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# Medieval cartulary manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland<sup>1</sup>

Joanna Tucker

## *Abstract*

This article surveys the cartularies held by the National Library of Scotland, considering both their history as a collection and their nature as individual manuscripts. Like many kinds of medieval manuscript, cartularies could take a diverse range of forms. Each one has its own particular characteristics, meaning that as a ‘corpus’ they are difficult to describe or define. In attempting to understand medieval cartulary manuscripts, a tension emerges between the singular term ‘cartulary’ and the variety exhibited by the manuscripts themselves. This uneasy contrast can, however, be reconciled once the cartulary is embraced as a modern scholarly concept rather than a medieval ‘category’.

Broadly speaking, the cartulary is understood to be a manuscript containing predominantly copies of charter texts.<sup>2</sup> Such manuscripts can be found across Europe throughout the middle ages and even into the early modern period, though their production is mostly associated with the central middle ages.<sup>3</sup> Charters—and as a result, cartularies—are a key source for studying aspects of medieval society, including landholding, lordship, social networks, government, law, placenames, and the church, to name a few. The significance of the cartulary as a source for medieval Scotland can be revealed by the data in the digital research tool *People of Medieval Scotland: 1093–1371 (PoMS)*.<sup>4</sup> Only about 30% of charter texts in *PoMS* survive as a contemporary, single-sheet document (1,615 out of 5,426 texts); the remaining 70% survive

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<sup>2</sup> There have been various attempts to define the cartulary. A recent example can be found in an online database of cartularies from French-speaking areas (*CartulR*, Glossary, s. v. ‘cartulaire’; <http://www.cn-telma.fr/cartulR/glossaire/>): *Recueil de copies des documents (chartes) reçus par une personne physique ou morale qui fait transcrire intégralement ou parfois en extraits des titres relatifs à ses biens et à ses droits et des documents concernant son histoire ou son administration, pour en assurer la conservation et en faciliter la consultation* (‘Compilation of copies of documents (charters) received by a natural or legal person who makes a transcription, fully or sometimes in excerpts, of deeds relating to their property and their rights, and of documents concerning their history or administration, to ensure safekeeping and facilitate consultation’).

<sup>3</sup> Currently, one of the most useful (although not the most recent) places for an overview of cartularies from Great Britain and for some of the key themes that emerged in the 1980s is Trevor Foulds, ‘Medieval cartularies’, *Archives* 18, no. 77 (1987) 3–35.

<sup>4</sup> *People of Medieval Scotland: 1093–1371*, Amanda Beam, John Bradley, Dauvit Broun, John Reuben Davies, Matthew Hammond, Neil Jakeman, Michele Pasin, Alice Taylor, with others (Glasgow and London, 2019) <<https://www.poms.ac.uk>>.

only as a later copy, the majority of these in medieval cartularies of some sort.<sup>5</sup> Any medieval historian who works with documents is therefore reliant on the cartulary for the survival of most of their texts.

The cartulary manuscript has also been increasingly recognised as an important source in its own right, not just for its charter texts. Those manuscripts that survive from Scotland have begun to play a key role in this regard. This is partly in terms of the latest research agenda,<sup>6</sup> but there are also significant advances being made in terms of the curation of cartularies in Scotland, including in relation to cataloguing, digitisation, and conservation. Soon, for example, a significant proportion of Scotland's cartularies will be available online with high-quality digital images and new catalogue descriptions, thanks to a project that is currently underway at the National Library of Scotland (NLS).<sup>7</sup> This is an opportune moment, therefore, to explore the particular collection of cartularies held by the NLS, and consider them in relation to some of the emerging research in the field of cartulary studies more broadly.

Instead of studying one or two individual manuscripts in great depth, this article attempts to think about an entire collection of cartularies. It will first review how the NLS's cartularies came to be a single collection, before turning to the manuscripts themselves and offering a survey of their main features.<sup>8</sup> This will reveal an assorted collection of manuscripts which have only relatively recently come to be defined as a single distinct group. It will conclude by considering the possible tension in describing such a varied collection as a single category of manuscript, and how acknowledging this diversity could lead to a deeper awareness of the cartulary as a modern scholarly concept. 'The cartulary' emerges as a term that refers to a particular kind of activity, one which manifested itself in a range of material ways.

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<sup>5</sup> *People of Medieval Scotland* <<https://www.poms.ac.uk>> (accessed 10 October 2019). These figures relate to Charters strictly defined in the database (see the Glossary of Terms for a definition). The figures themselves can be found when searching *PoMS* by 'Sources' and filtering by 'Charter' under document type and 'Original (contemporary)' under source features.

<sup>6</sup> See Joanna Tucker, 'Understanding Scotland's medieval cartularies', *Innes Review* 70 (2019), 135–70.

<sup>7</sup> At the time of writing, this project—which focuses on the medieval Advocates Manuscripts—was due to conclude with the publication of the new catalogue and digital images at the end of 2020. The focus of this article is not, therefore, on the actual digitisation of the NLS cartularies (led by Ines Byrne) and the production of the new catalogue (currently being undertaken by Jamie McIntosh with Ulrike Hogg), which are ongoing, but on the cartularies themselves as a collection. For general discussion of the use of digital images of manuscripts in research, see the work cited in n. 66, below.

<sup>8</sup> This survey is not intended to be a description of the NLS cartularies to the extent that the new catalogue will provide. Instead, it provides some observations from the perspective of a cartulary scholar.

### *The history of the NLS's collection of cartularies*

The Table at the end of this article lists all of those cartularies currently kept in the National Library of Scotland according to the most recent catalogue of medieval cartularies, published in 2010.<sup>9</sup> This catalogue was originally compiled by G. R. C. Davis in 1958, where 23 NLS items had been noted.<sup>10</sup> In the following decades various notices were published about newly discovered items or updates to the catalogue, which eventually led to the second edition in 2010. For Scottish cartularies, the key notice was compiled and published by Ian Cunningham in 1997.<sup>11</sup> The new edition expanded the number of Scotland's cartularies from 77 to 108; the total number identified in the NLS increased from 23 to 31.<sup>12</sup> Since 2010, four items have been moved elsewhere.<sup>13</sup> The NLS therefore currently holds 27 cartularies, as presented in the Table.

A note should be made at the outset about the slightly curious nature of this collection of manuscripts. G. R. C. Davis had, in his original project, taken a broad approach, including not only cartularies but also 'other registers' that he thought would aid the researcher seeking documents from that particular medieval archive.<sup>14</sup> A notable example is a Gospel book (known as the Book of Deer), included as no. 1137 in the catalogue because it contains property records added in the twelfth century.<sup>15</sup> The second edition expanded this approach further, including more varied items. This has resulted in some curiosities: the list of NLS cartularies includes, for example, registers of leases (nos. 1120 and 1178) and a rental (no. 1148). Rather than reflecting any medieval notion of 'cartularies', this assortment needs to be understood in the context of Davis' approach to cataloguing and the later updates to his work.

