

The Role of the Church by Dr. Mary McHugh

The Inquest of David

In medieval Glasgow the influence of the church, in the form of parish, diocese, religious orders and in its role in burgh, barony and education, was all pervasive. It began with Kentigern.

The legends concerning Glasgow's patron, Saint Kentigern or Mungo who may have died around 614AD are well-known. However, after his death the history of the church of Glasgow becomes uncertain. It re-emerges in the lifetime of David, the youngest son of the marriage of King Malcolm III (Canmore) to St Margaret of Scotland. David was King of Scots from 1124 until his death in 1153. Prior to that, he had become Prince of Cumbria and ruler of an extensive territory, stretching from Glasgow to Berwick.

David and his siblings had sought refuge and support from the English monarch after the deaths, within four days in 1093, of their parents and their elder brother, Edward. While associated with the English court, David also met many of the incoming Norman-French families, many of whom like the Fitzalan (later better-known as Stewart) and de Brus (Bruce) families, he encouraged to come to Scotland.¹

David's territories and responsibilities straddled the border between Scotland and England. It was as ruler of this large area that David promoted a survey (or inquest), of the medieval church in Glasgow. David's inquest was encouraged by Glasgow's bishop, John and recorded between 1114 and 1124. Such surveys were initiated for political or ecclesiastical reasons or, as is most likely in this case, a combination of both.

The inquest was designed to survey the extent of all lands belonging to the church in Glasgow and its surrounding areas. It seems to confirm that Glasgow had always enjoyed religious significance as the site of the hermitage and tomb of St Mungo, and the Glasgow diocese may well have held extensive possessions prior to the twelfth century, including the church of Hoddam in Annandale (in present day Dumfries and

¹ A A M Duncan **Scotland, The Making of the Kingdom** (Edinburgh, 1978), pp124-126, pp134-135

G W S Barrow **Kingship and Unity, Scotland 1000-1306** (London, 1981), p31

Galloway). The church at Hoddam seems originally to have been a monasteria or minster and, as with other minsters, probably served a large district through clergy resident at a central church.

The inquest also provides evidence that the bishops of Glasgow, and lay landowners, had founded churches prior to the twelfth century on their episcopal estates, and mentions specifically the churches of Morebattle, Peebles and Traquair.² It would be wrong to assume that all churches which are first mentioned in writing in the twelfth century were necessarily new. It is quite possible that before this date churches were looked on almost as part of the landscape and went along with any grant of land, unless specifically exempted.³

The identification of earlier landholdings in David's survey did not guarantee their preservation. Royal land grants, and increasing Norman influence in the course of the twelfth century, helped to sweep away many ancient boundaries. Bishops found their influence over churches severely tested, and disputes arose between lay owners and bishops. Much land which appears previously to have belonged to the church passed into lay hands during the course of the twelfth century. This is particularly true in the diocese of Glasgow. Lands previously possessed by the bishops of Glasgow within Annandale had been confirmed to Robert de Brus (Bruce) between 1141 and 1152. A charter of Malcolm IV (1153-1165) refers specifically to lands from which the church of Glasgow had drawn rents and which Malcolm and his predecessors had granted to their barons and knights.⁴

² Ian Cowan, edited by James Kirk *The Development of the Parochial System* in **The Medieval Church in Scotland** (Edinburgh 1995), p5

J T T Brown **The Inquest of David**, text, translation and notes (Glasgow 1901). Brown argues that the internal evidence of the Inquest dates it to the period 1114 x 1124, although some sources suggest it was undertaken as early as 1109. The confusion over its dating may be due to the possibility that it was recorded at a date later than it was undertaken. The Latin text of the Inquest is also reproduced in the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Maitland Club 1843)

³ Ian B Cowan and David E Easson **Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland** (Longmans 2nd edition, 1976), p207

⁴ Ian Cowan, edited by James Kirk *The Development of the Parochial System* in **The Medieval Church in Scotland** (Edinburgh 1995), p6

Norman Shead, *Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow* **Innes Review**, Vol.21 No.1 (Spring 1970), p4

Much of the early medieval history of Glasgow, both civic and ecclesiastical, is obscure. Although three individuals bearing the title bishop of Glasgow have been identified in the eleventh and early twelfth century, they appear to be associated with the ongoing claims of the archdiocese of York to authority over the church in Scotland.⁵ However, they may also provide evidence for the continuation of the Christian community in Glasgow in the centuries between Kentigern's death and David's inquest.

