baltzer has noted that cramped or poorly spaced notation—particularly in later stages of copying—suggests that the scribe continually adjusted the spacing of musical symbols to align with the text, revealing a high level of technical flexibility[309].

These distinctive scribal practices occasionally resulted in layout challenges. In the organum setting of *Dum complerentur*, Roesner observed that the scribe ran off the end of the staff line—what he interpreted as an "ill-planned phrase." He speculated that the scribe may have been composing as he copied, producing phrases that diverged from the exemplar's structure[310]. Such misalignments can also be explained by practical copying issues, particularly the challenges of working from exemplars of different formats or sizes.

The clearest example of this occurs in Quires 11 and 12 of Fascicle VIII. Quire 11 opens with conductus settings, in which text appears first (as on fol. 73r, where musical notation overlaps with the text), but later shifts to three-part organum, for which the music precedes the text (e.g., fol. 78v, where text overlaps a lower staff line). These shifts indicate that the same individual was responsible for both text and music, adapting his technique fluidly depending on the genre—a further sign of scribal unity.

Thus, the inconsistencies in layout, occasional misalignments, and textual-music interactions within Fascicle XI are not evidence of multiple scribes, but rather of one scribe working under varied and mobile conditions. These observations strengthen the hypothesis that Fascicle XI was produced while traveling and reflects the continued adaptability—and institutional presence—of the Céli Dé even after their formal displacement from the cathedral's core scriptorium.

3. Exemplars and Mobility

Many of these inconsistencies in layout and spacing likely stem from the use of multiple exemplars. As Everist suggests, Bishop Malveisin may have acquired Notre Dame organum

[309] Baltzer, "The Manuscript Makers of W1," 118.
[310] Roesner, "Who 'Made' the Magnus Liber?," *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 252. Baltzer, "The Manuscript Makers of W1," 113.

through Parisian *libelli* during his continental travels around 1200, bringing them back to Scotland[311]. However, the physical formats of these exemplars would not have matched W1 precisely. Roesner, through close codicological analysis, identified five distinct exemplar groups underpinning W1's structure: 1. Fascicles I, II, most of III, IV, V, much of IX, and the main part of X; 2.Portions of Fascicles VIII, IX, VI, and VII; 3. Ordinary trope settings; 4.Additions at the ends of Fascicles III and VIII; 5. Fascicle XI[312].

Fascicle XI, which contains a unique repertory distinct from the Notre Dame material, likely derives from an exemplar unrelated to Malveisin's Parisian sources. Its textual layout and content—especially its apparent inclusion of "English repertoire"[313]—suggest that the scribe may have encountered the exemplar while traveling, possibly in England or again in Paris. This supports the view that the scribe's work extended beyond the confines of the St Andrews scriptorium, reflecting mobility rather than decline.

Further codicological evidence reinforces this argument. One of the most frequently debated features of W1 is the variation in ink color, particularly the alternation between black and light brown ink. While some scholars have taken this to indicate the involvement of multiple scribes, Steiner has persuasively argued that the shifts reflect more mundane factors: variations in ink preparation, changes in nibs, parchment quality, or pauses in work. A telling example appears in Quire 19, part of Fascicle IX (fol. 136r), where the ink changes every few syllables before stabilizing into a consistent light brown on the verso. Steiner interprets this as evidence of pen-switching rather than scribal plurality[314].

However, Fascicle XI presents a more complex pattern of ink usage and notational layering. In Quire 25 (fol. 176r), the ink color shifts frequently: most of the text and musical notation appears in light brown ink applied with a consistent nib, while a separate layer of notation in black ink runs off the end of the staff line, partially obscuring the adjacent text in the margin (Figure 2.3). As established in the preceding analysis, these black notations were almost certainly added after the main text was completed. The high frequency and abruptness of the ink changes cannot be sufficiently explained by mid-process pen switching or a gradual shift to lighter ink due to mismatched nibs.

[311] Everist, "The Origins of W1," 28. Baltzer, "The Manuscript Makers of W1," 105.
[312] Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis" 81.
[313] Such as Rosner found many cantus firmi of fascicle xi come from Salisbury, the rites of the northern parts of the British Isles. "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis". 356.
[314] Steiner, Notre Dame in Scotland, 90.

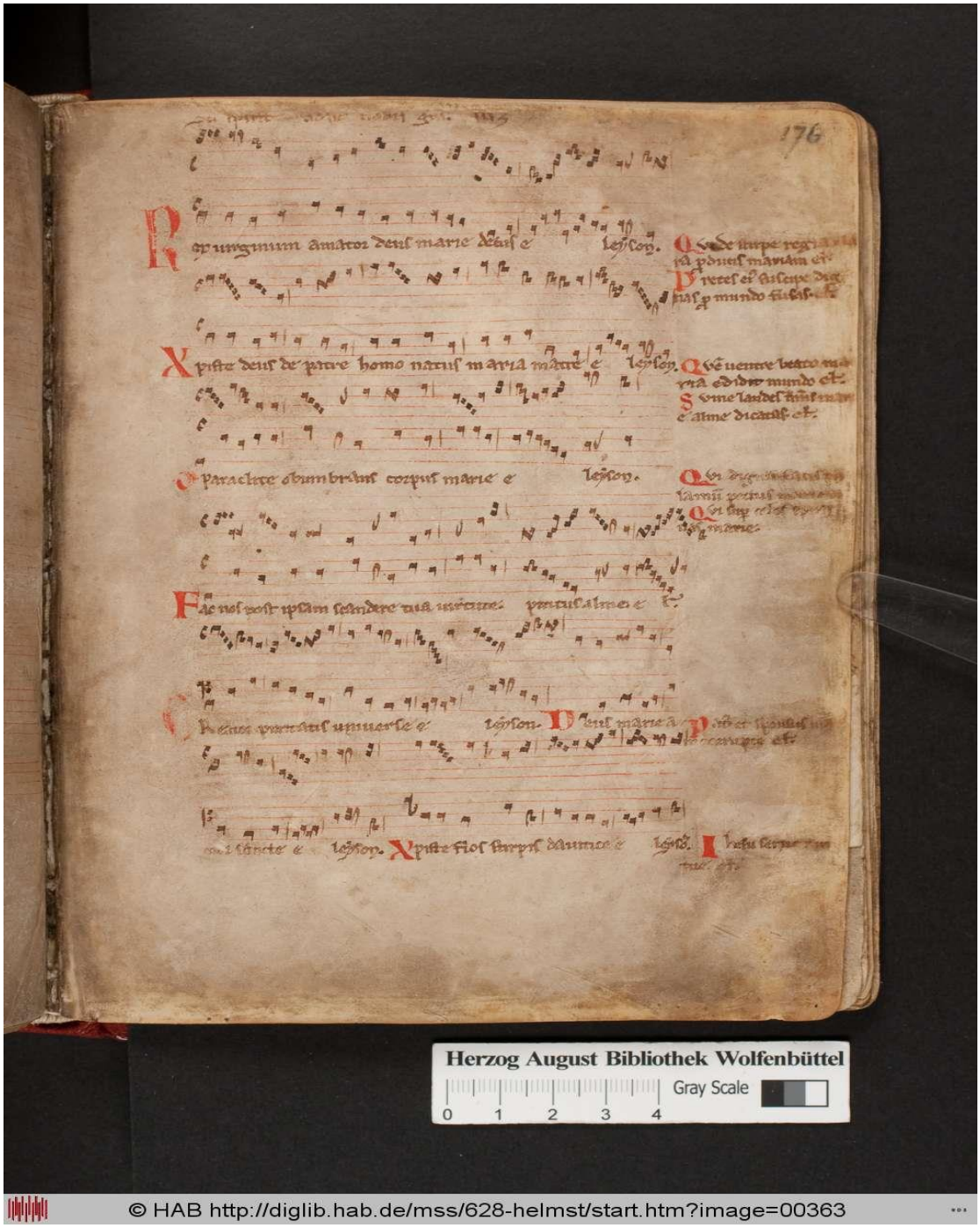

Figure 2.3 Different ink colours in fol.176r, fascicle xi, W1

Given the consistent scribal hand, these black notations likely represent a return to the page after its initial completion. The scribe may have revisited the quire after encountering new material or felt newly inspired to revise or expand certain musical sections. These revisions, added in a different ink and layout, strengthen the hypothesis that Fascicle XI was copied under ad hoc, mobile conditions rather than in a fixed scriptorium.

The manuscript's decoration further reflects this irregular production context. Typically, the final step in bookmaking involved the addition of painted initials and ornamental flourishes—often

completed locally, even after the book passed from scribe to owner[315]. In W1, most fascicles contain painted initials in alternating red and blue, often accompanied by pen flourishes in the contrasting colour. The scribe marked initial letters to be painted using two methods: in most of the manuscript, guide letters appear in the margins, while in some fascicles—including VI and XI—they are written inline.

Fascicle XI is notable in that few initials are missing, and the inline guide letters appear to have functioned effectively. The initials in this fascicle are simpler in design: all are painted red except in the Gloria, where red and green alternate[316]. The initials descend from the text line rather than extending upward to bracket upper voices—a departure from the standard polyphonic practice. This deviation likely reflects either a different painter or a shift in stylistic conventions by the time Fascicle XI was completed. Unlike earlier fascicles, the scribe here did not rely on the double bounding lines from the usual pricking pattern for ornament placement. Instead, initials were marked and added using a more direct, streamlined approach.

This suggests a new strategy: the scribe likely introduced this method to ensure that initials were included systematically, even in the absence of margin annotations or coordination with an painter. This practice contrasts with Steiner's suggestion that the scribe worked in close, simultaneous collaboration with painters[317]. Rather, the guide letters and final execution in Fascicle XI imply improvisation—another indication that this fascicle was copied and decorated under independent, perhaps itinerant, conditions.

Together, these features—textual layout, ink usage, decorative style, and guide-letter placement—confirm that Fascicle XI was not merely a late or hastily completed addition, but a product of scribal activity undertaken beyond the institutional centre.

The codicological and palaeographical evidence of Fascicle XI points to a coherent but irregular mode of manuscript production—one best explained not by institutional decline but by mobility. The consistent scribal hand, unified layout logic, and distinctive copying practices observed across all fascicles—including the eleventh—support the theory of a single, highly trained Céli Dé scribe. Yet Fascicle XI's differences in parchment quality, ruling adaptations, ink variations, and notational layering indicate that it was produced under materially constrained conditions outside a formal scriptorium.

The distinctive features of Fascicle XI—improvised parchment preparation, adaptive ruling techniques, and layered revisions—reveal a scribe working beyond the confines of a static

[315] Sara J. Charles, *The Medieval Scriptorium: Making Books in the Middle Ages*. (Reaktion Books, 2024). 192.
[316] The blue paint is faded in this section to green.
[317] Steiner, Notre Dame in Scotland. 92.

scriptorium. Rather than indicating decline, these material choices demonstrate his ability to maintain liturgical standards under mobile conditions, acquiring new repertoire and techniques during travel. This flexibility points to an active Céli Dé network that thrived through adaptation, not just survival. To pinpoint when and where this mobile production occurred, we now turn to W1's chronological framework—a dating analysis that will further illuminate the scribe's professional journey and the enduring influence of his order.

B. Dating Tools

Scholarly consensus places the initial stages of W1's copying in the early 1230s. Rebecca Baltzer first proposed this date based on her analysis of the manuscript's decorative initials. The script of W1 generally conforms to Northern textualis, but certain letterforms mark it as transitional, bridging the stylistic shift that Brown observed in French book hands between ca. 1230 and 1250[318]. These transitional features position the scribe within the broader palaeographic shift occurring in French and Insular book hands during the second quarter of the 13th century.

The W1 scribe adopted these transitional letterforms earlier than contemporaneous scribes at St Andrews, as evidenced by the delayed appearance of similar features in the Melrose Chronicle and the St Andrews Cartulary. For example, the Melrose Chronicle, dated to the 1240s, displays some of the same transitional forms, but with a slight delay. Broun and Harrison have also identified shifts in scribal practice from1238 to 1245, including the growing use of closed **a** and a more formalized tironian **et**—all of which are already present in W1[319]. These parallels suggest that the W1 scribe adopted emerging textual norms before they became widespread in institutional contexts.

Signs of post-production use suggest that W1 was completed by the 1250s and subsequently entered active circulation[320]. Two partially drafted letters—found on ff. 139v and 163r—provide evidence of continued handling: the latter appears to date from the 1250s, while the former was likely added by a mid-fourteenth-century hand. Further support comes from Pn1218, which preserves taxation records from Bishop David de Bernham's episcopate (c. 1240) written in a script closely resembling that found in W1. Taken together, these traces imply that by the 1250s, W1 was already in use within the St Andrews clerical community, accessible to scribes and perhaps to students.

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[318] Brown, "Further Observations," 56.
[319] Dauvit Broun and Julian Harrison, British Library Cotton Faustina B. IX, and British Library Cotton Julius B. XIII. *The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey: A Stratigraphic Edition. Vol. 1, Introduction and Facsimile Edition.* (Aberdeen], Woodbridge, England: Scottish History Society: Boydell Press. 2007). 224–25
[320] Stenier, Notre Dame in Scotland, 96.

The St Andrews Cartulary (National Archives of Scotland, GD 45/27/8) offers critical comparative evidence for dating W1. The cartulary was compiled with renewed energy around 1240, following the consecration of Bishop Bernham[321], and many of its hands bear strong similarities to W1. Particularly notable is the scribe who copied the episcopal acta from 1144 to 1240 (fols. 67–83v, quires 7–9) [322]. This hand, which Steiner believed was active after 1230, shares several features with W1, including uncial forms of **d** and **v**[323], double bounding lines, and characteristic red-blue flourished initials. The similarity in layout, letterforms, and overall flourished style suggests the same scribe was responsible for both projects.

A closer look at the decorative elements confirms the shared timeline. Pen-flourished initials in both W1 and the cartulary display similar stylistic features—hairpins, bud infillings, extended fans, and pointing fingers—though the combinations vary slightly between manuscripts[324]. These motifs appear consistently in quires 3–5 of the cartulary, with the last flourished charter dated to 1232 (fol. 53v). The next charter, dated 1245 (fol. 54r), was copied in a different hand and features only simple red initials, reflecting a broader shift in decorative norms and . A similar progression occurs in W1: the early fascicles use alternating red and blue initials with flourishes, while later sections—especially Fascicle XI—employ red and green or red-only initials, some with visible in-line guide letters rather than margin markers.

Taken together, this codicological and palaeographical evidence places the main fascicles of W1 (I–X) in the period c. 1232–1245. The flourished initials in these sections match precisely the decorative peak of the St Andrews Cartulary, suggesting overlapping production timelines and personnel. Moreover, the similarities in ruling patterns—such as the use of heavy pencil, double bounding lines, and vertical extensions in the outer margins—reinforce this dating. For example, the layout in quires 3–5 of the cartulary (up to 1232) closely matches the design found throughout W1, while the layout shifts noticeably in later quires (e.g., Quire 6, beginning with 1245 charters on fol. 57r).

A key distinction between the main fascicles (I–X) and Fascicle XI lies in the shift from collaborative to solitary production. different with the main fascicles, The initials in fascicle xi are rendered entirely in red—with occasional green in the Gloria—and are guided by letters written inline by the scribe himself. This change likely reflects both a broader shift in decorative norms and a more immediate practical concern: to ensure the initials would not be omitted by the illuminator in his absence, the scribe employed inline guide letters. The absence of marginal

[321] Thomas Thomson, *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia E Registro Ipso in Archivis Baronum De Panmure Hodie Asservato*, Bannatyne Club 69 (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club Publications, 1841).
[322] St A. Lib., 122-162.
[323] Steiner, Notre Dame in Scotland. 107.
[324] Sonia Scott-Fleming, *The Analysis of Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth-century Manuscripts*, vol. 11, Litterae Textuales (New York: E.J. Brill, 1989).

cues, the simplified palette, and the irregular alignment of the initials all point to a non-institutional setting. These features, taken together, reinforce the hypothesis that Fascicle XI was produced under mobile and materially constrained conditions, rather than within the St Andrews scriptorium.

By this point, the scribe's professional career becomes more clearly defined. He was likely active in the St Andrews cathedral scriptorium from around 1230, responsible for both charter-copying duties and the principal production of W1's main fascicles. The decorated initials in Fascicles I–X—alternating red and blue with distinctive flourishing—added by an artisan working alongside the scribe, as was typical for institutional production. However, by the early 1240s, the scribe's work on the cartulary ceases, and no further decorated initials appear in his surviving manuscripts. This suggests he may have left his formal role at St Andrews. The differences in layout, ruling, and decoration in Fascicle XI—including the scribe's own use of in-line guide letters for initials—point to a new context of production in which he no longer worked with a dedicated decorator.

These constraints do not reflect declining standards of craftsmanship, but instead show the scribe's ability to improvise and adapt to changing institutional and material conditions. The dating of W1—from its main fascicles made in the 1230s–1240s to Fascicle XI's later, mobile production—gives us not just a timeline but also clues to who created it. As this final section argues, that scribe was likely W. de Bernham, a figure whose career path reflects the lasting flexibility and influence of the Céli Dé. His work included chancery duties, liturgical innovation, and study abroad, and his handwriting preserved a blended musical tradition that kept Céli Dé authority alive into the late 13th century. By piecing together his story, we see how one scribe—and one manuscript—helped maintain the Céli Dé's cultural and liturgical role in a changing Scottish Church.

2.3.3 The Scribe, Mobility, and the Céli Dé's Enduring Reach

The codicology and paleography of W1 reveal the work of a skilled, adaptable scribe who compiled the most significant surviving manuscript of polyphony in medieval Scotland. His training likely began in the intellectual environment of Paris, where he acquired fluency in the notation and stylistic idiom of Notre Dame polyphony. Upon returning to St Andrews, he was commissioned to produce a liturgical book for the cathedral's new community of secular canons. Drawing from a small corpus of Parisian organum and conductus, he also composed new settings where needed—especially for repertory adapted to local use. Though his training was advanced, the scribe's working conditions were often constrained: he compiled the manuscript out of order, coped with fluctuations in parchment and ink quality, and was clearly more focused on functional utility than aesthetic polish. Fascicle XI, in particular, demonstrates

his ability to synthesize continental repertoire with local liturgical needs, creating music for the Lady Mass that blended Parisian, English, and St Andrews traditions—along with his own compositional voice. These contributions are explored further in Chapter 4.

The combination of Parisian musical knowledge, charter-copying experience, and extended absence from St Andrews after the 1240s dramatically narrows the list of possible candidates for the W1 scribe. Given that the same individual copied both W1 and charters in the St Andrews Cartulary, the scribe must have been active in Bishop William Malveisin's chancery[325]. Eighteen *magistri* (masters) are known to have served Malveisin as clerics or chaplains, but only one of them matches all the necessary criteria: W. de Bernham, the nephew of Bishop David de Bernham.

W. de Bernham's career fits the W1 profile on multiple fronts. A student in Paris and Oxford during the late 1240s, he is best known through his surviving letters in Oxford, All Souls College, MS 35[326], and from references in ecclesiastical and legal records. He was closely connected to his uncle, David de Bernham—Malveisin's successor as bishop of St Andrews—and fought alongside him in a protracted legal battle against the St Andrews priory at the papal curia in 1248. W. de Bernham held a prebend at Inchture, a benefice once controlled by the Augustinians but later reassigned by David de Bernham to his trusted circle[327].

Earlier in his career, W. de Bernham appears as a witness to a charter around 1235[328], likely as a young cleric in his uncle's household. Even while abroad, he maintained close ties to Céli Dé-affiliated members of David de Bernham's inner circle—such as Adam de Malcarston and William Wischarde, both known for their association with the reformed Céli Dé community during the bishop's tenure. His time in Paris likely began around 1236 and concluded no later than 1253[329]—precisely the period during which Fascicle XI was most likely compiled.

All Souls MS 35 offers valuable material evidence linking W. de Bernham to W1. This personal manuscript—containing drafts of letters, shopping lists, and student accounts[330]—was likely compiled during his time abroad. Its main hand is in Northern textualis from the first half of the thirteenth century, similar to that of W1. The rulings are created with crayon, just like those in the sixth, seventh, and eleventh fascicles of W1, and they also have double bounding lines on both sides of the text box, similar to what appears in other sections of W1.The page dimensions (250 × 190 mm) are slightly larger, but the text box itself (160–3 × 50–5 mm) is nearly identical to

[325] Ash, "The Administration of the Diocese of St. Andrews 1202-1328", 140; RRS, vol. ii, 90.
[326] Andrew G. Watson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of All Souls College, Oxford* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).
[327] W. de, Bernham. *Letters of a Scottish Student at Paris and Oxford c.1250*. edited by William Abel Pantin, N. R. Ker (Oxford: Clarendon Press for the Oxford Historical Society, 1942).477.
[328] witnessed by a relative of Robert de Bernham, David de Bernham's brother. St A. Lib., 272-3.
[329] Brown, Patterson, and Hiley, "Further Observations on W1," 53–4.
[330] Pantin and Ker, Letters of a Scottish Student at Paris and Oxford c. 1250," 477.

that of W1. The text is also written below the top line, a post-1230 feature. Although prickings in the inner and outer margins differ from W1's typical practice, the general layout strongly supports a shared scribal tradition, likely rooted in the St Andrews cathedral scriptorium.

It is plausible that W. de Bernham brought the manuscripts of MS 35 with him to Paris—perhaps a gift from his uncle along with the prebend at Inchture. If so, it serves as further evidence that the scribe of W1 was both highly mobile and deeply embedded in the political-religious networks of the Céli Dé. His movements and manuscript practices reveal the working life of a cleric who bridged institutional, intellectual, and geographic boundaries. Through W1, W. de Bernham preserved the musical and liturgical culture of St Andrews while extending its reach across the transnational scholarly networks of the thirteenth century.

The legacy and long-term influence of the Céli Dé after Bishop William de Malveisin's death reveal a remarkable story of resilience, adaptation, and strategic integration within the Scottish Church. Far from being eclipsed by Augustinian reforms, the Céli Dé demonstrated an enduring ability to navigate the complex interplay of papal authority, royal politics, and local traditions. Their success lay in their hybrid identity—embracing the formal structures of secular canons while retaining their distinct spiritual heritage. This duality allowed them to maintain institutional relevance, as seen in their pivotal role in episcopal elections, their control of St Mary's Church, and their continued recognition by both the papacy and the Scottish crown.

The liturgical manuscript W1 serves as a powerful testament to their cultural and intellectual vitality. The codicological and palaeographic analysis of Fascicle XI underscores the Céli Dé's adaptability, showing how their scribes produced sophisticated liturgical works even under mobile and constrained conditions. The scribe, likely W. de Bernham, embodied this tradition of flexibility, blending Parisian musical influences with local practices to create a manuscript that reflected both innovation and continuity.

By the late medieval period, the Céli Dé's administrative power waned, but their legacy endured in Scotland's religious and royal institutions. Their transformation from Gaelic ascetics to integrated secular clergy highlights not a decline but a strategic evolution, ensuring their influence persisted in the fabric of Scottish ecclesiastical life. Ultimately, the Céli Dé's story is one of survival through adaptation, illustrating how a religious community could thrive by balancing tradition with change, and local identity with broader ecclesiastical and political currents. Their legacy remains a defining chapter in Scotland's sacred history.

Conclusion

The story of the Céli Dé at St Andrews is not one of disappearance or defeat, but rather of resilience, reinvention, and strategic adaptation. Far from being displaced by Augustinian

reform, the Céli Dé navigated the evolving political and ecclesiastical landscape of medieval Scotland by embracing a dual identity—secular in institutional form, yet deeply rooted in Gaelic spiritual traditions. Their continued presence and influence were not incidental, but the result of calculated pragmatism, sustained royal patronage, and an enduring institutional footprint that allowed them to remain central to the religious life of St Andrews long after their supposed marginalization.

The crisis of 1178, which marked the arrival of the Augustinian canons, did not eliminate the Céli Dé but instead initiated a transformation. Scottish kings such as William the Lion and bishops like William Malveisin recognized the Céli Dé's utility—not as relics of an outdated tradition, but as adaptable clerics capable of serving a new ecclesiastical order. Their reintegration as secular canons under Malveisin was not a concession to the past but a pragmatic solution that preserved continuity while advancing reform. This realignment enabled the crown to maintain a locally rooted clergy who were politically reliable and culturally fluent, aligning ecclesiastical functions with royal objectives.

Liturgical and spatial evidence underscores the depth of the Céli Dé's integration into the cathedral's life. Manuscripts such as W1 and Paris, BnF, MS n.a.lat.12036 (Pn12036) reveal not only their continued liturgical authority but their cultural agility. The blending of Parisian polyphony with local devotional structures in W1, and the hybrid *Sanctorale* of Pn12036, reflect a community adept at integrating continental innovations with insular memory. Their physical relocation to St Mary on the Rock, far from symbolizing exile, allowed them to reassert their authority from a space laden with pre-Augustinian Christian significance. The architecture of St Mary's, its layout, and its continued development testify to a community that sustained its religious and institutional legitimacy by inhabiting and adapting sacred space.

After Malveisin's death, the Céli Dé demonstrated remarkable political sophistication. Their successful participation in episcopal elections, their ability to secure papal protection for St Mary's, and their continued presence in the cathedral chapter—even as they were occasionally challenged by Augustinian opponents—reflect a group not in retreat, but still actively shaping ecclesiastical structures. Even as their direct administrative power declined in the later medieval period, their institutional legacy endured, carried forward through their integration into collegiate churches and royal chapels. Their influence reached into the sixteenth century, when the establishment of the Chapel Royal at Stirling finally superseded their authority.

The wider implications of their survival challenge the assumption that reform in the medieval Church was a linear or oppositional process. The case of the Céli Dé reveals instead a more nuanced pattern of negotiation and hybridization. Their liturgical manuscripts, architectural continuity, and political strategies show that ecclesiastical reform was often mediated through

collaboration and compromise rather than imposed replacement. Their history is not a simple tale of resistance or assimilation, but of innovation grounded in tradition—of maintaining continuity through change.

Ultimately, the Céli Dé's endurance within St Andrews exemplifies a model of religious and cultural persistence that defies rigid binaries. Their story complicates the narrative of ecclesiastical reform as a clean break from the past and instead reveals a Church transformed through dialogue—between old and new, local and continental, memory and innovation. In music, liturgy, space, and institutional practice, the Céli Dé did not merely survive reform; they shaped it. Their legacy serves as a testament to the dynamic interplay of adaptation and memory that lies at the heart of medieval religious life—and offers a broader insight into how enduring traditions persist not by resisting change, but by negotiating it on their own terms.

3. Chapter 3 Sacred Space and liturgical Development in St Andrews

Introduction

As Chapter 1 and 2 revealed, the Augustinians and Céli Dé at St Andrews did not merely coexist—they competed to imprint their liturgical visions onto the town's sacred landscape. The Augustinians' expansion of St Rule's Church, likely undertaken to accommodate relics of St Andrew, introduced reformist liturgical practices influenced by continental traditions. In contrast, Bishop Malveisin and the Céli Dé initiated the construction of a new cathedral to elevate the cult of St Andrew and emphasize local devotional needs. These architectural undertakings crystallize a broader tension: how the two groups shaped liturgy through stone, even as liturgy reshaped their buildings.

This chapter argues that sacred architecture at St Andrews—particularly the cathedral and the extended St Rule's—did not merely house liturgy; it shaped and was shaped by it. The development of Sarum-based ritual in Scotland's ecclesiastical centre involved mutual transformations: buildings structured the flow and symbolism of liturgical enactment, while ritual use prompted architectural innovation, such as the creation of chapels to facilitate relic veneration. These hybrid forms of liturgical spatiality mirrored Scotland's ecclesiastical identity: politically autonomous but liturgically in dialogue with continental trends.

Methodologically, this chapter engages in interdisciplinary reconstruction. It analyses how sacred space at St Andrews Cathedral and St Rule's Church was both shaped by and shaping liturgical practices—especially as adapted for the cult of St Andrew. Architectural evidence (e.g. nave dimensions, shrine placement, chapels governed) is examined in relation to rubrics from Pn12036, comparative Sarum ordinals, and known processional routes.

However, connecting surviving written sources with architectural remains to reconstruct medieval ritual is far from straightforward. The interior layout of both St Andrews Cathedral and St Rule's Church was altered over the centuries, and today only ruins remain, limiting precise spatial analysis. Compounding this, no complete ordinal or breviary from St Andrews survives. While Pn12036 provides valuable insight, its rubrics often omit details that would have been considered normative and thus left undescribed. Although many of its instructions show clear affinities with Sarum Use, the widespread adoption of Sarum across Scotland is typically associated with the later the mid-thirteenth century[331]. —raising questions about how fully

[331] Dunkeld potentially utilizing the Sarum Use by 1249 and Glasgow may codifying Sarum statutes by 1258. Isobel Woods, "'Our Awin Scottis Use': Chant Usage in Medieval Scotland," *Journal of the Royal*

Sarum practices were implemented at St Andrews during the period under discussion. Determining the extent and nature of this influence is therefore essential before analysing the interaction between liturgy and sacred space. This study addresses that challenge through comparative analysis of Pn12036's responsory series and *Sanctorale* feasts alongside those in Sarum, York, and Hereford sources, clarifying whether St Andrews followed a standardized liturgical model and to what degree continental and local practices were blended.

In light of both the fragmentary textual record and the physical destruction of the buildings, this chapter treats liturgy not as a fixed textual blueprint but as an embodied and spatialized practice. Enactment and re-enactment—not static rubrics—become the interpretive lens: how clergy moved through choir stalls, how relics were processed along liturgical axes, how altars, thresholds, and feretories guided devotional attention. Drawing on R.G. Collingwood's concept of re-enactment, which emphasizes the historian's task of imaginatively reconstructing past thought and action, this approach allows us to interpret ritual movement not as abstract theory but as spatial experience[332]. Here, "enactment" refers not simply to physical motion, but to the intersection of space, memory, and authority—how medieval communities activated architecture through performance[333]. This interpretive framework reveals that St Andrews adapted continental models not through replication but through hybridization, producing a spatial-liturgical system attuned to local needs and identities.

Ultimately, this methodology offers a new lens for understanding how ecclesiastical identity was spatially performed. The buildings of St Andrews, shaped by the Augustinians and the Céli Dé, served not just as containers for liturgy but as agents in its evolution. By comparing their spatial logics to those of Salisbury cathedral and Old Sarum church, we can reconstruct a uniquely Scottish ritual geography—one that blended continental norms with local devotional imperatives.

Although based on Sarum Use—especially the forms crystallized in the Old Sarum era[334]—St Andrews did not simply replicate English or continental models. Rather, it creatively adapted

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Musical Association 112 (1987): 21–37; reprinted in Isobel Woods Preece, *Our Awin Scottis Use: Music in the Scottish Church up to 1603*, ed. Sally Harper, Studies in the Music of Scotland (Glasgow: Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, 2000), 55–74.

[332] R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, (Oxford University Press, 1993).

[333] John Harper, "Investigating the Experience of Later Medieval Worship" in *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted: The Experience of Worship in Cathedral and Parish Church*. edited by Sally Harper, et al., (Taylor & Francis Group, 2016).

[334] The prevailing academic consensus holds that Richard Poore completed the initial compilation of the Sarum Constitutions in the 1220s. This necessarily implies that the Sarum Use must have already been practiced in Salisbury prior to the 1220s. Before the construction of Salisbury Cathedral, the Old Sarum church (1075-1218) had originally developed on the site of a prominent Iron Age hillfort. M. Cheung Salisbury, The Secular Liturgical Office in Late Medieval England, (PhD dissertation, Oxford University, , 2014). 204; Frost, *Time, Space, and Order: the Making of Medieval Salisbury*. 1.

them to the political and devotional needs of the Scottish church, producing a spatial-liturgical hybrid that was both familiar and distinct.

At St Andrews, the cult of St Andrew fundamentally shaped ritual and space. The cathedral's high altar, feretory design, and processional routes emphasized the saint's relics, enabling distinctive performances that elevated local identity within a Sarum framework. These adaptations were not uniform across sites. The Augustinians' expansion of St Rule's Church prioritized hierarchical processions aligned with continental trends, while Bishop Malveisin's cathedral facilitated vernacular devotion through its shrine-oriented layout. Together, these transformations reveal an ecclesiastical identity forged through negotiation. Through architecture and ritual, St Andrews proclaimed both its independence and its ties to the Latin Christian world.

Section 1 establishes the spatial and urban context of St Andrews as a city (c. 1100–1300), highlighting how geography, procession routes, and institutional spaces informed liturgical practices.

Section 2 closely examines manuscript F-Pn lat. 12036, demonstrating how local saints, feast rankings, and textual variations intentionally adapted the Sarum Use, embedding devotional and political meaning unique to Scotland.

Section 3 then turns to sacred architecture, analysing how both St Rule's Church and St Andrews Cathedral embodied and enacted these liturgical adaptations in built form. St Rule's functioned as a transitional space that modestly gestured toward Sarum norms without fully institutionalizing them, while the cathedral expanded and refined these frameworks into a fully realized "ritual machine." Together, they illustrate a gradual but deliberate architectural program that aligned with episcopal reform and royal ambition. Through this threefold analysis—manuscript, space, and ceremony—the chapter shows how St Andrews forged a hybrid and distinctive liturgical identity, strategically blending imported forms with local traditions.

3.1: St Andrews: Urban and Sacred Landscape (c. 1100–1300)

Before analysing how sacred architecture structured liturgical practice in St Andrews, it is crucial to understand the town itself—its historical development, spatial layout, and religious significance. Far from being a passive backdrop, the urban fabric of St Andrews was dynamically shaped by and for ritual. Its streets, churches, and monuments reflected the ambitions of kings, bishops, and religious communities to forge a spiritual capital worthy of its patron saint.

A. Origins and Growth

By the 12th century, St Andrews had emerged as Scotland's foremost ecclesiastical centre—a pilgrimage hub and seat of royal and episcopal power. Religious activity on the headland, then known as Kinrimund, dates to the 8th century, when, according to legend and early monastic tradition, relics of St Andrew were brought to a monastic community established there. The Irish annals mention a monastery here during the Pictish period[335], and the death of the last bishop with a Celtic name in 1093 marked the end of an earlier ecclesiastical phase[336].

The foundation of Augustinian priority around 1140 by King David I marked a turning point. David appointed Robert of Nostell as the first Augustinian prior and supported the extension of St Rule's Church, whose tall tower remains a prominent feature[337]. Bishop Robert also likely initiated plans for a grand new cathedral[338], though construction formally began under his successor, Arnold, with Malcolm IV's support in 1160s[339]. The east end of the cathedral was completed by 1238 under Bishop Malveisin[340].

Meanwhile, St Mary on the Rock, associated with the Céli Dé, remained an influential ecclesiastical site. As discussed in Chapter 2, its significance extended into the 14th century, due to the continued presence and strategic adaptation of the Céli Dé community. The parish church of Holy Trinity—likely founded before 1163 and situated southeast of the cathedral[341]—was later appropriated by the cathedral priory, institutionalizing the priory's control over parochial affairs[342].

By Bishop Robert's time, the headland precinct—demarcated by twelve stone crosses—had emerged as a clearly defined sacred zone encompassing key churches and parochial institutions. Control over these sites reflected the cathedral priory's growing authority, particularly following the appropriation of Holy Trinity Church[343]. By the 15th century, this precinct was almost completely enclosed by a circuit of defensive and symbolic walls, punctuated by towers that underscored its ecclesiastical prominence. Yet laypeople still

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[335] A.O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*. i, 238
[336] M. O. Anderson, "The Celtic Church in Kinrimund.," 1.
[337] Heywood, "The Church of St Rule, St Andrews", 38-41. Cameron, "St Rule's Church", 367-78.
[338] R. G. Cant in *St Andrews Preservation Trust Annual report and Year book for 1973* (1974), 12.
[339] Eric Cambridge, "The Early Building-History of St. Andrews Cathedral, Fife, and Its Context in Northern Transitional Architecture." *The Antiquaries Journal* 57, no. 2 (1977): 277–88. Christopher Wilson, "The Cistercians as 'missionaries of Gothic' in Northern England." In *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*. Christopher Norton and David Park eds. (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986). 97. Richard Fawcett, "The Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture of St Andrews as a Channel for the Introduction of New Ideas" In *Medieval St Andrews Church, Cult, City*. Michael Brown and Katie Stevenson ed. (Martlesham: Boydell Press 2021). 51-83.
[340] Malveisin died in 1238 and was buried in the choir. He was the first bishop to be buried in St Andrews Cathedral. Duncan, "the Foundation of St Andrews". 15.
[341] David Hay Fleming, *St Andrews Cathedral Museum* (Edinburgh and London, 1931), plan 1, facing p. 2.
[342] Ian B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1967), 176.
[343] Duncan, 'The Foundation of St Andrews" 1–37.

retained rights of access across its grounds[344], indicating that the balance between clerical control and communal usage remained contested and negotiated even within this increasingly fortified sacred space.

B. Urban Layout

The city of St Andrews was deliberately planned around its cathedral. A charter from Bishop Robert, dated between 1140 and 1159, records King David I granting one of his burgesses from Berwick-upon-Tweed, Mainard the Fleming, to help establish a burgh at St Andrews, is better than for many much larger royal burghs. This urban foundation coincided with the creation of the Augustinian priory, making St Andrews the first episcopal burgh and likely the second non-royal burgh in Scotland[345].

The modern street plan preserves much of the medieval layout. South Street, North Street, and Market Street converge at the cathedral precinct. North Street retained older ecclesiastical functions, linking the harbour with early church sites. As the seat of the kingdom's top bishop, with the shrine of St Andrew acting as a magnet for pilgrims, the church settlement on the headland had long been a place where people came together and mixed. Kinrimund, near the harbour, was the centre of early settlement[346]. By the mid-twelfth century, another, more secular, settlement—known as the 'Clochin' or clachan—may have developed near the eastern end of North Street, a routeway that likely continued past the old parish church of Holy Trinity and St Rule's Church, and thence to Kirkhill and the harbour[347].

South Street, likely laid out by Mainard, became the primary route for pilgrims approaching the cathedral. Bishop Robert's charter to Mainard refers to it as 'the street of the burgesses', granting him land there[348]. This area became the focus of a new merchant settlement, contrasting with the older, more ecclesiastically dominated North Street.

Market Street developed later to accommodate increasing commercial activity. The cathedral and burgh attracted craftsmen, quarrymen, and labourers, whose services were highly valued. Burgesses charged fees for trade and services, and land along North Street began to be converted into burgage plots[349]. By the end of the 13th century, the marketplace—possibly once

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[344] Fawcett, "The Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture of St Andrews"62.
[345] The first is the abbot of Holyrood's Burgh of Canongate. See in Matthew Hammond, "The Burgh of St Andrews and Its Inhabitants before the Wars of Independence." In *Medieval St Andrews: Church, Cult, City*, 141–72.
[346] As discussed in Chapter 2, the Céli Dé's early house likely occupied this area. Also see in Derek W. Hall, "Pre-burghal St Andrews: Towards an Archaeological Research Design", *Tayside and Fifi Archaeological Journal* (TFAJ) Vol. 1 (1995), 23–7.
[347] *Scottish Episcopal Acta, Volume I: The Twelfth Century*, Norman Shead ed., sixth series 10 (Woodbridge: Scottish History Society, 2016) (SEA), no. 235 (H2/10/116; StAUL, B65/1/1 (The Black Book of St Andrews), fol. 35r).
[348] SEA, no. 144 (H2/10/16).
[349] ibid, no. 200 (H2/10/74; St A. Lib., 338)

located at the triangular area near the cathedral's entrance—had been relocated to a new site between South and North Streets, eventually facilitating the development of Market Street as a third major axis[350]. The town's development drew in craftsmen, merchants, and labourers, many of whom were drawn by the opportunities provided by the cathedral and pilgrimage economy.