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<sup>9</sup> *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. G. R. C. Davis, revised by Claire Breay, Julian Harrison and David M. Smith (London, 2010) [hereafter 'Davis 2010'].

<sup>10</sup> *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: A Short Catalogue*, ed. G. R. C. Davis (London, 1958) [hereafter 'Davis 1958']. The 23 items are nos. 1111, 1114, 1118, 1120, 1124, 1126, 1134, 1138, 1139, 1148, 1149, 1162, 1165, 1167, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1174, 1178, 1179, 1180, 1182, and 1184. In his acknowledgements (at p. ix), Davis notes the help of W. Park (William Park, Keeper of Manuscripts from 1946) in identifying those cartularies from the NLS.

<sup>11</sup> Ian C. Cunningham, 'Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: amendments and additions to the Scottish section of Davis', *Monastic Research Bulletin* 3 (1997), 1–7. Ian Cunningham was also involved in the *Syllabus of Scottish Cartularies* project: see Ian Cunningham, 'Syllabus of Scottish Cartularies', *Monastic Research Bulletin* 1 (1995), 11.

<sup>12</sup> The eight newly identified items in the NLS added to Davis 2010 were nos. 1137.1, 1150, 1151, 1152, 1153, 1174.1, 1234.2, and 1320.1.

<sup>13</sup> These four manuscripts relate to Glasgow Cathedral and are part of the Scottish Catholic Archive, now kept in Aberdeen University Library: Davis 2010, nos. 1150, 1151, 1152 and 1153 (now AUL SCA MSS JB 1/1, 1/2, 1/3, and 1/4/1).

<sup>14</sup> For a full analysis of G. R. C. Davis' catalogue (both the 1958 and 2010 edition), see Tucker, 'Understanding Scotland's medieval cartularies', 149–56. Those items in the Table which Davis 1958 explicitly labelled 'other registers' are nos. 1114, 1120, 1148 and 1178.

<sup>15</sup> The manuscript of the Book of Deer is Cambridge University Library Ii.6.32, and can be viewed online here: <<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-II-00006-00032/1>>.

This particular assemblage of 27 manuscripts only came to be a single collection in the course of the last century. Like many of the NLS's manuscripts, a majority of the cartularies in the Table were at one point held by the antiquarian Sir James Balfour of Denmilne (d. 1657), who amassed one of Scotland's most significant private collections of medieval manuscripts. The most comprehensive list of manuscripts that were in Balfour's possession at any point was compiled by Sir Robert Sibbald in the later seventeenth century.<sup>16</sup> Sibbald listed over 250 items, nineteen of which could be regarded as a cartulary from a monastic or cathedral community.<sup>17</sup> Sibbald's descriptions of each manuscript are, however, somewhat generic (such as '*Chartularium Episcoporum Aberdonensium*' or '*Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andreae*'), making it difficult to match them with extant manuscripts.<sup>18</sup> A few of the items noted in Sibbald's list are now thought to be lost, notably those described as the cartularies of the bishops of Dunblane and Dunkeld.<sup>19</sup> Probably twelve of those described by Sibbald are, however, now kept in the NLS.<sup>20</sup> At the time of Balfour's death, his collection of manuscripts had become somewhat scattered, with Sibbald himself acquiring a number of them. In December 1698, the Faculty of Advocates' Library managed to buy a collection of nearly 200 manuscripts and books that once belonged to James Balfour.<sup>21</sup> There were six cartularies in

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<sup>16</sup> Sibbald's list was published in his *Memoria Balfouriana* in 1699, though it is thought that it was compiled before that date. For this suggestion and a summary of Sibbald's list, see I. C. Cunningham, *Sir James Balfour's Manuscript Collection: The 1698 Catalogue and Other Sources*, Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions, vol. vi, part 6 (Edinburgh, 2004), Appendix I, 225–41.

<sup>17</sup> These nineteen items in Sibbald's list are Cunningham, *Sir James Balfour's Manuscript Collection*, Appendix I, 225–7 (under the heading *Manuscripta Historica vetusta*), nos. 3–11, 15–21, 23–4, and 39.

<sup>18</sup> Ian Cunningham suggested that the *Chartularium Episcoporum Aberdonensium* (no. 7 in Sibbald's list: see previous footnote) was perhaps Adv. MS 16.1.10. There are, however, other possibilities: Davis 2010 lists six cartularies for Aberdeen Cathedral (nos. 1110–15), including one other in the NLS (Adv. MS 34.4.4). For the reference to a *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andreae* (no. 17 in Sibbald's list), Cunningham did not make any suggestions as to the relevant manuscript. It is perhaps most likely to have been the manuscript currently in the National Records of Scotland (NRS GD45/27/8), but since Cunningham was only cross-referencing Sibbald's list with manuscripts in the NLS, this NRS manuscript was not noted. There is another reference in Sibbald's list to a *Chartularium Episcoporum Sancti Andreae* (no. 10), which Cunningham links to the NLS's St Andrews cartulary (Adv. MS 17.1.3). It is perhaps more likely, however, that this *Chartularium* was in fact the now-lost St Andrews manuscript (Davis 2010, no. 1176) which was at some point in Sibbald's possession since he drew up a summary of its contents (though this summary now only survives in a later copy of Sibbald's manuscript: BL Harley MS 4628, ff. 213–242). From this, it is known that the St Andrews manuscript contained copies of charters of the bishops of St Andrews. For the lost cartulary's contents, and Sibbald's possession of it, see Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*, rev. edn (Edinburgh, 1980), 55.

<sup>19</sup> Cunningham, *Sir James Balfour's Manuscript Collection*, Appendix I, 226, no. 8 (*Chartularium Episcoporum Dunblanensium*) and no. 9 (*Chartularium Episcoporum Dunkeldensium*).

<sup>20</sup> The twelve items listed by Sibbald that Ian Cunningham identifies with manuscripts now in the NLS are as follows: Cunningham, *Sir James Balfour's Manuscript Collection*, Appendix I, 225–7, nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 15, 16, 19, 20, 23, and 24. Respectively, these are Adv. MSS 34.1.3A (Dunfermline), 34.4.7 (Dryburgh), 34.4.3 (Arbroath), 34.4.2 (Arbroath), 16.1.10 (Aberdeen), 17.1.3 (St Andrews/Pittenweem), 34.3.29 (Scone), 34.5.3 (Balmerino), 34.7.1 (Lindores), 33.2.5 (Balmerino), 34.3.28 (Scone), and 34.1.2 (Cambuskenneth).