In addition, the exact relationship between Glasgow and neighbouring Govan at this time is unclear. Govan is not specified in David's inquest. While archaeology has indicated that Govan was an important Christian centre Glasgow's status continued to be enhanced by the belief that this was the site of St Kentigern's church. The awkward site of the twelfth century cathedral was selected as this was believed to be the location of Kentigern's tomb. It may be that Glasgow's early claim as Strathclyde's most important religious centre, and therefore to house the kingdom's bishop, was superseded by Govan with its important collection of 10th century Christian carved stones. Govan may well have been superseded in turn by the renewed cult of Kentigern in the twelfth century and by the establishment of Glasgow's cathedral.⁶

The possessions of the church of Glasgow, as recorded in the inquest, included several estates near the burgh, whose development would be important for the growth of the church. Among these were "Conclud"(possibly an older name for Monkland which extended westwards as far as Kinclaith at Glasgow Green), Ramshorn(near to Rottenrow and Ingram Street), Possilpark, Garioch, Partick, Kirklee, lands around

⁵ Ian B Cowan and David E Easson Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland (Longmans 2nd edition, 1976), p207

The claims of York to metropolitan status over the Scottish church were continually repudiated. In 1175, confirmed in 1176, Bishop Jocelin obtained a rescript from Pope Alexander III confirming Glasgow's freedom from the claims of York, and Glasgow's title as "Special Daughter of the Roman Church".

Much detailed and useful discussion concerning Glasgow's identity and status, and its role and influence on events affecting the Scottish church is contained in Broun, Dauvit *The Welsh Identity of the kingdom of Strathclyde c.900 – c.1200* Innes Review, Vol.55 No.2 Autumn 2004, pp111 - 180

⁶ Norman Shead *Review of S Driscoll, Excavations at Glasgow Cathedral 1988-1997* Innes Review Vol.54 No.2, Autumn 2003

J T T Brown The Inquest of David, text, translation and notes (Glasgow 1901), p5 & p10 claims that the church of Glasgow was founded from earliest times as the seat of the See of the Bishop of Cumbria, but that Cumbria appears first to have been applied to the Britons of Strathclyde

Further information and discussion concerning the importance of Govan can be found in Stephen T Driscoll *Church Archaeology in Glasgow and the Kingdom of Strathclyde* Innes Review Vol.49 No.2 Autumn 1998 pp95-115

Shettleston, and Badermonoc. Barlanark was called "Pathelanerhc" in the inquest, and was among the oldest possessions of the church in Glasgow.⁷

Grants of estates such as Govan and Partick may have been one form of compensation for the acquisition of Glasgow possessions such as Ballain/Bedlay (the acquisition of which proved to be temporary) by Malcolm IV's brothers, William I (the Lion) and David, Earl of Huntingdon.⁸ King David I (1124-1153), with his son Henry granted the lands of Govan to Glasgow cathedral before 1152⁹, stating, "You are to know that I have given and granted to the church of St. Mungo of Glasgu and to the bishopric of the same church Guven, with all its bounds".

Govan (latterly along with the whole of Partick, Shields, Gorbals and Polmadie) was made a prebend of Glasgow Cathedral by Bishop Herbert (1147-64), and encompassed, "The church of Guvan with all ecclesiastical rights pertaining to the same church, and the islands between Guvan and Perthec and that part of Perthec which King David of Scotland gave as a dower to the church of Glasgu at its dedication, and an [or the] other part of Perthec which the same king David gave to the aforesaid church of Glasgu and to Bishop John and his successors".¹⁰ There appears to be no evidence of any dispute or disagreement over these grants. Glasgow's authority was gradually increasing.

