

THE LANDS AND 'SISTERLANDS' OF ABERDOUR, c. 1100 – 1650

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While involved in researching aspects of Edinburgh's medieval and early modern history, I came across some information concerning a parcel of land in Aberdour, Fife, known as 'The Sisterlands'. There was also brief mention of a few of the nuns who held the lands and lived in Aberdour between roughly 1480 and 1580. My primary interest was actually the sisters, but having taken a brief trip 'ower tae Aberdour' to see what other information might be available, I was completely taken with the village, the castle, the seaside, the view of Inchcolm, and I wanted to know much more about the history of this lovely place as well as more about the Sisterlands. While very little information is known about the sisters, and less hope exists that more will ever come to light, I was intrigued by the long line of families who had held the land, the location of the lands, the connections the sisters might have had with other Fife families, and some of the local legends that are part of the history of the area. This paper, then, is something of a report on what I found by way of answers to some of the questions I had; but it should also be said that with each answer uncovered, two more questions arose. Some of those questions are posed here and some possible answers are suggested.

Those who have had the pleasure of taking the Scotrail or GNER train from Edinburgh to Aberdeen (or vice versa) have probably seen the excellent advertising that beacons the small town of Aberdour. What you notice is not unsightly modern signage, but rather Aberdour Castle, which hugs the rail line near the village of

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Aberdour itself. The town is not only home to the frequent winner of the award for 'most attractive small rail station in Scotland,' nor is it simply a place to indulge in some of the best smoked haddock in Europe. It is rather a seaside escape, a golf haven, a quiet retreat full of handsome Victorian B&B's, a refuge for north Atlantic seals, and several bird sanctuaries. Foremost for medieval historians, it is a fine example of one of the oldest villages in Scotland.

The name 'Aberdour' is a Brythonic-Pictish, or Celtic, place-name that means Mouth of the waters, River-mouth, or Mouth of the Dour, (Aber = mouth of a river, Dobhar = waters); though dobhar technically means water, at some point it had become the name of the burn that begins to flow just northeast of the parish.² Aberdour has close historic ties with Inchcolm, which lies in the Firth of Forth just off the coast, and its abbey. At some time in the 1160's, the parish church of Aberdour was given, through charter, to Inchcolm Abbey, and in 1179 the charters first mention Aberdour itself.³ The parish church was dedicated to St. Fillan and is still known by that name. While Simon Taylor notes that the first mention he finds of St. Fillan as a patron saint of the church is in the *Registrum de Morton*, Vol. II in the testament of Sir James Douglas, he speculates that the church was dedicated to St. Fillan a bit earlier, probably by Thomas Randolph who was known to have promoted the cult of St. Fillan.⁴ There are no population figures for this early period in Scotland, but it would have been significantly less than the estimate of 1000 to 1200 for Dunfermline in 1500.⁵ Early on Dunfermline was a burgh with a market; Aberdour had no such status until 1500 when Aberdour Wester was created a burgh of barony by James IV, and 1638 when Aberdour Easter was erected to the burgh of barony.⁶ The population would have fallen drastically during times of famine or pestilence, recovering slowly after the end of these periods. Much of the working male population would have been occupied with fishing, agriculture, the saltpans, or the castle and its properties, and later with harvesting kelp.

Of the lands in Aberdour, we begin in very uncertain time long before the Sisterlands became such and a period from which few documents are available. It is thought that shortly after 1100 some of the lands in what was later to become the burgh of Aberdour came to be held by a Norman-French family, the Viponts. The Vipont surname may be derived from the French Vieuxpont, which

was probably taken from an area near Caen, France known as Vieux-pont en Auge. Today the name is variously spelled Vipont or Vipond, but little is known about the early Viponts in Scotland, except that they most likely arrived from Northumbria within 50 years of the Norman Conquest in 1066 and may have received the lands in Aberdour by charter from David I, who was responsible for bringing many Norman families to Scotland. The Latinized form of the name, 'Veteri-ponti' occurs from time to time in charters from the reign of William the Lion, but we cannot be certain that these are the same Viponts who settled in Aberdour.⁷ The original castle, of which almost nothing remains, was most likely begun by the Viponts.