<sup>21</sup> For an edition of the 1698 sale catalogue, see Cunningham, *Sir James Balfour's Manuscript Collection*, 196–224. For further discussion, see Ian C. Cunningham, 'The manuscript collections to 1925', in *For the*

this collection.<sup>22</sup> The remainder were seemingly acquired by the Faculty of Advocates' Library gradually across the eighteenth century, though in the absence of a register of accessions it is difficult to track these acquisitions precisely.<sup>23</sup> By the time the National Library had been established in 1925, the collection of cartularies owned by the Faculty of Advocates was the largest in Scotland.

A few other observations about the NLS collection can be made at this point. In the 1820s, the Advocates' Library underwent a reorganisation and as part of this a new pressmark system was introduced, with the cartularies placed in press 34.<sup>24</sup> All but six of the items in the Table fall into this group. Of the exceptions, two were part of the Faculty of Advocates' Library but placed in a different press: 16.1.10 (Aberdeen Cathedral) and 17.1.3 (St Andrews Cathedral Priory/Pittenweem Priory).<sup>25</sup> The other four are not Advocates Manuscripts at all, presumably being acquired by the NLS after 1925: NLS Ch. 17332 (Paisley Abbey), MS 21183 (Deer Abbey), MS 1010 (Seton family), and MS 72 (Douglas family). Three of these are associated with the collections of lay families, since the Deer manuscript survives among the papers of the Keith Earls Marischal, commendators of the abbey in the sixteenth century.<sup>26</sup> These four items are also distinctive in that they were not part of Davis' original 1958 catalogue (this is reflected in their reference numbers where decimal points were added in order to expand the 2010 edition: nos. 1137.1, 1174.1, 1234.2, and 1320.1).

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*Encouragement of Learning: Scotland's National Library, 1689–1989*, ed. Patrick Cadell and Ann Matheson (Edinburgh, 1989), 119–38, at 121–2.

<sup>22</sup> Cunningham, *Sir James Balfour's Manuscript Collection*, 201–2 (nos. 31–6). These six cartularies are: Adv. MSS 34.4.2 and 34.4.3 (both Arbroath), Adv. MS 34.5.3 (Balmerino), Adv. MS 34.4.7 (Dryburgh), Adv. MS 34.1.3A (Dunfermline), and Adv. MS 34.3.29 (Scone).

<sup>23</sup> The Faculty acquired the library of Robert Sibbald himself in 1723. For examples of smaller accessions of cartularies in the eighteenth century, see Cunningham, 'The manuscript collections to 1925', 127.

<sup>24</sup> Cunningham, 'The manuscript collections to 1925', 134. The pressmark '34' does not only contain cartularies, however. It appears to comprise a selection of original historical materials (or copies of them), not all of them medieval. The cartularies are scattered throughout the pressmark because the numbering was based on the size of the volume, not its contents. I am very grateful to Ulrike Hogg for explaining this to me.

<sup>25</sup> The Aberdeen cartulary (Adv. MS 16.1.10) is thought to have been bought from John Baird in 1703 (Cunningham, 'The manuscript collections to 1925', 124; Cunningham, *Sir James Balfour's Manuscript Collection*, 225); the St Andrews/Pittenweem cartulary (Adv. MS 17.1.3) is thought to have been bought from George Martine of Clermont in either 1721 (Cunningham, *Sir James Balfour's Manuscript Collection*, 226) or in 1732 (Cunningham, 'The manuscript collections to 1925', 127). G. R. C. Davis included this latter manuscript under the entry for St Andrews Cathedral Priory (no. 1178), but the manuscript itself is actually divided into three parts, which Davis notes: (i) documents of the Cathedral Priory, (ii) documents of Pittenweem Priory (which was given to the Cathedral Priory in the fourteenth century), and (iii) documents of the archbishopric. It is therefore useful to refer to this manuscript as the St Andrews/Pittenweem cartulary.

<sup>26</sup> See Cunningham, 'Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain', 3.

The NLS's cartularies therefore came together gradually, with each manuscript taking its own path to the NLS, passing through various hands and libraries in the early modern period.<sup>27</sup> According to the 2010 catalogue, the 27 manuscripts listed in the Table equates to 25% of all of Scotland's cartularies (27/108 items). If lost and destroyed items are removed from the total, the NLS's collection equates to 29% of extant Scottish cartulary manuscripts (27/92 items). The collection in the NLS is therefore the largest in Scotland. As will be shown, it is notable for its concentration of monastic cartularies and for examples of early cartularies.<sup>28</sup>

### *The nature of the cartularies in the NLS*

The NLS's 27 cartularies are derived from a range of different medieval archives: two belong to lay families (the Douglas earls of Morton and the Seton earls of Winton) while the other 25 were from ecclesiastical institutions of some kind. Around half were produced by major monasteries of various orders (Tironensian, Augustinian, Cistercian, Premonstratensian, Benedictine, and Cluniac), but other kinds of ecclesiastical institutions are also represented, including cathedrals, hospitals and collegiate churches. Monastic cartularies have typically received the most attention, whereas those produced in other archival settings have tended to be less well studied, especially those for lay families.<sup>29</sup>

For most of the institutions and families listed in the Table, their archive of original documents no longer exists. The main exceptions are Melrose Abbey and the earls of Morton, whose charters still survive in large numbers.<sup>30</sup> Some institutions had more than one medieval cartulary (or other similar manuscripts). In a few instances two manuscripts for the same

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<sup>27</sup> A notable example is the Newbattle Abbey cartulary (Adv. MS 34.4.13). This currently has a newspaper clipping pasted inside its front cover (a note in pencil says it is from *The Scotsman* on 11 August 1896) which describes how the manuscript, after being taken to Paris in the 1680s by Father Richard Hay (who had borrowed it from the Earl of Lothian), had been bought by the Advocates' Library from a James McEwan on 23 April 1723.

<sup>28</sup> The National Records of Scotland is the next largest repository: according to Davis 2010, it holds 21 cartularies (though as with much of this catalogue the description of all these items as a 'cartulary' has been applied liberally): thirteen are for religious houses (nos. 1116.1, 1125, 1133, 1136.1, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1146, 1152.1, 1160, 1161, 1163, and 1175) and eight are for lay families (nos. 1208.1, 1234.3–1234.7, 1279, and 1318.3). The NRS's collection is therefore notable for its large number of 'secular' cartularies, all of which are 'Gifts and Deposits' that originated in collections of private papers.

<sup>29</sup> In total, Davis 2010 lists ten 'secular' cartularies for Scotland: no. 1208.1 (the Bruces of Clackmannan: NRS GD235/1/1); nos. 1234.2–1234.7 (the Douglases of Morton: NLS MS 72 and NRS GD150/77, GD150/78, GD150/79, GD150/80, and GD150/263); no. 1279 (the earls of Lennox: NRS GD220/2/202); no. 1318.3 (the Scrymgeours of Dundee: NRS GD137/3959); and no. 1320.1 (the Setons of Winton: NLS MS 1010).