If the, probably spurious, claims of York are ignored it was also while David was ruler of southern Scotland that the diocese of Glasgow was re-established, with the appointment of Bishop John sometime between 1114 and 1118. The boundaries of the diocese and, therefore Glasgow's ecclesiastical jurisdiction were wide. Bishop John's diocese,

⁷ **The Archepiscopal Temporalities in the Regality of Glasgow** (published by the Regality Club), pp141-175

John Durkan *Cadder and environs, and the development of the Church in Glasgow in the twelfth century* **Innes Review** Vol.49 No.2 Autumn 1998, pp139-140

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Origines Parochiales Scotiae, The City and Barony Parishes of Glasgow (Bannatyne Club, 1851) p11. Badermonoc included Kenmuir, Carmyle (temporarily) and other parts of what became Monkland parish, and Bedlay/Ballain/Bothlin (near Cumbernauld)

⁸ John Durkan *Cadder and environs, and the development of the Church in Glasgow in the twelfth century* **Innes Review** Vol.49 No.2 Autumn 1998, p140

⁹ Ian Cowan, edited by James Kirk, *The Organisation of Secular Cathedral Chapters* in **The Medieval Church in Scotland** (Edinburgh 1995), pp83-84

¹⁰ Rev Tom A Davidson Kelly, *The Prebend of Govan 1150-1560*, on the Friends of Govan Old website

seemingly covered the same ground as David's territories. This was an extensive landscape, stretching as far south as the Solway Firth.

The Bishop's Estate

The boundaries of the Glasgow diocese must be distinguished from the bishop's estate. Property was held throughout the diocese, and from these lands (later to be increasingly feued and leased) and their rents, successive bishops generated income. Bishops, as well as religious houses, also appropriated parishes and prebends. The income from some parishes such as Govan was appropriated "*to the bishop's table*", which meant that income from Govan was used to support the bishop of Glasgow's household. The bishop was, in turn, expected to dispense charity and to provide hospitality to the poor.

In 1561, Mary Queen of Scots and her Council instructed a property survey as a means of assessing ecclesiastical wealth. From the rentals listed there, by then archbishop, of Glasgow could count on an income yielding £1,000 in cash and around £2,000 in kind. The following were included as having contributed income in cash or kind; the barony of Carstairis (Carstairs) and corn from the mylne (mill), the baronies of Ancrum, Lilliesleif, and Askirk, the barony and mylne of Stobo, the barony of Edlistoun, the Maines of the Lang Coit, Kirkland of Cambusnethan, Halfpenny land of Car(r)ick, Nudry Foster (probably Niddrie Forest) in Lothian and Bishops Forrest in Nidisdaill (Nithsdale).¹¹

As well as his castle beside the cathedral, the archbishop of Glasgow had a manor house at Lochwood, six miles to the north-east, and other outposts scattered across his archdiocese, such as mills and a further castle at Partick. Partick's extensive grounds

¹¹ **Scottish Ecclesiastical Rentals at the Reformation** (James Kirk (ed.) (Oxford University Press for the British Academy c.1995)

Norman Shead, *Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow* **Innes Review**, Vol.21 No.1 (Spring 1970), p8, sets the revenue lower at £987.-8-7, but agrees that the wealth of the See was calculated in kind as well as in terms of money from land, and there were also specific grants of money for defined purposes.

The seventh barony was the barony of Glasgow, J T T Brown **The Inquest of David**, text, translation and notes (Glasgow 1901), p14

were famous for orchards. Lochwood was noted for hunting, and Bishop's Loch for fish.¹²

As a feudal lord, the bishop's estate could also have various granges, as may have been the case at Blairtummock. The lands of Barlannerc cum Budlornac were added by Bishop Herbert to the prebend of Cadzow (Hamilton) sometime before 1172. By 1322 Barlanark's status was that of a separate prebend, which unusually, did not appropriate a parish church, but continued to derive its income from its extensive landholdings. It is claimed that the name Barlanark originates from Bar-lenerk, "*high clearing in the forest*".

The area close to Barlanark was chosen as the country home of the bishops of Glasgow, with their residence at Lochwood. Not far from Lochwood, within the hunting territory of the bishop's forest, Provan Hall (which can still be visited) was built in the fifteenth century. This house is said to have been used as a hunting lodge on visits by King James IV. Barlanark, later known as Provan, was a crown grant, and it may be for this reason that in 1490 King James IV reputedly held the prebend in his role as a canon of the cathedral and "*Lord of Provan*".