In 1126, however, the male line of the Viponts in Aberdour died out and a daughter of John Vipont named Anicea, the heiress of the lands, married Alan de Mortimer, also of Norman-French extraction, thus bringing the lands into the de Mortimer family who assumed lordship of them. The de Mortimer's held the lands for several generations, and their lordship is one which saw the birth of local legends. During Alan's lifetime the castle continued to grow, and small parts of the western end of the castle that remains today are assumed to have been the ongoing work of the de Mortimer line. Also during Alan's life time, though probably before 1123, the church, which later became St. Fillian's, is a good example of a Norman period Church with its barrel vault ceiling, was built and consecrated (see Plate 1). St. Fillian's is situated just east of Aberdour castle. An appointed chaplain or vicar was in charge of the church. Though some historians believe that the church may originally have been founded by Culdees, certainly by 1122 it was under the rule of the See of Dunkeld.⁸ St. Fillian's was small, but it had the benefit of being situated near a curative well, and it was to this well that many pilgrims came on their way to either Dunfermline Abbey or St. Andrews. Initially it was said that the waters from the well could cure madness, but later they were said to cure blindness.⁹ While 'wells' were often simply springs without benefit of formal masonry, in all probability the well would have been embellished with some type of masonry to make it more attractive to visiting pilgrims. The original well is no longer extant, but a renovated well inside the castle walls may give us a sense of how it might have looked (see Plate 2). The original spot of the curative well is thought to have been just southeast of the castle and of St. Fillian's (one must keep in mind that the coastline at Aberdour runs east to west along the Firth of Forth rather than north to south).¹⁰

Both Alan de Mortimer and Inchcolm Abbey are the subjects of legends in the area and, since de Mortimer and St. Fillan's are both linked with Inchcolm, I begin with that legend concerned with the founding of Inchcolm Abbey. It is said that in roughly 1123, while crossing the Forth via the Queen's Ferry, King Alexander I was caught in a violent storm; fearing for his life, he prayed to St. Columba that he would be saved and make safe landfall. Ultimately the vessel and king came ashore on a small island, then known as Aemonia (now Inchcolm), where a solitary monk lived in a cell. The monk gave Alexander shelter and food, and the king vowed to dedicate the island to God and establish an Augustinian priory there in the name of St. Columba. It is from Columba that the island got its name St Colm's Inch or island. Alexander died the following year, but David I is thought to have also given endowments to the priory there, and sometime before 1178, when Pope Alexander III refers to St. Fillan's as the possession of the abbey, the church and certain lands for the support of the monastery had been granted by charter (which is no longer extant) to the abbey of Inchcolm.¹¹

In all probability it was Alan de Mortimer who donated the lands for the livings of the abbey, but again, these events are somewhat obscured by legend. Sir Alan is said to have given half of his lands in Aberdour to God and the monks in exchange for a burial place for himself and his descendants in the abbey on Inchcolm. Alan supposedly never came to Inchcolm for his final resting place. After his death, the monks who came to the mainland to take his remains to Inchcolm by night, tossed the lead coffin into the sea in a certain part of the Firth of Forth between the mainland and the island. Today the deep water in that area of the Firth continues to be known as 'Mortimer's Deep.'¹²

Whether this tale has any validity or not is subject to speculation; nonetheless, it was most likely through Alan de Mortimer that Inchcolm first became connected to certain lands in Aberdour. We cannot be sure as to how these lands were arranged or used: were they random strips of land or one whole piece of land, often known as a grange? Were the lands farmed or used for livestock? Were they rented for payment in kind or did lay brothers farm the land for the monastery in exchange for connections to or residence near the priory? Richard Oram notes that, for Scotland in this early period, little is known about the ways in

which monastic landlords might have exercised their control of the lands, but he also argues that various orders tended toward particular land usage. The Augustinian canons 'drew the bulk of their income from rents . . . and demesne farming,'¹³ which suggests that the Inchcolm lands *in Aberdour* might have been a solitary unit of land rather than fragments of lands scattered over the area (though it should also be said that the priory had been given other lands by various benefactors in Dalgety, Auchtertool, Beath, and Rosyth to name but a few). Other authors' works from the eighteenth century to the present bolster this assumption since the land is sometimes referred to as a grange, something that might also suggest close proximity to St. Fillan's church, and it was most likely used for both agricultural purposes and cattle rearing. A Bull from Pope Alexander III in 1178, as well as a number of early deeds confirm this as they refer to the rights of the canons to rents derived from the church lands of Aberdour for cultivation and cattle.¹⁴ It must also be said that the use of language in the documents, in particular words such as 'cultivate' and 'cattle,' may be formulaic rather than literal.