<sup>30</sup> The earls of Morton original papers are kept in Edinburgh as part of NRS GD150. Melrose Abbey's original charters do not all survive in one place: most are now part of collections in Edinburgh (NRS GD55) and London (BL Cotton Chrs. xviii). Images, texts and transcriptions of Melrose's pre-1250 charters can be accessed via *Models of Authority: Scottish Charters and the Emergence of Government, 1100–1250* <<http://www.modelsofauthority.ac.uk>>.

institution survive in the NLS, as is the case for Arbroath Abbey, Scone Abbey, Aberdeen Cathedral and Elgin Cathedral.<sup>31</sup> In other cases, manuscripts derived from the same institution also survive elsewhere, such as for Lindores Abbey, Melrose Abbey, Arbroath Abbey, and Aberdeen Cathedral.<sup>32</sup> The nineteenth-century editors of these manuscripts were sometimes only aware of the institution's NLS cartulary, and so naturally assumed that this was their sole cartulary, only for others to be discovered at a later stage.<sup>33</sup>

The particular nature of cartularies means that it is important to read them in relation to their medieval archival contexts and alongside any other similar manuscripts that have survived. Once it is understood, for instance, that the fourteenth-century scribe of the NLS Arbroath cartulary was essentially copying, in the same order, the contents of an earlier thirteenth-century manuscript (now in Dundee) into a fresh codex, the NLS cartulary scribe's work can be interrogated in relation to the earlier manuscript; the scribe of Arbroath's sixteenth-century cartulary (in the British Library), by contrast, rearranged the document texts so that they were organised by place, and possibly also copied material that was not present in the other cartularies.<sup>34</sup> The Melrose cartulary in the NLS similarly ought to be viewed in relation to its later cartulary (now in the British Library) and also its surviving original documents (held mainly in the British Library and the National Records of Scotland) in order to establish how selective the NLS cartulary scribe was and how they copied the original documents.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Paisley Abbey also has two items in the table, but the second (NLS Ch. 17332) is only a single sheet and only possibly derived from another cartulary: see below, n. 37.

<sup>32</sup> For Lindores Abbey, there is an earlier cartulary currently in private ownership at Caprington Castle (Davis 2010, no. 1164). For Melrose Abbey, there is a later cartulary in the British Library (Harley MS 3960). Arbroath Abbey has an earlier and a later cartulary, respectively held in Dundee City Archives (GD130/25/17) and the British Library (Add. MS 33245). Four other manuscripts survive from Aberdeen Cathedral, all now in Aberdeen University Library (MSS 247, 248, 249, 251).

<sup>33</sup> For example, the editors of the Arbroath Abbey publication worked mainly from the NLS cartulary. They only discovered the earlier 'Ethie' manuscript (Dundee City Archives GD130/25/17) in the final stages of publishing their volumes: *Liber Sancte Thome de Aberbrothoc*, ed. C. Innes and P. Chalmers, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1848–56), pp. xxxi–xxxiii. The abbey's later cartulary, on the other hand (BL Harley MS 3960), remained unknown to the editors. The editor of Lindores' small NLS cartulary manuscript (published in 1841) assumed that this was the principal cartulary for the abbey; an earlier and fuller manuscript was then discovered in the 1880s: *Liber Sancte Marie de Lundoris*, ed. W. B. D. D. Turnbull (Edinburgh, 1841); Thomas Dickson, 'Notice of the register of Lindores Abbey, a thirteenth century Scottish MS. on vellum, in the library at Caprington Castle, Ayrshire', *PSAS* 20 (1886) 148–59.

<sup>34</sup> These three Arbroath cartularies are: Dundee City Archives GD130/25/17 (Davis 2010, no. 1117); NLS Adv. MS 34.4.2 (Davis 2010, no. 1118); and BL Add. MS 33245 (Davis 2010, no. 1119). There is evidence of losses of material in all three cartularies, and so some of those texts only preserved in the latest cartulary (in the BL) might in fact have once been present in the earlier ones.

<sup>35</sup> Melrose's two cartulary manuscripts are NLS Adv. MS 34.4.11 (Davis 2010, no. 1167) and BL Harley MS 3960 (Davis 2010, no. 1168). For the original charters, see above, n. 30. The NLS cartulary is particularly troublesome since its foliation indicates that leaves are wanting from the front, middle and end.



When an institution or family created more than one cartulary, questions arise about each manuscript's respective function. Usually, distinct cartularies were produced a century or more apart, though there are examples where cartularies are thought to have been 'active' simultaneously, perhaps serving different people within a single ecclesiastical community. It has been argued, for example, that one of Elgin Cathedral's manuscripts (NLS Adv. MS 34.4.10) contains two originally separate cartularies, both active in the second half of the thirteenth century and with overlapping contents, one for the cathedral's dean and one for the bishop.<sup>36</sup> These were bound together into a single codex at the end of the fourteenth century. Later cartularies might be a straightforward transcript of an earlier cartulary as it stood, or they might reorder the texts completely. A striking example in the NLS collection is Scone Abbey's two cartularies, which represent significant overlap in their contents (Adv. MSS 34.3.29 and 34.3.28); the later one is not, however, a simple copy of the earlier manuscript. Given the number of examples like Scone Abbey where the older cartulary does survive, it is unlikely that later cartularies were always designed to allow the creators to replace and dispose of old worn-out cartularies. Where only one late manuscript does exist for an institution, however, it is tempting to wonder whether these were in fact 'clean' copies of earlier, now-lost cartularies. Paisley Abbey's sixteenth-century cartulary in the NLS (Adv. MS 34.4.14) is one such example of this.<sup>37</sup> It must also be remembered, however, that it was apparently possible for a major monastery, such as Holyrood Abbey, to exist without a cartulary as such for many centuries.<sup>38</sup> Studies to date have generally focused in great detail on particular cartularies (and the earliest ones especially); much opportunity remains, therefore, for exploring how multiple cartularies from the same institution relate to one another, and why they were created.

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<sup>36</sup> This was noted by Cosmo Innes in *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*, ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1837) [hereafter *Moray Reg.*], p. ii. He notes that the manuscript also currently includes a section of material relating to the Hospital of St Nicholas, as well as other miscellaneous sections. The main evidence for one of these sections being a 'book of the dean' is marginal references which state: *Ista non scribitur in libro Decani* ('this is not written in the book of the Dean'). This manuscript could certainly benefit from an in-depth study of its codicology and contents.