C. Population and Pilgrimage

St Andrews was a major pilgrimage destination, drawing large numbers of visitors who significantly impacted the town's economy and social life. This "floating population" was difficult to quantify, but their presence helped fuel town growth. By the 13th century, Scotland's total population may have reached 400,000, with only a small percentage living in burghs[351]. Larger burghs like Berwick and Aberdeen might have had 5,000–10,000 residents[352]; St Andrews likely fell within this range at its peak.

The cult of St Andrew made the town a magnet for pilgrims. Turgot's *Vita S. Margaretae* recounts that by the late 11th century, Queen Margaret had provided ships to ferry pilgrims safely across the Firth of Forth[353]. Earlier hagiographies, such as the *Vita S. Cadoci*, even present Kinrimund alongside Jerusalem and Rome[354], underscoring its perceived sanctity. Reginald of Durham later recorded that Saint Godric of Finchale visited St Andrew's shrine in the 12th century[355]. Pilgrim badges recovered from English sites attest to a wide geographic draw[356].

To support this influx, ecclesiastical and civic authorities developed extensive infrastructure. The foundation of St Leonard's Hospital by 1162 near the cathedral's entrance provided lodging and care for pilgrims[357]. Pilgrim traffic also shaped urban geography. Kirkhill, near the harbour, likely developed as an early settlement in part due to its role in accommodating visitors. The street layout outside processions and pilgrim movement toward the shrine.

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[350] ibid, no. 235 (H2/10/116; StAUL, B65/1/1 (Black Book of St Andrews), fol. 35r.).
[351] R. E. Tyson, "Population Patterns: 1. to 1770", in *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History,* ed. M. Lynch, (New York, 2001), 487–9.
[352] E. Gemmill and N. J. Mayhew, *Changing Values in Medieval Scotland: a Study of Prices, Money, and Weights and Measures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 8–10.
[353] J. Hodgson Hinde ed., *Vita Margaretae Reginae*, published in *Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea*, (Surtees Society 51, 1868), 247. A English translation see Lois L. Huneycutt*, Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge, 2003), 172–3.
[354] M. O. Anderson, "The Celtic Church in Kinrimund.",1; reprinted from Marjorie O Anderson, "The Celtic Church in Kinrimund," *Innes Review* 25, no. 2 (1974): 67–76.
[355] *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici, Heremitae de Finchale. Auctore Reginaldo Monacho Dunelmensi. Adjicitur Appendix Miraculorum*, ed. J. Stevenson (Surtees Society, Durham, 1847), 219, 376, 426 & 446; discussed in Frank, R. F., 'Shrine rivalry in the North Sea World', in *The North Sea world in the Middle Ages: studies in the cultural history of northwestern Europe*, eds. T. Liszka & L. Walker (Dublin, 2001), 233.
[356] Peter Yeoman*, Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*. (London: B.T. Batsford, 1999), 60.
[357] SEA, no. 152 (H2/10/34;St A. Lib., 127).

Meanwhile, the resident population expanded significantly by the late 12th century. In 1199, Bishop Roger sought papal permission to expand parochial provisions[358], likely through enlargement of Holy Trinity Church. The burgh's population reflected Scotland's ethnic and linguistic diversity: names such as Baldwin the Scot (a Gaelic-speaker with a Flemish surname) and Gilbert Brito ("the Breton") exemplify cultural mixing[359]. Elites like the Lambin family, burgesses such as the Purrocks, and skilled workers like Adam the smith or Godric Sterecrag (a sailor) demonstrate the social range of its inhabitants[360].

The construction of the new cathedral, possibly intended to rival York Minster, reinforced St Andrews' ambition to cement its place as a premier pilgrimage destination[361]. Pilgrimage not only brought spiritual prestige but also generated trade, justified infrastructure development, and attracted royal patronage. Merchants like Mainard the Fleming benefited from this economy, while local craftspeople contributed to the evolving urban and sacred environment.

D. Political and Spiritual Role

As the seat of Scotland's leading bishopric, St Andrews was both a religious and political powerhouse. Its cathedral—the largest in Scotland—symbolized the nation's piety and its place within the broader Christian world. Ecclesiastical decisions made in St Andrews influenced the entire Scottish Church. The town's cultural integration, marked by the fading of ethnic distinctions such as "Fleming" or "Scot" in local records by the 13th century, also reflects broader patterns of social assimilation and civic identity.

The liturgy and architecture of St Andrews bore the imprint of both local and continental influences, blending Gaelic traditions, Augustinian reforms, and Sarum-style ritual frameworks. This mixture formed a distinctive Scottish ecclesiastical identity that would resonate throughout the medieval period.

St Andrews was not merely a town with a cathedral—it was a city formed around sacred function. The headland served as both religious core and urban nucleus. Shaped by the forces of pilgrimage, episcopal ambition, and liturgical life, St Andrews exemplifies how medieval urbanism and sacred space co-evolved. The following sections of this chapter will explore how this unique spatial and ritual environment shaped—and was shaped by—the liturgical practices of its most important churches.

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[358] W. H. Bliss ed., *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, 20 vols (London, 1893), [CPL] i, 5 (H2/137/4).
[359] Hammond, "The Burgh of St Andrews and Its Inhabitants". 168
[360] Ibid. 168.
[361] Ian Campbell, "The Idea of St Andrews as the Second Rome Made Manifest." In *Medieval St Andrews: Church, Cult, City,* eds., K Stevenson, M Brown, (Boydell & Brewer; 2017), 35–50.

3.2 Liturgical Structures and Uses in Pn12036

St Andrews was a town fundamentally shaped by its sacred function; its liturgical books must therefore be read not only as devotional texts but as expressions of civic and ecclesiastical identity. Pn12036, provide an essential foundation for reconstructing how sacred space was activated through ritual performance. As Chapter 1 and 2 have shown, competing visions of liturgy—shaped by the Augustinians, the Céli Dé, and broader political dynamics—converged in St Andrews, not only in texts but in architectural transformations. This section turns to Pn12036 to assess how its structure, use, and textual contents reflect a Sarum-based liturgical framework, while also preserving features unique to the St Andrews context.

Pn12036 offers valuable insights into the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* as practiced in Scotland's ecclesiastical centre. Its responsory series, calendar, and office texts reveal not only which Use St Andrews followed, but also how that Use was negotiated, localized, and at times deliberately reshaped. Understanding these textual structures is essential for interpreting the spatial enactment of liturgy at St Andrews Cathedral and St Rule's Church—where performance, architecture, and identity intersected. This section lays the groundwork for the chapter's central argument: that St Andrews did not simply replicate Sarum norms but adapted them into a hybrid form that reflected both continental influence and Scottish ecclesiastical autonomy.

Through comparative analysis of responsory sequences, feasts, and sung texts preserved in Pn12036, this section clarifies the degree to which Sarum Use shaped ritual at St Andrews—and where local deviation or layering complicates that narrative. In doing so, it prepares the ground for the architectural and spatial analysis that follows: understanding how these textual forms translated into movement, memory, and sacred topography within the evolving ritual environment of St Andrews.

3.2.1. Methodology: Triangulating Influences

Regarding English influence on Scottish liturgical practice, scholars widely agree on the significance of the Sarum Use in shaping Scottish rites. Several studies have emphasized this connection, particularly in relation to Manuscript Pn12036, one of the most important liturgical sources from medieval St Andrews. For instance, Woods has compared Scottish practices with both continental and English traditions, arguing that Scottish liturgy adapted these influences within a Sarum-derived framework[362]. She highlights certain deviations from standard Sarum

[362] Woods. "Our Awin Scottis Use", 21-37.

usage but, like many scholars, focuses more on broad trends comparisons than detailed liturgical practice.

Early assessments of Pn12036, including those by Delisle and Leroquais, identified its Holy Week liturgies and the majority of its *Sanctorale* as closely aligned with Sarum customs[363]. Mark Everist observed that the *Sanctorale* exhibits features typical of East Anglian adaptations of Sarum Use[364]. More recently, David Chadd's comparative analysis of the Offices for St. Benedict and St. Mary Magdalene showed that while the *Temporale* in Pn12036 largely conforms to Sarum Use, its Sanctorale reveals a more complex picture—incorporating elements from pre-Conquest English sources and even Parisian traditions[365].

Steiner, in turn, proposed that the liturgy in Pn12036 may reflect the Old Sarum Use rather than the later standardized form promulgated after the 13th century("New Sarum")[366]. She suggested that unique chants preserved in the manuscript shaped a distinct musical identity at St Andrews. Moreover, as argued in Chapter 2, the inclusion of saints like Kentigern in Pn12036's *Sanctorale* implies that the Céli Dé—survivors of earlier ecclesiastical traditions at St Andrews—blended local devotional customs into what was becoming a more uniform liturgical framework. These hybrid practices complicate a simplistic Sarum attribution and warrant closer scrutiny.

However, the question remains: What does it mean to say Pn12036 follows "Sarum"? This classification raises immediate concerns about both geography and liturgical transmission. While Sarum Use dominated southern England, York held greater influence in the north, including areas geographically closer to Scotland. In past scholarship, manuscripts have often been assigned to a single Use—Sarum, York, or Hereford—without adequate interrogation of their internal diversity or evidence of cross-Use influence. In reality, these liturgical families are more sibling traditions than entirely separate entities. Sarum and York share a common foundation but retain unique identifiers[367]. Likewise, Hereford Use overlaps significantly with Sarum in Advent responsories and the Office of the Dead, suggesting either borrowing or shared origins. [368].

The unexamined overlaps between these traditions may compromise the reliability of previous attributions. A manuscript may bear Sarum-like features while also reflecting York practices, or incorporate chants found in Hereford while otherwise conforming to Sarum. Thus,

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[363] V. Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques De France* (Paris: Macon, Protat frères, imprimeurs, 1934), vols. IV,382-384.
[364] Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews". 10.
[365] Chadd, "An English Noted Breviary of Circa 1200," 210.
[366] Steiner, "Notre Dame in Scotland".189.
[367] Salisbury, The Secular Liturgical Office. 52-54.
[368] ibid. 54-55.

to refine our understanding of Pn12036's affiliations, we must account for inter-Use borrowing, regional variation, and the fluidity of liturgical identity in the British Isles before 1300.

A. Comparative Corpus

Equally critical is the medium used for comparison. Modern liturgical studies have often relied on reprinted editions, such as Frere's *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, treating them as definitive representations of medieval practice. However, these printed books inevitably standardize what were originally fluid, localized traditions. In contrast, manuscripts offer a more complex but authentic portrayal of medieval liturgical practices, preserving variations shaped by scribal preferences, regional customs, and specific institutional adaptations.

The chronology of manuscript production further complicates comparative analyses. Pn12036 was likely compiled in the early 13th century[369], predating Sarum's standardization and widespread dissemination in Scotland. Although Sarum became increasingly influential from the late 13th to early 14th centuries[370], this expansion occurred after Pn12036's creation. Thus, it is crucial to examine manuscripts spanning this pivotal period. Early manuscripts (13th to 14th centuries) serve as essential baselines, reflecting contemporaneous liturgical practices aligned with the context of Pn12036. Later manuscripts from the 15th century provide necessary comparative reference points, illustrating whether and how closely Pn12036 aligns with the fully standardized Sarum tradition.

To effectively address these complexities, our comparative corpus integrates both printed editions and a diverse selection of manuscript exemplars. By systematically comparing manuscripts from different developmental stages, this analysis will determine not only if Pn12036 aligns with Sarum Use but also pinpoint which specific evolutionary phase it reflects. Scholars typically identify three primary stages of Sarum's evolution: the original form associated with Salisbury Cathedral (Old Sarum), an intermediate standardized version adapted for broader regional use, and a later phase marked by renewed local variation[371]. Employing this diachronic perspective facilitates a nuanced understanding of Pn12036's liturgical position within its broader historical and geographical context.

This study draws on exemplar manuscripts and early printed sources from each stage to identify where Pn12036 fits within this evolutionary framework. Rather than assume a static Sarum identity, we reconstruct a more dynamic picture of liturgical transmission—one shaped

[369] Handschin, "Zur Geschichte von Notre Dame," 5–17; "A Monument of English Medieval Polyphony" in *The Musical Times 73* (1932): 512; "A Monument of English Medieval Polyphony" The *Musical Times* 74 (1933): 697–704. Baxter, *An Old St. Andrews Music Book*. Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis"; also Roesner, ed., *Le Magnus Liber Organi De Notre-Dame De Paris,*

[370] Salisbury, The Secular Liturgical Office. 2

[371] ibid.

by Augustinian reforms, Scottish localism, and the porous boundaries between English Uses. In doing so, we aim to establish a more precise genealogy for the rites embedded in Pn12036 and, by extension, the liturgical culture of 13th-century St Andrews.

1. Printed Books

Frere's *Antiphonale Sarisburiense* is widely treated as a definitive source for Sarum chant melodies and is frequently cited as a representative witness in musicological studies. It serves as a practical reference for liturgical tenors and chant traditions. The volume is a composite facsimile drawn primarily from three manuscripts—Cambridge University Library Mm.II.9, Salisbury Cathedral MS 152, and Bodleian Library Bodley 948—supplemented by materials from the 1519–20 printed Sarum Antiphonal. Frere's editorial work reflects early 20th-century efforts, particularly those of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, to reconstruct a 'lost' Sarum liturgy—a movement partly driven by liturgical nostalgia[372].

Scholars hold divergent views on the authority of Frere's edition. Salisbury has noted that while it captures a core Sarum tradition, it omits peripheral variants preserved in earlier manuscripts, such as BL Add. 28598, highlighting Frere's lack of editorial criticality[373]. In contrast, scholars like René-Jean Hesbert and Pfaff have endorsed Frere's methodology, arguing that his edition represents a coherent Sarum tradition by intentionally excluding outlier readings and minimizing textual variation within the Office[374].

This study considers both perspectives: Frere's Antiphonal as a witness to a standard Sarum model, and as a source that elides important manuscript variation. These tensions are central to assessing inter-Use borrowing, regional practice, and the liturgical fluidity reflected in Pn12036.

The 1519–20 printed Sarum Antiphonal (STC 15790/15790a) represents another key source. Produced by Wolfgang Hopyl in Paris, this massive two-volume work was the only complete book of chants for the Sarum Office ever printed. The first volume (1519) covers the *Temporale* from Advent to Pentecost and the *Sanctorale* from 30 November to 20 June; the second (1520) continues from Trinity Sunday to Advent and from 19 May to 29 November. Additional Sarum liturgical books included various editions of the Hymnal, Breviary, Missal, and four editions of the Gradual.

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[372] Salisbury. "Stability and variation in office chants of the Sarum *Sanctorale*." *Plainsong & Medieval Music* 27.1 (2018): 1-26.

[373] Salisbury, "Stability and variation." 4 and 22.

[374] René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium officii*, 6 vols., Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta Series Maior 7-12(Roma, 1963-79). Richard William Pfaff. *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2012). 429.

Magnus Williamson has demonstrated that, although this Antiphonal has a complex editorial history, it has remained surprisingly underexamined in modern historiography[375]. While traditionally attributed to Dr. Sampson and his circle of King's College and Eton consultants, Salisbury argues that it should not be viewed as a rigorously edited text, but rather as a redacted version that—like Frere's edition—fails to capture the breadth of manuscript diversity. Nevertheless, Salisbury notes a substantive link between Sampson's editorial work and Frere's base manuscript sources[376], making this Antiphonal a useful benchmark for assessing claims of uniformity within the Sarum tradition.

The 1493 York Breviary, printed in Venice by Hamman, represents the first printed edition of the York Use and serves as the principal comparative witness for this study. Its structure aligns closely with earlier manuscripts, particularly Bodleian Laud Misc. 84, differing only in minor rubrical details. Compared with Sarum materials, York liturgical books display greater internal consistency, lacking the degree of textual fragmentation or editorial layering found in Sarum sources. In particular, York's responsory series exhibits high uniformity, providing a reliable framework for identifying liturgical markers[377].

For these reasons, the 1493 Venice Breviary has been chosen as the base text for comparative analysis with Pn12036, to determine the degree of alignment with York Use versus other English traditions.

The study of the Hereford Use is significantly complicated by the extreme rarity and fragmentary condition of its surviving manuscript sources. The scarcity of Hereford sources—particularly from the 13th to 16th centuries—stems largely from their widespread destruction during the English Reformation[378].Among the scarce available sources, the 1505 printed Hereford Breviary represents a particularly significant witness to the Hereford tradition.

Scholarly analysis has shown that the Sarum and Hereford rites are more closely aligned with each other than either is with the York Use. This close relationship is especially evident in the 1505 Hereford Breviary, where borrowed Sarum texts are often explicitly marked with the phrase "*secundum usum Herfordensis*[379]." Earlier manuscript sources include the 13th-century Hereford Cathedral MS P.IX.7, which shares its Advent responsory series and Office of the Dead with the Sarum tradition, and the 14th-century Worcester Cathedral MS Q.86, which lacks the Advent section but retains the Office of the Dead. However, both manuscripts exhibit distinctive

[375] Magnus Williamson, "Affordable splendour: editing, printing and marketing the Sarum Antiphoner (1519–20)." *Renaissance Studies* 26.1 (2012): 60, 85.
[376] Salisbury, "Stability and Variation" 8.
[377] Sherry Reames, "Mouvance and Interpretation in Later-Medieval Latin: The Legend of St Cecilia in British Breviaries" in *Medieval Literature Text and Interpretation, ed.* Tim William Machan (Binghamton, New York, 1991). 169.
[378] Salisbury, the Secular Liturgy Office.130 and 147.
[379] ibid.130.

variations in their calendars and lessons for the Triduum, differentiating them from standard Sarum practice. Salisbury attributes these discrepancies to chronological gaps and evolving editorial practices, which remain inadequately documented. Consequently, he characterizes Hereford as a distinct yet complex Use, balancing a measure of independence with significant borrowing from Sarum[380].

Given the intricate relationship between the 1505 edition and the Sarum tradition, this printed breviary will be included in the comparative analysis. This inclusion will facilitate determining the degree and specific nature of affinity between manuscript Pn12036 and the broader spectrum of English liturgical traditions.

2.Manuscripts

GB-CU Mm.II.9—better known as the Barnwell Antiphonal—is preserved within the *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernwelle* (BL Harley 3601) and was copied in 1295–96. It represents one of only two substantial thirteenth-century Sarum antiphoners to survive and was one of the primary models for Frere's 19th-century *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*[381]. Because Mm.II.9's opening and closing bifolia are missing, Frere supplemented its gaps with material drawn from Salisbury Cathedral MS 152, Bodleian Bodley 948, and the 1519–20 printed Sarum Antiphonal.

However, Pfaff has questioned both the Sarum identity and the Barnwell provenance of Mm.II.9. He noted discrepancies between its content and the expected liturgical usage at Barnwell, particularly the incongruity between the priory's dedication to both St Giles and St Andrew and the scant liturgical attention given to St Giles, the house's principal patron[382]. Despite these doubts, Salisbury's comparative analysis of melodic variants and responsory series has shown that Mm.II.9 aligns closely with other Sarum sources, including Bodleian Library Bodley 948, the Seymon Fragment, and the 1519–20 printed Sarum Antiphonal[383].

Given its date—just a few decades before the presumed production of Pn12036—Mm.II.9 serves as a crucial reference point for identifying the stage of Sarum Use that most likely influenced St Andrews. Its structural and melodic evidence offers insight into how an early Sarum model circulated and was adopted (or adapted) beyond its original southern English context.

Discovered in the Wiltshire and Swindon Archives by Graham Bathe and John Harper, the Seymon Fragment comprises remnants of a 14th-century Sarum antiphonal associated with the

[380] Ibid.
[381] Frere ed., *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*: *A Reproduction in Facsimile from Early Manuscripts*. 3vols. (London: Gregg Press 1901–24).
[382] Pfaff, *the liturgy in medieval England: a history*.275-276.
[383] Salisbury, "Stability and variation".

Salisbury prebend of Bedwyn. The inclusion of obits in the calendar (1311–1383) suggests it was in use for over 70 years[384]. The surviving contents include portions of both the *Temporale* and the *Sanctorale*, with chants for feasts such as St Nicholas and St Cecilia.

Despite its fragmentary nature, the Seymon Fragment is especially valuable as an early witness to Sarum liturgy. Its textual and melodic readings frequently align with Mm.II.9 and occasionally diverge from the 1519–20 printed Sarum Antiphonal, thereby confirming the persistence of earlier Sarum variants into the 14th century. Including the Seymon Fragment in this study provides a critical intermediary point between the more complete Mm.II.9 and later printed redactions, helping to map the trajectory of Sarum transmission and variation leading up to and surrounding Pn12036.

B. Diagnostic Criteria

To determine which English Use most closely underpins Pn12036—and to map local adaptations—we apply three interlocking diagnostic criteria. Each targets a different layer of liturgical practice, from the most stable musical cores to the variable vernacular accretions.

Responsory series offer one of the most stable and diagnostically valuable elements in medieval liturgical books. Studies of Sarum and York Uses have shown that over 75% of manuscripts preserve consistent responsory patterns for the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale*, reflecting a high degree of textual fidelity[385]. This "absolute consistency" signals deliberate preservation by cathedral communities and serves as a reliable fingerprint for distinguishing Sarum from York or Hereford traditions.

Unlike other chant types, responsories were exceptionally resistant to change due to their liturgical function, canonical association, and elaborate structure[386]. They are integral to the Matins closely tied to specific feast days. Because of their fixed textual content, they allow scholars to assign unprovenanced manuscripts to particular Uses. However, their musical realization is more fluid: longer responsories with melismatic passages tend to diverge more significantly in melody than their shorter, syllabic counterparts [387].

Given this dynamic, the responsory series will be used as a first-order diagnostic tool to determine Pn12036's general alignment. Once this framework is identified, shorter and more

[384] Graham Bathe and Joph Harper, "Fragments of Sarum Liturgy in the Seymour Family Archives", *Wiltshire Archaelogical and Natural History Magazine*, 108 (2015), 165.
[385] Salisbury, the Secular Liturgical Office. 52
[386] Hesbert attempted to find meaning in the changing orders of responsories. René-Jean Hesbert. *Le problème de la transfixion du Christ dans les traditions biblique, patristique, iconographique, liturgique et musical*. (Paris, 1940).
[387] Salisbury, the Secular Liturgical Office.66

musically stable elements, such as antiphons, will be examined to identify the specific developmental stage of that Use represented in Pn12036.

Liturgical calendars and feast observances offer another essential dimension of analysis. Unlike responsories, which signal liturgical alignment, calendars help trace regional variation and the hierarchical evolution of liturgical priorities. Feast listings serve as historical records of how particular observances were adopted, modified, or suppressed in response to episcopal mandates, synodal decrees, or local devotional movements.

M. R. James's comparative method—focusing on the saintly profiles found in calendars and litanies—remains foundational for assigning regional provenance[388]. Though no complete breviary from St Andrews survives, sources such as Pn12036, W1, and the St Andrews Litany (Pn1218) allow for partial reconstruction of its *Sanctorale*（Appendix B and C）. In this study, comparative analysis of key saints' feasts (including their octaves, vigils, and commemorations) will reveal how Pn12036 reflects a synthesis of English liturgical frameworks, helping to identify whether its primary structure aligns more closely with Sarum, York, or Hereford traditions, and to what extent local observances shaped its final form.

Despite strong inter-Use consistency in responsories and calendars, liturgical manuscripts within the same Use often exhibit substantial differences. These arise from regional influence, scribal habits, or local custom. Previous studies have tended to isolate diagnostic elements rather than trace larger liturgical flows or editorial logic. This study takes a more systematic approach by comparing Pn12036 to a controlled corpus of Sarum, York, and Hereford manuscripts, noting consistency and anomalies across multiple feasts and seasons.

The aim is not only to determine Pn12036's Use affiliation, but to explore how far it participated in the evolving "standardization" of liturgical practice across the British Isles. By triangulating responsory content, calendrical patterns, and internal textual coherence, this methodology offers a robust framework for reconstructing both the liturgical identity and the cultural formation of Pn12036.

C. Analytical Procedure

1. Establishing the Sarum Framework

To accurately determine which English liturgical Use forms the foundational framework of Pn12036, the below part undertakes a detailed comparative analysis of the responsory series from the First and forth Sunday of Advent and the Holy Thursday. These two liturgical offices were specifically chosen due to their structural stability, clear textual and musical continuity,

[388] Pfaff, "M.R. James on the Cataloguing of Manuscripts: A Draft Essay of 1906", *Scriptorium*, 31(1977), 103-118.

and particular historical relevance to St Andrews. By first establishing this broader liturgical alignment, we can subsequently identify the precise nature and extent of local adaptations within the manuscript.

The First and Forth Sunday of Advent is significant because it initiates the *Temporale* in most medieval English breviaries. Margot Fassler emphasizes Advent's structural and textual consistency across various Uses, making it an ideal candidate for comparative liturgical analysis[389]. Responsory series from Advent, due to their standardized canonical forms and embedded rubrical guidance, provide reliable benchmarks for distinguishing between Sarum, York, and Hereford traditions. The stability of these texts makes them highly diagnostic for assessing the liturgical identity of Pn12036.

To refine distinctions beyond this common ground, the analysis of the Office for Holy Thursday (Maundy Thursday) as a secondary reference point. Holy Thursday is strategically chosen because the divergences between Sarum and Hereford Uses become most pronounced in Holy Week. As Bishop Edmund observes, the Hereford Use also shows its strong affinity with the Rouen during Holy Week – even though Sarum and Hereford broadly resemble each other otherwise[390]. By comparing the responsory series and structural rubrics of Holy Thursday in Pn12036 against known Sarum and Hereford patterns, we can more confidently distinguish Sarum alignment from any potential Hereford overlaps. Focusing on this critical day's office thus helps avoid analytical bias, ensuring that Pn12036's apparent Sarum usage is confirmed on a point where a Hereford tradition would noticeably diverge.

Ricard Pfaff's hierarchical model of liturgical uniformity provides a theoretical foundation for this methodological choice. Pfaff asserts that liturgical manuscripts show decreasing uniformity in four dimensions: the presence of feasts (contents), their overall liturgical structure, the specific sung texts (responsories, antiphons), and the most variable lessons and prayers[391]. Within this framework, responsories are notably stable due to their liturgical importance, canonical texts, and elaborate musical forms.

Salisbury adapts Pfaff's framework by proposing a further subdivision within the dimension of texts. Specifically, Salisbury suggests separating texts into "sungtexts" (primarily responsory series) and lessons[392]. Responsories, due to their liturgical function, canonical association, and elaborate structure, exhibit greater textual stability compared to lessons and other textual

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[389] Margot Fassler, "Sermons, Sacramentaries, and early sources for the office in the Latin west: the example of Advent." In *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography.* eds. Margot Fassler and Rebecca Baltzer. (Oxford University Press 2000), 15-47.

[390] Edmund Bishop, "Holy Week Rites of Sarum, Hereford and Rouen Compared" In *Liturgica Historica Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of The Western Church* (Oxford, 1918).

[391] Pfaff. The Liturgy in Medieval England. 429

[392] Salisbury, the Secular Liturgical Office. 156.

elements. According to Salisbury, these responsory series serve as essential textual markers that reliably distinguish specific Uses, even amidst broader manuscript variations. This methodological refinement emphasizes the necessity of rigorously analyzing responsory sequences and recognizing their unique textual and musical stability as a foundational diagnostic criterion. This refinement enables the current study to discern more precisely the liturgical identity of Pn12036 and establishes the groundwork for a nuanced comparative analysis.

The comparative procedure unfolds systematically in two interconnected steps. Firstly, a reference grid will be constructed for each selected feast—Advent Sunday and the Holy Thursday. This grid will consolidate parallel responsory sequences from a carefully curated selection of sources representing each liturgical Use. For Sarum, these sources include Frere's *Antiphonale*, the 1519/20 printed Sarum Antiphonal. York will be represented by the 1493 Venice Breviary, while Hereford's practice will draw on the 1505 breviary.

Subsequently, Pn12036's Matins responsories will be cross-examined against these constructed reference sequences. This second step involves careful scrutiny of responsory order and textual content, matching incipits and terminations, and noting any variations in rubric.

2. Early Sarum Features and Transitional Traces

While this initial framework confirms Sarum alignment, it remains unclear which phase of Sarum development Pn12036 reflects—whether it represents a standardized tradition or an earlier, more fluid stage. The next step isolates distinctive textual and musical features to clarify this position.

The analysis is centered on two widely celebrated liturgical Offices – those of St Nicholas (December 6) and St Cecilia (November 22) – in order to determine whether manuscript Pn 12036 reflects an early Sarum stage. The Offices for these saints in Pn 12036 are compared against multiple representative Sarum witnesses from different periods, examining their textual contents, musical elements, and rubrical instructions. In particular, five comparison sources are selected (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Five Witnesses of the Sarum Office

Collection	**Manuscript shelf number**	**Date**	**Provenance and notes**
Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales	MS 20541.E, the 'Penpont Antiphonal'	14th cent.	Associated with Brecon/Talgarth
Cambridge, University Library	MS Mm.II.9	13th cent.	Allegedly Barnwell, Cambs; Frere's main source for the

			Antiphonale Sarisburiense
Chippenham, Wiltshire and Swindon Archives	MS Additional 2602; WSA 9-14-338d–g, 9-24-460, 9-15-57, the 'Seymour' Sanctorale fragments	13th–14th cent.	Used in Springfield, Essex; Salisbury Cathedral? Then Bedwyn, Wilts
Oxford, Bodleian Library	MS Laud misc. 299	15th cent.	East Anglia, then Launton, Oxon
Produced by Wolfgang Hopyl in Paris	s.n., 1519/20 Antiphonal((STC 15790/15790a))	16th cent.	Two-volume printed work; chants for Sarum Office

For each of these sources, the complete series of chants for St Nicholas and St Cecilia – especially the Matins responsories and their verses – are collated. By examining the texts of the chants (including their order and wording), the melodic material (as far as it is preserved) in each source, the study will isolate how Pn 12036's Offices align or diverge from established Sarum patterns.

The primary reason for this case study is to test a common assumption in prior scholarship: namely, that Pn 12036 is a Sarum book simply because it exhibits outward identifiers of the Sarum liturgy. Earlier commentators have generally identified Pn 12036 as following the Use of Sarum based on superficial cues – for example, Delisle and Leroquais identified the Holy Week liturgy as Sarum-based[393].This reflects a broader conventional narrative that the liturgy of Salisbury Cathedral (the Sarum Use) was adopted uniformly across medieval British isle, resulting in identical contents in all "Sarum" manuscripts. However, this assumption needs to be scrutinized: simply bearing the label "*secundum usum Sarum*" does not guarantee that a manuscript like Pn 12036 preserves the nuances of an early Sarum tradition. It could instead represent a later standardized version or incorporate local adaptations. By undertaking a detailed comparative analysis, the study moves beyond superficial identification to determine which stage of Sarum tradition Pn 12036 actually reflects.

The Offices for St Nicholas and St Cecilia provide ideal comparative points because these saints were universally celebrated across Sarum sources, resulting in well-documented textual and melodic traditions. These Offices are extensively attested in manuscripts spanning multiple centuries, allowing robust chronological comparisons. Additionally, responsory series and their textual stability serve as reliable indicators of liturgical consistency and variation across manuscripts. Textual stability provides a strong baseline for comparison, while melodic variations—especially in early manuscripts—may offer nuanced insights into Pn12036's specific affiliations.

[393] Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques De France*. vols. IV,382-384.

Previous scholarship alerts us that musical evidence may tell a more complex story even when texts align. Musicologists such as John Harper and Matthew Cheung Salisbury have shown that while the texts of Sarum Office chants (e.g. the responsory lyrics) tend to remain consistent across different manuscripts, the musical settings of those texts can vary considerably from one manuscript to another[394]. In particular, Salisbury's research on Sarum *Sanctorale* Offices demonstrates that there is usually a "main" melody for each chant, yet a significant degree of melodic variation exists among the various sources, reflecting local transmission and embellishment[395].-Moreover, as Sarum Use developed through the late Middle Ages, later redactors and editors smoothed out much of this melodic diversity in an effort to standardize the rite. By the early 16th century, printers produced Sarum service books that were the result of authoritative redaction and careful regularization of the chant melodies[396]. In short, later Sarum sources tend to exhibit more uniform melodies, whereas earlier manuscripts often preserve divergent local melodic readings. This has direct implications for Pn 12036: if it indeed represents an early Sarum stage, we might expect it to share in that earlier melodic variety (or unique local readings), rather than matching the uniform tunes found in late printed Sarum books. Thus, a detailed comparison of even the fragmentary musical evidence in Pn 12036 with that of other sources is crucial. It provides a window into whether Pn 12036's chant melodies (insofar as they can be recovered from marginal notation) align with an older stratum of Sarum practice or with the later "ironed-out" version of the tradition.

To determine whether Pn 12036 aligns with an early Sarum stage or a later one, the study employs a step-by-step comparative methodology that isolates textual and musical adaptations: First, the Matins responsory series (with their verses) for the Offices of St Nicholas and St Cecilia are transcribed from each witness (Pn 12036 and the five comparison sources). These transcriptions are then aligned in parallel, allowing item-by-item comparison. This reveals whether Pn 12036 contains the full complement and the same ordering of chants as the other sources. Any differences in the order or content of the responsories (for example, if Pn 12036 omits a responsory present elsewhere, or has them in a different sequence) can thus be immediately identified.

Next, the texts of each corresponding chant (e.g. the Latin verses of each antiphons) are compared across the sources. Because the basic texts are expected to be stable in the Sarum tradition, special attention is paid to any textual variants or extra phrases that could signal an older or localized version[397].

[394] Salisbury, "Stability and Variation". 6
[395] ibid. 25-26.
[396] Salisbury, the Secular Liturgical Offices.245.
[397] ibid. 248.

Since Pn 12036 is not a fully notated music book and preserves only marginal musical notations (indicating the opening and ending pitches of each chant), the musical comparison focuses on these incipits and any noted cadential formulas. For each antiphons in the Office, the initial melodic gesture recorded in Pn 12036's margin is compared to the opening melody of the same responsory in the fully notated Sarum sources. Similarly, if Pn 12036's marginalia preserve the final cadence or a distinctive melismatic ending, these are compared across witnesses. Although limited, these musical data points are often diagnostic: matching incipits or cadences can demonstrate affinity between Pn 12036's melodies and those of a given source, whereas discrepancies may reveal an older melodic variant. Through this process, we can discern whether Pn 12036 consistently follows the "standard" Sarum tunes (as found in later sources) or if it echoes melodic readings seen only in earlier or regionally distinct manuscripts.

Finally, the collected evidence is used to group the various witnesses into chronological-liturgical categories based on their shared features. Broadly, earlier research suggests that Sarum Office sources fall into three evolutionary groups[398], and the present analysis adopts a similar framework. Manuscripts that preserve the earliest layer of Sarum usage, often marked by greater textual conservatism and local melodic variants——belong to this group: such as MS Mm.II.9, which is believed to reflect the Sarum Office as it stood in the 13th–early 14th century, close to Salisbury Cathedral's original practice.

The second group includes sources that exemplify the generic, uniform Sarum liturgy as it became widely promulgated in the later 14th and 15th centuries. These manuscripts show a largely harmonized text and chant repertoire across different locales. Examples include the Seymour fragment and such printed books as the Sarum Antiphonal of 1519–20, which reflect efforts to trace diversity in order to standardize the rite and display the normalized Sarum Office pattern with fewer local deviations.

With these groupings established, Pn 12036 can then be positioned in the continuum. Does its pattern of chants and melodic clues align it with the Old Sarum stage, suggesting it preserves earlier locally inflected practices? Or does it correspond more closely to the standard mid-period Sarum, implying it is a product of the widespread uniform tradition? Perhaps it even shows signs of the late Sarum/local variation stage. By observing which cluster of manuscripts Pn 12036 most closely resembles (in terms of both text sequence and melodic incipits), the analysis will isolate any adaptations in this manuscript. In other words, this method highlights whether Pn 12036 contains archaic or unusual features absent from later sources – features that would indicate an early Sarum affinity – or whether it simply mirrors the established standard repertoire.

[398] ibid. lv.

3. Interpreting Blended Elements

While the previous comparisons have focused on identifying Sarum's structural presence and its developmental stage in Pn12036, the next phase of analysis turns to features that deviate from Sarum norms—revealing how local traditions and external influences were integrated into the liturgical identity of St Andrews. This section examines the liturgical calendar and saints in *Sanctorale* of Pn12036 alongside the litany of St Andrews in F-Pn lat. 1218. The goal is to compare Pn12036's calendar entries with the normative Sarum, York and Benedictine calendars preserved in medieval breviaries, antiphonals, and related Sarum manuscripts. In essence, Pn12036 and Pn1218 provides a glimpse into the local Use of St Andrews, which can be measured against the broader English usages (Sarum, York) to identify unique or divergent feasts. By comparing these sources with Sarum, York, and Benedictine liturgical frameworks, this analysis aims to identify not only textual and calendrical variation, but also how such variation reflects regional identity, institutional autonomy, and political strategy[399].

Pn12036 represents a uniquely valuable witness; paired with the litany (Pn1218), it provides key insights into St Andrews' liturgical calendar. While the major medieval English "Uses" (such as Sarum and York) share a common core of feasts – indeed, scholars have shown that about 303 out of 365 days (≈83%) of the year are observed in common across Sarum, York, and Benedictine calendars, mostly tracing back to the universal Roman liturgical cycle[400]– each Use and each region maintained distinctive features in its calendar. Certain feasts appear exclusively in Sarum, York or Benedictine sources, and local institutions often introduced patronal feasts or regional saints. Moreover, not every manuscript's calendar is "complete" or standardized; a given book might omit saints (even a titular patron) or include additional entries, depending on local circumstances. These variations are not random – they reflect regional and institutional influences, which is why comparing Pn12036 to Sarum, York and Benedictine norms can help identify what is uniquely "St Andrews" about it. Local feasts, church dedications, diocesan synodal railings, and political context decrees could modify a general-use calendar, and such modifications become valuable clues for geographical or institutional identification[401]. In short, by observing where Pn12036 diverges from the common calendar template, we uncover the blending of broader liturgical tradition with local custom – essentially, the fingerprint of St Andrews's liturgical identity.

To systematically highlight Pn12036's local features, the analysis will compare fests in its *Sanctorale* and their calendrical ranking. The methodology uses calendar inclusion and hierarchical rank as indicators of regional and institutional identity, involving a side-by-side

[399] Salisbury, the Secular Liturgical Office. 44.
[400] ibid.81.
[401] ibid. 114.

comparison of feast entries in Pn12036 with those found in Sarum and York sources. It assesses both the presence or absence of specific saints and the liturgical status assigned to each.

While the Office of St Andrew represents the most distinctive local liturgical feature of Pn12036, it is not included in this section. Its centrality to St Andrews' institutional identity and its development under episcopal leadership have already been widely addressed in the scholarship, particularly by Steiner and Everist[402]. Furthermore, this topic was discussed in detail in Chapter 1 of this dissertation, which explores the cult of St Andrew as a focal point of Scottish religious reform and royal patronage. The present section instead focuses on lesser-studied features of the manuscript that reveal localized adaptation within a Sarum framework.

A first-level diagnostic involves checking which feasts Pn12036 includes or omits relative to Sarum, York, and Benedictine calendars. While a single deviation is not definitive—as Salisbury cautions—patterns of inclusion and exclusion can reveal regional trends or institutional preferences[403]. For example, omission of a universally observed York feast, or inclusion of a locally venerated saint not typical of Sarum, may signal adaptation to local devotional culture or ecclesiastical agendas.