Alan de Mortimer's son, William, inherited the lands of Aberdour and was in service as knight to King William the Lion. We know that his association with the king was close for he appears as a witness to several charters signed by King William. During William de Mortimer's time, or more probably his son's, the first substantial part of what remains of the castle of Aberdour was built, but again, this is still part of the west portion of the castle (see Plate 3), and the early works on the castle seem to have occurred between 1185 and 1200. A large tower that was a most likely part of this building project is now collapsed and rests in one of the ground floor rooms in the west side (the west side is on the left side of Plate 3).

Because of his close association with the king, William de Mortimer appears to have become a powerful man, and he seems to have had a great deal of sway regarding placement of the canons and vicars who were appointed at both Aberdour and Inchcolm. In roughly 1186, the church of Aberdour became vacant, probably through the death of the vicar, and though the canons at the priory of Inchcolm had the right of presentation (or nominating someone to fill the vacancy), William nominated Robert, the clerk of David of Huntington to fill the vacancy.¹⁵ On the day of Robert's induction to the vicarage, the abbot and

canons from Inchcolm rowed their boats to the mainland to prevent the presentation of Robert. The canons barred the doors of the church against Robert and his patron, William, and his retainers, but were severely physically beaten by them. Robert, William's nominee, did succeed to the position of chaplain for a time, but due to the friction between he and the abbot of Inchcolm over the situation, he relinquished his claim to the church, and William de Mortimer signed a deed which resigned the church to the abbot of Inchcolm. In the deed, William acknowledged the grievous wrongs he had committed against the religious men of Inchcolm, and so this becomes the second substantial endowment to Inchcolm made by the lords of Aberdour.

The luck of the de Mortimers does not seem to have improved, for about 100 years later, when the First Wars of Independence broke out, the de Mortimers either chose to ally themselves with John Balliol or with their English lands and Edward I of England. We do not know which of these was the case, but what is known is that by 1325, the de Mortimer lands in Aberdour had been forfeited in favour of Sir Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray and nephew to Robert the Bruce. Thomas Randolph had fought quite valiantly for Robert Bruce along with James ('The Good Sir James') Douglas during the Wars of Independence, and it is believed that Robert Bruce granted the land to Randolph. The Randolphs held the lands of Aberdour until 1342 when Thomas's son, John, remitted the lands to Sir William Douglas, who was later known as the 'Knight of Liddesdale', one of the first Douglasses to amass a huge amount of lands and part of the lands was Aberdour. William was murdered in 1353 as was his brother John in 1349. Both of these murders are shadowy, but it is suspected that members of the Lord of Douglas families may have had a hand in it. In the case of William, it is suspected that his godson, a lord of Douglas was the culprit. In the case of John, the murder may have been perpetrated by David Barclay of Brechin who was in league with a rival family, namely the Ramseys, who were competing for both lands and royal favour. Since William died without any male heirs, the lands fell to his nephew, James, the son of his deceased brother, John.¹⁶

The ensuing Douglasses seem to have prospered and lived in comparatively stable times . . . or at least they seemed to have stayed out of trouble. For example, James, Lord of Dalkeith is the

first to hold the lordship, and during his lifetime, the lands of Aberdour became part of the Dalkeith properties, the grant being made David II. It should also be noted that at this point that the castle of Aberdour was expanded, and the centre part of the castle, as it appears today, was probably erected (centre part of the castle in Plate 3). This James married an Agnes Dunbar, who was probably the niece of 'Black Agnes', or Agnes Randolph, Countess of Dunbar, and her husband Patrick, 8th Earl of Dunbar.¹⁷