<sup>37</sup> W. W. Scott considered whether this was the case, though he did not find it a necessary assumption: W. W. Scott, 'The register of Paisley Abbey: a reappraisal', in *The Monastery and Abbey of Paisley*, ed. John Maldon (Glasgow, 2000), 149–60, at 151–5. The other 'cartulary' for Paisley listed in Davis 2010 (no. 1174.1) is a loose single sheet containing two fifteenth-century texts relating to Paisley. Ian Cunningham suggested in 1997 that this was 'possibly a fragment of a 15<sup>th</sup> cent. cartulary': Cunningham, 'Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain', 5. There is no visible sign that the single sheet was bound into a book, however, and so its status remains obscure.

<sup>38</sup> There is no evidence of a medieval cartulary ever existing for Holyrood Abbey. While this is not significant *per se*, in Holyrood's case it is striking since a large number of its original charters do survive (they are in the NRS, shelf mark GD45/13). It is therefore the only example of a large collection of charters surviving from Scotland without a related cartulary (this in comparison to the survivals from Melrose Abbey, North Berwick Priory, Coldingham Priory, and the earls of Morton, each of which has a large collection of charters and a cartulary of some sort). Davis 2010 lists only two sixteenth-century registers for Holyrood (nos. 142–3), which Davis 1958 had originally described as 'other registers', rather than cartularies as such.

As mentioned at the outset, the main component of a cartulary is copies of charter texts derived from a single archive. Charters began to be produced in Scotland in the early twelfth century.<sup>39</sup> One of the largest extant collections of early Scottish charters in fact survives in the NLS (Adv. MS 15.1.18), though this is not derived from a single medieval archive but was amassed from various places in the seventeenth century by James Balfour.<sup>40</sup> The earliest cartularies produced in Scotland are datable to the thirteenth century. There appears to be no direct chronological relationship between the conception of an institution's or family's archive of documents and the creation of a cartulary; instead, there is great variation in when a cartulary was first created, if they were created at all. Seven manuscripts survive from Scotland which contain a thirteenth-century portion, three of which are part of the NLS's collection: those for Dunfermline Abbey, Melrose Abbey, and Elgin Cathedral.<sup>41</sup> The earliest of Scotland's lay cartularies is that for the earls of Morton, also kept by the NLS (MS 72) and datable to the fourteenth century.<sup>42</sup>

The information provided in the Table immediately reveals that the dates of these manuscripts can be more complicated than a single moment or even a single century. Partly, this is because a cartulary scribe's work can be difficult to date accurately. We are usually reliant on a combination of the date of the texts they copied (which are typically dated or datable documents, taking the latest text as the scribe's earliest possible moment of writing) and an analysis of their handwriting (which can act as a guide at least to the century in which they were working). In a couple of cases in the NLS collection it is possible to give more precise dates for the scribe's work because the manuscript is an 'authenticated' copy, internally dated by the scribes themselves: Cambuskenneth's cartulary was produced in 1535 (Adv. MS 34.1.2), and Elgin Hospital's was compiled in 1548 (Adv. MS 34.7.2). 'Authenticated' cartularies such as these are far from the norm, however.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> For the adoption of documents in Scotland generally see Dauvit Broun, 'The adoption of brieves in Scotland', in *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Marie Therese Flanagan and Judith A. Green (Basingstoke, 2005), 164–83.

<sup>40</sup> Balfour's collection contains over 100 documents produced between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, originally from various archives including St Andrews Cathedral Priory, Dunfermline Abbey, Lindores Abbey, and Aberdeen Cathedral. It also includes a leaf cut out from the earliest cartulary of Lindores Abbey: NLS Adv. MS 15.1.18, no. 49 (the cartulary is kept in private hands: Davis 2010, no. 1164).

<sup>41</sup> These are Adv. MSS 34.1.3A (Dunfermline), 34.4.11 (Melrose) and 34.4.10 (Elgin). The other four early manuscripts are for Glasgow Cathedral (AUL SCA JB MS 1/3), Lindores Abbey (Caprington Castle), St Andrews Cathedral Priory (NRS GD45/27/8), and Arbroath Abbey (Dundee City Archives GD130/25/17).

<sup>42</sup> In general, lay cartularies appeared later than ecclesiastical cartularies: see Foulds, 'Medieval cartularies', 15–18.

<sup>43</sup> The other notable example from Scotland is Coldstream Priory's cartulary (BL Harley MS 6670) compiled by a notary, John Laurence, in 1434.

More fundamentally, cartulary manuscripts are difficult to date because often they contain additions. In other words, they did not spring from a single moment fully-formed but were continuously ‘active’ over long periods. Typically, one scribe will have copied a large number of texts into a series of booklets, thus beginning the cartulary; this might then be followed by other scribes contributing new material, sometimes dozens of scribes working decades or even centuries later.<sup>44</sup> These later scribes might follow the order established by the initial scribe (such as chronologically, by place, or by donor), but very often the cartulary’s ‘arrangement’ was not maintained. As a result, it can be difficult to navigate a cartulary’s contents when they have received a substantial number of additions, especially if searching for a particular text or for every example of a particular type of text (such as royal charters).

These seemingly haphazard multi-scribe additions make many cartularies especially complicated manuscripts for cataloguing and for analysing. They are also, however, what make these cartularies such rich and engaging sources for the medievalist, not just in terms of their contents but also their form and individual scribes. In the past, however, the dynamic nature of cartularies has not been entirely appreciated. This is in large part due to the printed ‘editions’ upon which historians are reliant. Many of these were published in the nineteenth century by antiquarian clubs, and they generally give no hint as to the multi-scribe reality of the manuscripts they represent, focusing instead, as they do, on the document texts within, rather than on the manuscripts themselves.<sup>45</sup> As a result, in order to access this rich information about the creation and development of particular cartularies, it is necessary to look in detail at the manuscripts and not through the lens of these nineteenth-century publications.

One of Scotland’s most significant examples of a complex cartulary manuscript with centuries of additions is Dunfermline Abbey’s cartulary (Adv. MS 34.1.3A). In the mid-thirteenth century the earliest scribe—who copied documents in a distinctive, two-column format—wrote on 28 folios, although many of these also contain later additions of other texts into free spaces as well (ff. 41–52, 57–61, 110–111, 115, 117–124); by contrast, 141 folios contain the work of a host of other scribes working from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries

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<sup>44</sup> For an in-depth study of this in relation to two cartularies from medieval Scotland (neither in the NLS), see Joanna Tucker, *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies: Multi-scribe Manuscripts and their Patterns of Growth. A study of the earliest cartularies of Glasgow Cathedral and Lindores Abbey* (Woodbridge, 2020).

<sup>45</sup> For an overview of the problems associated with the antiquarian club publications relating to cartularies, especially those produced by the Bannatyne Club, see Alasdair Ross, ‘The Bannatyne Club and the publication of Scottish ecclesiastical cartularies’, *SHR* 85 (2006) 202–33; and more recently, Tucker, ‘Understanding Scotland’s medieval cartularies’, 136–49.