Beyond mere inclusion, comparative ranking examines how prominently feasts are observed in Pn12036 relative to Sarum standards. In medieval calendars, feasts were assigned ranks (e.g. Double Feast, Octave, lesser commemoration) that indicated their liturgical weight. Comparative ranking involves checking whether Pn12036 upgrades or downgrades the importance of certain feasts. For instance, does it mark a feast as a high-ranking Double (with greater ceremony) when the usual Sarum Use might treat it as a lesser feast? Such discrepancies can reveal local priorities: a higher rank often reflects stronger local devotion or patronal significance, whereas a lower rank might suggest the feast held secondary importance locally. Using this criterion, Special attention is given to saints such as St Etheldreda, whose elevated status in Pn12036 reflects more than English transmission; it suggests either intentional alignment with East Anglian Benedictine traditions or a broader institutional interest in emphasizing certain cults[404].

The final diagnostic involves variation in the textual structure of feasts. As Salisbury demonstrates in his study of St Thomas Becket, divergences in the content and emphasis of liturgical offices frequently correspond to political or ecclesiastical tensions—especially those involving Canterbury, York, and competing regional centres[405]. This analysis applies that insight

[402] Everist, 'the Original of W1'. Steiner, Notre Dame in Scotland.
[403] Salisbury, the Secular Liturgical Office.81
[404] Steiner, Notre Dame in Scotland. 202-3.
[405] Salisbury, The Secular Liturgical Office. 145.

to Pn12036: if textual divergences can be linked to known political dynamics or institutional allegiances, they may reveal conscious strategies of alignment or distinction.

The presence of saints who are not part of the universal or typical Sarum cycle – especially local or regional saints – is a strong indicator of geographic influence. Pn12036 contains feasts for saints who were particularly venerated in England (or specific English regions) rather than universally. For example, the inclusion of St Edmund (King and martyr of East Anglia), St Oswald (Northumbrian saint) aligns with features seen in English calendars, suggesting an English regional influence on the St Andrews liturgy. Most notably, the feast of St Etheldreda (abbess of Ely) appears in Pn12036 – with a full proper office – significant because Etheldreda was a patronal saint of the Ely diocese in East Anglia.

Earlier scholars such as Heinrich Husman noted the inclusion of Etheldreda and speculated on a direct Ely influence[406]; however, as Steiner argues, the lack of exact correspondence with the Ely Breviary suggests that Pn12036's adoption of Etheldreda is more likely part of a broader regional trend—namely, Benedictine influence—rather than a direct copy. Tracing St Etheldreda across various manuscripts illustrates chronological development: the early 13th-century manuscript CUL Mm.II.9 excludes her, whereas Pn12036 (mid-13th century) includes her. Salisbury identifies Etheldreda's increasing presence in later East Anglian calendars (e.g., Norwich, Ely)[407], evident in shared features with Barnwell and Ely priories from the 14th to 15th centuries. This suggests St Andrews adopted her feast at an early stage, reflecting either Benedictine ties or a broader regional trend toward the inclusion of certain Anglo-Saxon female saints.

Textual variation is not merely the result of scribal divergence—it can also serve as a vehicle for ideological positioning. Salisbury's study of the office of St Thomas Becket in Sarum and York books demonstrates how changes in sung texts often reflect broader political tensions, such as asserting Canterbury's primacy or expressing royal interests[408]. In the Scottish context—where ecclesiastical independence was deeply entwined with national identity—the way St Andrews treated Becket in its liturgy carries particular political weight.

In Pn12036, the Office of St Thomas appears to omit or selectively adopt certain responsories and chants found in English sources. These textual choices may reflect not only liturgical variation but also deliberate resistance to English ecclesiastical authority. By modifying or curating the content of Becket's office, the St Andrews community could affirm Scottish autonomy while still engaging with a popular and politically charged saint. Thus, the

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[406] Heinrich Husmann, "Zur Frage Der Herkunft Der Notre-Dame-Handshrift W1 " In *Musa-Mens-Musici. Im Gedenken an Walther Vetter* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Music, 1969).34.
[407] Salisbury, The Secular Liturgical Office.76.
[408] ibid. 145.

calendar and liturgical content function as more than devotional templates—they become instruments through which institutional identity and political messaging were encoded and performed.

By tracing which feasts are present or absent, how prominently they are ranked, and how certain saints' cults evolve over time, this comparative analysis reveals that Pn12036 is more than a Sarum derivative. Its patterns of inclusion, omission, and textual variation reflect deliberate editorial choices—decisions shaped by geography, institutional memory, and political circumstance. As Salisbury's findings on Becket demonstrate, liturgical calendars encode not only devotional priorities but also ecclesiastical positioning. The calendar in Pn12036 functions as a liturgical fingerprint of St Andrews: one that preserves Sarum structure while embedding local, regional, and political distinctiveness. It affirms that St Andrews was not a passive recipient of Sarum tradition, but an active agent in shaping its own hybrid liturgical identity.

3.2.2 Assembling Sarum: Early Adaptation in Pn 12036

A. Sarum Framework Confirmed

The comparative analysis of Pn 12036 against Sarum, York, and Hereford sources provides clear evidence that its Office structure aligns closely with the Sarum Use— particularly in its series of Matins responsories for the *Temporale*. To test this, responsory series for three key occasions – the First Sunday of Advent, the Fourth Sunday of Advent, and Maundy Thursday (Holy Thursday) – were transcribed from Pn 12036 and a range of Sarum, York, and Hereford books. These included Frere's *Antiphonal*, the 1519–1520 *Sarum Antiphonal*, the 1493 Venice breviary (York Use), the 1505 *Hereford Breviary*, as well as two medieval manuscripts: Hereford Cathedral MS P.IX.7 and Worcester Cathedral MS Q.86. The texts of the responsories were then compared across these sources. The results show that Pn 12036 is overwhelmingly "Sarum" in content: it shares the vast majority of its Matins responsories with Sarum liturgical books, with much smaller overlaps with York or Hereford traditions.(Table 3.2)

Table 3.2 Responsory series compared. The columns give series for Pn12036, Sarum , York and Hereford; along with the text of the responsory , the text of the verse follow V. Here.
Advent I

Pn12036	**Sarum**	**York**	**Hereford**
Aspiciens a longe V. Quique terrigine	Aspiciens a longe V. Quique terrigine	Aspiciens a longe V. Quique terrigine	Aspiciens a longe V. Quique terrigine
Aspiciens a longe V. Qui regis	Aspiciebam in visu V. Potestas eius	Aspiciebam in visu V. Potestas eius	Aspiciebam in visu V. Potestas eius

Aspiciens a longe V. Excita domine	Missus est gabriel V. Dabit ei	Missus est gabriel V. Dabit ei	Missus est gabriel V. Dabit ei
Salvatorem expectamus V. Sobire et	Ave maria gratia V. Quomodo fiet	Ave maria gratia V. Quomodo fiet	Ave maria gratia V. Quomodo fiet
Audite verbum domini V. Annunciate et	Suscipe verbum virgo V. Paries quidem	Salvatorem expectamus V. Sobrie et	Suscipe verbum virgo V. Paries quidem
Ecce virgo concipiet V. Super solium	Salvatorem expectamus V. Sobrie et	Audite verbum domini V. Annunciate et	Salvatorem expectamus V. Sobrie et
Letentur celi V. Orietur in	Audite verbum domini V. Annunciate et	Ecce virgo concipiet V. Super solium	Audite verbum domini V. Annunciate et
Obsecro domine V. A solis ortu	Ecce virgo concipiet V. Super solium	Obsecro domine V. A solis ortu	Ecce virgo concipiet V. Super solium
Alieni non transibunt V. Ego veniam dicit dominus et sanabo	Letentur celi V. Orietur in	Letentur celi V. Orietur in	Letentur celi V. Orietur in

Advent IV

Pn12036	**Sarum**	**York**	**Hereford**
Canite tuba in syon V. Annunciate in finibus	Canite tuba in syon V. Annunciate in finibus	Canite tuba in syon V. Annunciate in finibus	Canite tuba in syon V. Annunciate in finibus
Octava decima die V. Ego enim sum	Octava decima die V. Ego enim sum	Octava decima die V. Ego enim sum	Octava decima die V. Ego enim sum
Non auferetur sceptrum V. Pulcriores sunt	Non auferetur sceptrum V. Pulcriores sunt	Non auferetur sceptrum V. Pulcriores sunt	Non auferetur sceptrum V. Pulcriores sunt
Me oportet minui V. Hoc est	Me oportet minui V. Hoc est	Me oportet minui V. Hoc est	Me oportet minui V. Hoc est
Ecce iam veniet V. Propter nimiam	Ecce iam veniet V. Propter nimiam	Virgo israel revertere V. In caritate	Ecce iam veniet V. Propter nimiam
Virgo israel revertere V. In caritate	Virgo israel revertere V. In caritate	Iuravi dicit dominus V. Iuxta est	Virgo israel revertere V. In caritate
Iuravi dicit dominus V. Iuxta est	Iuravi dicit dominus V. Iuxta est	Non discedimus V. Domine deus	Iuravi dicit dominus V. Iuxta est
Intuemini quantus sit V. Et dominabitur	Intuemini quantus sit V. Et dominabitur	Intuemini quantus sit V. Et dominabitur	Intuemini quantus sit V. Et dominabitur
Montes Israel ramos V. Rorate celi	Montes Israel ramos V. Rorate celi	Nascetur nobis V. In ipso	Montes Israel ramos V. Rorate celi

Maundy Thursday

Pn12036	**Sarum**	**York**	**Hereford**
In monte oliveti V. Verumptamen	In monte oliveti V. Verumptamen	In monte oliveti V. Verumptamen	In monte oliveti V. Verumptamen
Tristis est anima V. Ecce	Tristis est anima V. Vigilate et orate	Tristis est anima V. Vigilate et orate	Unus ex discipulis V. Qui intingit

appropinquabit(Mm II.9)			
Ecce vidimus eum V. Vere languores	Ecce vidimus eum V. Vere languores	Ecce vidimus eum V. Vere languores	Tristis est anima V. Ecce appropinquabit
Unus ex discipulis V. Qui intingit	Unus ex discipulis V. Qui intingit	Unus ex discipulis V. Qui intingit	Seniores populi V. Congregaverunt
Iudas mercator V. Avaricie inebriatus	Iudas mercator V. Avaricie inebriatus	Eram quasi agnus V. Omnes inimici	Una hora non V. Dormite iam
Una hora non V. Dormite iam(Mm.II.9)	Una hora non V. Quid dormitis	Una hora non V. Quid dormitis	Tradiderunt me V. Astiterunt reges
Seniores populi V. Cogngregaverunt(Mm. II.9)	Seniores populi V. Cogitaverunt	Seniores populi V. Cogitaverunt	Iudas mercator V. Avaricie inebriatus
O iuda qui dereliquisti V. Os tuum	O iuda qui dereliquisti V. Os tuum	Revelabunt celi V. In die perdicionis	O iuda qui dereliquisti V. Os tuum
Revelabunt celi V. In die perdicionis	Revelabunt celi V. In die perdicionis	O iuda qui dereliquisti V. Os tuum	Revelabunt celi V. In die perdicionis

In Advent, the Sarum, York, and Hereford Uses share much of the same repertory of Matins responsories, though with some reordering and minor textual differences. When we set aside the exact order of chants and consider just textual matches for the First and Fourth Sundays of Advent, it becomes evident that the Hereford Use is significantly closer to Sarum than York is. According to our analysis (see Table 1), the Hereford tradition shares about 94% of its Advent I and IV responsory texts with Sarum, whereas the York Use concords with Sarum in only around 72% of case. In practical terms, York diverges by including a few different responsories or additional items—and often places them in a different sequence—whereas Hereford's selection is nearly identical to Sarum's. Against this backdrop, Pn 12036 stands out for its strong Sarum alignment. It reproduces 13 responsories that exactly match those found in the Sarum sources for Advent I and IV, essentially mirroring the Sarum series. In contrast, the correspondences between Pn 12036 and the York or Hereford repertories are notably fewer. This strongly suggests that the compiler of Pn 12036 was following a Sarum framework for the Advent offices. Overall, the Advent comparison underscores that Pn 12036 is structurally a Sarum antiphoner in its *Temporale* offices, with only minimal deviation.

One notable deviation appears at the very end of the Advent series. The final responsory recorded for Advent in Pn 12036 is *Alieni non transibunt* V. *Ego veniam, dicit Dominus, et sanabo* (CAO 6066). This responsory is entirely absent from the standard Sarum, York, and Hereford Advent offices—none of those traditions include *Alieni non transibunt* for Advent. Its presence in Pn 12036 appears to be a local or monastic addition. In fact, the earliest known source for *Alieni*

non transibunt is from the Abbey of Saint-Martial in Limoges: it occurs in Paris, BnF lat. 1085, an abbreviated antiphoner from the Basilica of the Holy Savior (*Sancti Salvatoris*) in the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Martial, dating to the late 10th century[409]. The inclusion of this responsory—which has its roots in the Benedictine monastic tradition—suggests that Pn 12036 preserves traces of non-Sarum influence, likely drawn from older monastic repertories. This is further supported by the presence of second and third verses for some Advent responsories in Pn 12036—features characteristic of early medieval Benedictine antiphoners, which often provided multiple versicles for each great responsory[410]. In other words, while the core of Pn 12036's Advent office is Sarum, the manuscript integrates a few elements that reveal enduring Benedictine influence within its chant collection. These influences likely stem from the compiler's access to older monastic chant traditions or sources that predate the codification of Sarum Use.

A similar pattern emerges in the comparison of the Holy Thursday (Maundy Thursday) Matins responsories. Pn 12036 again shows a closer affinity to Sarum than to York or Hereford. Out of the traditional set of nine Matins responsories for the Triduum, Pn 12036 shares six responsory texts with the Sarum *Antiphonal* for Maundy Thursday, whereas its overlap with York and Hereford on that day is more limited (each of those Uses features a slightly different Holy Thursday series). Notably, three of the responsory verses in Pn 12036's Holy Thursday office—specifically the verses for the 2nd, 6th, and 7th responsories—do not match those found in the later printed Sarum books, but instead correspond to the versions preserved in the Cambridge University Library MS Mm.ii.9. Salisbury has shown through textual, musical, and rubrical analysis that MS Mm.ii.9 represents an early form of the Sarum Office, indicating that the core Sarum repertoire had largely crystallized by the early 1200s[411]. The fact that Pn 12036's Maundy Thursday responsory verses agree with Mm.ii.9 (rather than with later printed Sarum books suggests that Pn 12036 is rooted in an older stratum of the Sarum tradition. In essence, Pn 12036 preserves archaic Sarum practices that were later altered or standardized in 16th-century printed editions. This reinforces the view that Pn 12036 was not copied blindly from contemporary printed books, but drew on earlier Sarum exemplars.

Having established that Pn 12036 aligns most consistently with the Sarum Use—particularly in its *Temporale* responsory structure—this section now turns to examine which stage of Sarum development it most closely represents.

B. Adaptation Through Later Musical Layers

[409] Lila Collamore, Aquitanian Collections of Office Chants: A Comparative Survey. (Ph.D. dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 2000).
[410] ibid.
[411] Salisbury, "Stability and Variation".

In side-by-side comparisons, the musical incipits and cadential formulas of the Offices of St. Cecilia and St. Nicholas in Pn 12036 and other Sarum sources appear virtually identical across manuscripts. This remarkable consistency indicates that the melodies had become highly standardized, making them ineffective as reliable clues for dating or localizing the manuscript. Essentially, the chants in Pn 12036 affirm its general affiliation with the Sarum tradition but do not uniquely specify its precise origin or date. The uniformity in melodies suggests that regional or temporal differences were expressed through textual and structural details rather than musical variations. Therefore, melodic analysis alone cannot definitively determine the manuscript's chronology or provenance, prompting further investigation into textual and codicological evidence.

In contrast, the textual analysis of Pn 12036 reveals a liturgical layer that is recognizably Sarum Use yet not entirely "standard" by later measures, pointing to a transitional stage of Sarum's development. The manuscript's *Sanctorale* is "basically Sarum but with some unusual…items" that do not appear in fully normalized Sarum books[412]. These unusual details suggest Pn 12036 was copied while the Sarum liturgy was still coalescing into its standard form. Notably, the office of Cecilia, fully represented in Pn 12036 with nine proper lessons, differs from Mm. II.9, which includes only six antiphons. Pn12036 and other manuscripts expanded on Mm. II.9 by adding three antiphons—later adopted as the standard form in the printed 1519/20 *Antiphonal*(Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 Text of Matins Antiphon, the Office of St Cecilia in Five Witnesses

the antiphonal for caecilia	**Mm.II.9**	**Pn12036**	**MS 20541.E/Seymour/ Laud misc. 299**
MA1	Caecilia virgo Almachium	Caecilia virgo Almachium	Caecilia virgo Almachium
MA2	Expansis manibus orabat ad	Expansis manibus orabat ad	Expansis manibus orabat ad
MA3	Cilicio Caecilia membra	Cilicio Caecilia membra	Cilicio Caecilia membra
MA4	Biduanis ac triduanis	Biduanis ac triduanis(no music or staff lines)	Biduanis ac triduanis
MA5		Biduanis ac triduanis	
MA6	Fiat domine cor meum et	Fiat domine cor meum et	Fiat domine cor meum et
MA7	Domine Jesu Christe seminator	Domine Jesu Christe seminator	Domine Jesu Christe seminator
MA8		Beata caecilia dixit ad	Beata caecilia dixit ad
MA9		Credimus Christum filium dei	Credimus Christum filium dei

[412] Stephen Mark Holmes, "Catalogue of Liturgical Books and Fragments in Scotland before 1560". *Innes Review*, 62.2 (2012): 127–212.

MA10		Nos scientes sanctum nomen	Nos scientes sanctum nomen

The comparative analysis highlights that Pn 12036 retains elements such as repeated use of "*Biduanis ac triduanis*," which later Sarum manuscripts omit. This repetition suggests that Pn 12036 reflects an older stage of Sarum practice, preceding complete textual standardization. Unlike later standardized Sarum sources, which exhibit more consolidated forms, Pn 12036 preserves additional repetitions and traditional lesson counts—features indicative of its origin in an earlier, less uniform Sarum context. Thus, textual evidence positions Pn 12036 firmly within the Sarum liturgical tradition, but at an intermediate phase: after Sarum's initial dissemination, yet before its full standardization.

The codicological and scribal evidence reinforces this interpretation, highlighting chronological layering in the manuscript's production. The primary textual layer was copied by a single main scribe, likely in the early 13th century, without musical notation. Two subsequent scribes later contributed musical incipits and terminations for the antiphons. Notably, Scribe 3 entered and revisited musical notation in a selective manner. This later annotator added Sarum-compliant musical incipits and cadential cues for the antiphons – writing the standard opening notes in the margins – yet tellingly left certain staff-lines empty where the manuscript's older textual content diverged from contemporary Sarum norms. For example, the first occurrence of *Biduanis ac triduanis* lacks musical incipits and terminations, while the second instance includes them. Avril and Stirnemann suggest that this third scribe worked shortly after the main hand[413], while Steiner proposes a significantly later date—approximately fifty years after the initial text (around 1250)[414]. Historical context supports Steiner's later dating: Dunkeld Cathedral possibly adopted Sarum Use by 1249, and Glasgow Cathedral explicitly adopted Sarum statutes by 1258[415], reflecting increasing standardization of Sarum in mid-13th century Scotland.

The musical uniformity and textual gaps indicate that portions of the earlier manuscript had fallen out of standard liturgical use by the time the later scribe worked. Where Pn 12036 texts correspond with established Sarum chants, Scribe 3 inserted appropriate melodies. This dual chronological layering indicates that Pn 12036 preserves earlier transitional textual practices, modified through melodic standardization aligning with mid-13th-century Sarum norms. The manuscript thus embodies an evolution in liturgical practice, with earlier textual elements

[413] Avril and Stirnemann, Manuscrits Enluminés D'origine Insulaire, VIIe-XXe Siècle, Manuscrits Enluminés de La Bibliothèque Nationale. 60
[414] Steiner, Notre Dame in Scotland. 207
[415] Ferguson, *Medieval Papal Representatives*. 152-3. Isobel Woods identified the Inchcolm Antiphoner—a 14th-century manuscript—as the definitive marker of Sarum Use's adoption in Scotland. see "'Our Awin Scottis Use", 21–37;

reflecting a formative stage of the Sarum tradition, and later musical additions conforming to a more systematized Sarum Use.

Following Salisbury's framework of liturgical development[416], the notated layer in Pn 12036 aligns with Sarum's second stage, characterized by increasing uniformity. Consequently, Pn 12036 serves as a composite witness: its texts reflect an early phase of Sarum's liturgical expansion, while the later-added musical notations demonstrate partial adaptation to standardized Sarum practices. Thus, both melodic and textual evidence jointly indicate that Pn 12036 was produced during Sarum's transitional expansion and subsequently revised to align with emerging liturgical norms—a conclusion robustly supported by detailed musical and textual analysis.

C. Local Blending as Liturgical strategy

The liturgical manuscripts from St Andrews (Pn12036 and Pn1218) demonstrate a clear preference for the Sarum Use, intentionally excluding elements from the York tradition. This selective alignment reflects both ecclesiastical traditions and local political considerations, helping to a distinctly Scottish liturgical identity.

A comparative analysis of the saints' calendars in the St Andrews manuscripts against Sarum, York, and Benedictine traditions underscores their pronounced affinity with Sarum, alongside a conscious rejection of York elements(Table 3.4). Feasts that are unique to the Sarum tradition, such as St. Michael on Monte Tumba and the translations of St Etheldreda and St Swithun, appear consistently in the St Andrews sources. Notably, manuscript Pn12036 preserves texts specifically dedicated to Etheldreda and Swithun. In contrast, the feast of St Martin, distinctively associated with York, appears only briefly as a prayer in Pn12036, rather than as the more elaborate nine-lesson office typical in other traditions. Similarly, none of the exclusively Benedictine feasts are observed in these manuscripts from St Andrews, reinforcing the selective adoption of liturgical traditions.

Table 3.4 Feasts Only in Liturgical Uses

Date	Feast	Pn12036	Sarum only	York only	Benedictine only	Sarum and York	Sarum and Benedictine	York and Benedict
08 Jan.	Tr. William			X				
19 Jan.	Wulfstan						X	
30 Jan.	Batildis						X	
04 Feb.	Gilbert			X				

[416] He concluded three stages. See Salisbury, the Secular Liturgical Office. 2.

01 Mar.	David						X	
02 Mar.	Chad						X	
07 Mar.	Perpetua and Felicitas						X	
18 Mar.	Edward king and martyr	X					X	
03 Apr.	Richard		X					
11 Apr.	Guthlac				X			
19 Apr.	Alphege						X	
24 Apr.	Wilfrid			X				
02 May	Athanasius				X			
09 May	Tr. Nicholas		X					
20 May	Ethelbert	X					X	
28 May	Germanus					X		
01 Jun.	Nicomedes					X		
04 Jun.	Petroc			X				
05 Jun.	Boniface					X		
08 Jun.	William			X			X	
08 Jun.	Medard			X				
09 Jun.	Tr. Edmund		X					
16 Jun.	Tr. Richard						X	
17 Jun.	Botulph							X
20 Jun.	Tr. Edward		X					
21 Jun.	Leufrid							X
02 Jul.	Swithun	X	X					
07 Jul.	Tr. Thomas Becket					X		
08 Jul.	Grimbald							
09 Jul.	Everild			X				
11 Jul.	Benedict	X					X	

16 Jul.	Tr. Osmund		X					
17 Jul.	Kenelm						X	
18 Jul.	Arnulph		X					
27 Jul.	7 Sleepers						X	
09 Aug.	Romanus(roman martyr)					X		
23 Aug.	Timothy and Apollinaris		X					
31 Aug.	Cuthberga					X		
03 Sep.	Ordination of Gregory				X			
07 Sep.	Evortius							
10 Sep.	Ethelwold				X			
10 Sep.	Tr. Egwin				X			
13 Sep.	Maurilius			X				
23 Sep.	Tecla					X		
25 Sep.	Firmin					X		
26 Sep.	Cyprian and Justina					X		
02 Oct.	Leodegar						X	
08 Oct.	Pelagia			X				
12 Oct.	Wilfrid							X
16 Oct.	Michael in monte tumba	X	X					
17 Oct.	Tr. Etheldreda	X	X					
19 Oct.	Frideswide		X					
20 Oct.	Austreberta			X				
25 Oct.	Crispin and Crispinian			X			X	
25 Oct.	Tr. John Baptist			X				
03 Nov.	Eustace							X
07 Nov.	Willebrord			X				
10 Nov.	Paulinus							X

10 Nov.	Martin	X		X				
15 Nov.	Machutus(Malo)	X				X		
15 Nov.	Dep. Edmund of Abingdom					X		
17 Nov.	Anianus					X		
26 Nov.	Linus					X		
04 Dec.	Osmund		X					

Further examination reveals that St Andrews predominantly adheres to Sarum practices, with minimal overlap with York or Benedictine Uses. The few shared feasts between Sarum and York that appear in St Andrews sources include St Malo and St Edmund. Meanwhile, the St Andrews manuscripts adopt only select Sarum–Benedictine shared feasts, such as St Benedict and St Edward the King and Martyr—the latter represented solely by a prayer. Feasts common exclusively to York and Benedictine practices are conspicuously absent from St Andrews, highlighting the deliberate choice to align primarily with Sarum norms.

The translation of St Etheldreda provides valuable insight into the transitional liturgical context at St Andrews. In manuscript Pn12036, the office for the translation of St Etheldreda is included in the *Sanctorale* and appears only in Sarum sources. However, the musical notation for her chants is incomplete—blank staves were left by Scribe 3 where Sarum melodies would typically be entered. This omission is significant because, as discussed earlier, Scribe 3 consistently provided musical notation for Sarum-standard texts, suggesting familiarity with the repertoire. The decision to omit notation in this case indicates that Etheldreda's office, while adopted textually, fell outside the Sarum melodic corpus known to the annotator. This supports Steiner's argument that the observance of Etheldreda at St Andrews stemmed from an earlier Benedictine tradition associated with Ely, which had not yet been fully integrated into the Sarum tradition[417].

This finding builds upon Salisbury's broader observation of regional liturgical interaction. He noted connections between East Anglian practices, particularly at Norwich and Ely—and the liturgical customs preserved at Barnwell Priory[418]. While Salisbury dates these shared features to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the inclusion of Etheldreda's office in Pn12036—a manuscript from the early to mid-thirteenth century—suggests that such liturgical exchange

[417] Steiner, Notre Dame in Scotland. 202-203.
[418] Salisbury, the Secular Liturgical Office.76

may have occurred even earlier. The presence of this office, paired with its incomplete Sarum musical adaptation, highlights the persistence of pre-Sarum Benedictine elements in the St Andrews liturgical tradition, revealing a manuscript situated within a transitional phase between regional Benedictine usage and Sarum standardization.

Equally deliberate is the systematic exclusion of York liturgical elements from the St Andrews manuscripts. Political tensions between Scotland and England—particularly opposition from English monarchs and the Archbishop of York, significantly influenced liturgical choices at St Andrews. As Scotland's preeminent ecclesiastical center, St Andrews asserted itself as the primary bishopric, actively resisting York's historical claims of supremacy. By consciously omitting York-specific saints and observances, the clergy at St Andrews expressed a clear assertion of ecclesiastical independence and political autonomy. This exclusion, far from being coincidental, constituted a deliberate political statement embedded within local liturgical practices, a perspective notably articulated by Salisbury[419], who underscores political considerations as integral to manuscript variation.

The cult of St Thomas of Canterbury further exemplifies how liturgy at St Andrews served both devotional and political purposes. King William I dedicated the nearby Arbroath Abbey to St Thomas following his capture by Henry II of England in 1174, thereby establishing Thomas as a significant figure within the local liturgical landscape[420]. This dedication symbolized political solidarity against common adversaries. Reflecting this context, the office for St Thomas in manuscript Pn12036 relies predominantly on French liturgical sources, diverging markedly from standard English (Sarum or York) practices[421]. Remarkably, only one responsory, "*Ex summa rerum*," retains a clear textual connection to English traditions(Appendix D).

A comparative analysis underscores the deliberate editorial decision to adopt continental rather than English liturgical forms, thereby reinforcing political and ecclesiastical independence from English influence.

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[419] Salisbury, the Secular Liturgical Office.

[420] Hammond argued that William I dedicated Arbroath to St. Thomas Becket to win his favour in "Royal and Aristocratic Attitudes to Saints and the Virgin Mary in Twelfth-and Thirteenth-Century Scotland," in *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*. ed. Stephen I. Boardman and Eila Williamson. (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), 76. See also Michael Penman, "Royal Piety in Thirteenth-century Scotland: The Religion and Religiosity of Alexander II (1214-49) and Alexander III (1249-86)," in *Thirteenth Century England XII: Proceedings of the Gregynog Conference 2007*. Eds. Björn K. U. Weiler, Janet Burton, and Phillipp R. Schofield. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press. 2000), 18.

[421] *Studens livor* (TH21) and *Sacrat Thomas primordia (TH22),* the two version also cross-borrows texts and divided into several textual families, their variations widely appeared in Sarum, York and Hereford manuscripts. The office of Thomas Becket in English Uses see Andrew Hughes, 'Chants in the Rhymed Office of St Thomas of Canterbury'*, Early Music*, 16 (1988), 185-202. And *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices* , 2 vols, (Toronto, 1994). Also, Kay Brainerd Slocum, *Liturgies in Honor of Thomas Becket* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

Further illustrating this political symbolism is the unique polyphonic conductus *In rama sonat*, dedicated to St Thomas and prominently featured in W1 (Fascicle X). Highlighted by an ornate initial, this conductus laments Thomas's exile in France. It was likely composed likely before his martyrdom in 1170 and is associated with the Feast of the *Regressio*, celebrated exclusively at Canterbury and Arbroath Abbey[422]. Unlike Sarum or York Uses—which emphasized martyrdom while minimizing political conflict[423]—the St Andrews liturgy explicitly highlighted Thomas's exile and return, symbolizing Scotland's political and religious autonomy from English authority.

The liturgical manuscripts from St Andrews embody a strategic integration of Sarum traditions selectively adapted to assert local identity and political autonomy. The inclusion of Sarum-specific feasts, the persistence of older Benedictine elements, and the exclusion of York liturgical material collectively demonstrate a distinctive Scottish ecclesiastical program. These manuscripts functioned not merely as tools for worship but as vessels of ideological expression, affirming St Andrews' institutional role at the intersection of tradition, local adaptation, and national politics in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

In sum, Pn12036 reveals a liturgical identity at St Andrews grounded in the Sarum Use, yet marked by distinctive textual and calendrical features that reflect both local adaptation and transitional layers of practice. From responsory sequences aligned with early Sarum models to the selective adoption of saints' feasts and melodies, the manuscript captures a hybridized liturgical culture. It demonstrates how Sarum frameworks were not passively received but actively reshaped to reflect regional needs, institutional preferences, and political positioning.

This blending of imported and local liturgical forms finds a compelling parallel in the physical architecture of St Andrews' sacred buildings. Just as the texts and melodies in Pn12036 were negotiated and reconfigured, so too were ritual spaces constructed and adapted to express particular theological and institutional priorities. The following section shifts from manuscript evidence to architectural space, asking how sacred buildings at St Andrews both shaped—and were shaped by—the liturgical practices they were built to serve.

3.3 Sacred Architecture as Liturgical Expression: St Rule's and the Cathedral in Context

Building on the analysis of liturgical hybridity in Pn12036, this section extends the investigation into the realm of sacred architecture, exploring how liturgical practices were

[422] Slocum, Liturgies in Honor of Thomas Becket, 248.
[423] Salisbury, the Secular Liturgical Office. 145-148

materially expressed and spatially negotiated at St Andrews. It examines St Rule's and St Andrews Cathedral as case studies of liturgical hybridity, each revealing a strategic fusion of the imported Sarum rite with indigenous Scottish devotional traditions. St Rule's, likely expended around 1130 as the Augustinian canons' initial church, integrates a Norman architectural plan and prominent tower designed to elevate the cult of St Andrew, even as its liturgy adheres to Sarum norms. Similarly, the later cathedral's elaborate east end—housing the saint's relics—adopted Sarum ceremonial frameworks through multiple altars, choir screens, and defined processional routes, while also accommodating local saints. Both structures exhibit Sarum rites tailored through manuscript adaptations to meet Scottish devotional needs, exemplified by the St Andrews Antiphonal (Pn12036). Methodologically, this analysis employs comparative spatial-liturgical reconstruction, correlating architectural layouts and liturgical manuscripts to illuminate how hybrid liturgical identities were enacted in physical spaces.

3.3.1 St Rule's as Transitional Architecture: Modest Beginnings of a Scottish Sarum

A. Origins and Reformist Strategy

St Rule's Church is one of the earliest ecclesiastical structures associated with Scotland's religious revival and remains the oldest extant church on the eastern headland of St Andrews. Traditionally attributed to Bishop Fothad II (1059–93), its origins may extend even earlier, potentially linked to a Pictish-era monastery mentioned in Irish annals[424]. By the mid-twelfth century, the church came under the stewardship of Robert (1127–59), a former Augustinian prior from Nostell who became bishop of St Andrews and inherited the existing structure. The church— notable for its unusually tall tower—continued to stand within the cathedral precinct even after the construction of its grander successor.

Scholars widely agree that the present form of St Rule's Church is the result of two major construction phases. Architectural analysis reveals inconsistencies in style and construction techniques between the eastern and western sections, particularly around the arches that mark structural transitions[425]. The surviving building comprises two main compartments: the western compartment, forming the base of the tower, and the chancel. A fragment of a priest's door survives in the south wall of the chancel, and traces of a hinge suggest functional zoning related

[424] See the discussion of St Rule's Church in John Bilson, 'Wharram-le-Street Church, Yorkshire, and St Rule's Church, St Andrews', *Archaeologia* 73 (1923), 55–72; *the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland* (RCAHMS) Fife, (London: H.M.S.O. 1911) 228–30; H. M. Taylor and Joan Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (Cambridge, 1965), vol. 2,c. 711–13; Cant, 'The Building of St Andrews Cathedral', in *the Medieval Church of St Andrews, ed.,* David McRobert ed, (Glasgow: Burns.1976). 11–12; Eric Fernie, 'Early Church Architecture in Scotland', in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (PSAS) 116 (1986), 393–411; Heywood, 'The Church of St Rule, St Andrews', 38–46; Cameron, 'St Rule's Church', 367–78.

[425] Heywood, 'The Church of St Rule, St Andrews', 41.

to liturgical use. The central body connects through three primary arches—the western (now blocked), central, and eastern (Figure 3.1). Some foundational evidence suggests that additional architectural elements once extended eastward and westward but were later altered during subsequent construction.

A 13th-century chapter seal offers further insights into the building's evolution. It depicts a church with a central tower and a western extension but omits any eastern chapel beyond the remain chancel, suggesting the expansion was completed—or nearly completed—by that period (Figure 3.2). Documentary sources also note that Bishop Robert undertook a consecration of the extended church, further supporting the notion that the enlargement was carried out under his episcopacy[426].

[426] '*... ut ecclesia videlicet ampliaretur et cultui divino dedicaretur*' in Simon Taylor, with Gilbert Márkus, *The Place-Names of Fife*, Volume 3. (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2009). 604. Skene, Chron. Picts-Scots. 191.

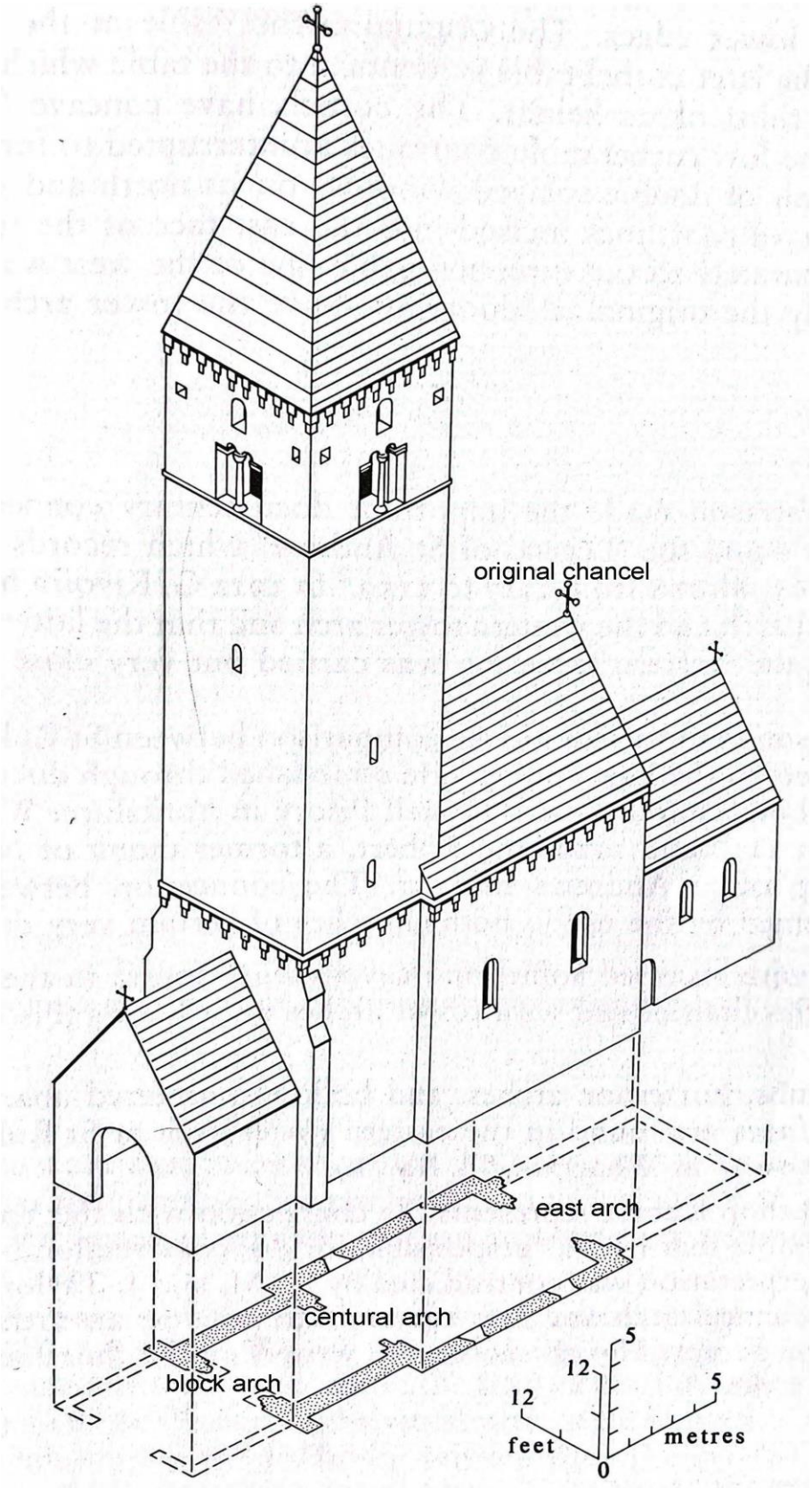

Figure 3.1 *Originally St Rule isometric projection. In Heywood, 'The Church of St Rule, St Andrews' 44.*

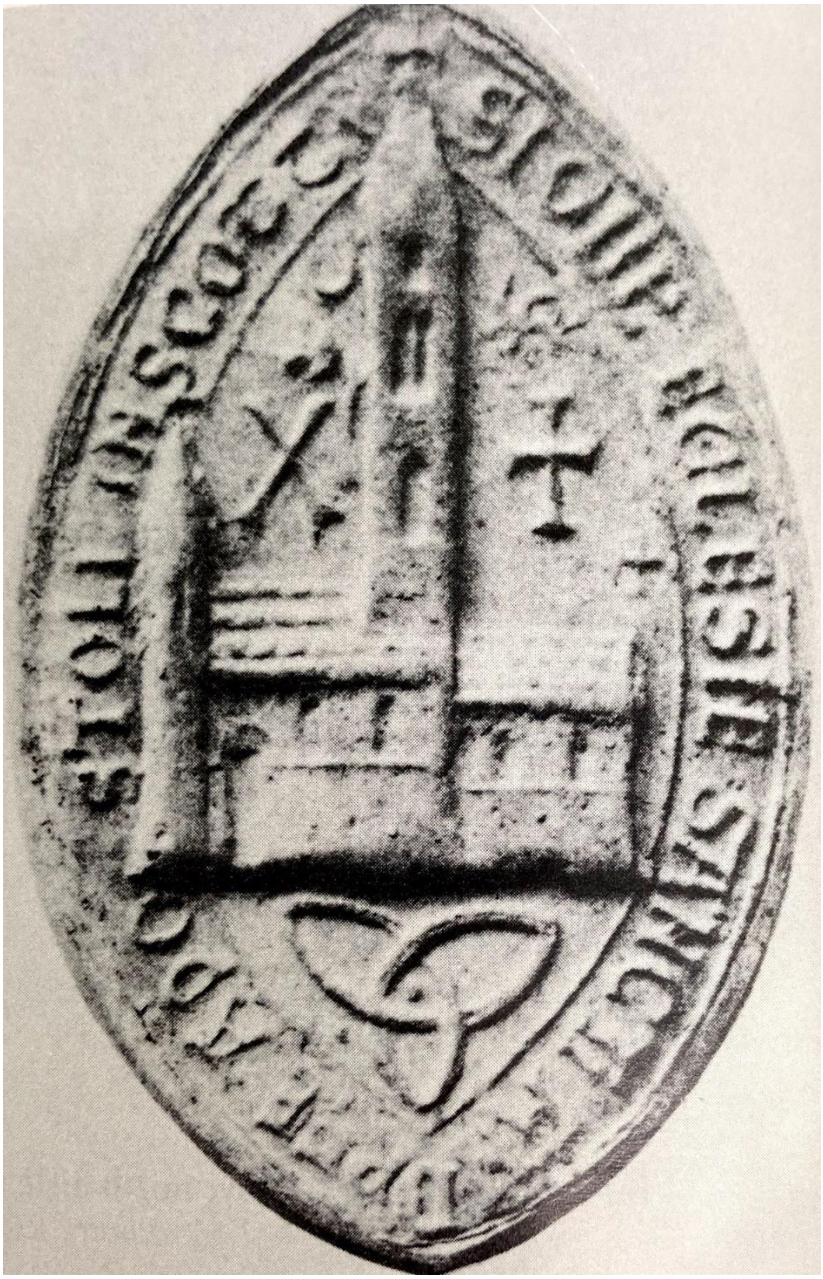

Figure 3.2 St Rule's image on a 13th century chapter seal. By Walter de Gray Birch, and British Library Department of Manuscripts. 1895. Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum. London: British Museum. no.14967

Richard Fawcett and others have proposed that Bishop Robert expanded St Rule's to accommodate the newly arrived Augustinian canons[427]. However, this interpretation warrants revision. As discussed in Chapter 1, Robert was not a typical diocesan bishop but a royal appointee tasked with institutional reform. His mission extended beyond merely providing housing for Augustinians. Rather, his enlargement of St Rule's appears to have served both symbolic and liturgical function: to elevate the status of the cult of St Andrew and to assert episcopal and national prestige through monumental architecture.