The name '*Provan*' itself may have been derived from the word "*prebend*". The term "*Lordship of Provan*" appears to be a medieval title used from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries onwards. The prebend of Provan did not have a well-defined territory but came to include Barlanark, Barmulloch, Balornock, added by Bishop Herbert (1147-1167), and the lands of Roder or Riddrie. In 1322, King Robert I (the Bruce) conferred on the then Canon, John Wishart, the hunting right known as "*free warren*". The use of the term Lord of Provan became increasingly common in the years which followed.¹³

The Bishop's Barony

Within the boundaries of the medieval diocese, and covering an area roughly similar to that of the modern city of Glasgow, was the bishop's barony. Medieval bishops were

¹² Irene Maver [Neighbourhoods, The Barony](http://www.theglasgowstory.com) www.theglasgowstory.com

¹³ John Durkan *Cadder and environs, and the development of the Church in Glasgow in the twelfth century* [Innes Review](#) Vol.49 No.2 Autumn 1998, p130

[Origines Parochiales Scotiae, The City and Barony Parishes of Glasgow](#) (Bannatyne Club, 1851) pp11 & 17.

both ecclesiastical superiors and secular lords. Grants of land might be made in free barony, or in free regality. In 1241, a royal charter also granted the bishop the mainly hunting rights of “free forest”.

The limit of the barony of Glasgow’s eastern expansion from 1140 became the lands of Newbattle Abbey at Drumpellier near Coatbridge. By 1242 Garioch, now part of modern Maryhill, appears as a boundary of the bishop’s barony on its north-western limit. By the same date, there were boundaries also at Possil and Kenmore. By 1164 the lands of Conclud(Monkland) eastwards joining the Newbattle lands were donated to that abbey by Bishop Herbert. However in the late 13th century Carmyle and much of Monkland were detached from Newbattle’s lands in Monkland and reunited with the bishop’s barony under Bishop John de Cheam(1259-1268).¹⁴

The medieval bishop’s barony has been estimated to have contained 18,200 hectares. By the sixteenth century, it had been divided into four wards: Govan, Partick, Badermonoc (encompassing all the land from Auchinairn and Robroyston to Gartinqueen) and Shettleston. The medieval barony’s principal subjects were the “rentallers” or farmers who paid rents and dues to the bishop. Tenants were obliged to grind their grain at the barony’s mills. Not all the barony land could be cultivated. The Easter and Wester Commons and the Gallowmuir were used for cattle pasturage and to supply fuel.¹⁵

Administration and Power

In both his civil and ecclesiastical spheres, the bishop had officers to help in the management of the diocese and the barony. Archdeacons could discipline both clergy

¹⁴ John Durkan *Cadder and environs, and the development of the Church in Glasgow in the twelfth century* **Innes Review** Vol.49 No.2 Autumn 1998, pp130, 134 and 140.

David Sellar *Farewell to Feudalism*, from Burke’s Peerage and Gentry, www.burkes-peerage.net

¹⁵ John Durkan *Cadder and environs, and the development of the Church in Glasgow in the twelfth century* **Innes Review** Vol.49 No.2 Autumn 1998, pp130, 134 and 140.

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and laity, while the dean dealt with moral offences and confirmed testaments valued at less than £40.¹⁶

By the fifteenth century, there were clear signs of a development towards a burgh constitution. The office of provost came into being in the 1450s. Archbishops Blacader and Dunbar both made their brothers provosts, with the appointment of provosts often being determined largely by political pressure on the archbishops.

By the 1440s Glasgow citizens had some independent rights over the common land, and by 1444 they had acquired a town clerk. Although it may have existed earlier the first reference to a town council was in 1501. However other officials, such as the common liners, who carried out divisions of property and settled boundary disputes, existed as early as 1464.¹⁷

The chamberlain was a cleric, and organised the rent collecting. However, one of the oldest offices seems to have been that of bailie, who could be a layman. Bailies presided over the barony, and also assisted in collecting the bishop's revenues. The bailies were initially appointed annually by the bishops, although in royal burghs the burgesses had long been choosing their own bailies, probably since the reign of Robert I (1306-1329). Unlike the provosts, the bailies were always citizens of Glasgow.¹⁸

Supported by their array of officials and fellow clerics Glasgow's bishops were involved not only in the ecclesiastical life of the archdiocese, but also in public affairs. Over the centuries, a number of them achieved notably high civil office. Bishop William de Bondington (1233-1258) served as Chancellor of Scotland. Of Bishop Robert Wishart (1271-1316) it is stated that he was '*one of the great figures in the struggle for Scottish independence, the statesman of the period 1286 to 1291, the patron and friend of Wallace and Bruce, the persistent opponent of Plantagenet pretensions, an unheroic*

¹⁶ Ian Cowan, edited by James Kirk, *Church and Society in the fifteenth century* in **The Medieval Church in Scotland** (Edinburgh 1995), pp186-187

Church courts also dealt with marriage cases, including annulments, disputes over dowries, and legitimacy

¹⁷ **GLASGOW PROVOSTS** – Glasgow City Archive AGN1541, pp1-63
The office of Provost is usually dated from John Stewart in about 1454.