(ff. 1–40, 53–56, 62–109, 112–114, 116, 125–169).<sup>46</sup> This cartulary therefore experienced a significant phase of growth, both physical and textual. Balmerino Abbey’s cartulary, on the other hand, appears to have been mainly the work of a single fourteenth-century scribe, with only a few later additions by different scribes (Adv. MS 34.5.3).<sup>47</sup> While additions are not a universal feature of all cartularies, the extent of this phenomenon can be glimpsed in the descriptions of the dates given in Davis’ catalogue, which are reproduced in the Table (though it should be remembered that it was not G. R. C. Davis’ original aim to chart the scale of additions to cartularies). Often, the date is given as ‘such-and-such a century, with later additions’, or ‘with additions to such-and-such a century’. A more thorough survey of this dimension would be of great value for understanding the varied character of medieval cartularies.

For individual manuscripts, codicology (the study of the physical structure of the book) and palaeography (the study of the writing) play a vital role in exploring these additions. In terms of the former, some of the most important aspects of the manuscript’s physicality include the binding and its history, the ‘collation’ (that is, the structure of the internal ‘quires’), and any other details about the development of the manuscript, such as the medieval foliations.<sup>48</sup> One of the most codicologically complex manuscripts in the NLS’s collection is Elgin Cathedral’s earliest cartulary, which, as mentioned, is thought to be a composite manuscript comprising originally distinct cartularies.<sup>49</sup> As such, it would certainly benefit from a full-scale codicological study in its own right. How the cartulary was bound in its medieval lifetime, or whether it was bound at all, has also been shown to be a significant feature in the context of multi-scribe cartularies.<sup>50</sup> Unbound manuscripts, where the quires were not sewn together, would allow for the kind of substantial growth and extended use experienced by the

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<sup>46</sup> This is inevitably a simplification that skews the picture by creating too clear a dichotomy. Many of the folios with additions, for example, appear to be distinct booklets of later material added into the manuscript perhaps only at the point of the current binding. Further analysis of this particularly complex manuscript would be very valuable indeed.

<sup>47</sup> From an initial study of this manuscript, the main scribe appears to have written on 25 folios (ff. 1–2, 4–19, 22, 23–28), though the handwriting does exhibit some variety and so a detailed study would be required to check that this is all the work of one scribe. Later additions by different scribes are more clearly visible on four folios (ff. 3, 20, 21r, 28v).

<sup>48</sup> Other obvious dimensions to the manuscript’s ‘physicality’ are the ink and the parchment or paper itself. Currently, the NLS has been undertaking some scientific analysis of a selection of their medieval cartularies in a project led by Isobel Griffin and Simona Cenci and in partnership with Durham University, the University of York, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford. This work attempts to identify ink pigments, to image damaged portions of text, and to identify the animal species of the parchment. The forthcoming results of this work will allow researchers and curators to develop a broader and comparative understanding of the materiality of these manuscripts.

<sup>49</sup> See above, n. 36.

<sup>50</sup> This is developed in Tucker, *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies*.

Dunfermline cartulary, for example. Balmerino's cartulary, by contrast, may have been bound soon after it was created, prohibiting too many further additions of texts or quires. In the NLS's collection, the manuscript books have nearly all undergone a rebinding in the early modern period.<sup>51</sup> This presents an obstacle for analysing their binding history. Any earlier bindings or evidence of binding phases are usually lost or obscured, and frequently the new bindings are so tight that they inhibit analysis of the current quire structure, limiting the possibility of reconstructing the manuscript's codicological history.<sup>52</sup> Ascertaining the collation is crucial for understanding the development of the text and how it relates to the physical structure as a whole. It also must be remembered that when looking at a medieval manuscript that has been rebound in modern times, the order of the quires (and therefore their texts) may not itself be medieval.

Palaeographical analysis also takes on added significance in the context of multi-scribe cartularies. Rather than passive copyists, each scribe can be seen as an active participant in the creation and extension of their respective cartulary. Their work is individual in terms of what they chose to add, where, how much, in what order, and also how they copied the text. Piecemeal additions were not necessarily a reflection of documents being 'registered' as they were received into the archive; when studied in detail, it can often be shown that the scribes were adding much older documents into the manuscript.<sup>53</sup> A more readily observable example of individual scribal choice can be found in whether they copied the charter witness lists. The Dryburgh Abbey scribe opted not to copy these lists of names (Adv. MS 34.4.7); the Newbattle Abbey cartularist, on the other hand, appears to have silently removed some of the names of witnesses in their exemplar (Adv. MS 34.4.13).<sup>54</sup> Whether the scribe chose to copy certain graphical elements found in the original is also significant. A number of the scribes in the

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<sup>51</sup> The main exception is the cartulary of the Hospital of St Anthony (Adv. MS 34.5.5) which is in a 'soft binding' (i.e., without hard boards) with an elaborate blind-tool design on both sides of the cover. One of the Aberdeen cartularies (Adv. MS 16.1.10) has retained the boards from a previous binding in the box in which it is now kept. More work on dating cartulary bindings would be useful for ascertaining when the manuscripts reached their current forms. For some general comments on the bindings of the Advocates Manuscripts, see Cunningham, 'The manuscript collections to 1925', 136–7.

<sup>52</sup> The earls of Morton cartulary (MS 72) is a notable case of the manuscript being tightly re-sewn into a modern book, with paper leaves added between each parchment folio, thus obscuring the manuscript's quire structure.

<sup>53</sup> This is demonstrated in Tucker, *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies*, chapter 5.

<sup>54</sup> In the Newbattle Abbey case, this can only be established by comparing the few surviving originals with the cartulary copies. See, for example, the cartulary copy of a charter (on f. 10r) and the facsimile of the original (NRS GD40/1/7) printed between pp. 6 and 7 in *Registrum Sancte Marie de Neubotle*, ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1849) [hereafter *Newb. Reg.*]. The cartularist included the first five names but cropped the final five, reducing them to *et multis aliis* ('and many others'). The edition (*Newb. Reg.*, no. 7) prints the text from the original, meaning that it has the longer witness list. Another example is a charter text on f. 46v of the cartulary which can be compared with the facsimile of the original (NRS GD 40/1/18) between pp. 124 and 125 (printed as *Newb. Reg.*, no. 157). In this case only the first witness was copied into the cartulary, excluding the last three names.

NLS's cartularies, for example, copied the monograms of notaries.<sup>55</sup> Analysis of palaeography is also paramount for establishing the approximate date that each scribe was working, even those who added only a single text. Much of this work will be drastically enhanced through access to new high-quality images, enabling researchers to compare scribes across a single manuscript and to zoom in on their work on the page to see the particularities of their pen work. Spellings will also be far easier to check, such as for the exact orthographic rendering of placenames which frequently changed in the process of being copied. Each scribe, in other words, can be taken on their own terms as a point of interest for understanding how the cartulary was being used in its medieval lifetime.