Before the Augustinian arrival, St Rule's likely served as the bishop's church and housed the altar and relics of St Andrew. In his writings, Bishop Robert laments the neglect of the St Andrew

[427] Fawcett, "The Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture of St Andrews". 52-3

altar by the existing clerical community, or *personae*, who had appropriated its revenues and gifts for personal use[428]. His reforms were thus both spiritual and institutional, reorienting the church around its founding saint.

Additionally, contemporary evidence suggests that practical accommodations for the Augustinians were arranged elsewhere. A record refers to Brother Robert, a canon of Nostell, who arrived in St Andrews around 1138 to prepare for the new Augustinian community. He resided in the bishop's own quarters—likely within the bishop's castle—accompanied by clerks but not by a full contingent of canons[429]. This further implies that the expansion of St Rule's was not intended primarily for residential or monastic functions, but rather as a liturgical and symbolic centrepiece for Robert's reform agenda.

B. Modifications for Sarum as Secular-Religious Framework

The architectural evolution of St Rule's Church strongly suggests that Bishop Robert's primary aim in extending the building was to create a suitable liturgical stage for the early development of the St Andrews liturgy, centred on the cult of St Andrew. The surviving structure, likely built in two phases during the early to mid-12th century, reflects this functional and symbolic transformation. The central arch is universally agreed to be original, while both the eastern and western arches were inserted shortly thereafter, reusing earlier materials and indicating a deliberate reconfiguration of liturgical space[430]. Robert's extension transformed the church into a fully functioning secular liturgical venue, aligned with canonical and royal reform rather than monastic residence.

The original chancel—now the eastern compartment of the surviving structure—was likely built under Bishop Fothad II, with the central arch marking the eastern boundary of this first phase. It was probably converted into a choir for clergy. Although no internal furnishings survive to confirm the presence of stalls, the architectural layout strongly suggests a ritual hierarchy.

The 13th-century chapter seal omits the small eastern chamber (Figure 2). Heywood suggests this omission implies that the easternmost space had become redundant after the westward extension and that the central chancel had assumed its ritual function[431]. Yet the partial reconstruction of both the eastern and western arches—using reused capitals and jambs—implies ongoing significance and possibly continued access to the easternmost space.

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[428] See chapter2
[429] Skene, *Chron. Picts-Scots*. 192.
[430] Fawcett, 'St Andrews, St Rule's Church and the Cathedral', in N. J. G Pounds, (ed), *The St Andrews Area*: *proceedings of the 137th Summer meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute, 1991* (Leeds, Royal Archaeological Institute, 1991), 38-40.
[431] Heywood, 'The Church of St Rule, St Andrews', 43.

It is likely that relics were housed in this eastern chamber, following a Celtic tradition of eastern veneration that persisted into the 12th century and later influenced the spatial logic of the cathedral itself[432]. This supports the argument that the shrine space remained visually and ritually central despite structural changes.

The western extension, forming a nave approximately 9 meters wide, expanded the internal length of the church to about 38.4 meters(125ft)[433]. Though broader than the original chancel, the nave likely remained aisleless and served as the principal area for the laity, making it a crucial space for processional movement. The nave functioned as the space into which the clergy emerged during rites like the Sunday Aspersion, bringing sacred action into the congregational domain while reinforcing the clergy's role as mediators of grace. A prime example is the Sunday procession： clergy began in the choir, then exited to sprinkle all the altars and the shrine[434], exited to sprinkle all the altars and the shrine[435]. During this passage through the nave, the congregation would be sprinkled with holy water, symbolically marking their entry into the sacred centre of the church. This threshold moment visually underscored clerical authority while spatially enacting the relationship between sacred and lay domains[436]. Thus, the nave's expansion was not merely architectural but ideological, reinforcing Sarum's spatial theology of ordered access to sanctity.

This threefold layout—shrine, choir, nave—did more than articulate basic religious function; it created a visible spatial hierarchy that reflected and reinforced institutional control. The distinct sequencing of spaces clarified the division of sacred roles: clergy within the choir, laity within the nave, and relics enshrined at the eastern focal point. While St Rule's remained a secular church, its spatial logic mirrored that of an emerging cathedral, prefiguring the later development of a fully ordered canonical community. In this way, the structure embodied David I's broader ambitions for an integrated, hierarchically organized Scottish Church, with St Andrews at its ceremonial and ideological centre.

C. Relics as Visual-Political Anchors

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[432]McRoberts suggested that the relics were kept in easternmost area at St. Andrews as a relics chamber what was called the *Morbrac*. *Morbrac* is a Celtic descriptor meaning "great-speckled," probably referring to the jewels on the reliquary. David McRoberts, "The Glorious House of St Andrew," in *The Medieval Church of St. Andrews*, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow: Burns, 1976), 67-99. I will discuss later in the section of St Andrews cathedral.

[433] Cant, "the Building of St Andrews Cathedral", 11. Cameron, 'St Rule's Church in St Andrews, and Early Stone Architecture in Scotland', illus 2. 368.

[434] Given the limited dimensions of St Rule's, it is likely that only the shrine of St Andrew within the church.

[435] Terrence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies. 1971).

[436] C. Clifford Flanigan. "The Moving Subject: Medieval Liturgical Processions in Semiotic and Cultural Perspective." In *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Ed. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken, Ludus 5. (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 2001), 35–51. .

The three arches—the (now-blocked) western, the central, and the eastern—served not only to mark the successive construction phases of St Rule's Church but also to frame a centralized visual axis for the veneration of relics. Cameron has shown that the top of the western arch was deliberately cut down to allow pilgrims standing in the nave to view the shrine of St Andrew through a carefully controlled sightline framed by these three arches[437]. The likely positioning of the high altar, just west of the eastern arch, placed the relics at the focal point of this visual corridor. Even without physical access, pilgrims were thus drawn into a ritual encounter through architectural framing alone.

This visual strategy reflects a Sarum-Norman display logic, in which relics were not merely stored but staged. The alignment of arches created a form of "relic theatrics", similar to those employed in Canterbury's Trinity Chapel, where sacred objects were elevated, illuminated, and revealed in carefully orchestrated liturgical acts. Such visual drama heightened emotional engagement and emphasized the sanctity of the relics[438]. Meanwhile, spatial hierarchy—placing the relics at the far eastern focal point, behind layers of sacred space—reinforced the authority of the clergy and limited the laity's access to symbolic vision alone. In Robert's design, St Rule's became a Scottish cult centre by leveraging this theatrical and hierarchical spatial logic to elevate the cult of St Andrew and underscore the authority of the Augustinian reform program.

Heywood has challenged the functional interpretation of this layout, arguing that the blocked western arch signalled the chancel's continued role as the primary altar space, and that the priest's door marked the original chancel as the liturgical core[439]. However, this view underestimates the ritual demands and architectural logic of Robert's extension. Sealing off the arch would have fragmented the internal flow of the building, making the newly extended nave a disconnected space. This would have directly contradicted the Sarum-influenced processional structure implied by the church's expanded layout.

By the mid-twelfth century, St Andrews was already attracting large numbers of pilgrims. A fully integrated nave-to-shrine axis was not only liturgically coherent but also functionally necessary for managing feast-day crowds and enabling continuous ritual movement. The modest 30-foot chancel alone would have been wholly inadequate for these needs. Instead, Robert's use of the tripartite layout—framed by the three arches—provided both visual centrality and spatial cohesion, transforming St Rule's into a deliberately constructed stage for sacred authority, national identity, and liturgical innovation.

D. Canonical Discipline & Clerical Privilege

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[437] Cameron, ‘St Rule’s Church in St Andrews’, 373.
[438] John Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West c. 300–c. 1200* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 178–80.
[439] Heywood, ‘The Church of St Rule, St Andrews’, 43.

Building on their role in staging relic veneration, the three arches of St Rule's Church also functioned as liturgical filters, mediating not only visual access but also physical movement through sacred space. They granted pilgrims of varying rank graduated access to increasingly holy zones, allowing lay visitors to observe both the relics of St Andrew and clerical movement during Mass without direct entry. This was a Sarum-inspired crowd-control strategy that upheld ritual hierarchy while still accommodating local devotion. Although the arches could not fully conceal clerics' movement like a cathedral choir screen, they served as a functional alternative for smaller-scale churches[440].

This graded spatial access echoes the model seen at Old Sarum and later Salisbury, where visitors of different social or ecclesiastical standing were guided through the nave, choir, and sanctuary in a manner that reflected their rank. Under Bishop Roger of Salisbury (1102–1139), the addition of new doorways into the transepts created controlled clerical circulation between spaces like the choir and sacristy—a choreography of movement that enforced liturgical order through architecture[441]. Similarly, St Rule's priest's door on the south wall of the chancel may have functioned as an elite-only passage, echoing continental precedents that aligned sacred space with clerical privilege.

The tower further reinforces the canonical discipline and symbolic logic. Reaching an impressive height of approximately 33 meters, the tower's exceptional stone masonry made it a striking feature among early Romanesque churches in the British Isles[442]. Rising directly above the choir and altar, its twin bell openings and monolithic shafts reflect Anglo-Norman architectural influences, possibly drawn from prototypes at Salisbury[443]. In liturgical custom, bells were not merely functional but ritual instruments, marking the canonical hours and punctuating moments such as the processions to the font during Advent. The tower, then, embodied the Augustinian reformers' effort to materialize canonical rhythm in stone.

Together, these architectural features reveal how the Augustinians used space to enforce canonical discipline and uphold clerical privilege. They replaced the looser, decentralized practices of the Celtic Church (discussed in Chapter 1) with a system that visually and functionally elevated clerical authority. Through restricted access, hierarchical procession routes, and regulated sacred time, the architecture of St Rule's staged a visible theology of

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[440] As Bilson observed, St Rule's more closely resembles a parish church like Wharram-le-Street in Yorkshire—appropriated by Nostell Priory, Bishop Robert's own origin —than any known monastic plan. In Bilson, 'Wharram-le-Street church, Yorkshire, and St Rule's church, St Andrews', 55-72.
[441] Frost, *Time, Space, and Order*. 24-25.
[442] Heywood, 'The Church of St Rule, St Andrews', 38-41. Cameron, 'St Rule's Church, 367-78.
[443] Old Salisbury Cathedral developed under Bishop Osmund. The characteristics of this building included a tower over the crossing. Some commentators believe that the style of this tower indicates that Anglo-Saxon architecture had become popular throughout England. R.D.H. Gem, 'The First Romanesque cathedral at Old Salisbury' in *Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context*, eds., E. Femie and P. Crossley, (Hambledon Press, London 1990), 18.

control. Canonical discipline and clerical privilege thus became not only liturgical norms but also architectural tools for consolidating spiritual authority and episcopal prestige at St Andrews.

E. Political Theology: Architecture as Reformist Messaging

Bishop Robert's expansion of St Rule's was not a passive importation of Norman style, but an intentional act of ecclesiastical messaging. The integration of Sarum liturgical norms and centralized relic display made a visible claim to spiritual legitimacy, canonical order, and institutional alignment with the wider Church. These reforms advanced David I's royal agenda by transforming St Rule's into a prototype for a centralized, hierarchically ordered Scottish Church. As argued in Chapter 1, David I sought to replace fragmented local religious traditions with a canonically regulated ecclesiastical system aligned with continental norms. The architectural interventions at St Rule's—particularly the tripartite structure, clerical zoning, and relic centralization—visibly enacted this ambition. By adopting Sarum-inspired planning and Anglo-Norman design features, Robert reinforced a visual theology of order and authority that aligned with David's broader goal: establishing St Andrews as a credible apostolic centre under royal and episcopal control, in deliberate contrast to English claims from York. These architectural reforms thus served not only liturgical functions but also political aims, embedding monarchical legitimacy and reformist values within the sacred topography of the kingdom.

As Arnold has argued, the more sophisticated architectural interventions at St Andrews Cathedral were only possible because St Rule's had already laid a foundation of visual and ritual continuity. While Arnold does not detail specific elements such as choir stalls or liturgical screens, his broader point supports the idea that the cathedral's full adoption of Sarum-style hierarchy was made possible by St Rule's transitional design. The earlier church's emphasis on procession, relic centrality, and clerical zoning provided the necessary groundwork for the cathedral's later architectural articulation of Augustinian reform. Robert's reforms at St Rule's took shape under pressure: faced with Céli Dé resistance, the project advanced modestly, producing a transitional architecture that gestured toward Sarum norms without fully enforcing them.

St Rule's thus functioned as a mediating structure: it made reform legible without making it abrupt. The church retained elements that honoured local devotional expectations (e.g., shrine visibility) while introducing architectural cues (e.g., zoning, liturgical axis, tower bells) that gestured toward canonical hierarchy. In this way, it helped naturalize a new political theology—a vision of the Church not merely as a local cultic space, but as a hierarchically ordered institution aligned with episcopal and royal reform. St Rule's did not simply precede the cathedral chronologically; it prepared the cultural and theological ground for it.

3.3.2 St Andrews Cathedral as a "Ritual Machine"

St Andrews Cathedral represents the apex of liturgical-architectural integration in medieval Scotland, achieved through a calculated synthesis of imported and local forms. Drawing upon Sarum liturgical frameworks, Norman spatial models, and indigenous devotional practices, the cathedral articulated a uniquely Scottish sacred environment. Building on the transitional arrangements seen earlier at St Rule's, its design represents a mature hybrid programme—one that merged ritual precision with symbolic spatial organisation. The cross-shaped plan, articulated choir and sanctuary, and the central placement of St Andrew's shrine were not merely aesthetic decisions, but encoded hierarchical movement, performative rhythm, and theological messaging. In this context, architectural form actively structured liturgical time, clerical roles, and communal experience. More than an expression of stylistic ambition, the cathedral's layout constituted a deliberate projection of Scottish ecclesiastical identity, fusing ritual functionality with political expression within the sacred topography of St Andrews.

A. From St Rule's to Cathedral: Sarum Framework

The cathedral built prominently on the eastern headland of St Andrews is undeniably a landmark—central to both the landscape and the community's symbolic identity during the 12th and 13th centuries. Plans for a grand cathedral dedicated to St Andrew likely crystallized soon after the completion of St Rule's expansion, affirming the latter's role as a transitional project rather than a permanent solution. Archaeological consensus places the cathedral's initial construction in the early 1160s, immediately following Bishop Robert's death in 1159[444]. Bishop Arnold, Robert's successor, maintained continuity, and by 1162, as Cant demonstrates through ashlar contracts, masonry for the presbytery walls was already underway[445]. This timeline underscores sustained royal support—beginning with Malcolm IV's early endorsement in the 1160 charter and continuing under William I, who later appointed Bishop Malveisin. Malveisin's resources enabled the completion and vaulting of the cathedral's east end by 1238[446], ensuring uninterrupted episcopal and royal collaboration throughout the construction process.

[444] Cambridge, "The Early Building-History of St. Andrews Cathedral", 277–88. Wilson, "The Cistercians As 'missionaries of Gothic', 97. Cant, *St Andrews Preservation Trust Annual report and Year book for 1973(1974),* 12. Fawcett, *The Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture of St Andrews*. 51-83.
[445] Cant, "the Building Of St Andrews Cathedral"*, Innes review*, 25, 2 (1974).78.
[446] Malveisin died in 1238 and was buried in the choir. He was the first bishop to be buried in St Andrews Cathedral. Duncan, "the Foundation of St Andrews". 15.

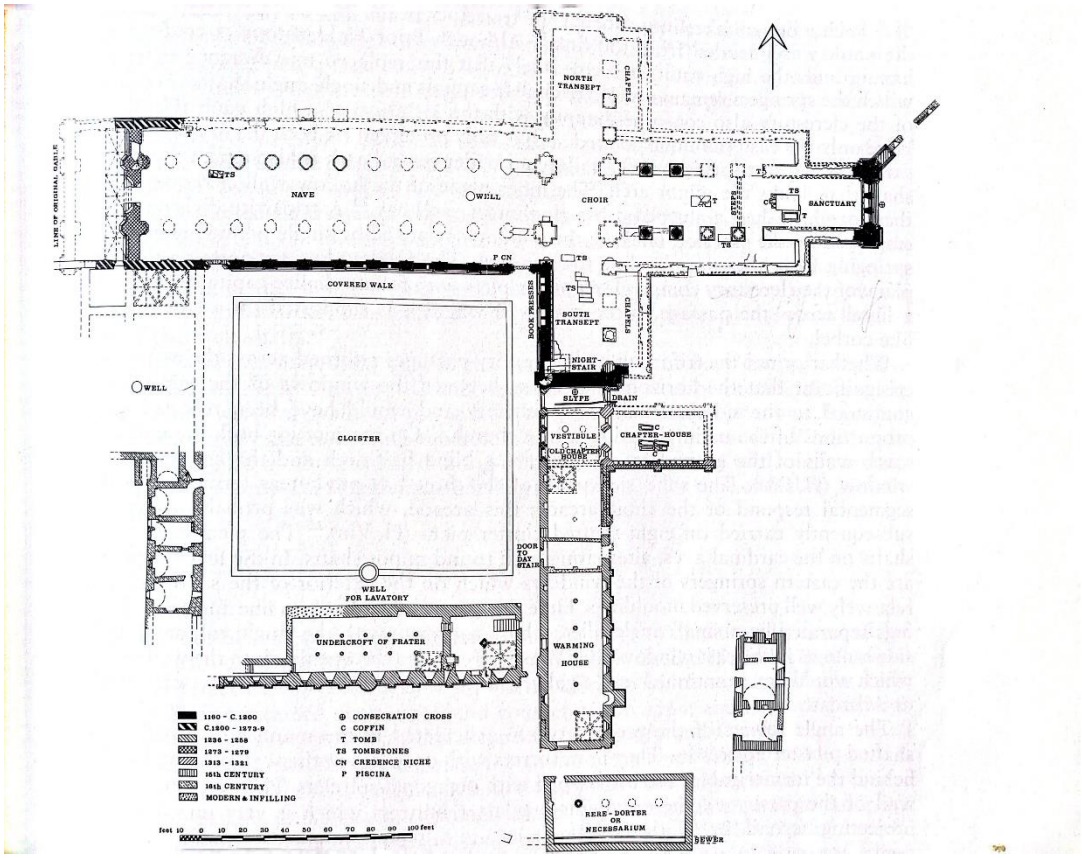

Figure 3.3 Plan of St Andrews Cathedral and Priory. from Cruden, St Andrews Cathedral. Digitally modified.

Architecturally, the cathedral adopted a prestigious cruciform plan featuring an elongated nave flanked by twin aisles and prominent northern and southern transepts (Figure 3.3), strongly reflecting Augustinian architectural traditions as observed in contemporary Benedictine and Augustinian houses[447]. The easternmost space—the presbytery—reserved exclusively for clergy and housing the main choir and altar， explicitly integrates both Augustinian spatial organization and Benedictine design features. This highlighting the Augustinian chapter's pivotal role as initial patrons and their decisive influence on the cathedral's structural character. This integrated layout contrasts markedly with contemporary Scottish examples such as Glasgow Cathedral—a secular cathedral of comparable ecclesiastical status— which lacked aisled cruciform arrangements[448].

Cant's architectural analysis identifies distinct construction phases, noting that the lower tiers of the presbytery's north, south, and east walls were completed before 1190, prior to the clerestory, transepts, the entire choir, and the arcade elevations of the aisles[449]. Thurlby underscores the stylistic continuity with northern Romanesque precedents, emphasizing that the intricate multiple-roll moldings observed on the presbytery triforium side windows, and on

[447] G. Webb, *Architecture in Britain: The Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth 1956), 84.
[448] Cant, *St Andrews Preservation Trust Annual Report and Year book for 1973*(1974), 12.
[449] Cant, "The Building of St Andrews Cathedral", in *Innes review*. 79 - 81.

the second and fourth orders of the arch from the south transept to the south nave aisle, directly echo Lindisfarne Priory's west doorway. Additionally, the blind arcade on the interior west wall of the cathedral's south transept closely parallels the architectural detailing of nave aisles at Durham Cathedral's[450].

The selective integration of these Anglo-Norman design elements during the initial construction phase underlines the Augustinian chapter's deliberate continuation and enhancement of traditions established at St Rule's, explicitly aligning St Andrews Cathedral with prestigious ecclesiastical buildings in England. This approach reinforced its symbolic and political ambitions.

If the overall architectural layout of St Andrews Cathedral—including its cross-shaped plan, extended presbytery, and double aisles—reflected Norman prestige and Augustinian continuity, then its interior fittings—specifically the installation of a choir screen and fixed stalls—signaled the realization of Sarum liturgical discipline. These internal elements were more than furnishings; they materialized clerical hierarchy and order, transforming the cathedral into a space governed by regulated ritual.

Choirs and stalls were defining features of medieval Gothic churches, especially in secular cathedrals. The choir area, typically enclosed by wooden or stone screens, separated clergy from the laity and created a semi-enclosed space for performing the Divine Office and Mass. Stalls, arranged in ordered rows, provided assigned seats for canons, singers, and officiants—structured by rank and liturgical function. At the easternmost end of the choir stood the high altar, the ceremonial and spiritual heart of the cathedral[451]. At St Andrews, only the bases of four pairs of columns remain in the presbytery, indicating the footprint of such a structured choir space[452].

Documentary evidence further confirms this internal arrangement. A 1250 complaint involving Abel de Gullane reveals that designated stalls for deacons were already part of daily and festal worship, reflecting a formalised and consistent clerical order[453]. This marks a clear

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[450] The connection between Lindisfarne Priory and Durham is related to the relics of St. Cuthbert. Around 1069-70, The Lindisfarne Priory became a branch of Durham, managed by monks from Durham. See their relationship In Leslie Hardinge, *The Celtic Church in Britain*. (Brushton, N.Y.: TEACH Services, 1972). Xi. Architecture analysis see Thurlby, "St Andrews Cathedral-Priory".

[451] "choir" and "stall" in Curl, *A Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture*. https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606789.001.0001/acref-9780198606789-e-1001.

[452] The plan see S. Cruden, Stewart, and Great Britain Ministry of Public Building and Works. *The Cathedral of St. Andrews and St. Regulus Church*. (Edinburgh: H.M.S.O. 1950), 10.

[453] See Chapter 2, the complaint from the canons regular in 1250, accusing the Céli Dé for disobedience, for performing the divine office in stall while excommunicated, and for governing themselves as canons. Master Abel countered the claim, asserting his legitimate right to a seat in the choir stalls.

departure from the more flexible liturgical arrangements of the St Rule's era and demonstrates the full adoption of Sarum norms—particularly in how space was assigned and used.

Comparative evidence from Salisbury strengthens this reading. The original Old Sarum cathedral, begun by Bishop Herman in 1075 and developed by Bishop Osmund—who is traditionally regarded as the author and initial compiler of the Sarum Use—featured a single chancel before the bishop's throne and lacked choir stalls[454]. Even after Bishop Roger's significant expansions in the early 12th century, the church still lacked fixed stall arrangements[455]. It was not until Bishop Richard Poore's *Nova Constitutio* of 1214, and his subsequent relocation of the cathedral to a new site in 1220, that the stalls became a central liturgical and administrative feature[456]. The accompanying *Consuetudinarium* and *Ordinale* codified clerical responsibilities and choreographed daily worship, giving material and procedural form to the Sarum Use[457].

By aligning with this mature phase of Sarum development, St Andrews Cathedral adopted not only its liturgical content but its administrative structure. The presence of stalls at St Andrews represents more than architectural continuity—it marks the internalization of Sarum's hierarchical worldview. Through fixed seating, assigned roles, and screen-defined sacred zones, the Augustinian clergy at St Andrews enacted a visual and spatial theology of order, discipline, and control. In doing so, they institutionalized a clerical culture that distinguished the cathedral from earlier, looser forms of worship, and aligned it with a wider European ecclesiastical identity.

B. Shrine Hybridised: Local & Norman

At the far eastern end of the presbytery at St Andrews Cathedral, three axial chapels were constructed, with the central chapel projecting beyond the side aisles. This layout is typical of Anglo-Norman cathedrals such as Winchester, Durham, and the new Salisbury[458]. The scale and position of the central chapel suggest that it was designed as the shrine of St Andrew, the cathedral's patron saint, following a longstanding tradition of placing the primary relics in the easternmost bay.

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[454] Frost, *Time, Space and Order*. 10. Figure 6, initial plan of Old Sarum Cathedral 1075-92.
[455] Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2000), 172.
[456] Frost, *Time, Space and Order*. 122.
[457] John Le Neve, Diana E. Greenway, and University of London Institute of Historical Research. *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066-1300*. (Institute of Historical Research.1991) Salisbury. xxi-xxvii.
[458] Thurlby, "St Andrews Cathedral-Priory". 51-52; Michael G. Jarrett and Howard Mason. "'Greater and More Splendid': Some Aspects of Romanesque Durham Cathedral." *The Antiquaries Journal* 75 (1995): 189-233. Frost, *Time, Space and Order*.

McRobert, relying on late medieval chronicles and other documents— particularly information from some writers as canons in St Andrews[459]—argued that the relics of St Andrew were housed in this central chapel. He believed they were kept in a reliquary called the *Morbrac*[460] and placed in the chapel according to earlier Celtic tradition. In his view, the high altar stood in the apse just in front of the shrine, following a layout similar to that at Durham Cathedral. He also suggested that a screen separated the presbytery from the chapels, permitting only canons and privileged individuals to enter the shrine chapel.

McRoberts' principal piece of evidence is a charter in which the canons regular of St Andrews granted Gellin son of Gillechrìosd Mac Cussegerri, the right to carry the *Morbrac*, around the year 1200. This document was witnessed by the archdeacon of St Andrews and members of Bishop Malveisin's clerical circle, including John, a member of the Céli Dé[461]. McRoberts interpreted this charter as evidence that the relics of St Andrew were intended to be publicly processed on major feast days. He argued that this privilege implied the *Morbrac*—a reliquary—was designed to be movable rather than fixed permanently within the shrine, allowing it to be carried through the streets of St Andrews during solemn civic-liturgical processions.

Fawcett, while acknowledging the central chapel's significance, questions whether the relics could have been directly accessed even by canons or privileged individuals[462]. He argues that the chapel was too narrow to accommodate large groups, suggesting that access—even for clergy—was restricted. Instead, he proposes that the relics were carried out and displayed on major feast days, such as that of St Andrew. In this view, the screen functioned primarily as a protective enclosure, safeguarding the relics when not in use and reinforcing their sanctity by regulating the terms of their public display.

However, both scholars rely on evidence from the fifteenth-century rebuilding of the cathedral following the fire of 1378. The reconstruction, carried out under the administrations of four priors—Stephen Pay, Robert Montrose, James Bisset, and James Haldenstone—led to the enlargement of the choir and substantial replanning of the entire eastern arm of the church[463]. The work was completed in the early fifteenth century. This later design altered the entrance to the chapel and shifted the high altar forward, thereby creating a more restricted access to the

[459] These writers include Walter Bower, Andrew Wyntoun, John Law and Prior James Haldenstone. They are all canons of St Andrews cathedral. McRobert call this information he summed as first-hand evidences. See McRoberts, *the Glorious House of St Andrew*. 63

[460] *Morbrac* is a Celtic descriptor meaning "great-speckled," probably referring to the jewels on the reliquary. Gilbert Márkus suggested that *Morbrac* should actually be two words, mor breach. Gilbert Márkus, "Dewars and Relics in Scotland: Some Clarifications and Questions," *Innes Review* 60 (2009): 135–6.

[461] *St Andrews Lib*. 329.

[462] Richard Fawcett, "The Architectural Framework for the Cults of Saints: Some Scottish Examples," in *Images of Medieval Sanctity: Essays in Honour of Gary Dickson* (Boston: Brill, 2007), 81.

[463] McRoberts, "The Glorious House of St Andrew," 67-99.

shrine space. As a result, their conclusions risk projecting these later modifications onto the original twelfth- and thirteenth-century layout.

This study accepts McRoberts' claim that the relics were housed in the central chapel but situates that arrangement within the spatial and liturgical framework of the cathedral's original design. Architectural parallels with Winchester and Salisbury suggest the high altar was located within the presbytery, rather than inside the shrine chapel. A wide aisle—an ambulatory—likely ran in front of the three chapels, enabling clergy to circulate around the presbytery without disrupting the liturgy conducted in the choir (Figure 3.4).

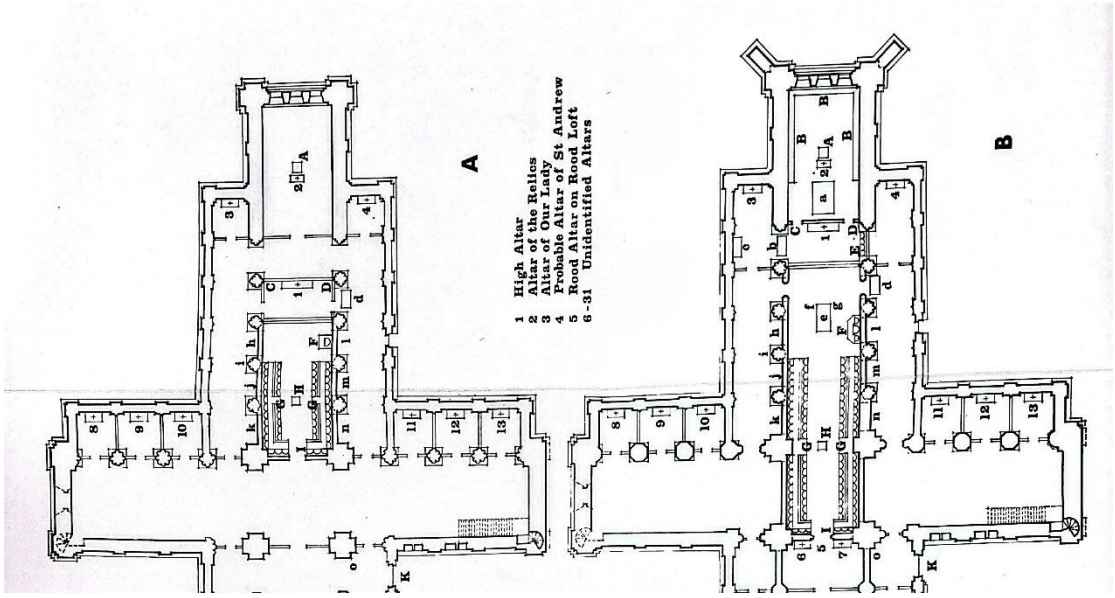

Figure 3.4 the east side of St Andrews cathedral: the original plan(A) and the reconstruction(B). in McRoberts ed., The Medieval Church of St. Andrews, at the end of volume.

This arrangement is supported by Pn12036, which includes a rubric for the Sunday Aspersion ritual instructing clergy to sprinkle all altars in the cathedral. The Marian verse in Pn12036 notes that the main altar was dedicated to Virgin Mary[464], implying that St Andrew a separate altar—most likely located within the central shrine chapel. On Sundays, the clergy would have processed around the presbytery, sprinkling each altar in turn, before proceeding down the south aisle and returning past the font to the rood screen[465]. This route would have required a wide, unobstructed aisle in front of the chapels, reinforcing the argument that an

[464] the versicle *Sancta dei genitrix* in Pn 12036 be sung in the same position as the cathedral of Salisbury which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. See Frere, *The Use of Sarum*. 74; Christopher Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, *Edited from the Fifteenth Century Ms. No. 148, with Additions from the Cathedral Records and Woodcuts from the Sarum Processionale of 1502*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1901), 91.
[465] Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*. 14.

open ambulatory formed part of the original layout to ensure accessibility to each altar, including that of St Andrew.

This layout provided a clear visual route for pilgrims. Even if direct access into the shrine chapel was restricted, the ambulatory allowed pilgrims to view the relics without entering the presbytery or choir. In this way, the cathedral reconciled the hierarchical demands of Sarum liturgy with older local devotional customs. Pilgrims could approach the shrine and participate in acts of devotion without encroaching upon the sacred spaces reserved for clergy—a design that upheld the sanctity of clerical zones while accommodating the devotional needs of a large, pilgrimage-oriented community.

This separation of space was not merely practical; it visibly expressed the layered sacred hierarchy within the cathedral interior. The ability to see but not enter reinforced the authority of the clergy as spiritual mediators while heightening the emotional intensity of the pilgrimage experience. Situated at the heart of a city shaped by pilgrimage, the cathedral required such visual and ritual clarity to fulfill its symbolic and devotional functions. Lay visitors encountered a carefully structured sacred environment in which distance, visibility, and sound cultivated reverence and spiritual connection. This hybrid design—Anglo-Norman in form but adapted to Scottish devotional expectations—consecrated St Andrews as both a national shrine and a liturgical stage for expressing ecclesiastical and political identity.

C. Continental Influences: Architectural & Liturgical Innovations

The architectural choices made in the early twelfth-century rebuilding of St Andrews were not merely aesthetic. They formed a deliberate ideological gesture aligning the Scottish Church with the most current architectural idioms of northern France and England. These decisions signalled both modernization and a claim to parity—particularly with York—positioning St Andrews as a spiritual and cultural equal in an ongoing cross-Channel dialogue. The French stylistic vocabulary evident at St Andrews can be traced to identifiable precedents, often mediated through English reinterpretations. Bishop Malveisin, who presided over St. Andrews from 1202 to 1238, displayed a marked affinity for northern French forms—likely shaped by his time in France and his alignment with the broader cultural and political ethos of the period.

One of the clearest examples of this transmission pathway appears in the clustered piers and waterleaf capitals at St Andrews. These features originated in northern France—particularly at Laon[466]—and were adopted in England at sites such as Ripon Minster, where similar profiles can be observed. From there, the forms made their way to St Andrews, where masons reproduced both the bundled shafts and foliate capitals in the presbytery arcade. This route—

[466] W. W. Clark and R. King, *Laon Cathedral*, I (London 1983), 23.

Laon to Ripon to St Andrews—demonstrates how northern French forms were mediated through English adaptation and reinterpreted in a distinctly Scottish context. A related example is the Premonstratensian Abbey of Dommartin, whose capital and shaft designs display striking parallels to those at St Andrews[467], likely reflecting direct influence from French ecclesiastical networks.

A second case is the gorged-roll arch moulding found in the south transept of St Andrews. This distinctive moulding, first developed at Noyon Cathedral, soon appeared in England at the Temple Church in London[468]. Its presence at St Andrews signals an awareness of both the French prototype and its English reinterpretation. The sequence—Noyon to the Temple Church to St Andrews—illustrates how specific architectural elements travelled through Anglo-French channels, reinforcing St Andrews' visual claim to parity with elite ecclesiastical centres.

Bringing these threads together reveals a clear path of transmission: from northern France to northern England, and from there to St Andrews[469]. This route underscores York as a critical intermediary. York Minster functioned as a benchmark for cutting-edge Anglo-French architectural synthesis[470]. St Andrews' adoption of similar elements implies a deliberate effort to align with York's prestigious status—visually asserting equivalence with a major English see.

Yet, the adoption of the French idiom was not wholesale. At St Andrews, it took the form of a calculated synthesis, in which imported elements were reframed within a distinctly northern-British context. This hybrid approach—selective, visual, and symbolic—enable St Andrews to assert both modernity and historical continuity. Regional motifs and familiar spatial cues were preserved, ensuring recognisability and resonance for local worshippers and clergy alike.

Key elements of the earlier Romanesque tradition remained visible—for example, the rhythmic articulation of bays, reminiscent of Durham and Jedburgh[471]. These features were not preserved out of mere conservatism, but as part of a deliberate visual strategy: they anchored the new structure within a shared northern ecclesiastical heritage. At the same time, imported French forms—especially in the chevet and pier articulation—were consciously modified. The eastern end was shorter than its French counterparts, and the clustered shafts were thickened to align with the robust, Romanesque rhythm characteristic of the existing Scottish architectural context.

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[467] Thurlby, "St Andrews Cathedral-Priory.53.
[468] Thurlby, "The Cistercians as 'Missionaries of Gothic': The State of Research and Open Questions on the Beginnings of Gothic Architecture in England, Scotland, and Wales." *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 65 (2021): 351-432.
[469] Thurlby, "St Andrews Cathedral-Priory".54
[470] Christopher Wilson, "The Cistercians as 'missionaries of Gothic' in northern England." *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, eds Christopher Norton, and David Park (Cambridge 1986), 91,97.
[471] Thurlby, "St Andrews Cathedral-Priory" 53.