¹⁸ **GLASGOW PROVOSTS** – Glasgow City Archive AGN1541, pp1-63

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hero of the long war'.¹⁹ Bishop John Cameron (1426-1446) served as secretary to King James I, and was made Chancellor in 1427.²⁰

The Cathedral and Chapter

The term cathedral is from the Latin *cathedra*, meaning seat or chair. The cathedral is therefore, quite literally, the location of the bishop's seat and the principal church of a diocese. Until the Glasgow inquest, the episcopate of Bishop John (from around 1114 to 1147) and the consecration of the Cathedral on 7 July 1136, there is no evidence for the existence of such a church or community of clergy.

The barony helped finance Bishop Jocelin's rebuilding of the cathedral after a fire around 1189 had destroyed Bishop John's, predominantly wooden, original.

By 1197, rebuilding work on the cathedral was sufficiently advanced for the building to be re-consecrated by Jocelin around the time of Glasgow Fair, around 6 July 1197. Successive bishops, especially William de Bondington, added to the structure.²¹ There is clear evidence that five of Glasgow's bishops were buried in the cathedral although there may be as many as six further unrecorded episcopal burials within its walls.²²

The erection of a cathedral chapter to administer the cathedral followed closely on the restoration of the diocese. Members of the chapter, known as canons, possessed a prebend in the cathedral. Prebends were commonly connected not only to cathedrals but also to collegiate churches. Bishop John appears to have created a chapter of six prebends including those of Glasgow, Renfrew and Hamilton. His work was continued by Bishop Herbert (1147-1164) who established the prebend of Govan.²³

¹⁹ Geoffrey Barrow **Robert Bruce** (Edinburgh University Press, 1982), p372

²⁰ These examples are illustrative only, and are not exhaustive.

²¹ Ian Cowan, edited by James Kirk, *The Emergence of the Urban Parish* in **The Medieval Church in Scotland** (Edinburgh 1995), p34

John Durkan *Cadder and environs, and the development of the Church in Glasgow in the twelfth century* **Innes Review** Vol.49 No.2 Autumn 1998, p129

²² E L G Stones *Notes on Glasgow Cathedral, the burials of medieval Scottish bishops with particular reference to the bishops of Glasgow* **Innes Review**, Vol.20 No.1 Spring 1969

²³ Ian Cowan, edited by James Kirk *The Organisation of Secular Cathedral Chapters* in **The Medieval Church in Scotland** (Edinburgh, 1995), pp78-85

Initially, the canon prebendaries of Glasgow appear to have been supported by a common fund. However, by the thirteenth century, supporting a prebend by appropriating a parish church had become a virtually universal practice, although Barlanark would remain as a notable exception. Appropriation became a feature of the system which came into existence from the time of David I (1124-1153). An attempt to limit, or at least regulate, this process of annexing parishes is seen in the statement of Pope Lucius III to Jocelin, bishop of Glasgow which declared, *"It is unlawful for the religious, dwelling in your diocese to hold any parish church in their hand when it falls vacant or to institute perpetual vicars in any such without your consent"*.²⁴

The original limits of the parish of Glasgow appear to have been confined to the town itself and several adjacent properties including Shettleston, to which Barlanark was added at a later date. A parish therefore existed before the community became a burgh sometime between 1175-1178. King William the Lion also granted to Bishop Jocelin the right to hold a weekly Thursday market and all the liberties of a king's burgh. A few years later, probably between 1189 and 1198, King William authorised Bishop Jocelin

Ian B Cowan and David E Easson **Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland** (Longmans, 2nd edition, 1976) p207

By the 15th-century, the Glasgow chapter included a sub-dean, sub-chanter, and sacrist (for the treasurer). Vicars-choral assisted in providing the music for Cathedral services.

A collegiate church was a church served by a body, or college, of secular canons or prebendaries.

Our Lady College, founded by James Houston, sub-dean of Glasgow, approved by the Archbishop on 29 April 1525 (the Origines Parochiales Scotiae, p7 suggests a date of 1530) made provision for a provost, nine prebendaries, and three choristers. Secular in this sense means that the canon or prebendary was not a member of a religious order.