The 27 items listed in the Table therefore represent an amorphous group of manuscripts. Many more basic differences can be found that have not been mentioned, such as the size of the manuscripts,<sup>56</sup> the materials,<sup>57</sup> the amount of damage suffered by them,<sup>58</sup> and their decoration.<sup>59</sup> In sum, when ordering a cartulary from Special Collections in the NLS it is difficult to anticipate what might arrive, even after consulting a catalogue. Because of this inherent variety in each case, recent work has emphasised the importance of establishing the 'biography' of a given cartulary, reading all of its visible features as evidence of the manuscript's life cycle and its use.<sup>60</sup> This extends to its post-medieval lifetime as well, since important aspects of its physicality might be adapted by subsequent owners, including its binding, the order of the quires, and the addition of foliations, as well as any significant conservation treatment.

### *The NLS cartularies as a 'corpus'*

The history of the NLS's cartularies as a 'collection' is as dynamic as the individual manuscripts which make it, and their status as a single 'corpus' is in fact relatively modern.

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<sup>55</sup> Monograms can be found in, for example, the cartularies of Paisley Abbey (Adv. MS 34.4.14), Stirling chapel royal (Adv. MS 34.1.5), and Crail collegiate church (Adv. MS 34.4.6). Those in Paisley's cartulary are discussed by Scott, 'The register of Paisley Abbey', 151–3.

<sup>56</sup> Compare, for example, the very large Elgin 'Red Book' or the St Andrews Cathedral/Pittenweem Priory cartulary (respectively, Adv. MSS 34.4.9 and 17.1.3) with the much smaller St Anthony's Hospital or Elgin Hospital cartularies (respectively, Adv. MSS 34.5.5 and 34.7.2).

<sup>57</sup> Most of the manuscripts are on parchment, but four are on paper: those for Deer, Paisley, St Andrews/Pittenweem, and the earls of Winton (respectively, MS 21183, Adv. MS 34.4.14, Adv. MS 17.1.3, and MS 1010).

<sup>58</sup> The Morton cartulary (MS 72) is in a particularly bad state, evidently damaged by fire and the application of an acidic substance to much of the text.

<sup>59</sup> While most of the cartularies are generally plain, the later Aberdeen and Cambuskenneth cartularies (respectively, Adv. MSS 34.4.4 and 34.1.2) are very neatly written, with gold and silver illuminations throughout.

<sup>60</sup> See Tucker, *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies*.

The cartularies came together gradually, encompassing different collecting patterns including the sale of antiquarian libraries and individual donations via private papers. They have also been joined by items that were only identified as cartularies (or fragments of cartularies) after the publication of Davis's original short catalogue in 1958. The overall nature of this group of manuscripts therefore reflects the interests of early modern collectors (such as James Balfour and Robert Sibbald), as well as the work and expertise of modern curators (notably Ian Cunningham).<sup>61</sup> The shape of the corpus also owes much to the losses that have occurred in the intervening centuries, including those manuscripts that were present in Balfour's collection but never made it to the Faculty of Advocates' Library. Arguably, every modern 'corpus' of cartularies is the result of a combination of deliberate activities and accidental events. It is important to recognise the extent to which our view of cartularies, and what form they might take, is dependent on all these factors.

By looking at just one subset of cartularies (those in the NLS), the potential variety within this umbrella category of manuscripts comes more clearly into view. Currently, a whole range of medieval manuscripts are unified under the same designation: they are all 'cartularies'. This might imply a coherence or consistency which, in reality, the manuscripts as a group do not necessarily all exhibit. It is worth emphasising, therefore, that the term 'cartulary' is relatively modern in its use and application, and for many medieval compilers the term would have been altogether unknown.<sup>62</sup> Paradoxically, by assigning all of these manuscripts to a single category, their individualities in fact become all the more apparent. What unites our notion of 'the cartulary' is, of course, that they are all essentially manuscripts that contain copies of records from a particular medieval archive relating to the owner's properties and privileges. Mostly, this was 'charter' material, and it is this which even lends the modern English name 'cartulary' (the Latin *cartularium* is derived from *carta*). Taken at its most basic level then, the cartulary was a space for copying documents. This was an activity that could take many different forms, being responsive to the particular needs of its creators at a particular time.<sup>63</sup>

Cartularies have, in general, been studied either as detailed individual case studies or as thematic groups, such as those from the same place or type of community (e.g., cartularies from

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<sup>61</sup> See especially Ian Cunningham's updates to Davis 1958 in Cunningham, 'Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain', 1–7 (though Cunningham did draw upon other scholars' work here as well).

<sup>62</sup> For the modern development of the term 'cartulary', see Tucker, 'Understanding Scotland's medieval cartularies', 146–8.

<sup>63</sup> The idea of cartularies as an 'activity' is developed further in Tucker, *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies*.

England, cartularies from Norman leper communities, or lay cartularies).<sup>64</sup> When we look through the lens of a modern archive, however, the artificial nature of ‘the medieval cartulary’ as a category becomes even more glaring than has been recognised to date. By taking an amorphous group of manuscripts like those in the Table as a starting point, ‘the cartulary’ emerges as not so much an objective medieval ‘category’ of document, but as more of a phenomenon that has been largely shaped by modern approaches to archiving, cataloguing, and editing.<sup>65</sup> Printed catalogues of cartularies are, in other words, modern constructions that inherently reflect modern scholarship. Instead of seeking a rigid definition of the medieval cartulary that would have been recognisable to medieval contemporaries, therefore, the label can perhaps be embraced as a modern scholarly concept. In essence, it is a starting point for exploring the act of copying documents in different contexts.

As the largest and most significant group of medieval cartularies from Scotland, the NLS’s collection will naturally be afforded a prominent place in the future of the field, especially once they have been collectively digitised. The standard presentation of digital images of a cartulary makes it all the more important, however, to appreciate the flexibility of the cartulary as a kind of manuscript and as a ‘corpus’.<sup>66</sup> In their diversity, the NLS’s cartularies are in fact representative of all cartularies. As a group of manuscripts they provide an authentic sample of the variety that any researcher can expect to encounter when consulting a medieval cartulary manuscript. Such unpredictability is arguably one of the many joys of visiting an archive, even in this age of increasing digitisation.