This visual hybridity also supported liturgical movement. While adopting the chevet's introduced a radiating spatial logic characteristic of continental design, the plan retained wide aisles that accommodated older processional routes. This suggests that architectural space remained responsive to inherited ritual customs. Such spatial decisions reflect broader ecclesiastical aims: to engage with continental reform ideals while preserving and articulating a distinct local identity.

The architectural hybridity finds further echo in the liturgical sphere. As discussed earlier in relation to the structure and use of Pn 12036, portions of the manuscript's content were drawn from northern French sources. This section does not seek to reanalyse the manuscript, but to emphasize how its liturgical soundscape mirrored the spatial and visual choices at St Andrews. Chant, calendar, and architectural arrangement together formed a coherent program—one that asserted a continental reformist identity while deliberately eschewing northern English influence.

The Office for St Thomas Becket in Pn 12036 provides a particularly clear example. This office employ a set of French texts that replace the widely popular English text family[472], retaining only *Ex summa rerum* as an exception. Their inclusion in a local manuscript suggests not only liturgical borrowing but also a political statement. These French sources reflect a calculated rejection of English ecclesiastical models and a quiet resistance to the pressures exerted by the English crown and the Archbishop of York. By adoption continental chant traditions, the St Andrews community subtly reinforced its autonomy and aligned itself with clerical networks beyond English influence.

Equally telling is the absence of York liturgical content. As previously demonstrated, chants for saints such as William of York and distinctive octave commemorations are entirely missing. While such omissions might seem incidental when viewed in isolation, they gain significance within the broader context of St Andrews' architectural turn toward French models. The silence regarding York chants, when paired with the deliberate adoption of French ones, reflects a conscious act of liturgical self-definition. St Andrews was not merely borrowing broadly—it was intentionally choosing not to sound English.

Architecture and liturgy worked in concert to articulate institutional identity. The French-style introduced were not merely stylistic imports but part of a larger strategy to express reformist and political ideals through material form. By importing and selectively adapting northern French innovations—often mediated through English channels—its builders fashioned

[472] *Studens livor* (TH21) and *Sacrat Thomas primordia* (TH22), along with their variations, appear widely in Sarum, York, and Hereford manuscripts. Their use has been discussed earlier in this chapter in relation to the Office of St Thomas Becket. see Hughes, 'Chants in the Rhymed Office of St Thomas of Canterbury'. And his *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*.

a sacred environment that conveyed modernity, autonomy, and parity with the leading ecclesiastical centres of Britain and the Continent. Through both stone and sound, St Andrews asserted its authority not through imitation alone, but by shaping a distinctive identity rooted in liturgical reform and political self-definition.

This interplay of architecture and liturgy—visibly encoded in stone and audibly reinforced through chant—formed a cohesive aesthetic and ideological programme at St Andrews. Yet its significance reached beyond internal harmony. The selective adoption of French forms and deliberate rejection of English models shaped not only the cathedral's visual and sonic identity but also projected a message of institutional confidence and political intent. Nowhere was this message more vividly staged than in the cathedral's extended nave.

D. The Nave: Political Symbolism and Sonic Rivalry

St Andrews Cathedral's nave was exceptional in length and scale, making it the largest church in medieval Scotland. This extraordinary dimension carried deep symbolic weight, intentionally designed to proclaim St Andrews' status as an apostolic centre on par with the greatest ecclesiastical sites of Europe. Ian Campbell argues that the ambitious original plan—exceeding 120 meters—was a conscious emulation of Old St. Peter's in Rome, reinforcing the cathedral's claim to ecclesiastical prominence and asserting Scottish independence from external authority[473]. Even after structural adjustments following a late 13th-century collapse reduced the nave to approximately 110 meters, its impressive length remained a visible marker of spiritual and institutional prestige. John Slezer, writing in the late seventeenth century, remarked on the cathedral's grandeur, underscoring its enduring visual impact on visitors[474]. By comparison, York Minster's nave measures around 107.7 meters[475], placing St Andrews in direct competition with the most significant ecclesiastical buildings in Britain.

The acoustics of this long nave profoundly shaped the experience of worship. Sound lingered in the high vaults and long aisles, creating a natural reverberation that amplified the solemnity of chant and music. This produced a shared soundscape that united clergy and laity in the sacred ritual, even when physically separated by the choir screen. In essence, the long nave transformed sacred sound into a communal experience, enveloping all participants within its acoustical span. Its sheer length also enhanced processional music—such as antiphons or responsories sung while moving through the church[476]—by giving it a dynamic, unfolding quality: as choristers progressed through the nave, the music gradually filled different parts of the

[473] Campbell, "The Idea of St Andrews as the Second Rome", 35-50.
[474] Keith Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland: The Nation Observed By John Slezer 1671 to 1717* (Edinburgh, 1993), 12.
[475] Fawcett, "The Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture of St Andrews". 52
[476] In the Sarum Use, such processions were typical and observed on many feasts, including Christmas and the Feast of St Thomas. See Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*. 13-15.

building, engaging listeners sequentially and reinforcing the sense of a spiritual journey toward the holy east end. The result was a richly symbolic soundscape in which architecture and music worked together to heighten the liturgy's spiritual impact.

Inside this vast nave, the lived experience of singing and hearing the liturgy was both awe-inspiring and demanding. The clergy and their assistants – including canons, vicars, and choristers – were tasked with performing complex services in Latin multiple times a day. As Harper emphasizes, medieval liturgical performance relied heavily on memory, habit, and routine developed through constant repetition. Clergy and singers in a great cathedral like St Andrews would internalize dozens of liturgies per week, accumulating a deep reservoir of memorized texts, melodies, and ritual actions[477]. This memory-driven ritual work meant that even in the absence of abundant written prompts, participants knew when to intone a response, when to genuflect or process, and how to coordinate their voices – all guided by ingrained practice. The acoustical character of the nave likely reinforced such disciplined performance. In a space where a stray entry or off -key note could echo prominently, singers had to exercise institutional discipline and acute attentiveness. They learned to adjust tempo and enunciation to allow chant tones to bloom in the reverberant air, coordinating with each other across the wide spatial separations of the choir stalls.

Within this acoustically potent nave, the introduction of polyphony in the 13th centuries further elevated the cathedral's liturgical practices. Manuscripts such as Pn12036 and W1 clearly document St Andrews' early adoption of sophisticated Parisian polyphony[478]. An illustrative example is provided by the Easter procession described in Pn12036. On Easter Sunday and throughout Easter week, the rubrics instruct that three clerics should sing the responsory *Alleluia v. Laudate pueri* at specific liturgical stations, including the font and cross, while an antiphon to the Virgin Mary was performed at the entrance to the choir[479]. Similarly, the procession on Easter Monday included the responsory *Sedit angelus*, followed by the three-part polyphonic verse *Crucifixum in carne* at the font, as recorded in W1. Such complex musical practices were strategically deployed not merely to enhance the solemnity of liturgy, but explicitly to impress visiting pilgrims and dignitaries, underscoring the cathedral's spiritual prestige and institutional authority.

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[477] John Haper, "Enabling the Ritual: Aspects of the Experience of Assisting Clergy, Servers, Singers and Organ-Player". In *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted: The Experience of Worship in Cathedral and Parish* Church. eds. Sally Harper, P. Barnwell and Magnus Williamson, (Oxford: Taylor & Francis Group, 2016）.

[478] Scholars generally accept W1 heavily influenced by the Parisian use. like Roesner, "The Origins of 'W1'," 356–7; Roesner, *Le Magnus Liber Organi De Notre-Dame De Paris*, vol. VII: lxi. Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 369–71. Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews". Steiner argues that Pn 12036 is primarily shaped by Sarum Use, but also incorporates material from Parisian sources. Steiner, Notre Dame in Scotland.

[479] Fol. 69r-v. in Pn12036. Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*. 174.

Performing polyphony in the cathedral's long nave demanded extraordinary concentration and coordination from clergy and singers. Harper emphasizes the memory-driven nature of medieval liturgical performance, noting that clergy, vicars, and choristers internalized extensive repertoires through constant repetition. Typically, only chief priests and cantors had access to written textual guidance, heightening the reliance on trained memory and disciplined execution[480]. The acoustical properties of the nave further intensified these demands: any vocal misstep would echo conspicuously through the vast space. Singers had to maintain precise pitch and rhythm while coordinating across considerable spatial distances—an effort that reinforced institutional discipline and a strong sense of collective responsibility. A striking example of this discipline appears in Pn12036's description of the Tenebrae service during Holy Week, where six singers—two elders and four clerics—performed responsories entirely from memory while standing in complete darkness[481]. This powerful scene vividly illustrates their rigorous training and liturgical mastery.

This carefully cultivated sonic environment was more than a spiritual or aesthetic experience—it was a deliberate act of competition with other major ecclesiastical centres, particularly York Minster. Throughout the 12th and 13th centuries, St Andrews consciously projected parity with—and arguably superiority over—York through strategic architectural, liturgical, and musical choices. By favouring predominantly Parisian over English chant repertories and incorporating contemporary polyphonic developments, St Andrews crafted a distinctive soundscape that diverged from York's more conservative liturgical traditions. These musical decisions were not incidental but integral to a broader strategy of ecclesiastical self-definition and independence.

Harper emphasizes that such meticulous musical and ritual practices demanded not only extraordinary effort and coordination but also served to project institutional identity and authority[482]. At St Andrews, polyphony functioned as a marker of liturgical modernity and cultural sophistication, complementing the cathedral's architectural grandeur. This carefully cultivated sonic identity was deeply entwined with ecclesiastical politics, subtly reinforcing St Andrews' claim to national spiritual leadership and independence from York's influence. This sonic rivalry embodied in this polyphonic tradition thus mirrored broader political tensions between Scottish and English ecclesiastical authority[483]. In this context, the cathedral's long nave did more than enhance acoustics—it amplified St Andrews' assertion of ecclesiastical primacy.

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[480] Haper, "Enabling the Ritual". 309-317.
[481] Fol. 63r-v in Pn12036.
[482] Haper, "Enabling the Ritual". 309-317.
[483] Campbell, "The Idea of St Andrews as the Second Rome", 45-47.

The design and function of St Andrews Cathedral reveal that its architecture was never intended as static ornamentation, but as a dynamic instrument of ritual, identity, and power. Every spatial decision—from the orientation of the nave to the arrangement of chapels and shrines—was informed by liturgical requirements and articulated through a symbolic architectural vocabulary. This performative environment enabled clergy, singers, and laity to participate in a shared sacred rhythm, one materially embedded in the very fabric of the building.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that sacred architecture at St Andrews was neither merely decorative nor static, but deeply embedded in the performative, political, and symbolic dimensions of medieval liturgy. From the transitional reordering of St Rule's to the calculated grandeur of the cathedral, sacred space in St Andrews functioned as a fully realized “ritual machine”—a system in which architecture shaped, reinforced, and enacted liturgical order, communal memory, and institutional identity.

The cathedral, in particular, embodied Scotland's ecclesiastical autonomy through architectural hybridity. While drawing on the Sarum Use as its structural framework, St Andrews modified and reframed this model by integrating Norman innovations and localized traditions. This blending was manifest in both stone and sound. The architectural vocabulary of the chevet, nave, and shrine layout encoded a Sarum-derived spatial theology, yet simultaneously accommodated regional devotional practices and older processional rhythms. Liturgical manuscripts such as Pn12036 reflect a parallel synthesis: while conforming to early Sarum models, they preserved saints, chant traditions, and hierarchical rankings that articulated local priorities and asserted institutional independence.

Across both manuscript and space, St Andrews articulated a political theology. The deliberate omission of York elements, the preference for French liturgical materials, and the incorporation of Parisian polyphony collectively reinforced the cathedral's identity as the head of a sovereign Scottish Church. Architecture and Sound together projected a confident statement of parity with York—and even Canterbury— transforming imported idioms into instruments of self-definition. In doing so, St Andrews asserted its place within Latin Christendom while simultaneously proclaiming its independence from English ecclesiastical authority.

Ultimately, Chapter 3 has shown that liturgy in St Andrews was not merely performed within architecture—it was performed through it. The cathedral functioned as a ritual engine in stone, with its liturgy unfolding as a choreography of sound, movement, and space. Together, they constituted a dynamic expression of Scottish religious reform and national aspiration in the high

Middle Ages.

4. Chapter 4 Augustinian Networks and the Céli Dé: Shaping St Andrews' Liturgy

Introduction

This chapter makes two connected claims about how the "Sarum" rite took root at St Andrews and how it was reshaped through local agency—above all through the ongoing presence of the Céli Dé. First, it argues that Sarum reached Scotland a century earlier than the statute-driven narrative suggests, not through a mid-thirteenth-century Lincoln conduit, but via twelfth-century Augustinian networks that circulated people, books, and adaptable Old Sarum usages across foundations such as Holyrood and Scone. At St Andrews, however, these incoming practices did not land on a blank slate. They encountered an active, embedded Céli Dé community whose liturgical and institutional continuity helped shape the voice of reception—how these external forms were sounded, adapted, and ultimately made their home. Second, the chapter contends that once Sarum took root, it was not merely adopted but re-authored. Central to this claim is Fascicle XI of W1: a purpose-built Marian Mass cycle whose musical structure and repertorial choices demonstrate a deliberate synthesis of Augustinian priorities and the enduring liturgical voice of the Céli Dé. Together, these arguments reposition St Andrews not as a passive recipient of English forms but as a workshop of liturgical voicing, where inherited usages were reshaped into a distinctive Marian sound.

The chapter's orientation is both historiographical and methodological. On the historical side, it challenges the "Lincoln model" as the origin story for Scotland, proposing instead that Lincoln's influence marked a later, administrative phase that regularized practices already underway in Augustinian houses. Methodologically, it combines textual criticism (Pn 12036 against Barnwell and related sources), prosopography and institutional history (foundation chains, personnel circulation, synods), and architectural evidence (St Rule's expansion; early choir arrangements) with close musical reading of W1's Fascicle XI. The evidentiary case is cumulative rather than singular: no one document "proves" Sarum's early presence in Scotland, but converging textual, institutional, and spatial signals point to a first-wave Augustinian transmission shaped by local conditions. Pn 12036 preserves an Old Sarum layer later partly overwritten by standardization. Architectural data are used cautiously—as corroboration, not primary proof—while musical analysis focuses on what the repertory was meant to sound like and accomplish in the daily Lady Mass.

Two limits are explicit. First, the chapter does not posit direct lines from the Empire to St Andrews; Roman-German elements are argued to have reached Scotland only via Old Sarum and Augustinian channels. Second, "Sarum" here is treated as a family of practices in motion rather than a fixed book—hence the emphasis on pre-codified usage and local calendars rather

than later printed stabilizations.

The structure reflects these aims. Section 4.1 reconstructs routes of transmission. 4.1.1 reframes the standard narrative; 4.1.2 traces Augustinian channels (people, books, ceremonial space) and dates a first-wave implantation; 4.1.3 explains why Lincoln is peripheral in origin terms (chronology and textual fingerprint). Section 4.2 turns to local agency. 4.2.1 establishes Scotland's Marian substrate and the Céli Dé's continuing role; 4.2.2 shows how Sarum and Parisian materials were "digested" into a functional Marian cycle; 4.2.3 argues that Fascicle XI's exclusivity and musical restraint are best understood as institutional authorship—a unifying, orthodox, and prestige-bearing programme voiced in Marian tones suited to St Andrews' thirteenth-century pressures.

Read together, these sections shift the central question from "When did Scotland adopt Sarum?" to "Through whom, under what conditions, and with what local voice?" The answer offered here is: through Augustinian networks and the continued agency of the Céli Dé, earlier than commonly assumed, and at St Andrews with a Marian voice that made imported forms unmistakably its own.

4.1 Rewriting the Route: Sarum's Early Arrival via Augustinians

4.1.1 Rethinking the Standard Narrative

In contemporary scholarship, the English Sarum liturgy is conventionally divided into two periods: Old Sarum and New Sarum. The year 1225, marked by the relocation of the Salisbury canons to their new cathedral, serves as the accepted chronological division, with Bishop Richard Poore often identified as a pivotal figure[484]. Traditionally, scholars have suggested that the Sarum Use was devised specifically for the cathedral at Salisbury and that its formation occurred primarily during Poore's episcopacy (1217–1228). However, this interpretation has faced substantial critique. W. H. Frere's analysis of the *Graduale Sarisburiense* (BL Add. 12194) [485], dated between 1203 and 1220, demonstrates that Sarum practices were neither codified by Poore nor tied exclusively to the new cathedral. Pfaff further argues that the fundamental structure of Sarum practice may date as early as 1091, with Osmund's *Carta Osmundi*[486].

Salisbury and Morgan describe Sarum's initial stage (late twelfth–fourteenth centuries) as a

[484] Pfaff, *The liturgy in medieval England. Chapter 10 and 11*.
[485] Frere, *Graduale Sarisburiense: a Reproduction in Facsimile of a Manscript of the Thirteenth Century.* (Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1966). xxxv.
[486] Pfaff, the Liturgy in Medieval England: A History. 355

local tradition linked closely to Salisbury Cathedral[487]. Pfaff adds that by around 1290, the distinct identity of *secundum usum Sarum* was widely recognised[488]. In Scottish historiography, Sarum's arrival is usually placed within this same timeframe, citing episcopal decrees in Moray (1242) and Dunkeld (1249)[489]. Eeles even argued that most Scottish cathedrals adopted Sarum—directly or through Lincoln's influence[490]. Isobel Woods pointed to the Inchcolm Antiphoner as proof of Sarum's fourteenth-century establishment[491].

Yet the analysis of Pn 12036, closely aligned with the Barnwell Antiphonal (CUL Mm.II.9), suggests Sarum practices reached Scotland earlier. This raises critical questions: when did Sarum enter Scotland, and through what channels? Could its arrival be linked to the Augustinian canons active at St Andrews before Bishop Malveisin's tenure and the production of Pn 12036? The role of Lincoln will be returned to below (in 4.1.3 section), but here the focus is on earlier transmission routes.

The Augustinian canons' flexible liturgical traditions, supported by extensive English and Scottish foundations, complicate any simple narrative of uniformity[492]. Their role in disseminating liturgical practice is traceable in textual and material evidence. Before the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), Augustinian houses expanded mainly through 'colonies', each spreading its own customs[493]. Scottish Augustinian foundations such as Scone and Holyrood traced their origins to English houses; notably, both Holyrood and Barnwell derived from Huntingdon.

The Ordinal from Holyrood Abbey, an Augustinian foundation established in 1128, provides substantial textual evidence of Sarum's early influence in Scotland. Manuscript GB-Lbl MS Harley 5284A, likely originating from Cirencester, shares significant liturgical content with the Holyrood Ordinal[494]. Another manuscript, the Blantyre Psalter (GB-DRu Bamburgh Select 6, c.1175–1220), probably belonged to Holyrood, as suggested by its calendar entries for the Feast of Relics (21 October) and St Ethothus (16 July). Such inclusions point to Augustinian

[487] Salisbury, the Secular Liturgical Offices. 2. Nigel Morgan, 'The *Sanctorals* of Early Sarum Missals and Breviaries, c. 1250-c.1350', in George Hardin Brown and Linda Ehrsam Voigts (eds), *The Study of Medieval Manuscripts of England: Festschrift in Honor of Richard W. Pfaff* (Tempe, Arizona, 2010), 143, 158.
[488] Pfaff, *the Liturgy in Medieval England*. 374.
[489] Ferguson, *Medieval Papal Representatives*. 152-3.
[490] France. Eeles. *Scottish Exhibition of Natural History, Art, and Industry: Palace of History, Catalogue of Exhibits* (Glasgow, 1911), 104
[491] Isobel Wood. "'Our Awin Scottis Use': Chant Usage in Medieval Scotland," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 112 (1987): 21–37;
[492] In the discussion in Chapter 1, the Augustinians' flexible rules led to a great willingness to adapt to local customs and traditions, resulting in different variations of their rituals according to local conditions.
[493] John Willis Clark (ed). *The Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew at Barnwell*, (Cambridgeshire. Macmillan and Bowes, 1897).
[494] The Holyrood Ordinal published as Francis Eeles (ed.), *The Holyrood Ordinal: A Scottish Version of a Directory of English Augustinian Canons, with Manual and Other Liturgical Forms* (Edinburgh, 1916).

provenance and early adoption of Sarum practices[495]. Ratcliff further noted that Scottish Augustinian houses exhibited unusually strong institutional connections, supported by royal patronage from Kings Alexander I and David I[496]. The textual parallels between Pn 12036 and Mm.II.9 likely stem from Holyrood Abbey before the 1220s, reflecting shared Augustinian liturgical materials.

This analysis therefore focuses on textual evidence from Salisbury manuscripts, especially Ordinals and *Consuetudinaries*, to trace the earliest Sarum layer—active roughly from 1075 until Poore's standardisations around 1210. Comparisons will include responsory sequences, calendars, and rubrics, while excluding later harmonised versions. Alongside manuscripts, evidence will be drawn from Augustinian institutional links and corroborating architectural and ceremonial features at St Andrews (e.g. the enlargement of St Rule's and early choir arrangements).

Together, these strands indicate that Sarum practices were embedded in Scotland well before formal diocesan adoptions, with Augustinian networks serving as the primary channel. The Lincoln connection, often cited in older scholarship, will be reassessed later; here, the evidence underscores an earlier, Augustinian-driven transmission.

4.1.2 Routes of Transmission: Three Early Channels into Scotland

A. Earliest foothold, c. 1075–1120

Today, the term "Use of Sarum" refers to the medieval liturgical rite associated with Salisbury Cathedral (the Gothic cathedral begun in 1225). However, the Sarum Use did not originate with the construction of this cathedral. Instead, it developed earlier at Old Sarum, the former cathedral site, during the late 11th and early 12th centuries. The early Sarum liturgy evolved gradually under Norman-era bishops and drew upon earlier Anglo-Saxon and continental traditions. Pfaff has argued that two particular sources—the Leofric Missal (Bodleian MS Bodley 579) and a Roman-German Pontifical (now BL Cotton Tiberius C.i)—likely exerted significant influence on the emerging Sarum liturgy[497]. These books, compiled in the 10th–11th centuries, provided a Roman liturgical core enriched with local English additions, offering a model for how the rites at Old Sarum might have been shaped.

The story begins in 1075, when Bishop Herman moved the cathedral seat from Sherborne to

[495] see Alexander Boyle and Mark Dilworth, "Some identifications of Scottish saints", *Inner Review* 35 (1984), 39–41.
[496] Garrett B. Ratcliff, Scottish Augustinians: a Study of the Regular Canonical Movement in the Kingdom of Scotland, c. 1120-1215.(PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2013).
[497] Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England*. 350-3.

Old Sarum[498]. A Lotharingian cleric favored by King Edward the Confessor, Herman had previously served as bishop of Ramsbury and Sherborne. Upon his transfer to Salisbury, he likely brought with him the pontifical now known as BL Cotton Tiberius C.i—a mid-11th-century copy of the Roman-German pontifical, produced in Germany and subsequently transferred from Sherborne[499]. Although Herman's tenure at Old Sarum was brief (he died in 1078), his successor, Bishop Osmund, built upon the foundations he had established. Appointed in 1078 by William the Conqueror, Osmund—a Norman noble—is credited with organizing the cathedral chapter and formalizing its liturgy. The Chronicle of Holyrood reports that in 1089 Osmund "appointed thirty-six canons" at Salisbury[500], establishing a full complement of secular canons living a communal "canonical life". This act, later codified in the *Carta Osmundi* (Osmund's charter for the church), created a structured liturgical community[501]. The charter's provisions – including allocations of offerings from the high altar and other altars –imply the existence of multiple altars and a developed calendar of saints, pointing to an expanding cycle of feasts and devotions[502]. Osmund's consecration of the cathedral in 1092 further solidified Salisbury's emerging liturgical identity.

The litany in Cotton Tiberius C.i includes English saints such as Swithun and Edith, alongside standard Latin confessor and virgin saints[503]. This combination highlights that the early Sarum Use was not simply an imported Norman rite but rather a blended liturgy that fused Roman-Norman and Anglo-Saxon elements. By the time the cathedral was consecrated in 1092, its liturgical practices were already beginning to reflect this blended identity—even though the term "Use of Sarum" did not come into widespread use until the 13th century.

BL Cott. Tib. C.i, written in two German hands, and extensive additions by some 13 English scribes. Twelve of these English scribes worked first in Sherborne and subsequently in Salisbury, a move that aligns with relocation of the episcopate to Salisbury. The work may well have continued after Hereman's death. According to a prayer on fol.202v, is likely to date in 1095[504], in the tenue of bishop Osmund.

1. Define the Roman-German Signature

The "Roman-German signature" refers to the characteristic imprint of the Roman-German

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[498] Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England*. 351.
[499] N. R. Ker, ' Three Old English Texts in a Salisbury Pontifical, Cotton Tiberius C I', *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. P. Clemoes (London, 1959),
[500] Gransden believed its entries to 1128 were compiled from English sources. See Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, II: c.1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century.* (Ithaca 1982), 82.
[501] Pfaff, The *Liturgy in Medieval England*.351. Teresa Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral 1075-1125.* (Oxford University Press, 1992). 2-3.
[502] Pfaff, The *Liturgy in Medieval England*. 355.
[503] Fols. 203r-v in Cotton Tib. C.i.
[504] Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*.

Pontifical tradition on Salisbury's early liturgy, as exemplified by the manuscript BL Cotton Tiberius C.i. This manuscript – a Pontifical containing the rites and ceremonies performed by a bishop – is a tangible link between Salisbury and the 10th-century continental reforms. The core of Cotton Tiberius C.i (fols. 43–203) was written in Germany, c.1050, by two scribes, and represents the Roman-German Pontifical (the influential liturgical compilation associated with mid-10th-century Mainz)[505]. Its presence at Salisbury (via Sherborne) meant that the evolving Sarum rite had at its disposal a comprehensive set of Roman ecclesiastical ceremonies – ordinations, blessings, consecrations, etc. – as a framework. The "signature" lies in how this framework was adapted and augmented by English hands: between about 1070 and 1100, thirteen scribes[506] in England added extensive material to the pontifical, filling blank spaces and inserting new leaves. These additions localize and customize the imported Roman-German rites, effectively stamping the Sarum character onto the text.

What do these additions include? The Cotton Tiberius C.i pontifical became a composite compendium of liturgical and pastoral texts, reflecting the needs of an English cathedral. Among the added items are: Two Old English homiletic addresses, several prayers and forms of confession in Latin and Old English; and even the Pater Noster and the Creed in Old English translation. The inclusion of the Lord's Prayer and Creed in the vernacular is especially noteworthy – it suggests concern for religious instruction and lay understanding, an English pastoral touch grafted onto a Latin pontifical. The Council of Winchester (1070) (a reform council held after the Norman Conquest) and penitential articles issued after the Battle of Hastings (1066), which were copied into the pontifical[507]. By recording these, the Salisbury scribes were integrating contemporary English church regulations and penances into their working liturgical book. Some consecration ordines for an abbot and abbess saints exhibit distinct "lexical changes" and notably lack the customary alternate prayers (*alia*). These variations suggest that the rites underwent intentional adaptation, resulting in a unique English recension tailored specifically for use in the local liturgical context[508]. Crucially, one added ordination order—the

[505] Jonathan Wilcox, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000), vol. 8

[506] N.R. Ker has identified that a total of thirteen scribes writing in England made additions to the pontifical section of BL Cotton Tiberius C.i between 1070 and 1100. Of these thirteen scribes, the work of twelve has been precisely localized. Through references within their work and the identification of their hands in other manuscripts, it has been determined that these twelve scribes initially worked in Sherborne and subsequently in Salisbury. This movement aligns with the relocation of the episcopate from Sherborne to Salisbury in 1075. one of the thirteen English scribes remains "unlocalized." This scribe's hand, responsible for Quire XVIII (folios 172-79) in Part 2 of the manuscript, has not been identified in any other manuscript. see Ker, ' Three Old English Texts in a Salisbury Pontifical, Cotton Tiberius C I'. and Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*.

[507] The contents see K. D. Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music*. (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press in association with the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 2006)

[508] Ann-Marie Bugyis, "The Development of the Consecration Rite for Abbesses and Abbots in Central Medieval England" *Traditio* 71 (2016): 91–141.

benediction of an abbot – was explicitly tailored to Salisbury: as noted by N. R. Ker, in this rite the bishop asks the new abbot whether he will maintain obedience "to the holy mother church of Salisbury", directly inserting the local church's name into a standard liturgical formula[509]. This detail vividly illustrates the "Roman-German signature" at work: the universal rite from the continent has been indelibly marked with Salisbury's particular identity.

Because few other early Sarum liturgical books survive, Cotton Tiberius C.i is a key witness to how the Sarum Use was forged. Its English scribes can be viewed as agents of localization – adapting a Roman (and indirectly German) liturgy to an Anglo-Norman cathedral context. The manuscript's provenance underscores this journey: after its main parts compilation in Germany, thirteen English scribes added extensive material, beginning their work at Sherborne and continuing at Old Sarum following Bishop Herman's relocation of the see in 1075, and much of its added content likely dates from Bishop Osmund's tenure (1078–1099). A prayer found on fol. 202v provides a crucial dating reference, suggesting that the English additions likely extended up to around 1095[510]. The "signature" is thus twofold: first, the presence of the Roman-German Pontifical itself (signalling the importation of continental liturgical norms), and second, the layers of English additions (signalling active adaptation in Salisbury's first decades)[511]. Even without abundant 12th-century records, the internal evidence of this pontifical suggests that the Old Sarum community was using it as a living document – celebrating the liturgy, writing in new feasts, new saints, new rules, and translating key texts for local use. In doing so, they effectively created the earliest version of the Use of Sarum.

The influence of the Roman-German Pontifical did not stop at that one book; it sparked a wider movement of scribal and scholarly activity at Salisbury. The cathedral community at the end of the 11th century was notably active in manuscript production. Within fifty years of the see's establishment at Old Sarum in 1075, over fifty manuscripts and booklets were produced or acquired—a number modern scholars recognise as the largest surviving collection from any English centre in the post-Conquest period[512].

Teresa Webber has identified two overlapping groups of scribes responsible for a range of manuscripts associated with the Old Sarum church's scriptorium. The first group (Group I), active in the late 11th century, frequently collaborated on entire volumes. A second group (Group II) extended this work into the early 12th century, sometimes editing or supplementing the earlier group's efforts. Notably, at least five of the scribes who worked on Cotton Tiberius C.i

[509] Ker, "Three Old English Texts in a Salisbury Pontifical, Cotton Tiberius C I", 269–70.
[510] The prayer 'O sempiterne Deus edificatory et custos Ierusalem' is likely to date from after the beginning of the first Crusade in 1095. See Ker, ' Three Old English Texts in a Salisbury Pontifical, Cotton Tiberius C I', 262-79; and Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*.
[511] Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*. 11
[512] ibid. 8.

also contributed to other Salisbury manuscripts[513], underscoring their central role in the intellectual life of the cathedral.

The way these scribes worked—multiple hands in one manuscript, or successive annotations over time—suggests a fast-paced, possibly urgent, environment of book production. Webb believe the canons of Salisbury may have borrowed exemplars from other Continental or English centres[514] and needed to copy them quickly before returning them[515]. This would explain both the volume of texts produced in a short period and the diversity of materials represented in the Salisbury library.

The contents of the books produced at Salisbury around 1075–1125 reveal the community's priorities and the "Sarum" cast of mind. In addition to the pontifical, the cathedral chapter compiled an impressive range of hagiographical and homiletic material. Most notably, they assembled what is now recognized as the largest surviving collection of Latin saints' lives from this period in England[516]. This legendary includes Salisbury Cathedral MSS 221 and 222, which were further supplemented by related volumes such as Dublin, Trinity College MS 174 and Salisbury Cathedral MS 223.

Together, these substantial manuscripts contain approximately 124 hagiographic texts, arranged from January through early October, with a third volume presumably covering the remainder of the liturgical year. The scope of this collection far exceeds that of any other English legendary from the time. The selection of saints is revealing: the volumes include a wide array of biblical, patristic, and early medieval saints venerated throughout Western Christendom, as well as some prominent English figures such as St. Cuthbert, St. Swithun, St. Edith, and St. Augustine of Canterbury. However, the Salisbury canons showed relatively little interest in preserving the lives of more obscure Anglo-Saxon local saints, in contrast to other English churches that retained strong ties to local cults[517].

This preference for broadly recognized saints over parochial figures is also reflected in later Sarum calendars from the 13th century, which prioritize universal and major English saints. Such choices suggest that, even in its formative stages, Salisbury's liturgical culture was oriented

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[513] ibid. 11, 13-15. And 23.
[514] Most probably from Continental as the Roman-German Pontifical, it will be discussed at the end of this section.
[515] Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*. 17.
[516] Thomas N. Hall, "The Earliest Latin Sermon for the Virgin's Conception at the Annunciation" in *Sermons, Saints, and Sources: Studies in the Homiletic and Hagiographic Literature of Early Medieval England*. Eds., Thomas N. Hall and Winfried Rudolf (Brepols: 2024), 263-327.
[517] Webb believed that Goscelin of St-Bertin, a member of Bishop Hereman's *familia*, left Salisbury due to a dispute with Osmund. See "the Liber Confortatorius of Goscelin of St. Bertin", ed. C. H. Talbot, *Studia Anselmiana*, fasc. xxxviii (Analecta Monastica, 3rd ser.) (Rome, 1955), 29, 82; see also *The Life of King Edward who rests at Westminster*, ed. F. Barlow (London, 1962), 100–1, 107 n. 4. Webber, Scribes and Scholars. 40.

toward a wider ecclesiastical world. Rather than cultivating a nostalgic attachment to local Anglo-Saxon traditions, the Salisbury chapter appears to have embraced a more cosmopolitan or "international" outlook, aligning itself with the broader currents of the Norman Church.

Finally, the Roman-German signature at Salisbury extended to a remarkable engagement with patristic and theological texts. The secular canons at Salisbury were highly educated clergy who pursued the writings of Church Fathers such as Augustine, Gregory, Jerome, and others with notable intensity. Surviving book lists from this period show a particularly strong emphasis on the works of St. Augustine. The Salisbury collection is especially distinguished for its number of Augustine's treatises—including many shorter works (*opuscula*) that were rarely found in England at the time.

Scholars have observed that around the year 1100, few ecclesiastical libraries in England matched Salisbury's holdings in terms of Augustinian content. The cathedral's library contained the earliest known English copies of more than a dozen texts by Augustine or attributed to him. For at least five of these (including *De beata vita, De duabus animabus, the Speculum, Quaestiones Vetus et Novi Testamenti, and De genesi ad litteram imperfectus*), no other English copies from the eleventh or twelfth centuries are known to survive[518] suggesting that Salisbury may have been the only English centre to possess them at that time.

In addition to theological writings, Salisbury's library also included texts aligned with contemporary reform movements, such as early copies of the Rule of St. Augustine (the *Praeceptum*[519]) and the so-called Rule of the Four Fathers[520]. These texts were gaining popularity on the Continent but were still relatively uncommon in England. Their presence in Salisbury suggests not only an advanced level of theological literacy among its canons, but also strong intellectual and ecclesiastical links with continental centres, most likely with Augustinian communities. This evidence supports the idea that Salisbury maintained direct access to Continental exemplars and networks of reform.

In this way, Salisbury's exceptional collection of Augustinian texts—like the Roman-German Pontifical—was introduced and preserved due to the canons' academic interests and evolving liturgical needs. These texts not only reflect the intellectual character of the community but also reveal direct connections to Continental traditions, especially with Augustinian networks. Together, they illustrate how Salisbury's liturgical identity was shaped through the integration of Roman-German elements into a localized English context.

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[518] See the list in F. Römer, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus, 2/i, Grossbritannien und Irland, Werkverzeichnis*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 281 (Vienna, 1972)

[519] Salisbury Cathedral, MS 169, fos. 77v–81v.

[520] Salisbury Cathedral, MS 12, fos. 59–60.

2. Evidence from Pn 12036: Traces of the Roman-German / Augustinian Layer

This section turns to Pn 12036, as the earliest surviving liturgical manuscript in Scotland written within the Sarum framework. Copied in the first quarter of the 13th century, it provides critical insight into the transitional moment before the full standardisation of the Sarum rite. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, its structure and content are broadly aligned with early Sarum Use, though with several distinctive elements. Our aim here is to test whether Pn 12036 preserves liturgical material originating from the earlier Old Sarum tradition—specifically, from the phase influenced by the Roman-German Pontifical and its associated Augustinian networks. By identifying textual and musical features in Pn 12036 that are absent in contemporary Sarum manuscripts such as CUL Mm.II.9 or that appear with differing melodies in later standardized versions but do align with German Augustinian sources, we can trace an earlier transmission path. This path predates standardised Sarum practices and bypasses the so-called Lincoln filter and other English institutional intermediaries. The following test case focuses on individual chants that highlight these earlier continental connections.

Close analysis of the Office antiphoner Pn 12036 reveals a number of chants and readings that deviate from the expected Sarum norms and even from parallel practices in contemporary French (Parisian) sources. These anomalies are not simply idiosyncratic; in many cases, their closest parallels lie in Germanic or East-Frankish sources from the 11th–12th centuries. One notable example is the Epiphany antiphon Adorate dominum alleluia, whose melodic form in Pn 12036 does not align with standard Sarum or Parisian versions. Instead, it closely resembles versions found in A-KN 1013 and A-KN 1011, two 12th-century antiphoners from Klosterneuburg Abbey in Austria.

Klosterneuburg, an Augustinian house with strong South German affiliations, preserved an East-Frankish musical dialect in its liturgical books. The similarity between these Austrian versions and that found in Pn 12036 suggests that the St Andrews manuscript may have inherited chant melodies from a tradition shared with Klosterneuburg, rather than through the dominant Anglo-French (Sarum) line. In short, certain scattered chants in Pn 12036 likely reflect an older Romano-German layer of the Office repertoire that survived on the margins of Sarum Use in Scotland.

To contextualize these findings, we turn to Klosterneuburg Abbey's musical sources, which provide a window into the Roman-Germanic / Augustinian liturgical layer hypothesized here. Klosterneuburg Abbey, located near Vienna, was founded in 1114 by Leopold III, and in 1133 he invited the Augustinian canons to establish a community there[521]. Under reform-minded churchmen like Archbishop Konrad of Salzburg, Klosterneuburg became part of a broader

[521] Karl Brunner, *Leopold der Heilige: Ein Portrait aus dem Frühling des Mit telalters* (Vienna, 2009)。

network of Augustinian houses spreading across southern Germany and Austria in the 12th century[522]. The abbey's library preserves at least eight medieval antiphoners that shed light on its chant tradition. These antiphoners fall into two groups. The first group – A-KN 1010, 1012, and 1013 – were copied in the mid-12th century and together cover the full liturgical year (with 1010 containing Advent through Holy Week, and 1012–1013 covering Easter through the end of the year). The second group – A-KN 589, 1011, 1015, 1017, and 1018 – dates from roughly a century later; two of these (1017 and 1018) are commentary volumes covering the whole year, while the others divide into winter (1011, 1015) and summer (589, 1018) cycles[523]. All of these books reflect the use of the Augustinian canons at Klosterneuburg, which appears to be a mixed liturgical tradition: essentially Roman in structure, yet containing many chant melodies that differ from the standard "Romanic" versions.

Scholars have long debated whether Klosterneuburg's chant tradition reflects a Romanic (West-Frankish) or Germanic (East-Frankish) lineage. Earlier views, such as those of Altman Kellner, proposed a blend of both. Ekkehard Federl observed that square-notation sources tend to transmit Romanic melodies, while older Germanic variants persist in non-square neumes[524]. Yet this binary has been challenged: Heisler, Blachly, and Flotzinger note that many 12th-century sources display mixed traits, making strict labels unworkable[525].