²⁴ Ian Cowan edited by James Kirk *vicarages and the Cure of Souls, p48 and The Development of the Parochial System, p8* in **The Medieval Church in Scotland** (Edinburgh, 1995)

Cowan has much useful information on appropriation in relation to the diocese of Glasgow and Western Christendom including the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. In the sixteenth century the great spate of annexations came to be associated with the academic colleges including Glasgow University which attempted to appropriate five vicarages to the university of Glasgow in 1506 and 1537. Our Lady and St Anne (Tron Kirk) also appropriated parishes, revenues from lands and houses within the precincts or nearby, but also from the parish churches of Dalry and Mayboill (Maybole). Appropriation was much more widespread in Scotland than in most other countries, and is frequently highlighted in the context of the Scottish Reformation.

and his successors to have a fair at Glasgow, for eight full days from the octaves of Saint Peter and Saint Paul (7 July) – the celebrated Glasgow Fair.²⁵

It was not unusual for parishes to predate the formal erection of a burgh. Other examples within the Glasgow diocese were Lanark, Peebles, Kirkintilloch, and probably also Renfrew. The foundation of the parochial system was virtually complete by 1274 when the first taxation roll of Scottish benefices appears.²⁶ In general, the pattern established by the close of the twelfth century continued well beyond the sixteenth-century.

Friaries – Preaching and Teaching

With the coming of the friars, urban Glasgow saw the development of religious orders. These friaries, the best-known being those established by St Dominic and St Francis, marked a departure from previous models of medieval religious life. Previously, building upon the rule established by St Benedict, religious orders had tended to stress a rural environment, husbandry, and a contemplative way of life. By contrast, the friars sought out the urban centres of Europe.

The Dominicans (known as the Order of Preachers and also as Blackfriars) were the first to arrive in Glasgow and received land on the east side of High Street. A papal bull of 10 July 1246 granted an indulgence to all the faithful who contributed to the completion of the church which the Friars Preachers of Glasgow had begun to build.²⁷

Such education as existed, whether song schools, grammar, or high schools was, for most of the medieval period, the responsibility of the church. Most teachers, and university staff, were churchmen, with the Chancellor granting licences to teach. The association between the Dominicans and universities was forged at the very outset of

²⁵ James Darragh **History of the Province of Glasgow** Western Catholic Calendar 1990

²⁶ Ian Cowan, edited by James Kirk *The Organisation of Secular Cathedral Chapters* in **The Medieval Church in Scotland** (Edinburgh, 1995) p86

²⁷ Ian B Cowan and David E Easson **Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland** (Longmans, 2nd edition, 1976) p118

the order's life.²⁸ In Glasgow, a 'studium generale', encouraged both by King James II and Bishop Turnbull, was authorised by a bull from Pope Nicholas V on 7 January 1451.

Having himself been a student at Louvain, Bishop Turnbull would have been well aware of the connections between the university and the Dominican priory there. This may have influenced the choice of the Dominicans' chapter house, which was also the friars' classroom, for the inauguration of Glasgow University in 1451.

In its early years the university was poor and the teaching of theology appears to have been fairly erratic. The arts faculty was the most secure and well-endowed in this period. Dominicans patronised their own arts schools rather than attending secular ones. Dominicans are not mentioned in the university records until 1457, and thereafter none were involved until 1470. Possibly the friars had no suitable students or perhaps, though keen to support and nurture the new university, in the short-term attendance there was not for them.²⁹

A group of Franciscan Observants arrived in Glasgow some two centuries after the Dominicans had established their priory. When the Franciscans (also known as Greyfriars) decided to settle in Glasgow, sometime between 1472 and 1477, most of the land on the west side of High Street had already been fued out. The Franciscans determined to develop their friary on a substantial piece of ground which did not front onto the High Street, but lay slightly behind, along the line of Shuttle Street. Although their church and friary are long gone the distinctive shape of the friary land is still readily identifiable on a map.

²⁸ Glasgow Aquinas Lecture delivered by Rev Allan White OP in the Bute Hall as part of the celebration of the 550th Jubilee of the University of Glasgow

²⁹ Ibid.

Glasgow University Archive houses a collection known as the "the Blackhouse Charters", which relate to the properties owned by the Dominicans and which, as a consequence of the Reformation settlement were given to the University of Glasgow. The priory had extensive land-holdings.