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<sup>64</sup> See, for example, the various studies of cartularies in the following collections of essays: Olivier Guyotjeannin, Laurent Morelle and Michel Parisse (eds), *Les cartulaires: Actes de la table ronde organisée par l’école nationale des chartes et le G.D.R. 121 du C.N.R.S. (Paris, 5–7 décembre, 1991), Mémoires et documents de l’école nationale des chartes* 39 (Paris, 1993); Daniel Le Blévec (ed.), *Les cartulaires méridionaux. Actes du colloque organisé à Béziers les 20 et 21 septembre 2002 par le Centre historique de recherches et d’études médiévales sur la Méditerranée occidentale* (Paris, 2006); Jean-Baptiste Renault (ed.), *Originaux et cartulaires dans la Lorraine médiévale (XII<sup>e</sup>–XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles): Recueil d’études* (Turnhout, 2016).

<sup>65</sup> For the influence of editing and cataloguing on the modern idea of the cartulary, see Tucker, ‘Understanding Scotland’s medieval cartularies’, 136–56.

<sup>66</sup> There has not been space here to develop ideas about the impact of digitisation on cartulary research. This can only be measured once the images of the NLS cartularies themselves are available to consult online. For some useful discussion about the potentials and pitfalls of digitised manuscripts for research, see Andrew Prescott and Lorna Hughes, ‘Why do we digitize? The case for slow digitization’, *Archive Journal*, Special issue ‘Digital Medieval Manuscript Cultures’, ed. Michael Hanrahan and Bridget Whearty (2018). <<https://www.archivejournal.net/essays/why-do-we-digitize-the-case-for-slow-digitization/>>.



**Manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland according to Davis, *Medieval Cartularies* (2010)**

	<i>Original archive</i>	<i>Davis number</i>	<i>Manuscript</i>	<i>Folios (according to Davis 2010)<sup>67</sup></i>	<i>Date (according to Davis 2010)</i>
1.	Aberdeen Cathedral	no. 1111	NLS Adv. MS 16.1.10 ( <i>Registrum Album</i> )	188	<i>temp.</i> Bishop Adam de Tynningham 1380–89(?), with additions to 16 <sup>th</sup> cent.
2.	"	no. 1114	NLS Adv. MS 34.4.4	89	1 <sup>st</sup> half of 16 <sup>th</sup> cent.
3.	Arbroath Abbey	no. 1118	NLS Adv. MS 34.4.2 ( <i>Registrum Vetus</i> )	138	mid-14 <sup>th</sup> cent., with later additions.
4.	"	no. 1120	NLS Adv. MS 34.4.3 ( <i>Registrum Nigrum</i> )	163	15 <sup>th</sup> cent.
5.	Balmerino Abbey	no. 1124	NLS Adv. MS 34.5.3	i + 27	after 1331, with occasional additions.
6.	Cambuskenneth Abbey	no. 1126	NLS Adv. MS 34.1.2	xii + 166	1535.
7.	Crail collegiate church	no. 1134	NLS Adv. MS 34.4.6	118	1528, with later additions and interpolations.
8.	Deer Abbey	no. 1137.1	NLS MS 21183, f. 1	1 <sup>68</sup>	16 <sup>th</sup> cent.
9.	Dryburgh Abbey	no. 1138	NLS Adv. MS 34.4.7	112	15 <sup>th</sup> cent.
10.	Dunfermline Abbey	no. 1139	NLS Adv. MS 34.1.3A	169	1254 × 1255, fos. vi–xxvi, lxxv–lxxvi, lxxx–lxxxix, with additions to 16 <sup>th</sup> cent.; late 13 <sup>th</sup> cent., fos. ci–cxi; 15 <sup>th</sup> cent., fos. 11–15.

<sup>67</sup> This information is taken directly from Davis 2010. The information seems to follow the modern foliations, which means that this is actually a tally of foliated leaves and does not usually include flyleaves or endleaves. The earlier Scone cartulary (Adv. MS 34.3.29), for example, contains 32 foliated parchment leaves preceded by eight blank paper folios and followed by forty blank paper folios.

<sup>68</sup> This is actually a quire of six folios. The reference to ‘f. 1’ in the shelf-mark comes from Cunningham, ‘Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain’, 3.

11.	Edinburgh, Hospital of St Anthony	no. 1148	NLS Adv. MS 34.5.5	22	15 <sup>th</sup> – 16 <sup>th</sup> cent.
12.	Elgin Poor Hospital	no. 1149	NLS Adv. MS 34.7.2	Approx. 75	1548.
13.	Kelso Abbey	no. 1162	NLS Adv. MS 34.5.1	219	after 1316.
14.	Lindores Abbey	no. 1165	NLS Adv. MS 34.7.1	31	after 1502, with later additions, fos. 28v–31.
15.	Melrose Abbey	no. 1167	NLS Adv. MS 34.4.11	44	2 <sup>nd</sup> half of 13 <sup>th</sup> cent., <i>temp.</i> Alex. III(?)
16.	Moray, Elgin Cathedral	no. 1171	NLS Adv. MS 34.4.10	169	late 13 <sup>th</sup> cent., fos. 1–34; combined with misc. material, the whole perhaps put together late 14 <sup>th</sup> cent., after the cathedral's destruction, fos. 1–115; late 16 <sup>th</sup> cent., fos. 119 ff.
17.	"	no. 1172	NLS Adv. MS 34.4.9 ('The Red Book')	vi + 320	16 <sup>th</sup> cent.
18.	Newbattle Abbey	no. 1173	NLS Adv. MS 34.4.13	87	after 1339.
19.	Paisley Abbey	no. 1174	NLS Adv. MS 34.4.14	14 + 274	1520s.
20.	"	no. 1174.1	NLS Ch. 17332	—	15 <sup>th</sup> cent.
21.	St Andrews Cathedral Priory <sup>69</sup>	no. 1178	NLS Adv. MS 17.1.3	401	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 16 <sup>th</sup> cent.
22.	Scone Abbey	no. 1179	NLS Adv. MS 34.3.29	32	2 <sup>nd</sup> quarter of 14 <sup>th</sup> cent.
23.	"	no. 1180	NLS Adv. MS 34.3.28	76, approx. 50 blank	15 <sup>th</sup> – 16 <sup>th</sup> cent.

<sup>69</sup> This is how the manuscript is categorised in Davis 2010, but it also contains a substantial section of documents relating to Pittenweem Priory: see above, n. 25.

				leaves at the end	
24.	Soutra Hospital	no. 1182	NLS Adv. MS 34.4.1	27	late 14 <sup>th</sup> cent.
25.	Stirling chapel royal & college	no. 1184	NLS Adv. MS 34.1.5	ii + 50	16 <sup>th</sup> cent.
26.	Douglas, earls of Morton	no. 1234.2	NLS MS 72	—	14 <sup>th</sup> cent., with 15 <sup>th</sup> cent. additions.
27.	Seton, earls of Winton	no. 1320.1	NLS MS 1010	—	17 <sup>th</sup> cent.