Recent studies offer sharper insight. Debra Lacoste found that Klosterneuburg's early antiphoners, especially A-KN 1013(Austria, Klostemeuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift—Bibliothek 1013), favour gapped intervals and leaps—hallmarks of an East-Frankish melodic style—unlike the stepwise motion typical in French sources[526]. The notation itself is hybrid: square but shaped by older Germanic forms[527]. Together, these findings suggest that Klosterneuburg preserved a Roman-Germanic chant layer, maintained within Augustinian networks. This makes it a useful analogue for Pn 12036, which may reflect a similar blend of influences inherited from Old Sarum.

To illustrate the continental connections in Pn 12036's chant, it is helpful to compare a

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[522] Maximilian Fischer, *Merkwürdigere Schicksale des Stiftes und der Stadt Klosterneuburg aus Urkunden gezogen*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1815), 1:333-34. Kurt Zeillinger, *Erzbischof Konrad I. von Salzburg 1106-1147* (Vienna, 1968).

[523] Debra Lacoste, "The Earliest Klosterneuburg Antiphoners". (PhD diss. The University of Western Ontario. 1999). 49.

[524] Altman Kellner, *Musikgeschichte des Stiftes Kremsmünster.* (Kassel and Basel, 1956). Federl's point cited by Heisler. see Maria-Elisabeth Heisler. "Studien zum ostfränkischen Choraldialekt." (PhD diss., Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, 1986), 30.

[525] Heisler, "Studien zum ostfränkischen Choraldialekt."; Alexander Blachly, "Some Observations on the 'Germanic' Plainchant Tradition."*Current Musicology* 45-47 (1990): 85-117. at 98; Rudolf Flotzinger, *Der Discantussatz im Magnus liber und seiner Nachfolge mit Beiträgen zur Frage der sogenannten Notre-Dame-Handschriften*. (Graz: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1969). 42.

[526] Lacoste, "The Earliest Klosterneuburg Antiphoners".

[527] Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, II: c.1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Ithaca: 1982) 82 n.147

specific item across multiple traditions. A telling example is the *Adorate dominum alleluia* (CAO 1288[528]). This piece appears in Pn 12036 for the Epiphany office, specifically as a Matins antiphon, yet it is notably absent from the early Sarum antiphoner GB-CU Mm.II.9(the Barnwell Antiphonal) Because Sarum melodies varied considerably across time and region due to their wide transmission[529], this study uses the 1519–1520 printed Sarum Antiphonal as a fixed reference point. Although much later than Pn 12036, it represents the most stable and standardised version of the Sarum tradition, allowing for more consistent comparison. We then compare the version in Pn 12036 with four roughly contemporaneous sources from around 1200 that represent different liturgical families: (1). I-Rvat SP B.79 is a 12th-century liturgical book from St. Peter's in Rome containing the Old Roman repertoire.

(2) F-Pn lat. 12044, an early-12th-century antiphoner from the monastery of St. Maur-des-Fossés near Paris, catalogued by Hesbert as source "F" in the *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*[530]), and generally regarded as part of the Notre Dame group, closely linked to W1[531]and to the French liturgical traditions most strongly associated with St Andrews;

(3) A-KN 1013, the Klosterneuburg antiphoner (mid-12th century), previously discussed as preserving an East-Frankish/Augustinian musical layer; and

(4) the Sarum Antiphonal (Printed 1519–20) as mentioned. All these sources (except the later printed Sarum) date from ca. 1100–1220, roughly the era of Pn 12036, which allows us to observe how *Adorate Dominum* was handled in divergent regional traditions before Sarum Use became dominant.

The chant is set in Mode 6 (Musical Example 4.1). In the opening section(A), I-Rvat SP B.79 employs a stepwise descending line from F to A and continues by step, reflecting the rich yet smoother contour of Old Roman chant[532]. The 1519–20 Sarum printed version, though produced several centuries later, presents a simplified descendant of this contour. While the overall shape is preserved, much of the embellishment is pared down, yielding a simpler melodic profile.

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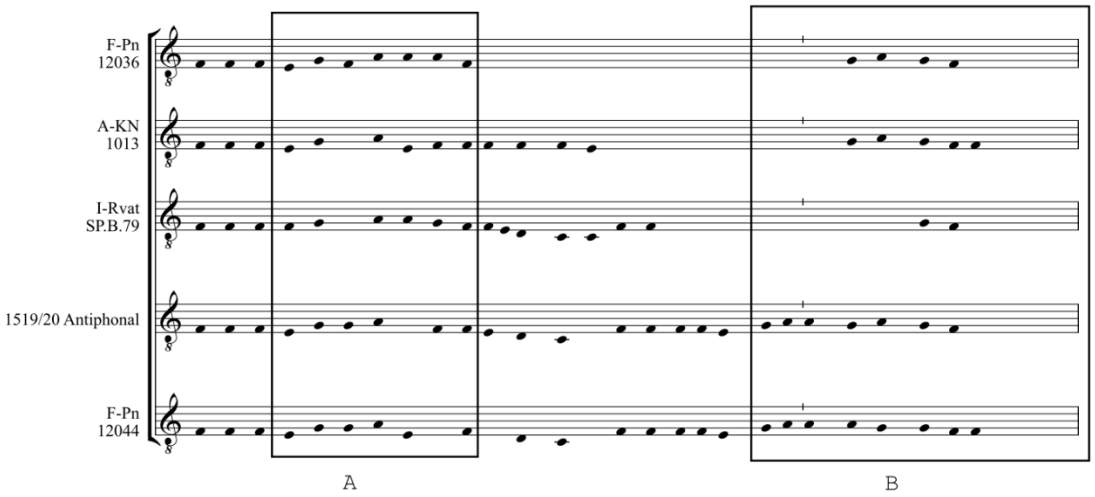
[528] Catalogue of antiphons as in Hesbert's *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, now expanded on the Cantus Database (Koláček, Jan, Debra Lacoste and Kate Helsen. Cantus: A Database of Latin Ecclesiastical Chant. (Waterloo) www.cantusdatabase.org.)

[529] Salisbury observed that the chant melodies of the Sarum Use displayed greater variation than the corresponding texts, attributing this disparity to local adaptations made during the rite's broad transmission. see Salisbury, the Secular Liturgical Office. And his "Stability and Variation".

[530] René-Jean Hesbert ed., *Corpus Antiphonalium officii.* (Roma Herder 1963-1979)

[531] Such as Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*. Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis". Also Roesner, ed., *Le Magnus Liber Organi De Notre-Dame De Paris*.

[532] Edward Charles Nowacki, "Studies on the Office Antiphons of the Old Roman Manuscripts." (Ph. D. diss., Brandeis University, 1980).



Musical Example 4.1 chants comparison for Adorate dominum alleluia (CAO 1288) in five sources.

By contrast, both Pn 12044 and A-Kn 1013 introduce a series of leaps (E-G-A–E-F) in the initial phrase. These intervals are hallmarks of the "Germanic" melodic style, which favours gapped motion over smooth, stepwise progression. In Pn 12044, these leaps appear starkly, injecting a dramatic contrast into the chant's opening. A-Kn 1013 also employs the same leaps but softens the effect by immediately repeating the note F after the leap, guiding the melody gently back into stepwise motion.

Pn 12036 adopts a similar mitigation strategy but emphasizes the higher note instead. Rather than repeating F, the St Andrews copyist repeats the upper note A before continuing, effectively bridging the leap in a different way. These subtle differences suggest that Pn 12036 draws from the same general variant as A-KN 1013, incorporating the characteristic Germanic leaps but filtered through a distinct local tradition.

In the later portion of the ending section(B), further contrasts emerge(Musical Example 1). The 1519 Sarum melody for *Adorate Dominum* in this section shows greater affinity with the Parisian tradition – likely because by the late Middle Ages, the Sarum Use had incorporated many French/Cluniac melodic shapes. In contrast, Pn 12036 and A-KN 1013 remain more closely aligned with each other. They differ only slightly, with just a single ornamental turn on the note F, and both generally preserve the simpler melodic line of their shared exemplar. Notably, both omit the elaborate flourishes found in the Old Roman and Parisian versions. This suggests that they descend from an older, less ornamented version of the chant.

In summary, the melodies in Pn 12036 and A-KN 1013 for *Adorate Dominum* are more similar to each other than to the Sarum, French, or Roman versions. Both display a simpler structure compared to the richly ornamented Old Roman version, suggesting that they preserve an earlier or more locally adapted melodic form. These similarities support the idea that Pn 12036 retains

features of a chant tradition that is neither fully Sarum (as later standardized) nor strictly French, but one that was likely shared with Germanic or Central European liturgical practice in the 12th century.

The musical lineage of the Klosterneuburg antiphoners, particularly chants such as *Adorate Dominum*, can be traced back to the 11th-century Quedlinburg Abbey antiphoner (D-B Mus. 40047). Quedlinburg, a prominent imperial monastery closely associated with the Ottonian dynasty, served as a major liturgical centre in 10th–11th century Saxony[533]. The alignment between chant forms in the Quedlinburg and Klosterneuburg manuscripts strongly suggests a transmission path from the Ottonian heartlands into 12th-century Austria, especially through Augustinian and other reform networks.

The connection between Klosterneuburg and Quedlinburg reflects the broader liturgical legacy of the Roman-Germanic Pontifical (PRG), compiled around the mid-10th century during the tenure of Archbishop Willigis of Mainz (975–1011), likely at St. Alban's monastery[534]. The PRG embodied the key liturgical innovations of the Ottonian era (c.962–1050), a period marked by strong Franco-German influence on medieval ritual[535]. Rather than simply preserving older rites, the PRG actively introduced new ceremonial forms that blended Roman texts with Germanic elements. This hybrid liturgical tradition spread widely across German-speaking regions, often through Augustinian and other reformist networks. The chant traditions preserved in Klosterneuburg antiphoners, including their melodic alignment with sources like Quedlinburg, exemplify this legacy. They offer a clear example of how the Ottonian Renaissance reshaped medieval liturgical culture, blending Roman structure with distinct East-Frankish melodic styles.

While the features in Pn 12036 suggest a connection to an earlier Roman-Germanic layer, it is important to note that there is no direct evidence linking the St Andrews community to the Holy Roman Empire or its major ecclesiastical centres. Instead, the transmission of these elements was likely indirect. The most plausible route is through Old Sarum (Salisbury), which in the late 11th and early 12th centuries was a vibrant ecclesiastical hub where various liturgical influences intersected.

Before its later codification, the Old Sarum rite may have absorbed Germanic and Augustinian elements—possibly introduced via Normandy, the Empire, or itinerant clergy. While many of these features did not survive into the fully standardized Sarum Use of the 13th century, they could have been transmitted to regions like Scotland through reforming networks,

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[533] Hartmut Möller, *Das Quedlinburger Antiphonar*. Vol. 1. Untersuchungen. Vol. 2. Edition und Verzeichnisse. Vol. 3. Fotografische Wiedergabe.
[534] Jesús Rodríguez Viejo, "The Performative Manuscript: Art, Agency and Public Ritual in Ottonian Mainz." *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 70, no. 2 (2019): 229–64.
[535] T.A Klauser, *A Short History of the Western liturgy*. (Cambridge 1978）, 54–95.

particularly those of the Augustinian canons.

In this context, St Andrews, where Augustinians were established in 1140, emerges as a natural conduit. It is likely that the community there received a version of the liturgy shaped by these earlier continental influences. Pn 12036 thus appears to preserve remnants of a Romano-Germanic and Augustinian liturgical layer, transmitted through high medieval reform movements and gradually superseded by the more uniform Sarum tradition that followed.

In conclusion, the “test case” of Pn 12036 demonstrates that the Sarum Use in its formative stage was not a closed or isolated system but remained open to continental influence. The presence of archaic or non-standard elements in this Scottish source highlights a broader pattern: the Old Sarum tradition, before its full standardization, likely served as a conduit for transmitting Franco-German liturgical innovations. Through ecclesiastical and Augustinian networks, these influences extended to the peripheries of Christendom, reaching even St Andrews. Pn 12036 thus preserves traces of a Roman-German/Augustinian layer, showing how continental liturgical currents continued to shape the Sarum Use beyond its English heartlands.

B. Augustinian Networks, c. 1120–1220

Having established that the St Andrews antiphoner Pn 12036 contains an archaic liturgical layer with a distinct "Roman-German" signature, the crucial question becomes: how did this specific tradition travel to Scotland? The conventional narrative, which points to a mid-thirteenth-century transmission via the diocese of Lincoln, cannot account for this earlier, non-standardized material. The answer, this section will argue, lies not in later diocesan policy but within the vibrant and interconnected networks of the Augustinian canons during the twelfth century.

This analysis will demonstrate that the initial and most formative transmission of the Sarum rite into Scotland was facilitated by this powerful institutional channel. The liturgy that arrived was not the mature rite of "New Sarum," but an earlier, more fluid "Old Sarum" tradition, one that was forged in the intellectual crucible of Salisbury and carried a distinct Augustinian character. These canons transmitted not only books and ceremonial knowledge but also a spatial logic visible in the architecture of key sites, such as the twelfth-century enlargement of St Rule’s Church, whose processional axis and shrine-oriented plan align with early Sarum usage.

To build this case, the following discussion will trace the institutional and textual connections linking Scottish daughter houses, like Holyrood and Scone, directly to their English mother houses and their continental reformist currents. In doing so, it will re-evaluate the primary channels of influence, positing this Augustinian network as the key conduit through which a pre-standardized Sarum Use reached St Andrews.

1. English Augustinian Houses as Mediators

The institutional framework for this transmission was forged within the first generation of English Augustinian priories[536], a network defined by its reformist zeal and a shared textual culture. Houses such as Merton Priory (Surrey), Barnwell Priory (Cambridgeshire), and Nostell Priory (Yorkshire), all founded in the energetic decade of the 1110s, were established during a period of intense cross-Channel exchange. Their founders and early canons were deeply influenced by continental reforms, drawing inspiration from the liturgical experiments of communities like the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris[537]. This intellectual climate made them particularly receptive to the evolving, prestigious rites of Salisbury, which they appear to have adopted and adapted with considerable speed.

The most compelling evidence for this early Augustinian adoption of Sarum practice is the Barnwell Antiphonal (CUL MS Mm.II.9). Its significance cannot be overstated; as the principal source used by W. H. Frere to reconstruct the *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, it is a window into a living, pre-standardized Sarum tradition[538]. The manuscript preserves liturgical DNA from an older stage of Sarum Use, including a responsory series and calendar structure that predate the more rigid codification of the later Middle Ages[539]. This demonstrates that Augustinian houses were not passive recipients of a finished rite. Instead, they were active participants in its development, integrating a Sarum-like cursus into their liturgical life while retaining the flexibility to accommodate local variations in chant and feast observance. They were, in effect, liturgical incubators for a Sarum tradition that was still in formation.

This dynamic, adapted liturgy was then exported directly to Scotland through the Augustinian expansion model, which relied on the colonization of "daughter houses." The two most significant early Augustinian houses in Scotland were founded in this way, with their English mother houses transmitting their specific liturgical customs northward. The foundation of Holyrood Abbey in 1128 by King David I, with a community from the prestigious Merton Priory, established a direct and high-status conduit for Sarum-aligned practices into the heart of the Scottish kingdom. Merton's own customs were deeply embedded in this tradition; it shared a mother-house (Huntingdon) with Barnwell, placing it within a cohesive "liturgical family" whose

[536] Cowan, *Medieval Religious Houses*. Also see J. C. Dickinson, The Origins of the Austin Canons and their introduction into England (London, 1950).
[537] Willis Clark pointed out the resemblance of parts of the Barnwell Antiphonal (CUL MS Mm.II.9) to that of the Victorine customary (St Victor, Paris). Willis Clark (ed.), *The Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew*.
[538] Frere ed., *Antiphonale Sarisburiense: A Reproduction in Facsimile from Early Manuscripts*. 3vols. (London: Gregg Press 1901–24).
[539] Salisbury, the Secular Liturgical Office.

surviving books, as Timothy Morris notes, are almost "pure Salisbury Use." [540].

Similarly, when King Alexander I established Scone Priory between 1114 and 1122 with a colony of canons from Nostell Priory, he imported its liturgical tradition[541]. Although Nostell was geographically within the diocese of York, the argument that it transmitted a distinct "Use of York" is anachronistic for this early period[542]. In the early twelfth century, a monolithic and distinct York Use had not yet fully diverged from the Sarum tradition; both were part of a broader Anglo-Norman liturgical tradition. The development of a uniquely northern rite at York only gained momentum later in the century, with the cult of St. William of York providing a focal point from the 1170s onward[543]. Consequently, the customs brought to Scone would have been structurally and textually aligned with the evolving Sarum tradition, not a rival rite.

2. Transmission through Holyrood Abbey

Of the two primary conduits established in the previous section, the institutional link between Merton Priory and its royal daughter house, Holyrood Abbey (founded 1128), stands out as a crucial hub for the transmission of Sarum-form liturgy into Scotland. Its liturgical practice was aligned with the Sarum Use from the mid-12th century, rather than only from the 13th century as sometimes assumed. Multiple strands of evidence indicate that the Augustinian canons of Holyrood adopted the Roman/Sarum liturgical model soon after the abbey's foundation in 1128 and maintained it thereafter. This challenges older interpretations that place the introduction of Sarum liturgy to Holyrood in the 13th century, demonstrating instead that Holyrood was among the earliest Scottish adopters of Sarum practices, benefitting from its close ties to reformist English houses and continental traditions.

The abbey's foundation in 1128 was part of King David I's broader ecclesiastical reforms, which sought to integrate Scotland into the mainstream of European church life. As historians like Ian B. Cowan have argued, during the transformative period between 1120 and 1147, the canons themselves brought the continental "Roman model" of worship and organization to replace older, insular norms[544]. For a new Augustinian house in twelfth-century Britain, adopting this model meant embracing a highly influential variant of the Roman Rite: Use of Sarum. The canons who settled at Holyrood, drawn from an English background, would have implemented

[540] Timothy Meeson Morris, The Augustinian Use of Oseney Abbey: A study of the Oseney Ordinal, Processional and Tonale (Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson c. 939). (PhD Diss., University of Oxford, 1999). 129.
[541] D.M. Robinson, *The Geography of Augustinian Settlement in Medieval England and Wales*, (Oxford, 1980) I vol, 22-7.
[542] Before the 13th century, the York Use had not yet developed distinctive textual features, its early development likely overlapped with Sarum practices, particularly evidenced by hybrid characteristics in textual family classifications. See Salisbury, the Secular Liturgical Office.
[543] Christopher Norton, *St William of York* (Woodbridge, 2006), 202.
[544] Ian B. Cowan, 'The Post-Columban Church', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 18 (1972-4) and also see 'The Early Ecclesiastical History of Edinburgh', *Inner Reviews*, 23 (1972), 16-21.

these modern Roman-Sarum forms from the start as a matter of course.

This foundational context is powerfully corroborated by the abbey's earliest historical writings. The Chronicle of Holyrood, which the canons began actively compiling around 1150, demonstrates a striking and early interest in the affairs of Salisbury. Around 1150 the character of the chronicle changes: previously sparse and derivative entries give way to substantial local material, suggesting active compilation at Holyrood. In constructing their chronicle, the canons drew on an English source ("source X") that contained a distinctive series of Salisbury-related notices. These include the dedication of Salisbury Cathedral by Bishop Osmund (1092), a full sequence of Salisbury bishops (including the deaths of Hermann in 1078 and Osmund in 1099, the election of Roger in 1102, and his ordination in 1107), and even the death of the Abbess of Shaftesbury in 1111 (a house within the Salisbury diocese) [545].

Anderson identifies this material as a "Salisbury series" ultimately derived from a Salisbury manuscript, incorporated into Holyrood's annals independently of other sources. Its inclusion shows that Holyrood's compilers were deliberately engaging with Salisbury's historical record. This implies both intellectual and possibly personal connections with Salisbury, reinforcing the likelihood that Holyrood was already oriented towards Sarum liturgical practice in the mid-12th century. The Holyrood canons were thus tapping into the wider English Sarum-centered tradition in their historical writing, a strong indication that their liturgical life may have been similarly oriented towards Sarum usage at that early date.

Moving from institutional interest to direct liturgical proof, the Blantyre Psalter (GB-DRu Bamburgh Select 6) provides definitive evidence of Sarum Use in practice at Holyrood in the late twelfth century. Written in Scotland between c. 1175 and 1220, this service book was almost certainly produced for Holyrood. It contains a Latin psalter with a calendar, canticles, and prayers, and its calendar entries point to a Scottish Augustinian house. The inclusion of feasts for Scottish saints such as Saint Kentigern (13 January), Saint Baldred of Tyninghame (6 March), and Saint Andrew (both 30 November and a secondary feast on 9 May) indicates a Lothian-region provenance. Baldred's presence is especially telling, as he was a local East Lothian saint, reinforcing the Holyrood attribution[546].

The Psalter's liturgical structure aligns closely with Sarum practice. Its psalm divisions for weekly recitation and the choice of liturgical texts reflect Sarum-use patterns, demonstrating that Holyrood's liturgy conformed to Sarum norms well before the 13th century. It stands as direct, material evidence that by the late 1100s, Holyrood's liturgy was not an isolated local rite

[545] Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson ed., *A Scottish Chronicle Known as the Chronicle of Holyrood*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1938).
[546] see Alexander Boyle and Mark Dilworth, "Some Identifications of Scottish Saints', *Inner reviews* 35 (1984), 39–41.

but was fully integrated into the Sarum mainstream.

It is with this 12th-century evidence as a foundation that we can properly interpret the later Holyrood Ordinal. While the surviving English fragment of this ordinal (BL Harley 5284A) dates to the third quarter of the 13th century, it should be seen not as the beginning of the tradition, but as a later witness to its specific character and English origins. The fragment's contents confirm that Holyrood's liturgy was an adaptation of a common Augustinian Use circulating in England, one that followed Sarum closely in its core Office chants. The presence of feasts pointing to a southwestern English provenance—plausibly Cirencester Abbey—helps identify the specific regional flavor of the Sarum Use that Holyrood inherited[547]. The Ordinal, therefore, does not date the start of the practice at Holyrood, but rather confirms the content of the Sarum-based tradition that the Blantyre Psalter and the Chronicle show was already thriving there a century earlier.

All the evidence — Salisbury-derived chronicle entries from c.1150, the adoption of a Roman (Sarum) model by Holyrood's founding canons, the Sarum-influenced Blantyre Psalter of the late 12th century, and the 13th-century Holyrood antiphonal — points to the same conclusion: Holyrood Abbey followed Sarum liturgical practice from the mid-12th century, not only from the 13th. Sarum use was embedded in Holyrood's identity as a reformed Augustinian house under David I, adopted soon after its foundation and maintained without break. Later manuscripts confirm this long-standing alignment rather than mark its beginning. Holyrood thus exemplifies how 12th-century Scottish Augustinian communities integrated into the Anglo-Norman liturgical sphere, adopting Sarum early and sustaining it through the medieval period.

3. Augustinian Textual Cohesion in Scotland

As the preceding analysis has demonstrated, Holyrood Abbey was not a late adopter of Sarum Use, but an early and influential one. By the mid-twelfth century, evidence from its chronicle, its foundational context, and surviving liturgical manuscripts like the Blantyre Psalter confirms that the abbey had already established a localized, Sarum-based liturgy. This established fact—that a major Scottish Augustinian house was practicing Sarum Use from this early date—serves as the premise for understanding how the rite was transmitted further. The question is no longer if Sarum was present in twelfth-century Scotland, but how the practice at Holyrood was disseminated to other houses, most notably to the kingdom's primary see at St Andrews.

The swift and uniform dissemination of Sarum Use from a house like Holyrood was possible because the Scottish Augustinians formed an unusually cohesive and interconnected network,

[547] Eeles (ed.), *The Holyrood Ordinal*. xxix. Also see Morris, The Augustinian Use of Oseney Abbey. 26.

acting as a powerful conduit for liturgical and textual exchange. This cohesion, which scholars like Ratcliff have noted was stronger than that of their English counterparts, was built on three pillars[548]. These were: (A) shared leadership and frequent movement of personnel between houses, (B) regular assemblies that functioned much like general chapters, and (C) the shared patronage of the Scottish Crown, which encouraged consistency. Together, these pillars created a strong framework for unifying practice. The following subsections examine each pillar in turn, showing how they enabled the Augustinian network to transmit and maintain the Sarum Use throughout its communities.

Scotland's Augustinian canons regular maintained unusually close ties, frequently exchanging both leaders and ordinary members between houses. This movement of personnel created a natural pathway for transferring customs, texts, and liturgical practice. Many new Augustinian priories were founded or reformed by canons drawn from established Scottish houses or their English mother-houses. For example, Scone Priory (c. 1120) was settled by canons from Nostell Priory in Yorkshire, and when St Andrews Priory was founded, experienced canons from Scone formed its core community[549].

Such exchanges continued well beyond initial foundations. Throughout the 12th century, it was common for a canon from one abbey to assume leadership at another. In 1162, for instance, Robert(not Robert from Nostell), a canon of Jedburgh Abbey, became the first abbot of Scone[550]. Each transfer brought with it the liturgical knowledge and traditions of the canon's original house, producing a strong unifying effect. Historians note that because many superiors had trained elsewhere within the network, they tended to introduce the same observances wherever they went. Leadership rotation has been described as the most important factor in unifying the Scottish Augustinian movement.

For much of the period 1120–1215, major abbeys were often governed by men trained at other Augustinian houses, such as Scone being led by prelates from Holyrood or Jedburgh. This practice played a direct role in creating a shared liturgical identity. In effect, the Sarum Use adopted at Holyrood could be carried to other foundations through the movement of canons and priors, ensuring textual and ceremonial cohesion across the realm.

A second pillar of Augustinian cohesion was the practice of holding frequent collective assemblies, particularly diocesan synods and councils, where Augustinian priors met to coordinate. Unlike the Cistercians, the Augustinians did not yet have a centralized chapter, so these gatherings provided a vital platform for cooperation. Bishops of Scotland created

[548] Ratcliff, Scottish Augustinians.
[549] Duncan, The Foundation of St Andrews. 13.
[550] He may have served as prior of Restenneth. Eeles, *The Holyrood Chronicle*. 139-40. See also Bower, *Scotichronicon*, IV, 175.

opportunities for canons regular to assemble, often at St Andrews or other key centers, in meetings that effectively served the same function as the annual general chapters of more centralized orders.

Scholars such as D.E.R. Watt note that Scottish diocesan synods were being held well before the Fourth Lateran Council's mandate of 1215, and Augustinian canons were active participants[551]. The earliest recorded diocesan council in Scotland, convened by Bishop Robert of St Andrews at Berwick in 1150, demonstrates the network's tight bonds[552]. It brought together the priors of Holyrood, Jedburgh, Scone, and St Andrews – all major Augustinian houses – to advise on church jurisdiction. Ratcliff suggests Bishop Robert deliberately assembled this group to discuss Augustinian affairs, drawing canons from across the kingdom[553]. In effect, these synods doubled as Augustinian conferences.

Such meetings allowed for the exchange of liturgical directives, comparison of customaries, and collective decision-making, fostering uniformity. On at least two occasions, they directly advanced shared liturgical practice through joint acts of patronage. For example, in the 1150s Bishop Robert granted a parish church to Holyrood Abbey in the presence of several Augustinian abbots[554], and in 1166 Bishop Richard of St Andrews confirmed a church to Holyrood with the assent of Augustinian abbots from multiple dioceses[555].

Through these regular synods – functioning as informal general chapters – Scottish Augustinian houses maintained close communication, minimized local divergence, and promoted a unified liturgical approach. This structure helped embed Sarum liturgical customs, allowing them to be affirmed and disseminated collectively. By the late 12th century, the Augustinian canons in Scotland operated much like a unified order with a common rite, even before any formal order existed.

A third pillar of Augustinian cohesion was the patronage of the Scottish Crown. Most Augustinian houses in 12th-century Scotland were founded or supported by King David I (1124–1153) and his successors[556]. This shared royal sponsorship encouraged both practical and ideological uniformity. Practically, the king's court maintained close ties with these houses, granting them similar privileges, involving their clerics in royal administration, and likely facilitating the sharing of liturgical books. Ideologically, David I's reform agenda aimed to replace what he saw as outdated local rites with the newer, more standardized practices common in

[551] D.E.R. Watt, *Medieval Church Councils*. (Edinburgh, 2000),1-8, 43-53.
[552] J. Raine ed., *The History and Antiquities of North Durham*, (London, 1852), no. 449
[553] Ratcliff, Scottish Augustinians. 196-198.
[554] C. Innes ed., *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis: munimenta ecclesie Sancte Crucis de Edwinesburg*, (Edinburgh, 1840), [Holyrood Liber], no. 9. See also, RRS, II, no. 39.
[555] *Holyrood Liber*, app. 2 (no. 4).
[556] See the list in Cowan, *Medieval Religious Houses*.

England and on the Continent. As discussed in Chapter 1, he invited Augustinian canons and other reforming orders to revitalize the Scottish church with up-to-date customs. This created a network of royal abbeys that looked to each other and to England, rather than to older local traditions, for liturgical guidance.

In addition, by the early 13th century, the effects of this shared patronage also could be seen in architecture. Unlike in England, where Augustinian houses varied greatly in design, Scottish Augustinian abbeys showed striking architectural uniformity, a result of their common royal patronage[557]. Because of its unique religious and political status in Scotland, the architectural style of St. Rule's Church and St. Andrews Cathedral highlights its continuous connection to Old Sarum[558], while still undeniably retaining ties to the Augustinian network.

Through the three pillars—shared leadership, regular assemblies, and common patronage—the Scottish Augustinians of the 12th century were more unified than their counterparts elsewhere. This unity created ideal conditions for one liturgical tradition, the Sarum Use, to prevail across their communities. We now turn to the key figure who embodied this network and to the reasons why Sarum, in particular, became the liturgy of choice.

The emergence of Sarum Use as the definitive liturgy for the Scottish Augustinians was not an accident, but a deliberate choice made in a context where other alternatives were either politically impossible or ideologically outdated.

The Use of York, for instance, was never a viable option. As established in Chapter 1, the long-standing political tensions between St Andrews and the Archdiocese of York made any adoption of its liturgy unthinkable; it would have signaled a deference to York that the Scottish church actively resisted. Furthermore, as a practical matter, the Use of York had not yet significantly diverged from Sarum in the mid-12th century[559]. The choice was therefore not between two distinct rites but between political allegiance and neutrality. Sarum, carrying no submission to a rival archbishop and rapidly becoming the standard for secular clergy, was the only logical modern choice.

Similarly, the older Benedictine rites were set aside. King David I's reformist agenda, detailed in Chapter 1, favored the "new orders" like the Augustinians and viewed the established Benedictine customs as relics of a past era. The Sarum Use, as a diocesan rite, perfectly matched the clerical and pastoral identity of the Augustinian canons, aligning with their role in serving a cathedral. This did not mean a complete erasure of the past. As shown in Chapter 2

[557] D.B. Gallagher, 'The Planning of Augustinian Monasteries in Scotland', in *Meaningful Architecture: Social Interpretations of Buildings*, ed. M. Locock (Avebury, 1994), 184-5.
[558] See the discussion in Chapter 3.
[559] Salisbury, the Secular Liturgical Office.

and 3, the Sarum framework was flexible enough to absorb local saints and older traditions, creating a liturgy that was both modern and distinctly Scottish. By choosing Sarum, the Augustinians fulfilled David's vision: they adopted a cutting-edge, pan-British rite while still preserving a sense of local heritage.

With the alternatives of a politically fraught York Use and an ideologically outdated Benedictine rite set aside, Sarum emerges as the only logical choice for the reformed Scottish church of the twelfth century. The Augustinian canons, unified by their shared network and the patronage of King David I, were the ideal agents to implement this change. They acted as the principal channel through which the Sarum Use, already established at Holyrood, was transmitted to St Andrews and beyond.

This ascendancy was no accident; it was the result of a coordinated effort, with Holyrood as the exemplar, Bishop Robert as the enforcer, and King David I as the patron. For the first time, this convergence of institutional cohesion and royal authority produced a broadly uniform liturgy for the kingdom. The triumph of Sarum at St Andrews was, therefore, the direct outcome of the Augustinian network's strength, ensuring that when the canons of Scotland spoke on matters of liturgy, they did so with one voice—and that voice was Sarum.

C．Malveisin's Reforms and the Glasgow Statutes（c. 1202–1250）

While the Augustinian network provided the primary and most formative channel for Sarum Use in twelfth-century Scotland, it was not the only one. A second, parallel stream of influence flowed through a different institutional structure: the secular cathedral chapter. The relationship between Salisbury and the clergy of Glasgow Cathedral represents a distinct, non-Augustinian route for the transmission of Sarum customs, one that adds important nuance to the story of the rite's adoption in Scotland.

The direct connection between Salisbury and Glasgow was forged in the mid-twelfth century. Around 1161, during the episcopates of Bishops John and Herbert, a copy of the Sarum Consuetudinary was sent from Salisbury to the Glasgow chapter[560]. This act established a formal, documented link and provided the Glasgow clergy with a blueprint for Salisbury's administrative and procedural customs.

This connection gained a personal dimension several decades later with the career of Bishop William Malveisin. Before his promotion to the see of St Andrews in 1202, Malveisin

[560] Edited in C. Innes, *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*: *Munimenta ecclesiae metropolitane Glasguensis a sede restaurata seculo ineunte XII ad reformatam religionem*. No. 75. (Bannatyne Club, 1843), nos. 23,28,47,207,208,211,213,214,215. See the discussion in Great-Mary Hair and Betty I Knott, *Vespers, Matins and Lauds for St Kentigern, Patron Saint of Glasgow*. (Glasgow: Musica Scotica Trust, , 2011). 36.

served as Bishop of Glasgow from 1200 to 1202[561]. During his tenure, he would have had access to, and likely familiarized himself with, the Sarum Consuetudinary that had been in the chapter's possession for nearly forty years.

Although there is no direct evidence that Malveisin personally introduced the Sarum Use to St Andrews, his Glasgow experience would have informed his governance. He likely promoted Sarum-style administrative procedures and ceremonial forms, reinforcing changes already in progress. As noted in Chapter 3, the appearance of fixed choir stalls in the new cathedral suggests that a clerical hierarchy had been fully established—possibly reflecting the influence of the Sarum Consuetudinary. In this sense, Malveisin's role was one of consolidation: strengthening and legitimising Sarum-inspired practice across Scotland's leading bishoprics. This episcopal, secular current of influence complemented the Augustinian network, helping to secure Sarum Use as a recognised framework for cathedral worship in Scotland.

The presence of the Sarum Consuetudinary at Glasgow, however, did not equate to an immediate adoption of the full Sarum liturgy. As Nigel Morgan has argued, it is essential to distinguish between the influence of the Consuetudinary, a procedural and administrative document, and the adoption of the complete liturgical rite[562]. The evidence from Glasgow strongly supports this distinction, revealing a significant lag between the two.

Although the Consuetudinary arrived around 1161, it was not until a statute of 1258—nearly a century later—that the Glasgow chapter formally adopted a constitution modeled on that of Salisbury[563]. Furthermore, the implementation was clearly slow and inconsistent. As late as 1275, the Archdeacon and other officials of Glasgow were formally cited for failing to follow the Sarum constitutions, proving that administrative adoption was far from complete even then[564]. The dissemination of the Sarum ritual itself appears to have been a similarly late development. The *Sprouston Breviary*, a key witness for the Sarum rite in the Glasgow diocese, points to a late thirteenth-century adoption; its textual relationship to the Risby Ordinal—what W.H. Frere termed the 'Old Ordinal' of Sarum[565]—demonstrates that the version of the Sarum ritual being disseminated in the Glasgow diocese was from a later period of codification. This substantial body of evidence demonstrates that the Glasgow channel in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries was primarily concerned with administrative and constitutional matters, not the wholesale importation of Sarum's liturgical services.

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[561] Bower, *Scotichronicon*: IV: 423. And vol. III, p. 392.
[562] Morgan, 'The Introduction of the Sarum Kalendar into the Dioceses of England in the Thirteenth Century', in Michael Prestwich et al (eds), *Thirteenth Century England VII: Proceedings of the Durham Conference 1999* (Woodbridge, 2001).
[563] Cowan, *Medieval Religious Houses.* 208,
[564] Glas. Reg., i, 189-190, no. 227.
[565] Frere's "edition" of the Old Ordinal is essentially a print of the Risby Sarum Ordinal (BL Harley 1001), dated to the mid-thirteenth century. see Frere, *the Use of Sarum*.

The evidence, therefore, points to a clear conclusion. The Glasgow channel, while significant, was primarily administrative rather than liturgical in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The long delay in Glasgow's own adoption of the Sarum rite and constitution proves that the mere presence of the Consuetudinary did not trigger an immediate liturgical shift.

Consequently, when Bishop Malveisin was translated to St Andrews in 1202, he was not importing a new liturgy to a see that lacked one. Instead, he arrived at a cathedral where a localized Sarum Use had already been established for over half a century by the powerful Augustinian network. His experience in Glasgow likely gave him an appreciation for Sarum's administrative and procedural models. It is plausible, then, that his influence at St Andrews represents a secondary stream of reinforcement: a layering of Sarum's organizational customs on top of a pre-existing Sarum liturgical foundation. This "re-introduction" did not establish Sarum Use at St Andrews, but rather strengthened and perhaps further standardized a tradition that was already deeply entrenched.

Taken together, the circulation of personnel, movement of liturgical books, and crown-supported cohesion outlined in 4.1.2 reveal a coherent Augustinian liturgical commons operating across Scotland and northern England. The same individuals and religious houses appear repeatedly—Nostell and St Andrews, Merton and Holyrood, Barnwell, Merton, and St Andrews—engaged not only in the exchange of people and texts but also in the dissemination of ceremonial practice and architectural logic. Sarum Use did not arrive as a fixed, abstract system imposed from above. Rather, it travelled with the canons themselves, who brought with them repertories, processional norms, and practical liturgical expertise, all of which they adapted to local contexts enshrined in the spaces they built and used. These developments occurred prior to the codification of episcopal statutes in 1249 and 1258, indicating that practice preceded legislation—not the other way around.

The dating pattern is internally consistent. The initial foothold appears by c.1130–40, evidenced by Nostell’s early influence and the mid-twelfth-century layers of the Holyrood Chronicle. This is followed by administrative consolidation in the later twelfth century, as seen in excerpts from the Glasgow consuetudinary. The process culminates in a textual capstone in the early thirteenth century with the Old Sarum layer in Pn 12036 (c.1215–40). By the time Malveisin assumes office at St Andrews in 1202, the liturgical landscape suggests consolidation rather than initial introduction. The appearance of fixed choir stalls in the new cathedral by this time further supports the notion that a clerical hierarchy and Sarum-based ceremonial were already operational. By c.1220, Sarum Use is fully embedded at St Andrews, with roots reaching back nearly a century. The network dynamics outlined above offer the causal mechanism that transforms this chronology into a coherent historical explanation.

This mechanism also helps explain why the Lincoln model of transmission cannot account for the Scottish case. The English, statute-driven normalization associated with Lincoln during the 1230s–1250s represents a second wave in the history of Sarum Use—significant for later standardization, but too late to explain the earlier Scottish evidence presented here. Scotland's adoption belongs to the first wave: a mobile, Augustinian-led transmission in which books, personnel, and liturgical spaces were coordinated well before the implementation of diocesan statutes. The next subsection, accordingly, examines the Lincoln model and demonstrates why it remains peripheral to the St Andrews narrative.

4.1.3 Lincoln: A Peripheral Explanation

To properly contextualize the Augustinian achievement, it is necessary to first define the "Lincoln model," the channel most often credited with bringing Sarum Use to Scotland. This term is best understood not as a reference to the diocese of Lincoln alone, but as shorthand for a specific historical process: the formal, top-down adoption of Sarum Use by secular cathedrals, driven by episcopal statutes. This model is a distinct mid-thirteenth-century phenomenon, exemplified by the official decrees mandating Sarum practice in dioceses like Moray (1242), Dunkeld (1249), and Glasgow (1258).