A Mission for Caring

The work of the medieval church extended to the care of the poor and the sick. In the middle ages the term '*hospital*' was wide-ranging. Some hospitals only provided rest for travellers while others cared for orphans, the elderly or sick. Medieval communities took their duties to the poor seriously, believing that they would be closely questioned at the last judgement.³⁰ Provision for the poor included offerings and collections. Almoners were appointed by kings and bishops to administer assistance to the poor on their behalf.

In Glasgow St Nicholas Hospital, founded by Bishop Andrew Muirhead, is central to the ongoing debate about whether Provan Hall in Easterhouse, or Provand's Lordship at 3-7 Castle Street, near the medieval Cathedral, is the oldest house in Glasgow. It seems they may have been built at around the same time.

The claimed link between Provands Lordship, and Provan Hall derives from the requirement on canon prebendaries to have a town residence near the cathedral. The manse of the prebendary of Barlanark or Provan is usually said to have been in the Kirkgait on the west side of High Street. However all the available evidence links Provand's Lordship³¹ with St Nicholas Hospital rather than with Provan Hall.

St Nicholas Hospital was located close to the cathedral. However for other hospitals a bridge end was often a favoured site. Lepers, the feared outcasts of medieval society, would certainly be lodged at the edge of town. St Ninian's leper hospital was located outwith the city limits at the south end of Glasgow bridge. It is claimed to have been founded in about 1350, but may have been established in the fifteenth century, as one of the earliest references to male and female lepers in the hospital and poor lepers dwelling there occurs in 1485.³²

By the fifteenth century it was generally agreed that regulation of hospitals was important and a regime of inspection of their property and revenues was introduced. By 1549 a

³⁰ John Durkan *Care of the Poor, Pre-Reformation Hospitals Innes Review* Vol.10, 1959, pp268-280

³¹ The building was given to the then City of Glasgow District Council in 1978.

³² Ian B Cowan and David E Easson **Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland** (Longmans, 2nd edition, 1976) p180

Council of the Scottish Church took episcopal visitation of hospitals for granted. In 1552 deans were ordered to include hospitals in their visitations.³³

By the sixteenth century, plague victims would petition at the chapel of St Roche. In Glasgow the most common form of the saint's name was Rollack or Rollox. Like lepers, plague victims were housed outwith the burgh limits. The Glasgow chapel and cemetery of St. Roche, developed between 1506 and 1508, was situated to the north of the city on an area known as the Boroughmuir, outwith the Stablegreen Port.

In 1506 Sir Andrew Birrell arranged for a property in Ratounraw (Rottenrow) to house Sir Thomas Forbes, who had initially been appointed chaplain of the proposed church of St Roche. In 1508, Thomas Muirhead, canon of Glasgow and rector of Stobo generously endowed the chapel so that mass might be offered for his soul as the founder.

A document dated 10 October of 1508, appoints Sir Alexander Robertone to be chaplain of St Rollox. The transaction took place in the presence of two canons of the Cathedral, "*and vicars-general of the most reverend father in Christ, Robert, Archbishop of Glasgow, being abroad*".³⁴ The archbishop referred to was Robert Blacader, who, having been appointed Bishop of Glasgow in 1483, was to become Glasgow's first archbishop on 9 January 1492.³⁵ He died on his way to the Holy Land on 28 July 1508.

Drawing to a Close

The causes and effects of the religious upheavals of the sixteenth century are beyond the scope of this article. However some of the problems which beset Glasgow's church community over its early centuries, like the much criticised practice of appropriation, no doubt contributed. The Reformation forced Glasgow's last archbishop, James Beaton, into exile in Paris, although there is still evidence of his interest and involvement in

³³ John Durkan *Care of the Poor, Pre-Reformation Hospitals* Innes Review Vol.10, 1959, pp268-280

³⁴ Charters and Documents of Glasgow, British History Online, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, www.british-history.ac.uk

³⁵ James Darragh, History of the Province of Glasgow, Western Catholic Calendar 1990, pp24-47

Information about the creation of the Archdiocese of Glasgow can be found in Dr Leslie Macfarlane's article *The elevation of the diocese of Glasgow into an Archbishopric in 1492* Innes Review, Vol. 43 (Autumn 1992), pp99 - 119

matters at home. With the death of Archbishop Beaton in Paris in 1603, the medieval hierarchy would come to an end.

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