However, as the detailed work of Nigel Morgan on the diocese of Lincoln reveals, this process was rarely a straightforward replacement. Instead, it was a slow and often resisted hybridization, where Sarum elements were gradually blended with strong, persistent local traditions. Morgan demonstrates that even in a major diocese like Lincoln, the adoption was incomplete, with calendars and service books retaining a distinct regional identity through the veneration of local saints like St. Hugh of Lincoln and St. Guthlac of Crowland[566]. This model of negotiated, piecemeal adoption represents a fundamentally different process from the Augustinian channel. While Pn12036 also blended local traditions into a Sarum framework, as discussed in previous chapters, their approach was a cohesive and strategic adaptation driven by the order's unified mission(the Augustinian and the Celi De). The Lincoln model, by contrast, reflects a slower, more fragmented process of hybridization born from local resistance and administrative inertia.

The fundamental problem with applying the "Lincoln model" to St Andrews is one of simple chronology. The entire process of formal, statute-driven adoption in dioceses like Moray, Dunkeld, and Lincoln itself is a mid-to-late thirteenth-century phenomenon. Indeed, as Nigel Morgan has suggested, the full adoption of the Sarum Ordinal's content in the Lincoln diocese

[566] Morgan, 'The Introduction of the Sarum Kalendar into the Dioceses of England in the Thirteenth Century', also see 'The Sanctorals of Early Sarum Missals and Breviaries, c. 1250-c.1350'.

may have taken place as late as the 1320s[567]. As this chapter has demonstrated, the establishment of a vibrant, localized Sarum Use at St Andrews began with the arrival of the Augustinian canons in the mid-twelfth century—nearly two centuries earlier. The creation of Pn12036 thus predates the Lincoln-sphere adoptions by a vast margin. Therefore, the Lincoln model is chronologically flawed; it cannot explain the origins of a liturgical tradition that was already long-established.

Beyond the fatal chronological problem, the Lincoln model is also invalidated by a fundamental textual mismatch. The "Sarum-Lincoln hybrid" liturgy that emerged from the later episcopal adoptions is textually distinct from the rite established early at St Andrews.

The liturgical "fingerprint" found in the earliest St Andrews manuscript, Pn12036, is entirely different. It shows no trace of this specific Sarum-Lincoln hybridity and lacks the distinctive saints of the Lincoln diocese, such as St. Hugh or St. Guthlac. Instead, as argued earlier in this chapter, Pn12036 preserves an "Old Sarum" rite, one defined by its pre-standardized nature, its archaic Roman-German chant influences, and its own unique blend of saints reflecting Scottish priorities. The two rites belong to different moments in time and different institutional cultures. The complete absence of any shared textual peculiarities confirms that St Andrews' liturgy did not derive from the Lincoln sphere.

The evidence, when viewed in its proper chronological and institutional context, reveals that the transmission of Sarum Use into Scotland was not a single event, but a complex process that occurred in two distinct waves. The long-standing scholarly confusion has stemmed from conflating the later, secondary wave with the primary one.

The first and most foundational wave was the Augustinian Transmission (c. 1120–1200). This was an organic, network-driven process, facilitated by the unique cohesion of the Scottish Augustinian houses. It transmitted a fluid, pre-standardized "Old Sarum" rite that was adapted to suit the order's mission and local Scottish context. This wave is responsible for the establishment of Sarum as the core liturgy at St Andrews and its sister houses, and it is the true origin story of Sarum in Scotland.

The second, later wave was the Formal Episcopal Transmission (c. 1240–1260). This was a top-down, statute-driven, and primarily administrative process, often cited as the "Lincoln model." It sought to regularize the liturgy in other later-adopting secular cathedrals by introducing a more codified and standardized version of the Sarum rite. The broader European connections of this second wave, particularly in relation to manuscript W1, especially in fascicle XI, will be discussed in section 4.2. By correctly identifying the Augustinian network as

[567] Morgan, ‘The Introduction of the Sarum Kalendar’.

the primary and foundational channel, the role of the "Lincoln model" is properly contextualized as a peripheral, later chapter in the history of Sarum in Scotland, not its beginning.

The evidence presented in 4.1 fundamentally rewrites the traditional narrative of Sarum's arrival in Scotland. It demonstrates that the rite was not introduced in a single wave of episcopal legislation in the mid-thirteenth century, but was instead established a full century earlier through the powerful and cohesive network of the Augustinian canons.

By tracing the transmission from an "Old Sarum" rite, inflected with Roman-German traditions, through the foundational English houses to Scottish daughter houses like Holyrood, this analysis has shown how a localized Sarum Use was active by the mid-twelfth century. The institutional unity of the Scottish Augustinians—driven by shared leadership, regular assemblies, and royal patronage—provided the mechanism for this rite's dissemination, making its adoption at St Andrews a natural outcome. In contrast, the later episcopal adoptions in dioceses like Glasgow and the oft-cited "Lincoln model" have been re-contextualized as a secondary, more administrative wave of influence, chronologically and textually distinct from the foundational Augustinian channel. Sarum Use, therefore, did not arrive at St Andrews as a codified import, but as a living tradition, carried and adapted by the Augustinian order that shaped the religious life of the kingdom.

4.2 Local Agency and Innovation: The Contribution of Céli Dé

The preceding section established that the Sarum Use arrived in Scotland not through a late, statute-driven English channel, but through earlier Augustinian networks whose personnel and liturgical practices had already taken root by the early thirteenth century. Yet to trace Sarum’s arrival is only half the story. This chapter now turns to the question of how imported forms were received, interpreted, and ultimately re-shaped within the local context of St Andrews. In particular, it explores how the community of secular clerics—many of them drawn from or shaped by the Céli Dé tradition—exercised liturgical agency in the period following Sarum’s transmission.

The key case study for this adaptive process is Fascicle XI of manuscript W1, an extraordinary addition to the St Andrews music book. Fascicle XI is distinctive in both its material and musical characteristics, having been copied on lower-grade parchment and consisting solely of Marian Mass settings. Its contents include genres such as Kyries, Sequences, and

polyphonic Offertories, none of which appear elsewhere in W1[568].

These structural and repertorial peculiarities are not mere technical quirks. Rather, they reveal that St Andrews' liturgists were prioritizing function and devotion: assembling appropriate music for Marian Masses and tailoring the book to meet local liturgical needs. In other words, the distinctiveness of Fascicle XI reflects a deliberate effort to integrate new musical forms into the cathedral's cult of the Virgin, in alignment with the community's devotional focus and liturgical functions.

As Chapter 2 demonstrated, the likely scribe of Fascicle XI—identified as W. de Bernham—was both mobile and institutionally embedded: a Céli Dé-trained cleric with experience in the St Andrews cathedral scriptorium, in charter copying, and in study Paris and Oxford. His professional profile helps explain how English and Parisian repertories were digested and locally reconfigured. The argument advanced here is that Fascicle XI was not merely an accretion of imported materials but the product of a deliberate Marian programme shaped by local devotional priorities.

In Fascicle XI, we see the results of this convergence. This section argues that Fascicle XI reflects a mature phase of liturgical synthesis at St Andrews, in which Marian devotion, Sarum influence, and local tradition coalesce into a cohesive rite. Far from functioning as a passive recipient of Sarum norms, mid-thirteenth-century St Andrews emerges as an active liturgical workshop—a centre that received inherited forms and creatively adapted them to its unique sacred landscape.

4.2.1 The Marian Substrate in Scotland

The cult of the Virgin Mary occupied a unique place in medieval Christian devotion, distinguished from the veneration of local saints by its universal scope and liturgical centrality. Unlike the patron saints of specific regions—whose cults were often tied to local shrines or relics—Mary's sainthood was not anchored in a single sanctuary or tomb. Instead, she was exalted as a pan-Christian ideal[569].

In Anglo-Norman England, for instance, contemporaries noted that Marian devotion did not rely on the presence of physical relics. Mary was revered as the universal Queen of Christendom, a celestial patroness accessible to all the faithful regardless of location. This

[568] Roesner, The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis.
[569] Richard Southern. *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1953). 246-54. On the shift from miracles worked at a particular shrine to miracles effected at a distance, see Pierre-André Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle: dans la France médiévale* (11-12. siècle). (Éd. du Cerf, 1985).

universality was mirrored in the formation of a core cycle of Marian feasts in the early Church. Four principal feasts—the Purification (Feb. 2), Annunciation (Mar. 25), Assumption (Aug. 15), and Nativity of Mary (Sept. 8)—gradually developed within the Roman liturgical tradition and were eventually disseminated across Christendom[570].

Pope Sergius I, in the late seventh century, formally incorporated the celebration of Mary's Nativity along with the Annunciation, Purification, and Assumption into the Roman liturgical calendar[571]. Over the following centuries, these Marian festivals spread westward: initially adopted sporadically, but by the eleventh century, all four were firmly embedded in the English liturgical year. Thus, from an early period, the cult of the Virgin was rooted in a shared cycle of liturgical feasts rather than in geographically specific practices—a characteristic that marked Marian devotion as a truly universal phenomenon.

Early evidence suggests that Scotland participated in this Marian tradition from an early period, likely as part of the broader Insular (i.e., Gaelic and Northumbrian) Church. In what is now Scotland, the earliest known expressions of Marian devotion appear in the monastic environment of Iona during the eighth century. One important witness is the Latin hymn *Cantemus in omni Dei*, composed on Iona in the early eighth century in honor of the Virgin[572]. Within a few decades of this hymn's composition, the monks of Iona erected St Martin's Cross near their abbey (c. eighth century); carved on this high cross is a prominent panel depicting the Virgin and Child. Both the hymn and the sculpture celebrate the mystery of the Incarnation—"God concealed in Mary,[573]" as contemporaneous writings describe it—indicating a theological awareness of Mary's role as Theotokos (God-bearer) among the Iona community.

The conjunction of *Cantemus in omni Dei* with the iconography of St Martin's Cross provides compelling evidence that Iona cultivated an early local cult of the Virgin. Indeed, scholars have plausibly suggested that Iona's monks may have sung this Marian hymn in procession around St Martin's Cross[574], integrating Mary into their ritual landscape. Mary's importance at Iona is further underscored by additional artworks linked to the island's Columban monastery: at least two other early medieval crosses on Iona (St Oran's and St John's) also feature carvings of the Virgin and Child, and the famed Book of Kells—believed by some to have been partly created at

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[570] Leo Scheffczyk, *Das Marienpeheimnis in Frömmigkeit und Lehre der Karolingerzeit.Erfurter Theologische Studien*, 5 (Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1959); Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England. Cambridge studies in Anglo-Saxon England*. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1990).

[571] A. Valentini, "Birth of Mary: September 8th". In John Otto (ed.). *Dictionary of Mary: "behold your Mother."* (Catholic Book Publishing Corporation, 1997).

[572] for the hymn, see Thomas Owen Clancy and Gilbert Márkus, *Iona: The Earliest Poetry of a Celtic Monastery* (Edinburgh, 1994), 177–85. for the Virgin cult, see *The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland [RCAHMS], Argyll IV: Iona* (Edinburgh, 1982), 47 and 267, summarized in Ian Fisher, *Early Medieval Sculpture in the West Highlands and Islands* (Edinburgh, 2001), 18.

[573] Isabel Henderson, Pictish Monsters: Symbol, Text and Image (Cambridge, 1997), 7-8.

[574] ibid, 8.

Iona—includes a lavish illumination of the Virgin and Child (folio 7v)[575].

Nor was this Marian imagery confined to Iona itself. Throughout the seventh to tenth centuries, monasteries influenced by Iona's mission displayed Virgin and Child motifs on their monumental stone crosses, from Kildalton (Islay) and Canna in the Hebrides to as far afield as Northumbria. At Lindisfarne—a daughter house founded from Iona—an image of Mary and the infant Christ was carved on the coffin of St Cuthbert (d. 698)[576]. Such artifacts suggest that Marian teaching and devotion were integral to Insular monastic spirituality, even if surviving depictions of the Virgin are relatively rare. The prominence of Mother-and-Child iconography in these contexts emphasized Mary's exalted, almost regal status as the Mother of God, aligning with the hieratic Marian ideals of the early medieval Church.

Crucially, this Insular Marian tradition fed directly into the religious heritage of early medieval Scotland's churchmen, including the movement known as the Céli Dé (or Culdees). As discussed in Chapter 2, the Céli Dé were Celtic clerical communities who, even as they transitioned into secular canons within the Scottish ecclesiastical tradition, continued to preserve older monastic customs well into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

At St Andrews, a Marian dedication is securely attested in the thirteenth century in the church known as St Mary on the Rock. Although earlier dedications at St Andrews are not directly documented, this chapter cautiously speaks of continuity from earlier centuries based on liturgical and manuscript evidence rather than on uninterrupted institutional records. In particular, rubrics and calendrical entries in Pn 12036, along with the repertorial profile of W1 (see below), support the argument that the canons at St Andrews—many of whom had roots in the Céli Dé tradition—consistently gave prominence to Marian observance.

By the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Scottish Church began expanding its Marian repertoire by adopting newly prominent feasts that had gained traction in Norman-ruled England. Foremost among these was the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, observed on 8 December. This feast, which commemorates Mary's conception by her mother St Anne and would later be associated with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, originated in the Eastern Church and was celebrated in the Byzantine rite by the seventh century[577]. From

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[575] for the attribution to Iona, see George Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells: The Insular Gospel Books 650–800* (London, 1987), chapter. 6, and see 153–5. for a discussion of the Virgin illumination. See also Jane Hawkes, 'Columban Virgins: iconic images of the Virgin and Child in insular sculpture', in *Studies in the Cult of Saint Columba*, ed. Cormac Bourke (Dublin, 1997), 107–35. The reproduction of the Kells Virgin and Child (fol. 7v) is Bernard Meehan, *The Book of Kells* (Dublin, 1994), pl. 7.

[576] Fisher, *Early Medieval Sculpture*. 18.

[577] "The Conception of St. Anne 'When She Conceived the Holy Mother of God', The Byzantine Catholic Archeparchy of Pittsburgh. Access on 20 August 2025, https://archpitt.org/the-immaculate-conception-the-conception-of-st-anne-when-she-conceived-the-holy-mother-of-god-according-to-the-ruthenian-tradition/

the East, it spread to Western Europe, appearing in some Insular calendars by the tenth century[578].

Notably, Irish missionaries appear to have introduced the Feast of Mary's Conception to Anglo-Saxon England, where it was celebrated by the 1030s in churches such as Winchester and Worcester[579]. English calendars and missals of the late eleventh century (notably the Leofric Missal at Exeter) already record the Feast of the Conception, sometimes added later by scribes, indicating that the observance was well established before Norman approval in 1129[580].

This Anglo-Norman liturgical development soon found echoes in Scotland. As argued in 4.1 section, the inclusion of the Feast of the Conception of Mary in the St Andrews liturgical books—notably Pn 12036 and W1—is a clear indication of early Sarum influence at St Andrews. The Sarum Use, the liturgy of Salisbury Cathedral, had incorporated the Marian Conception feast[581], and its appearance in Scottish sources points to a direct liturgical link between St Andrews and Salisbury. By the early thirteenth century, then, the Scottish Marian calendar was being enriched by Norman-English innovations.

The Céli Dé at St Andrews, though heirs to the Insular Marian tradition of Iona, proved receptive to these newer feasts and forms of devotion emanating from the south. The adoption of the Conception feast in particular demonstrates that Scottish churchmen were not narrowly confined in their Marian piety but actively engaged with contemporary developments in Anglo-Norman devotion to Mary. Far from resisting outside influence, the custodians of the Marian tradition in Scotland—Céli Dé and Augustinian canons alike—embraced Sarum practices as a means of renewing and expanding the Virgin's cult within their cathedral.

By the thirteenth century, Marian devotion at St Andrews had reached full expression, weaving together early Insular tradition and Sarum influence into a mature liturgical synthesis. The two key manuscripts from St Andrews associated with the episcopate of William Malveisin (1202–1238)—Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 12036 (Pn 12036) and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis (W1)—both preserve extensive Marian liturgies.

Pn 12036, includes all the principal Marian feasts in its Sanctorale, including the Vigil and

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[578] Herbert Thurston, *The Irish Origins of Our Lady's Conception Feast*. (London, 1904). 463.
[579] London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii and Cotton Titus D. xxvii were written at Winchester, and Corpus Christi College 391 was copied at Worcester. These manuscripts document the required episcopal benedictions and proper masses. This suggests that these festivals were fully recognized and recorded in the calendars of English monasteries.
[580] In the Leofric Missal, the Mass for the Conception was added by the scribe 10. It appears that his work started prior to Leofric's death (in 1072). In other words, the Mass for the Conception was likely introduced at Exeter around the time of, or soon after, the Norman Conquest. E. Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter (1050-1072): a Re-Assessment of the Manuscript Evidence' (D.Phil, diss., Oxford University, 1978), 81.
[581] There is a historical gap between 1070 and the 13th century, and we are unable to trace the feast prior to GB-BL Add. 12194, which forms the main source for Frere's *Graduale Sarisburiense*.

Octave of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, alongside native saints, thereby reflecting a "hybrid" liturgical calendar that integrates Sarum festivals with older Scottish commemorations. Its companion source, W1—a large music manuscript—likewise preserves the full cycle of Marian Masses observed at St Andrews. Notably, one entire section of W1, known as Fascicle XI, is devoted exclusively to polyphonic music in honour of the Virgin. Fascicle XI contains unique two-part polyphony for the Missa de Sancta Maria (Mass of the Blessed Virgin), with pieces arranged according to their function within the Mass Ordinary and Proper. This strongly indicates that by this time, the "Lady Mass" had become an established institution at St Andrews.

The Lady Mass was a votive Mass of the Virgin Mary celebrated in addition to the daily liturgy—typically every Saturday, and in many cathedral, even daily as an early morning service[582]. Across the British Isles in the High Middle Ages, this Lady Mass grew rapidly in popularity, prompting the creation of new Marian chant repertories. The Use of Salisbury eventually incorporated a Saturday Lady Mass, but the practice had already been spreading informally through local custom[583]. St Andrews offers a clear example of this trend: the presence of an entire fascicle of polyphonic settings for Marian Masses suggests that the cathedral clergy regularly celebrated a dedicated Mass of the Virgin, possibly every Saturday or even daily during certain liturgical seasons.

The polyphonic compositions in W1—including organum and sequence settings—surpass standard plainsong in complexity and artistry, reflecting the special solemnity and musical embellishment devoted to Marian worship. In short, by the thirteenth century, Marian devotion had become deeply embedded in the liturgical life of St Andrews. The Céli Dé not only observed Mary's principal feasts with full honours, but also incorporated her veneration into the weekly rhythm of devotional Masses, employing elaborate musical settings that testify to the reverence and affection surrounding her cult.

In conclusion, the Marian programme at St Andrews in the thirteenth century represents a rich synthesis of traditions—one rooted in deep local heritage yet enriched by imported influences. On one hand, the cult of Mary in Scotland clearly predated the Sarum Use: it was cultivated in the monasteries of Iona and their Columban network, upheld by the Céli Dé of St Andrews, and thus formed a continuous thread reaching back to the early medieval Church (as demonstrated in Chapter 2). On the other hand, the Sarum liturgy and other Anglo-Norman contributions greatly enriched and refined Marian devotion in Scotland. The introduction of new

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[582] See, for example, Jacques Handschin, "Ein wenig beachtete Stilrichtung innerhalb der mittelalterlichen Mehrstimmigkeit," *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*. I (1924), 58 and Frank Harrison. *Music in Medieval Britain*. Studies in the History of Music (London, 1958), 130.and Rosner, The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis. 348.

[583] Early 13th century Sarum sources including Marian feasts like Manchester, Rylands Library, MS Lat. 24(Crawford Missal), and Paris, Bibliotheque de 1'Arsenal, MS 135 were employing monophony to dedicated to Mary.

feasts, such as the Conception of Mary, alongside the adoption of more elaborate musical and liturgical forms—including polyphony and the Lady Mass—entered Scotland through sustained exposure to English and continental practices.

Fascicle XI of W1 stands as a tangible culmination of this process: it embodies the fusion of Insular heritage and continental innovation. In its contents, we find Parisian polyphony interwoven with local Scottish devotional priorities, just as in Pn 12036's contents we see Sarum feasts integrated alongside Celtic saints. The Céli Dé now serving as cathedral canons—proved highly adept at merging new repertory with longstanding devotional practice. Their efforts ensured that Mary's cult at St Andrews remained faithful to its early foundations while embracing contemporary liturgical developments.

The result was a distinctively St Andrews Marian programme: universal in doctrinal scope, yet particular in its local character; enriched by Sarum's structure and Paris's musical sophistication, yet still resonant with the spiritual legacy of Iona. This mature Marian synthesis set the stage for the next phase of liturgical adaptation at St Andrews. In the next section, the assimilation of not only Sarum customs but also the advanced Parisian repertory—notably the Notre Dame polyphonic tradition—into the cathedral liturgy will be examined, highlighting a process that continued to shape worship at St Andrews as the Middle Ages progressed.

4.2.2 Materials In, Voice Out: Digesting Sarum and Paris

The preceding section established that Marian devotion at St Andrews was neither incidental nor imported wholesale in the thirteenth century, but rested on a deep foundation of Insular practice, subsequently enriched by Sarum introduction. The cumulative evidence of Pn 12036 and the Marian exclusivity of W1's eleventh fascicle demonstrates that devotion to the Virgin was not only a spiritual priority but also a structural principle shaping the liturgical life of the cathedral. The task now is to examine how this devotional focus was expressed in sound. In other words, if 4.2.2 section traced the *why* of Marian centrality, 4.2.3 turns to the *how*: how imported musical materials from Paris and Salisbury were selected, organized, and transformed within the local context of St Andrews.

This section will therefore analyze the repertory of Fascicle XI not simply as a collection of borrowed pieces, but as evidence of a conscious act of digestion. The fascicle preserves a wide range of genres—*cantus firmi*, clausulae, tropes, sequences—that bear the marks of both Notre Dame polyphony and English(Sarum) liturgical elements. Yet the repertory cannot be reduced to either source tradition. Its arrangement and musical style are conditioned above all by a Marian liturgical program that required clarity of text and systematic provision for the *Missa de Sancta Maria*. The following subsections will survey the contents of Fascicle XI, outline its stylistic

debts, and demonstrate how these external idioms were re-voiced in service of St Andrews' distinctive Marian identity.

A. Inventory of Fascicle XI's contents

Fascicle XI of W1 is a self-contained Marian compilation, uniquely including genres absent elsewhere in the manuscript W1—Kyrie settings, a troped Gloria, a Tract, several Sequences, and polyphonic Offertories (Appendix A).These compositions overwhelmingly draw on Marian plainsong, either as cantus firmus or as their textual foundation. Moreover, the ordering of the Offertories and Alleluyas suggests that the fascicle was organized according to the liturgical seasons[584], further reinforcing its structured use within the Marian Mass cycle.

Nearly every piece in Fascicle XI was composed for a Mass of the Blessed Virgin, forming a cohesive Marian cycle of polyphonic Propers and Ordinaries. The only exceptions are two small insertions for the then-recently introduced Feast of Corpus Christi[585], embedded within an otherwise exclusively Marian context.

The compilation therefore functions as a self-contained Marian cantionale: a curated inventory of tropes, sequences, and other liturgical compositions honoring the Virgin, integrated into the local Mass routine at St Andrews.

Stylistically, the music of Fascicle XI reveals a hybrid idiom that blends Notre-Dame polyphonic techniques with Insular liturgical priorities. Its polyphony is almost entirely discant-style, avoiding organum purum and extended melismas[586], favouring contrary motion and cadences that prioritize text clarity over virtuosity.

Florid melisma over a long tenor is essentially absent. Instead, the polyphony maintains modal rhythmic regularity throughout, adhering to the balanced patterns of the Notre-Dame rhythmic modes while ensuring that virtuosity never overshadows the chant text. This produces a tightly controlled sonority: the voices favour contrary motion to perfect consonances and

[584] Collection from Legg, *Sarum Missal*.
[585] Flotzinger argued that the two work, Osanna trope *Voce vita* and the *Agnus dei* trope *Mortis dira* may be bound up with the inception of the feast of Corpus Christi. Roesner interprets them as reflecting the broader Eucharistic devotion of the 13th century and as possibly adapted for Marian celebrations, rather than as straightforward evidence of early Corpus Christi liturgy. Because the feast itself was only officially established by Urban IV in 1264, and its spread was very slow — it did not become widespread in France until the early 14th century, and in Britain it was not mandatory until as late as 1532. See Flotzinger, " Beobachtungen Zur Notre-Dame-Handschrift W1 Und Ihrem 11. Faszikel," *Mitteilungen Der Kommission Für Musikforschung: Anzeiger Der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse Der Österreichischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften* 105, no. 19 (1968). 254. Roesner, The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis.103.
[586] David Hiley, "The ordinary of mass chants and the sequences." *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society* 4 (1981): 67-80.

approach cadences with restrained, formulaic gestures, deliberately avoiding the flamboyant cadential effects found in the more "advanced" Parisian repertoire[587].

In essence, the scribe(composers) of Fascicle XI adopted the cadential grammar and measured pacing of the Notre-Dame school but reinterpreted these techniques in a sober, text-cantered idiom suitable for Marian worship.

Belying its stylistic simplicity, Fascicle XI also reveals a deep familiarity with Parisian polyphonic repertoire—a testament to the extent to which St Andrews absorbed continental influences. The scribe of Fascicle XI borrowed clausulae from Notre-Dame repertory, showing direct familiarity with Parisian structures.[588]. These clausulae exhibit the characteristic Parisian tenor segmentation—repeating rhythmic cells in the tenor supporting a patterned *duplum*—indicating that the compilers were well acquainted with the structural vocabulary of Notre-Dame polyphony.

Further evidence of this familiarity appears in the internal concordances within W1 itself. These clausula passages overlap with Notre-Dame organum in Fascicle IV and with clausulae in Fascicle V. As Roesner notes, Alleluia verses such as *Salve virgo* and *Post partum* contain these Parisian borrowings[589]. In several cases, Fascicles IV and XI even share identical variant readings, strongly suggesting that both drew on a common Insular exemplar of Parisian polyphony.

Thus, despite its modest style, Fascicle XI represents a creative reworking of Notre-Dame material: it incorporates rhythmic discipline, tenor-based structure, and even direct musical fragments from the Franco-Parisian tradition, revoiced in new polyphonic tropes and sequences adapted for the Sarum liturgy. The result is a distinctive dialect of Gothic polyphony—one that articulates the formal language of Parisian technique with an audible accent of St Andrews.

Fascicle XI was once dismissed by scholars as provincial or less developed compared to the classic Notre-Dame organa. More recent research, however, views its distinctive features as part of a conscious stylistic synthesis, shaped by a local tradition rooted in St Andrews[590]. However, a broader picture emerges when its repertory is compared with major Sarum sources: several of these so-called "local" traits closely align with English (Sarum) liturgical practice.

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[587] Ludwig characterized Fascicle XI as “less advanced” than earlier sections of W1, a view echoed by Sanders; Roesner, however, sees its simplicity as rooted in local tradition. Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum*; Ernest H. Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony of the 13th century" *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XVII (1964), 261-63. Roesner, the Origins of W1. 342. Also his The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis.

[588] Rudolf Flotzinger identified three Alleluia verses in Fascicle XI that incorporate embedded Notre-Dame clausulae. In other words, the scribe borrowed at least six clausulae directly from the Parisian tradition and inserted them into their own Alleluia settings. See in Flotzinger, "Beobachtungen," 258.

[589] Roesner, The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis. 71-74.

[590] Roesner, The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis.

Fascicle XI not only flexible follow the Parisian model but also numerous features overlap with Sarum traditions.

Three Sarum manuscripts in particular serve as the most relevant comparanda. Before the thirteenth century, the Winchester Troper is the largest surviving collection of eleventh-century liturgical polyphony and offers early evidence of English polyphonic practice[591].While invaluable, it does not preserve a sustained Sarum corpus, but its complexity and inclusiveness anticipate traits found in W1, implying that W1 preserves a broad repertory rather than a narrowly defined "central" corpus. In contrast, three later sources—BL Add. 12194, Manchester Rylands MS Lat. 24, and Paris Arsenal MS 135— represent key Sarum material collections.

Add. 12194 (c.1275) became the foundation for Frere's edition of the Sarum Gradual and anchors the core Sarum repertory[592]. Rylands 24, slightly later in date, preserves the earliest complete Sarum missal with a full sequence cycle and exhibits a distinctly English melodic profile[593]. Arsenal 135, meanwhile, shows a particularly strong affinity with Fascicle XI through its shared Marian sequences, while also displaying distinct elements of Parisian refinement. [594].

Together, these three manuscripts provide the clearest benchmarks for comparison. They reflect Sarum's French-influenced evolution while maintaining its English roots. When set against this background, Fascicle XI emerges as both deeply connected to and distinct from the Sarum tradition—occupying a space that is at once insular, innovative, and locally grounded.

Despite their differences, Fascicle XI and the Sarum sources above share several foundational features rooted in their common liturgical function. Above all, textual clarity emerges as the shared baseline. In Fascicle XI's sequences and Offertories, both voices tend to maintain a steady syllabic pulse, producing an almost isochronous discant; syllables move in a regular beat unless the chant itself requires greater breadth[595]. In practice, text parcels (words or short syllable-groups) are aligned to short rhythmic blocks (perfections) rather than to extended modal ordines, resulting in phrasing that is modular and short-breathed—a chain of small, intelligible speech-units that can be clearly heard and sung.

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[591] David Hiley, "the Winchester Troper in Sources, manuscript: Organum and discant." Grove Music Online. 2001; Accessed 22 Aug. 2025. https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-90000382147.

[592] Frere, *Graduale Sarisburiense*.

[593] Monks of Solesmes, *Le graduel roman, II. Les sources* (Solesmes, 1959), 68; W. H. Frere ed., *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica: A Descriptive Handlist of the Musical & Latin-Liturgical Mss. Of the Middle Ages Preserved in the Libraries of Great Britain and Ireland.* (London: B. Quaritch.1901-32), no. 657; Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library at Manchester* (Manchester, 1921), 1,73-5; Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, vi.

[594] Roesner, The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis. 135.

[595] Ibid.. 390, 396–399, 406

The Sarum sequence tradition points in the same direction. Its earlier layer features irregular versicle lengths with flexible, speech-like rhythm embedded within recurring melodic units. Transitional and Victorine layers begin to regularize line-length and rhyme, producing a more balanced, even delivery while still operating within chant's free rhythm[596]. Melismatic expansion on key theological words (e.g., Alleluia, Gloria, saint names) naturally slows the tempo and introduces contrast. Recurrent melodic motives (centonization) across versicles create rhythmic familiarity without imposing a rigid metrical structure[597].

Read against that background, Fascicle XI's preference for short, syllabic rhythmic blocks and audible text demonstrates clear convergence with Sarum practice, even as it incorporates French polyphonic techniques. In this respect, XI exemplifies how English–Sarum habits of text-driven rhythm could be effectively fused with continental polyphonic devices.

This shared emphasis on textual clarity is closely tied to the sources' devotional purpose. All four sources are rooted in the Sarum Use, which originated at Salisbury Cathedral, whose patron saint was the Virgin Mary. This profound Marian orientation is not incidental but central, explaining the extensive Marian repertories preserved in each manuscript—from the multiple Kyries and sequences in Arsenal 135 to the standard Marian pieces in Add. 12194 and Rylands 24. Fascicle XI's exclusive focus on Mary can thus be understood as the culminating expression of this Sarum impulse, in which a clear, text-centered musical style is shaped to serve a distinctively Marian devotional function.

Despite these convergences, Fascicle XI also cultivates a set of distinctive traits that serve its liturgical function and Marian focus, distinguishing it from Notre-Dame exemplars, Sarum sequence books, and the other fascicles of W1. Its repertory is built entirely on Marian chant sources, creating a complete Marian Mass cycle rather than a general Sanctorale or Temporale collection. This exclusive focus reflects the daily and festal demands of the Lady Mass, ensuring that every component of the fascicle reinforces Marian devotion.

The cadence language is deliberately restrained: the upward leap of a fifth from unison is reserved only for final sonorities[598], giving internal closes a sober profile that avoids rhetorical flourish and keeps the emphasis on prayerful text delivery. Compared with the Notre-Dame cadential grammar—which often highlights perfect consonances at closure and punctuates discourse with clausula-like modular units—Fascicle XI prefers a more sparing use of such gestures, subordinating them to textual clarity and Marian function.

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[596] Eden sets up the three stages base on Textual traits and musical traits, early style sequences like *Laudes Deo devotas*, the transitional type, e.g. *Victimae paschali laudes,* Victorine style *like Nato nobis Salvatore*. See Eden, the Thirteenth-Century Sequence Repertory of The Sarum Use. 50-60.
[597] Eden, the Thirteenth-Century Sequence Repertory of The Sarum Use. Chapter 6.
[598] Roesner, The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis. 399.

The harmonic texture reinforces this aim: perfect intervals dominate (approximately 79% of structural sonorities)[599], and even tolerated strings of parallels create a sound that is austere yet resonant, suitable for communal Marian worship. Whereas the Parisian style tolerated shifting consonances between perfect and imperfect intervals in discant textures, Fascicle XI resists that variety and keeps to a more severe palette. By contrast, Sarum sources—especially Rylands 24—make heavy use of third-based sonorities in their sequences[600], highlighting an English preference for tertian colour that Fascicle XI deliberately avoids in favour of consonantal austerity.

The tropes are equally functional, pared down into plainer, formulaic idioms—*Mortis dira*, for example, appears in simplified form—so that doctrinal content can be grasped without distraction[601]. Although its isochronous declamation and clausula-like formulas recall the conductus repertory, Fascicle XI includes no conductus: by keeping every piece chant-anchored, the collection binds itself tightly to the Mass rather than drifting into extra-liturgical display.

In combination, these features yield a repertory whose restraint and coherence directly serve Marian devotion, presenting Fascicle XI not as a derivative hybrid but as a purpose-built polyphonic book for St Andrews, crafted to answer the liturgical and ceremonial needs of the Lady Mass and related Marian observances. They also reveal a hand that has thoroughly digested Notre-Dame compositional devices alongside English–Sarum habits, letting a recognisably St Andrews voice emerge.

B. Liturgical function and Marian focus

Fascicle XI of W1 has long been recognized as an outlier within the thirteenth-century Notre-Dame repertory—a collection of polyphonic pieces whose musical style and liturgical focus set it apart[602]. Scholars such as Roesner and Flotzinger have noted that the chants chosen as cantus firmi in W1's later fascicles (especially Fascicle XI) are unusual in the Parisian context and appear carefully selected, suggesting specific local liturgical ties.

Building on these insights, this section argues that the distinctive musical features of Fascicle XI—its use of chant-based tenors, isochronous (equal-note) rhythmic declamation, restrained cadential grammar, formulaic duplum writing, reworking of Notre-Dame clausulae,

[599] Ibid..371.
[600] Eden, the thirteenth-century sequence repertory of the sarum use. Chapter 6.
[601] Roesner, The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis. 157.
[602] Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum*. Flotzinger, "Beobachtungen", 245–262. Calvin Stapert, "The Eleventh Fascicle of Wolfenbüttel 628: A Critical Edition and Commentary," Ph.D. diss.,University of Chicago, 1973; Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis. Max Lütolf, Die Mehrstimmigen Ordinarium Missae-Sätze Vom Ausgehenden 11. Bis Zur Wende Des 13. Zum 14. Jahrhundert (Bern: Komm. Paul Haupt, 1970).

and exclusive Marian textual focus—reflect deliberate compositional choices made to serve a practical function: the Lady Mass at St Andrews. In other words, the unique profile of Fascicle XI was shaped with a "function-first" approach, where musical decisions were driven by liturgical utility and Marian devotion rather than by the stylistic innovations popular in contemporaneous centres.

By examining each of these features in turn, this section demonstrates how the repertory was purposefully constructed to align with the Use of Salisbury as practiced at St Andrews and to integrate seamlessly into the daily celebration of the Mass of the Blessed Virgin. This functional perspective provides the interpretive framework for the discussion that follows.

1. Function first: the Mass cycle and Marian programme

Fascicle XI constitutes a self-contained cycle of polyphony for the Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It comprises over forty compositions – principally two-voice settings of Mass Ordinary items (Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus Dei) and related processional or devotional pieces – all dedicated to the Virgin. Crucially, these pieces are arranged in liturgical order, forming a complete Lady Mass polyphony sequence rather than an arbitrary anthology(Appendix A)[603]. This intentional ordering is atypical of English sources in general, and suggests the compiler's aim to provide a ready-to-use cycle conforming to the structure of the daily Lady Mass.

Marian texts confirm the fascicle's programme: like the troped *Sanctus Mater mitis* and the *Agnus Dei* with *Factus homo*, both invoking the Virgin's role in the Incarnation. Such specificity aligns with the Sarum Rite's formularies for votive Marian masses, in which certain propers and troped ordinaries were reserved for the BVM. The appearance of these precise texts and melodies in Fascicle XI strongly indicates that the fascicle was compiled to serve an actual liturgical need at St Andrews – namely, the solemn daily Lady Mass which, by the mid-13th century, had become customary in major churches of Britain[604].

In this respect, function comes first: the content and structure of the fascicle were guided by the requirements of the Mass cycle and Marian devotions at St Andrews Cathedral. Modern scholars now widely recognize Fascicle XI as an exceptional compilation of polyphony specifically designed for the Lady Mass at St Andrews – effectively a tailored musical supplement analogous in function and content to the Sarum missals and graduals such as Rylands MS 24 and BL Add. 12194, which illustrate the broader Sarum framework within which Fascicle XI's Marian cycle functioned[605].

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[603] Legg, *Sarum Missal*.
[604] Steiner,. "The Insular Daily Lady Mass of the Thirteenth Century: Sources, Repertory and Transmission." *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 33, no. 2 (2024): 121–46.
[605] Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek; Steiner, Notre Dame in Paris. And her "The Insular Daily Lady Mass".

2. Chant cantus firmus as backbone

Nearly all pieces are built on Marian chant tenors, but the source base is deliberately broad rather than narrowly "English" or strictly Parisian. As Roesner's tally shows, the *cantus firmi* come from multiple liturgical streams—Salisbury, northern insular usages, and the books of religious orders—and many of these Marian melodies belonged to the international mainstream by the twelfth century[606]. The scribe's aim was functional: to select chants suited to Marian devotion rather than assert a regional identity.

The tenor typically proceeds in steady *longae*, laying down predictable perfections (octave, fifth, unison) as architectural "pillars" beneath a more animated upper line[607]. This design allows the *duplum* to align short syllable groups with each perfection, producing modular phrases that preserve Latin intelligibility. Here the *cantus firmus* is more than a historical anchor: it is the rhythmic and harmonic scaffold that ensures textual clarity—a clarity that freer forms like the conductus or motet could not guarantee.

Viewed this way, Fascicle XI's chant backbone secures both liturgical function and Marian emphasis. By choosing broadly circulating Marian tenors and setting them in steady units, the compiler anchored the cycle within the Mass and let the Virgin's titles sound clearly through the two-voice texture. This also explains the fascicle's preference for isochronous rhythmic declamation: the upper voice follows the tenor's regular pulses, keeping words aligned and audible.

3. Text mapped to rhythm: isochronous declamation

One of the most striking stylistic choices in the Fascicle XI pieces is their isochronous rhythmic style and syllabic clarity. Unlike the grand organa of Paris—where a florid *duplum* might spin melismas over a slow-moving tenor—these St Andrews pieces favour a tighter note-against-note texture. In practice, both voices often declaim the text simultaneously in steady, equal durations, akin to a measured discant style[608].

The Gloria and Sanctus, for example, set their texts largely syllabically, with each syllable aligned to a short rhythmic value in both voices. This produces intelligible declamation—crucial for the daily Lady Mass—while reinforcing the chant's natural accents. Isochronous rhythm thus reflects liturgical priorities: clarity of the word above musical display.

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[606] Rosner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis". 106.
[607] Ibid.. 389-396.
[608] Richard L. Crocker, "Discant, Counterpoint, and Harmony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XV (1962), 1-21.

As Roesner noted, Fascicle XI's style remains conservative[609], resisting the rhythmic innovations found in English sources like the Worcester Fragments. Instead of adopting motet techniques with layered texts and cross-rhythms[610], the scribe employed a consistent pulse that mirrors chant's steady flow. The result is music shaped by liturgical rather than virtuosic time: practical for ensemble use, economical in rehearsal, and suited to contemplative Marian devotion. Here rhythm serves the word, and temporal discipline embodies the solemnity of worship.

4. The *Duplum*: Formula and Local Accent

The *duplum* melodies of Fascicle XI show a clear economy of material, built from recurrent formulaic motifs that suggest a local compositional tradition. Unlike the expansive, melismatic lines of Parisian *duplums*, the St Andrews lines are short-breathed and repetitive, prioritising clarity and sing ability over display.

Stock cadential figures and melodic turns recur across the cycle, creating a unifying fingerprint and aiding memorisation—important for music intended for the daily Lady Mass. Certain intervallic choices and gestures diverge subtly from Parisian norms, hinting at insular taste. For example, the sequence *Virgo parens gaudeat* repeats a cadential turn across verses; *Mortis dira* uses the same figure at several pauses[611]; and the Offertory *Ave Maria* recycles short ascending–descending figures[612]. These patterns give the cycle a recognisable local accent, distinct from Parisian practice and from Sarum sources, which favoured richer tertian sonorities.

Although Fascicle XI includes the same liturgical genres found in other British sources, its compositional approach differs significantly in style and technique.Unlike Worcester composers, who manipulated *cantus firmi* with contrapuntal complexity, the St Andrews scribe kept *duplum* writing straightforward and formulaic[613]. This restraint suited a provincial context where practicality mattered more than innovation.

Yet within this simplicity lies character. The reuse of favoured formulas gives the repertory a local voice: austere, consonant-heavy, and expressive in its own idiom. The *duplums* of Fascicle XI thus achieve functional liturgical purpose—tuneful, reproducible elaborations of chant that assert a regional style while serving Marian devotion without distraction.

5. Cadential grammar as text markers

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[609] Rosner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis". 355.
[610] Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony of the 13th Century," 261.
[611] Rosner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis". 382
[612] Ibid.
[613] ibid. 390-392, 420-422.

Another notable feature of Fascicle XI is its disciplined cadential grammar. Musical phrases end consistently with the textual sense units of the Mass—much like punctuation in writing. In the context of 13th-century polyphony, this restraint is striking: many contemporary genres, especially the motet, allowed voices to cadence independently or blur textual boundaries[614].

By contrast, the St Andrews pieces favour simultaneous cadences, usually on an open fifth or octave, that close each textual unit[615]. The effect is a neat encapsulation of each segment—*Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison*, and so forth—with a musical punctuation that mirrors liturgical phrasing. This musico-textual parallelism likely reflects both performance practice and liturgical priorities, ensuring that polyphony did not override the structure or intelligibility of the Mass. In the Gloria, short clauses (*Laudamus te*, *Benedicimus te*, *Adoramus te*, *Glorificamus te*)[616] each resolve with a brief cadence, giving listeners space to register the words before moving on.

The formulas are deliberately restrained. Instead of extended melismas or cadential delays found in Parisian clausulae, the St Andrews pieces employ succinct gestures, typically a leading-tone in the duplum against a held tenor, resolving cleanly to unison or octave[617]. These cadences act as musical "full stops," supporting a devotional atmosphere in which the sacred text remains primary.

This consistent grammar across Fascicle XI underscores its compositional aim: to clarify and punctuate the Mass text even within polyphony. The pieces "speak" the liturgy in well-formed musical sentences, never letting musical invention obscure theological meaning. Cadence here is not ornament but function, reinforcing the fascicle's design for clarity and devotion.

6. Borrowed material, locally reframed

Finally, this localising impulse becomes especially tangible in the treatment of borrowed material. It does not simply echo Notre-Dame polyphony but reframes it to meet St Andrews' liturgical needs. Recognisable Parisian clausulae appear within Alleluia settings, carrying continental prestige[618]. As Roesner notes, the scribe sometimes lifted a Parisian tenor intact and built a new setting around it[619]. Yet these borrowings were never passive: cadential gestures were pruned and reshaped to fit Fascicle XI's short, isochronous style. Even where parallels

[614] Gordon A. Anderson, "Clausulae or Transcribed-Motets in the Florence Manuscript?" *Acta Musicologica* 42, no. 3/4 (1970): 109–28.
[615] Rosner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis".390-400.
[616] W1, fol. 178v.
[617] Roesner, The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis.371.
[618] Flotzinger identified six clausulae belonging to the core Notre-Dame repertory. In Flotzinger, "Beobachtungen," 258.
[619] Roesner, The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis. 152-154.

exist with Fascicles IV and V, the compiler reworked them according to a local text-rhythm logic, ensuring clarity of the sacred word.

This adaptation reveals a compositional agenda: to harness the authority of Notre-Dame while recasting it in a Marian, St Andrews-centred idiom. Identity was forged not by rejecting external models but by integrating and transforming them.

The fascicle's features—chant tenors, isochronous rhythm, restrained cadences, and formulaic *duplum* style—were all chosen for clarity and teachability. Far from a miscellany, it forms a unified Marian cycle that mirrors the Mass order. In its conservatism lies creativity: bridging Parisian technique and insular habit, it produced a St Andrews dialect of Gothic polyphony. W1 contains no motets or conductus; its focus is liturgical, and the Lady Mass cycle fits seamlessly. We may picture the canons of St Andrews, likely led by the Céli Dé, singing these two-voice settings daily—simple enough for reliability, ornate enough for dignity. The fascicle's distinctiveness was not provincial but purposeful, serving one Lady and one community. Fascicle XI thus stands as devotion in parchment and sound: traditional yet newly local in purpose.

C. Why Fascicle XI Looks Different

Fascicle XI diverges from Notre-Dame, Sarum, and the earlier fascicles of W1: a restrained, self-contained Marian Mass cycle. The key question is why these differences matter. They are not mere stylistic quirks but are instead the audible traces of a deliberate institutional strategy, revealing how St Andrews navigated its complex cultural position and fashioned a unique musical voice for its daily worship.

When set against the central tradition of Notre-Dame, Fascicle XI's choices appear as acts of intentional restraint. By omitting the conductus and simplifying borrowed Parisian clausulae, the compiler demonstrated selective restraint, adapting continental techniques to a more sober liturgical purpose.

Its relationship with the Sarum Use is one of both kinship and independence. Fascicle XI shares Sarum's Marian framework but simplifies its settings—plainer tropes, pared-down sequences, and austere textures in place of Sarum's richer colour.

Unlike fascicles I–X, which showcase diverse Parisian styles, XI offers a uniform Marian cycle with minimal stylistic variety. These contrasts demonstrate that the fascicle is neither a derivative of Paris nor a slavish copy of Sarum, but a new, purpose-built entity.

Taken together, these contrasts show that Fascicle XI looks different because it was intentionally narrowed, not accidentally provincial. Its compilers were curating, not just copying.

Earlier dismissed as provincial, Fascicle XI is better seen as institutional authorship: a deliberate synthesis of Sarum and Paris shaped into a St Andrews identity[620]. The question then becomes: what institutional pressures shaped this authorship? The fascicle's unwavering Marian exclusivity cannot be explained by musical taste alone. The decisive "why" lies in the unique institutional and political context of St Andrews in the 13th century. The long-established clerical community of the Céli Dé, who had been central to the cult of St Andrew, underwent a transformation—surviving, integrating into the newer Augustinian chapter, and eventually re-emerging as a leading group within St Andrews. In this environment, Marian devotion offered a powerful, unifying, and non-partisan focus—a shared ground of orthodoxy that transcended internal politics. The Lady Mass, as a daily ritual, became a key site for asserting a stable, collective identity.

As Scotland's primatial see, St Andrews needed to display orthodoxy and prestige. A rich Marian liturgy met both aims—orthodox and universal, yet also able to showcase Parisian techniques in a locally meaningful way. The creation of Fascicle XI was thus a strategic act, balancing conformity, prestige, and the internal devotional needs of its clerical community. This sets the stage for the next section, which will explore how this purpose-built repertory functioned in the daily liturgical life of the cathedral.

4.2.3 Institutional Pressures and the Marian Turn at St Andrews

Fascicle XI of the St Andrews music manuscript (W1) stands apart both stylistically and functionally from the rest of the codex. Unlike Fascicles I–X—organized by genre in the classic Notre-Dame manner and directed primarily to God or Christ—Fascicle XI is purpose-built as a Marian Mass cycle, containing virtually the entire Mass of the Virgin. Its simplified, modular style favours short sections and familiar cadential formulas, producing music tailored for liturgical practice rather than display. In effect, Fascicle XI revoices Sarum and Parisian traditions in a local idiom, yielding a cohesive Marian cycle that contrasts sharply with the eclectic anthology of earlier fascicles.

The key question is why St Andrews pursued this Marian turn in the thirteenth century—not merely as a musical preference but as a deliberate institutional strategy. This section argues that Fascicle XI's Marian focus responded directly to the pressures facing St Andrews' cathedral community. Three interlocking factors shaped this development: (1) the transformation and continued presence of the Céli Dé within the evolving chapter; (2) the chapter's need to project

[620] Handschin, "Bin wenig beachtete Stilrichtung innerhalb der mittelalterlichen Mehrstimmigkeit", 56. Roesner, The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis; Steiner, "Notre Dame in Scotland".

orthodoxy, unity, and prestige; and (3) wider episcopal and royal reforms demanding conformity to canonical norms and a distinguished liturgical profile. Taken together, these conditions made Marian devotion an ideal solution: widely revered, ideologically uncontroversial, and capable of uniting diverse constituencies while advancing the cathedral's claim to authority and innovation. Fascicle XI's exclusive focus on the Virgin thus represents institutional authorship—an intentional merging of continuity, reform, and local identity.

A. The Céli Dé Transformation and Survival

As Chapter 2 discussed, the Céli Dé did not vanish with the twelfth-century reorganization of St Andrews but persisted as a distinct clerical group well into the thirteenth century. Though often marginalized by the Augustinian priory, they maintained key aspects of their identity, with Marian devotion central to their spiritual and communal life. Their survival positioned them as a symbolic bridge between the older Celtic ecclesiastical tradition and the evolving cathedral community.

By the mid-thirteenth century, episcopal policy transformed this persistence. Bishops such as Roger de Beaumont and William de Malveisin actively incorporated the Céli Dé into the episcopal framework, even relying on them in disputes with the Augustinian chapter. Under Bishop David de Bernham (1240–1253), the Céli Dé retained substantial influence and were still recognized as a Marian community. The designation "St Mary's of the Céli Dé" remained in use as late as 1344[621]. They thus developed a dual role: both agents of episcopal reform and custodians of an older spiritual heritage.

This continuity through Marian devotion, followed by institutional transformation, helps explain the Marian focus of Fascicle XI. It provided a repertoire that honoured the Céli Dé's legacy while aligning with episcopal aims, serving as a musical embodiment of negotiated continuity.

Marian devotion served as an ideological refuge that enabled the Céli Dé to survive within a reforming Church. As discussed in 4.2.1, veneration of the Virgin was deeply embedded in early Celtic Christianity while also central to mainstream Latin piety—making it uncontroversial to Roman reformers. By placing Mary at the heart of their spiritual life, the Céli Dé could maintain influence without appearing oppositional. Even during periods when the Augustinians held the upper hand, Marian feasts, Masses, and liturgical offices were forms of devotion the Céli Dé could promote—practices the Augustinians could hardly reject.

Mary thus provided common ground, a neutral focus around which older traditions and reforming forces could unite. This was visible in the worship life of St Andrews: the Céli Dé were

[621] Cowan, *Medieval Religious Houses*. 225.

dedicated to St Mary, and Marian votive Masses were likely among the rites shared across the cathedral community.

The compilation of an entire fascicle of Marian polyphony can therefore be understood as a deliberate strategy by the cathedral's leaders to honour and integrate the Céli Dé legacy. It localized the prestigious Notre-Dame musical tradition within a Marian framework that the Céli Dé had already prepared the community to receive. Fascicle XI's Marian Mass may have been conceived in part to give the Céli Dé a liturgical voice within the cathedral's new musical landscape, aligning their enduring Marian piety with current polyphonic composition. The Marian turn, therefore, was not simply devotional, but a strategic means for the reforming St Andrews community to incorporate the spiritual identity of its Céli Dé predecessors, ensuring continuity alongside reform.

B. The Status of St Andrews and Its Chapter

Beyond the Céli Dé, the institutional status of St Andrews Cathedral in 13th-century Scotland strongly favoured a Marian emphasis. As discussed in Chapter 1, the pre-eminent status of St Andrews as the leading see of the Scottish Church brought mounting pressure to demonstrate unimpeachable orthodoxy, unity, and international prestige. The cathedral chapter needed to reconcile multiple constituencies and present a coherent identity for what was effectively the nation's chief ecclesiastical institution. A Marian liturgical program offered an ideal vehicle for these ambitions.

Marian devotion was broadly resonant: it appealed across ecclesiastical divides while aligning with the wider currents of Latin Christendom[622]. In the thirteenth century, veneration of the Virgin was not only a widespread devotional trend but also a powerful means of communicating orthodoxy and institutional piety. By emphasizing the Virgin Mary in its liturgical and musical life, the St Andrews chapter could reinforce reformist credentials while maintaining continuity with older religious traditions.

A unified Marian cycle also projected cohesion and cultural sophistication. In contrast to the more fragmented contents of Fascicles I–X, the thematic consistency and musical discipline of Fascicle XI projected internal harmony and purpose. It allowed the chapter to model a refined yet accessible liturgical standard across multiple clerical constituencies. Marian polyphony thus functioned as both spiritual offering and institutional branding, confirming St Andrews' place in the cosmopolitan soundscape of Gothic Christendom while articulating its local identity.

[622] Southern. *The Making of the Middle Ages*. 246-54.

Mary served as a unifying patron. Unlike the cult of St Andrew, increasingly tied to national identity and political rivalry with York[623], devotion to the Virgin Mary offered a broader, less partisan focus. For St Andrews, this distinction was crucial. A program cantered on Andrew carried associations of territorial claims and national pride, whereas a Marian cycle offered inclusivity and wide acceptance. Mary could bridge St Andrews' two lineages: the older Celtic tradition of Marian devotion (4.2.1 on Iona hymnody and iconography) and continental reform movements represented by Salisbury (Sarum) and Paris (Notre-Dame), both Marian foundations. A polyphonic Lady Mass thus became the ideal link—able to incorporate Sarum texts and Parisian musical styles without suggesting dependence on any rival church, while also resonating with the Céli Dé's long-standing Marian identity. In practice, Marian dedication was the most effective shared foundation: it allowed St Andrews to adopt continental musical elements while rooting them in a familiar local tradition.

C. Royal and Episcopal Expectations

Royal and episcopal pressures made a Marian focus not just desirable but essential for St Andrews. From David I's reforms onward, kings and bishops expected the primatial see to exemplify canonical order and liturgical modernity. Alexander I and David I had installed Augustinians and rededicated the cathedral to underscore orthodoxy[624]; by the thirteenth century, Bishop William de Malveisin pushed further, consolidating authority, reshaping the Céli Dé (now secular canons) as a marker of Scottish identity, and demanding unity from the chapter[625]. The crown reinforced these aims: rulers from William the Lion to Alexander II relied on St Andrews to project the union of Church and realm. In such a climate, any hint of parochialism or heterodoxy was untenable.

Marian devotion offered the perfect solution. It was universal, theologically impeccable, and publicly endorsed by papacy and monarchy. Across Britain, the Lady Mass became the badge of orthopraxy[626]. For the Scottish crown and bishops, promoting a Marian cult at St Andrews signalled piety and alignment with prestigious European norms. For St Andrews, compiling a Marian polyphonic cycle was therefore a strategic response: it satisfied episcopal

[623] Had discussed in Chapter 1, also see Broun, "The Church and the origins of Scottish independence in the twelfth century." 1-35.
[624] First Augustinian house, Scone Priory, founded by Alexander I in 1120. Later, David founded Holyrood (1128), Jedburgh (c. 1138), St. Andrews (c. 1140), Cambuskenneth (c. 1140), and Inchcolm (c. 1163). See RRS, I, no. 243. Also see Cowan, *Medieval Religious Houses*.
[625] Malveisin sought to resolve the long-standing dispute between the Augustinians and the Céli Dé. He also supported integrating the Céli Dé into the cathedral community as secular canons, and two of their members were incorporated into his own *familia*. See Theiner, No. 6. Also see RPSA. 156-7, 160-1,163-8, 281, 306; Registrum de Dunfermelyn, No. 11.
[626] For example, Henry III's sponsorship of Marian chapels and Queen Ermengarde's foundation of Balmerino Abbey showed that royal prestige was bound up with Marian cult. See Steiner, "The Insular Daily Lady Mass".

reform, met royal expectations, and projected the cathedral's place within the orthodox and cosmopolitan Church.

Within this framework, the creation of a Marian polyphony collection at St Andrews fulfilled a dual purpose. It upheld orthodoxy: no one could question the cathedral's doctrinal soundness when its choir sang elaborate praises of the Virgin Mary. By focusing on Mary, the cathedral also avoided potential concerns about local saints or distinctive Scottish customs. Instead, it highlighted a figure revered universally, from Rome and Paris to Canterbury.

It also allowed St Andrews and the Céli Dé to demonstrate cultural innovation and excellence. By integrating the polyphonic style of Paris into its Marian liturgy, the cathedral showed it was in step with European worship. Fascicle XI famously incorporates clausulae from Notre-Dame's sources into its Alleluia settings[627], literally stitching French polyphony into Scottish liturgy. Applying these techniques to Marian music resulted in a collection both artistically impressive and theologically safe. The intricate Parisian style provided prestige, while the Marian content underscored orthodox devotion.

For bishops and kings promoting reform, Fascicle XI offered proof that the cathedral was aligned with sanctioned devotions and doing so with artistic distinction. It reflects the ideals of the reform movement: blending cutting-edge liturgical expression with timeless spiritual focus. The Lady Mass polyphony served both to impress and to reassure. This balance of artistry and orthodoxy was exactly what ecclesiastical and royal reformers sought throughout the Scottish Church, positioning St Andrews as a centre of religious and cultural exchange (see Chapter 1). By adopting Marian polyphony, St Andrews placed itself at the forefront of that vision.

Considering these factors, the exclusive Marian focus of Fascicle XI was not an arbitrary artistic choice but a deliberate institutional response to the competing pressures of reform and tradition at St Andrews. Musically, it provided a complete, functional cycle of polyphony for the Lady Mass. Institutionally, it offered unity—a Marian Mass in which all factions of the community, including the integrated Céli Dé, could participate. It represented institutional authorship, localizing Notre-Dame polyphony, and conferred prestige by aligning St Andrews with international trends while affirming its own devotional priorities.

Fascicle XI's Marian focus should thus be understood as the product of a creative synthesis rather than parochial narrowness. In choosing Mary, the compilers invoked a figure who bridged old and new: the Céli Dé's patron and the reformers' model of orthodoxy. In adopting Parisian techniques while simplifying them for local use, they produced an idiom that was both cosmopolitan and rooted in practice. The result was a Marian Mass cycle fully integrated into St

[627] Flotzinger, "Beobachtungen," 258; Roesner， The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis. 71-74.

Andrews' institutional life. Through Mary, St Andrews found a common voice for divergent traditions; through music, it projected that identity outward. Fascicle XI's Marian exclusivity reflects the cathedral's negotiation between continuity and change, a synthesis that defined St Andrews' sound within the wider currents of medieval Christendom.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the adoption of Sarum at St Andrews was neither a belated, statute-driven import nor a passive reception of English forms. Instead, it was the product of a first-wave transmission through Augustinian networks in the twelfth century and of active local authorship in dialogue with the Céli Dé. The Augustinians carried people, books, and flexible Old Sarum usages northward, embedding them within their communal frameworks. Yet these usages did not displace existing traditions wholesale. At St Andrews, they encountered the Céli Dé, whose liturgical continuity and institutional resilience shaped how Sarum was received, negotiated, and made usable in practice.

The analysis of Pn 12036 and its cognates demonstrated how an early, adaptable form of Sarum circulated in Scotland well before episcopal statutes attempted to regulate uniform practice. W1's Fascicle XI then revealed what happened once those usages became locally rooted: a purpose-built Marian Mass cycle that, in its musical restraint and liturgical completeness, speaks less of stylistic ambition than of institutional authorship. The cycle provided a shared devotional space for a divided cathedral community, offered prestige by aligning St Andrews with international trends, and gave voice to Marian devotion as a safe yet potent register of identity.

Taken together, these findings reposition St Andrews not as a periphery awaiting influence from Lincoln or Canterbury but as an active workshop of liturgical innovation. Through the interplay of Augustinian transmission and Céli Dé continuity, imported usages were not only received but reshaped into a distinctive local expression. In the end, the story told here is one of voice: a Marian voice that gave sound to unity, tradition, and authority, and that made the forms borrowed from elsewhere unmistakably St Andrews' own.

Conclusion

In the long arc of medieval ecclesiastical history, it is often the great metropolitan centres—Rome, Canterbury, Paris—that dominate narratives of liturgical development and reform. Provincial centres like St Andrews are typically cast in the role of recipients: distant echoes of decisions made elsewhere. But what if that view misunderstands not only the role of places like St Andrews, but the very nature of liturgical transmission itself? What if "periphery" was not a place of passive reception, but a site of authorship—a space where imported forms were digested, reshaped, and given new voice?

This dissertation challenges the traditional view that St Andrews passively absorbed liturgical practices from elsewhere. Rather than being a mere recipient of imported norms from England and France, St Andrews emerges as an active site of liturgical authorship—a place where external forms were reshaped and given a new, distinctively Scottish voice. This reframes the established narrative, positioning St Andrews not as a periphery defined by the Lincoln model or the supposed decline of the Céli Dé, but as a dynamic workshop where a unique hybrid identity was forged.

To demonstrate this, the dissertation employed an interdisciplinary methodology, combining textual criticism of liturgical manuscripts, architectural analysis of worship spaces, and musicological examination of chant and polyphony. By weaving together evidence from manuscripts (e.g., Pn 12036 and W1), architectural remains, and musical notation, the study reveals how the St Andrews community actively shaped its liturgy. This integrated approach has been crucial in uncovering the town's role not just as a follower of external models but as an author of new liturgical practices in the 12th and 13th centuries.

This process of authorship was driven by the ambitions of the Scottish monarchy, which viewed the Church as a primary instrument for state-building. As Chapter 1 demonstrated, kings from David I onward pursued a deliberate strategy of reform to secure political and ecclesiastical independence from England. The elevation of the apostolic St Andrew over the Gaelic St Columba, the systematic reorganization of dioceses, and firm royal control over episcopal appointments were all calculated moves to create a national Church free from the claims of York and Canterbury. However, as Chapter 2 revealed, this royal strategy was pragmatic and adaptable. The crown's initial reliance on the reformist Augustinian canons proved politically risky after the 1178 succession crisis revealed their capacity for independent action. This led to a crucial shift: bishops loyal to the crown, like William Malveisin, began to reintegrate the native Céli Dé, who had proven to be more stable, politically reliable, and culturally embedded allies. The monarchy's ultimate goal was not adherence to a single

reformist ideology but the cultivation of a stable, loyal Church that served the interests of the Scottish kingdom.

Central to this new ecclesiastical landscape were the Céli Dé, who were not passive remnants of a bygone era but active agents of continuity and change. Challenging the long-held narrative of their decline, Chapter 2 showed how the Céli Dé survived by strategically transforming themselves from a semi-monastic order into integrated secular canons. They leveraged episcopal patronage and their deep cultural authority as custodians of Gaelic Christian tradition to maintain their influence within the cathedral chapter. This institutional survival, as Chapter 4 argued, empowered them to exercise profound liturgical agency. They became active participants in "re-authoring" the liturgy at St Andrews, shaping the reception of the imported Sarum Use by blending it with their own devotional priorities. This is most vividly seen in the creation of a distinctive Marian liturgy, preserved in Fascicle XI of the W1 manuscript, where the Céli Dé's "local voice" ensured that inherited traditions were re-inscribed with a uniquely Scottish character.

This negotiation between the imported and the indigenous was materialized in both stone and sound. As Chapter 3 established, the sacred architecture of St Andrews—from the expansion of St Rule's Church to the construction of the grand cathedral—functioned as a series of "ritual machines." These buildings were not simply copies of English or French models but were spatially adapted to accommodate local needs, particularly the veneration of St Andrew's relics and the performance of a hybrid Sarum rite. This physical evidence aligns perfectly with the textual findings of Chapter 4, which demonstrated that Sarum Use arrived in Scotland early, via flexible twelfth-century Augustinian networks, rather than late through the rigid episcopal statutes of the "Lincoln model." This early, adaptable version of Sarum was then further localized, as evidenced by the unique calendars, chant choices, and polyphonic settings in the Pn12036 and W1 manuscripts. The architecture and the liturgy, therefore, tell the same story: one of selective adaptation and creative synthesis, not of wholesale importation.

These findings carry broader implications for how we study medieval liturgy and regional church history. St Andrews, often described in older scholarship as a peripheral follower of English practice, should instead be seen as a liturgical innovator in its own right. The familiar contrast of "periphery versus centre" is overturned: at St Andrews, we see a so-called periphery that actively shaped—rather than merely received—the traditions of the "centre."

By reimagining St Andrews as a liturgical workshop rather than a passive outpost, this dissertation adds to a growing recognition that medieval religious culture was not uniform. Local churches—even those far from Rome or major English cathedrals—could exercise significant agency in how they worshipped. They selected, adapted, and at times authored liturgical texts

and music to meet their particular spiritual and political contexts. In the case of St Andrews, what may appear to be the simple adoption of Sarum Use was in fact a locally negotiated process of creation.

This highlights a larger point: medieval liturgy was a crafted cultural practice, not just a set of top-down instructions from church authorities. Ritual was shaped by communities—clergy and at times laity—who brought their own perspectives and needs to the shared forms of worship. To understand this process, we must read liturgical sources not as static rulebooks, but as dynamic products of human decision-making, negotiation, and creativity.

In this light, liturgical studies can benefit from the same attention to local variation and innovation that is now standard in other areas of medieval cultural history. By showing how St Andrews combined the universal with the local, this work encourages us to re-evaluate other "peripheral" centres often dismissed as simple followers of metropolitan models.

Recognizing St Andrews as a site of liturgical authorship offers a richer perspective on the diversity within medieval Christendom. It reminds us that uniformity in medieval worship was often more an ideal than a reality. On the ground, liturgy took many hybrid forms, shaped by local hands and voices.

This research, in turn, opens several avenues for future inquiry. Could the same blend of imported and indigenous liturgical practice be found at other medieval Scottish centres like Glasgow or Dunkeld? These bishoprics also underwent reform and had to integrate new orders or secular canons alongside older Celtic traditions. A comparative, interdisciplinary analysis—drawing on manuscripts, architecture, and local cults—could help determine whether St Andrews was unique or part of a broader Scottish pattern of liturgical hybridization. For example, Glasgow's cathedral, with its early cult of St Kentigern, and Dunkeld, as a successor to the Columban tradition, may each have developed their own ways of balancing Sarum practices with local customs. Uncovering such patterns would deepen our understanding of how "Sarum" was adapted across medieval Scotland.

Furthermore, How did the Céli Dé's transnational links, especially with Ireland, support broader Gaelic Christian traditions during this period of reform? The Culdee movement began in Ireland and remained active there—notably at Armagh and other sites—well into the later Middle Ages. It is worth exploring whether the Céli Dé of St Andrews maintained contact with Irish or other Gaelic ecclesiastical communities. Such ties may have allowed for the exchange of liturgical texts, saints' lives, or musical styles, helping to preserve a pan-Gaelic religious identity even as Roman norms took hold. Further research could investigate these connections by studying Gaelic-language liturgical fragments or tracking clerics who moved between Ireland

and Scotland, offering insight into how regional and transnational identities shaped the medieval Christian world.

Ultimately, the story of St Andrews is one of creative conversation. It is a dialogue between Augustinian reform and Céli Dé continuity, between imported Sarum structures and local devotional memory, between Parisian polyphony and a Scottish Marian voice. Through this dynamic interplay, the cathedral community forged a liturgical sound that was at once cosmopolitan enough to resonate across Christendom and particular enough to be unmistakably its own. This was the liturgical authorship of St Andrews: a powerful expression of a nation defining itself in worship, in stone, and in song.

Appendix A List of works in W1-XI

Nos.			Season[628]
1	Kyrie	Rex virginum amator	
2	Kyrie	Creator puritatis	
3	Kyrie	Lux et gloria	
4	Kyrie	Kyrie virginei lux	
5	Kyrie	O Marie creator pie	
6	Kyrie	Kyrie virginitatis amator	
7	Kyrie	Conditor Marie omnium regine	
8	Gloria	Gloria in excelsis deo. Per precem piissimam	
9	Alleluya	Alleluya, Virga dei mater pia	Purification to Advent
10	Alleluya	Alleluya, Virga Jesse floruit virgo	Purification to Advent
11	Alleluya	Alleluya, Salve virgo dei mater	Purification to Advent
12	Alleluya	Alleluya, Virga florem germinavit	Purification to Advent
13	Alleluya	Alleluya, Post partum	Purification to Advent
14	Alleluya	Alleluya, Per te dei genitrix	Purification to Advent
15	Alleluya	Alleluya, Ave Maria gratia plena	Advent
16	Alleluya	Alleluya, Virgo intermerata	Christmas
17	Alleluya	Alleluia, Angelus domini nuntiavit virgini	Purification to Advent
18	Tract	Gaude Maria virgo	Septuagesima
19	Sequence	Mittit ad virginem	
20	Sequence	Paranimphus Salutat virginem	
21	Sequence	Ave Maria gratia plena…virgo serena	
22	Sequence	Hodierne lux diei celebris in matris dei	
23	Sequence	Ave mundi spes Maria	

[628] The Lady Mass is organised according to the liturgical season, and the chants of the Offertories and the Alleluyas demonstrate this method. Collation from Legg, *Sarum Missal*.

24	Sequence	Virgini Marie laudes	
25	Sequence	Laudes Christo decantemus	
26	Sequence	Missus Gabriel de celis verbi	
27	Sequence	Virgo mitis vere vitis	
28	Sequence	Reginarum dominam laudemus gloriosam	
29	Sequence	Ave celi imperatrix	
30	Sequence	Hac clara die turma	
31	Sequence	Virgo parens gaudeat	
32	Sequence	Verbum bonum et suave	
33	Sequence[629]	Ave Maria gratia plena viris invia	
34	Offertory	Recordare virgo mater	Purification to Advent
35	Offertory	O vere beata sublimis sponsa domina	Purification to Advent
36	Offertory	Felix namque es	Purification to Advent
37	Offertory	Ave regina celorum mater regis angelorum	Purification to Advent
38	Offertory	Ave Maria gratia plena	Advent
39	Offertory	Peter rerum seriem parit deum hominem	Christmas
40	Offertory	Inviolata intergra et casta es Maria	Septuagesima
41	Osanna trope	Sanctus. Mater mitis vere vitis	
42	Osanna trope	Maria mater egregia	
43	Osanna trope	Sanctus. De virgino nato	
44	Sanctus	Sanctus Voce vita	
45	Agnus dei	Agnus dei. Factus homo	
46	Agnus dei	Mortis dira ferens ut nostra	
47	Agnus dei	Qui de carne puellari	

[629] Not a sequence in the usual sense, but functions as a sequence.

Appendix B Saints in the Litany, Pn1218, Fol.7r

Celtic background saints

Sancte Kentegerne

Sancte Albane

Sancta Brigida

Sancte Patrici

Britain saints

Sancte Eadmunde

Sancte Silvester

Sancte Cuthberte

Sancte Dunstane

Common saints

Sancta Maria

Sancta Dei genitrix

Sancta Virgo Virignum

Sancte Michael

Sancte Gabriel

Sancte Raphael

Omnes Sancti angeli et archangeli

Omnes Sancti beatorum spirituum ordines

Sancte Johannes baptista

Omnes Sancte patriarche et prophete

Sancte Petre

Sancte Paule

Sancte Andrea ii(the patron of St Andrews)

Sancte Johannes evangelista

Sancte Jacobe

Sancte Laurenti

Sancte Philippe

Sancte Bartholomee

Sancte Mathee

Sancte Thoma

Sancte Jacobe

Sancte Symon

Sancte Thadee

Sancte Mathia

Sancte Barnaba

Sancte Luca

Sancte Marce

Sancti apostoli et evangeliste

Sancti discipuli domini

Sancti innocentes

Sancte Stephane

Sancte Vincenti

Sancte Clemens

Sancte Alexander

Sancte Dionisi cum sociis tuis

Sancte Maurici cum sociis tuis

Sancte Thoma

Sancte Gervasi

Sancte Prothasi

Omnes Sancti martyres

Sancte Martine

Sancte Nicholae

Sancte Augustine

Sancte Gregori

Sancte Ambrosi

Sancte Benedicte

Sancte Jeronime

Sancte Leonarde

Sancti confessores

Sancti monachi et hermite

Sancta Maria magdalena

Sancta Felicitas

Sancta Perpetua

Sancta Agatha

Sancta Agnes

Sancta Lucia

Sancta Cecilia

Sancta Petronilla

Sancta Scolastica

Sancta Katerina

Omnes Sancte virgines

Omnes Sancti

Appendix C The Saints' Feasts in Pn12036

Temporale

Fol.	Feasts
11v	St Thomas the Apostle
16r	Memorial of BVM
16v	St Stephen
19r	St. John the Evangelist
22v	St Thomas of Canterbury, Martyr
24v	St. Silvester
32r	Kentigern (later added)
32v	St. Sulpice

Sanctorale

Fol.	Feasts
102v	St. Andrews, Apostle
105r	St. Nicholas of Myra
106v	Conception of BVM
108v	St. Lucia
110r	St. Thomas, Apostle
110v	Ss. Fabian et Sebastian
112r	St. Agnes
113v	St. Vincent
115r	Conversion of St. Paul
117r	St. Julian

117v	St. Brigit of Kildard
119v	Purificatione of BVM
121v	St. Blasius
123r	SS. Vedast and Amand S. Scolastica
123v	St. Ermenilda
124v	Pope Gregory the Great
126r	St. Withberga, St.Edward, St. Cuthbert
127v	St. Benedict, abbot
129v	Annunciation of BVM
131r	Ss. Tiberius and Valeria
131v	St. Elphege, St. George
132r	St. Mark, Evangelist
133v	Ss. Phillip and James, Apostles
134v	St. John before the Latin gate
135r	St. Dunstan
135v	St. Aldelm ep. St. Augustine, Apostle to the English
136r	Ss. Medard and Gildard
136v	St. Alban, St. Etheldreda, St. Swithun
138v	St. John, Evangelist
140v	Ss. John and Paul
141r	Vigil of Apostles Peter and Paul
145r	Translation and Ordination of St. Martin
145v	St. Sexburga, St. Withberga, Translation of St. Swithun
146r	St. Kenelm, St. Maria Magdalena
148r	St. James, Apostle

149r	Chains of St. Peter
150v	Finding of St. Stephan
152r	St. Oswald
152v	St. Laurence
154v	St. Hypolitus
155v	Vigil of the Assumption of BVM
158v	Octave of Assumption of BVM
159r	St. Augustine, Decollation of St.John, the Baptist
160v	Translation of St. Cuthbert
161r	Nativity of BVM
164r	Exaltation of the Holy Cross
166r	St. Matthew, Apostle
168r	St. Michael, Archangel
170r	St. Denis
172r	St. Michael in Monte Tumba
172v	Translation of St. Etheldreda
173v	All Saints
178v	St. Malo
179r	St. Edmund

Appendix D The Office of Thomas Becket Comparison

Genre	Sarum	York	Hereford	Pn12036
VE	Pastor cesus	Pastor cesus	Pastor cesus	
MI	Adsunt Thome	Adsunt Thome	Adsunt Thome	Martyr thoma martyr dei
MH	Martyr Dei	Deus tuorum militum	Martyr Dei	
MA1	Summo sacerdocio Thomas	Summo sacerdocio Thomas	Summo sacerdocio Thomas	Armore fervens
MA2	Monachus sub clerico	Monachus sub clerico	Monachus sub clerico	Verbo potens et actibus
MA3	Cultor agri Domini	Cultor agri Domini	Cultor agri Domini	Dei praeventus gratia
MR1	Studens livor Thome	Studens livor Thome	Studens livor Thome	Sacrat Thomas primordia
MR2	Thomas manum mittit	Thomas manum mittit	Thomas manum mittit	Vir invicte constantiae
MR3	Iacet granum [Mon MR5]	Lapis iste [Mon MR3]	Lapis iste [Mon MR3]	Instabant modis variis
MA4	Nec in agnos	Nec in agnos	Nec in agnos	Preces Thomae cum fletibus
MA5	Exulat vir optimus	Exulat vir optimus	Exulat vir optimus	Thomae fides et actio
MA6	Exulantis predia preda	Exulantis predia preda	Exulantis predia preda	Lactentium proscriptio
MR4	Ex summa rerum [Mon MR6]	Post sex annos [Mon MR4]	Post sex annos [Mon MR4]	Patris dum crebescunt
MR5	Mundi florem [Mon MR7]	Ex summa rerum [Mon MR6]	Ex summa rerum [Mon MR6]	Testantur tria pro martyre
MR6	Christe Iesu per [Mon MR8]	Iacet granum [Mon MR5]	Iacet granum [Mon MR5]	Ex summa rerum
MA7	Satane satellites	Satane satellites	Satane satellites	Arcum tetendit impius
MA8	Strictis Thomas ensibus	Strictis Thomas ensibus	Strictis Thomas ensibus	Montem virtutum scandere
MA9	Felix locus felix [Mon WE]	Hosti pandit ostium [Mon MA9]	Hosti pandit ostium [Mon MA9]	Pro sancti Thomae
MR7	Thome cedunt [Mon MR10]	Mundi florem [Mon MR7]	Mundi florem [Mon MR7]	Ad sedandam tyrannorum
MR8	Novis fulget [Mon MR11]	Christe Iesu per [Mon MR8]	Christe Iesu per [Mon MR8]	Quam pulchra quam sancta

MR9	Iesu bone [Mon MR12]	Ferro pressos [Mon MR9]	Iesu bone [Mon MR12]	Ut constaret omnibus
LA1	Granum cadit copiam	Granum cadit copiam	Granum cadit copiam	O thomas martyr
LA2	Totus orbis martyris	Totus orbis martyris	Totus orbis martyris	Consummatus in gloria
LA3	Aqua Thome	Aqua Thome	Aqua Thome	Digne conjuctus es
LA4	Ad Thome memoriam	Ad Thome memoriam	Ad Thome memoriam	Auxilio divino fortis
LA5	Tu per Thome	Tu per Thome	Tu per Thome	Portas mortis et inferni
LE	Open nobis O Thoma	Open nobis O Thoma	Open nobis O Thoma	
WE	Salve Thoma virga	Salve Thoma virga	Felix locus felix	

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