James, 2nd Lord of Dalkeith may have been a lord of Parliament, and he married Elizabeth, a daughter of Robert III. His son, James, 3rd Lord of Dalkeith, is something of an enigma. *The Scots Peerage* notes that he was 'mentally deficient, or perhaps a spendthrift,' and the basis for these allegations is that King James II, who it should be remembered had significant difficulties with the Black Douglasses, declared him to be 'incapable of managing his own affairs, and appointed James Giffard of Sheriffhall to be his curator.'¹⁸ This gave Giffard the authority to manage all of Lord Dalkeith's estates, castles, and incomes. *The Peerage* goes on to note, however, that King James later took the estates into his own hands because of the tensions and violence between James Douglas (Dalkeith) and his brother Henry; in other words, there seems to have been a struggle over the estates between the brothers, a struggle which Dalkeith strenuously resisted, suggesting that Dalkeith was quite sane.¹⁹ Ultimately, the estates were restored to Lord Dalkeith, and upon his death his son, who became the First Earl of Morton, inherited them.

It is during the lordship of James, 1st Earl of Morton, that the Aberdour lands, some of which was held by Inchcolm Abbey, came to be connected with a hospital and with the nuns at Aberdour. In 1474 John Scot, then vicar of Aberdour, persuaded the Earl to grant an acre of land for the purposes of erecting a hospice or hospital of St. Martha for the 'comfort of poor pilgrims' who traveled to Aberdour to visit the curative well.²⁰ The site of the hospital was on the 'north side of the road to Kinghorn,'²¹ or, as described in 1885, on the site where the old manse was later erected in the easter village,²² or more recently, 'at the corner of Main Street and Murrell Terrace.'²³ In 1479, three more acres were added and in 1486, four more were granted to the vicar, to whom the administration of the hospital was to be entrusted. It was this parcel of eight acres that became 'the Sisterlands.' The

Earl, however, rather than chartering the hospital and lands to the vicar, chartered them to four Grey Sisters of the order of St. Francis: Isabella and Joanna Wicht, Frances Henrysone, and Jean or Joan Drosse.²⁴ There were two other women associated with the original sisterhood, Janet Blair and Janet Bissette, though the Earl does not mention them in the October 1486 charter; either they had deceased or they were not present when the charter was drawn up; they are however mentioned in an April 1486 document.²⁵ In 1496 Marjory Younger and Clara Fotheringham came to the site.²⁶ Three windows in St. Fillan's church depict these events: the first shows a pilgrim on his way to the well; the second, depicts God healing a blind man, and third shows the hospice and one of the sisters receiving a pilgrim.²⁷ In 1487, Pope Innocent VIII granted a Bull²⁸ that stated the sisters were 'to receive maidens and other women fleeing the world, and to retain and instruct those young maidens of honourable parentage, willing to be instructed in literature and good arts.'²⁹ Whether this changed the original mission of the hospital or not is unclear. Historians often take the Bull to mean that the original plans for the hospital were abandoned, and the sisters were given the new responsibility of taking in and teaching young women of the area. While this may be true, it is also possible that the Bull is merely using formulaic language; similar words are used to erect a woman's convent or girls' schools elsewhere. Ross assumes that the hospital was used for pilgrims until the Reformation in 1560, but Rutherford sees the papal bull as an indication that plans for the purpose of the hospital were changed. As to the notion of teaching young women, one might initially believe that this was not possible since in all of the charters and deeds in which the women are principals, the sisters' names are signed for them, which implies that they could not write. W. Moir Bryce notes that at the time of the Reformation when the sisterhood was disbanded, not one of them could sign their name.³⁰ Such a statement is misleading, however, as the inability to write does not mean they could not read; this was common during the period. At the time of the Reformation there were four sisters in residence: Christine Cornwall, Margaret Crombie or Crummy, Elizabeth Turnbull, and Agnes Wright. Their names appear on a charter of August 18, 1560 giving the Sisterlands to James, 4th Earl of Morton, about whom more is said later.³¹

Of the sisters themselves very little is known. We do know

that Isabella Wicht was appointed as the prioress in 1486, and in 1560 Agnes Wright was prioress. Also known is that generally the women were from the local area, that is to say, from within roughly fifteen miles of the convent.³² For example, Margaret Crummy's name may well have come from Crumby just southwest of Dunfermline and Henryson and Turnbull or Trumbull are listed as common names in Dunfermline in 1390.³³ Just as an aside, in the case of Frances Henryson, it is intriguing to speculate as to a possible connection with Robert Henryson, schoolmaster and poet in Dunfermline. Given the dates of both individuals, they could feasibly have been siblings, cousins, or uncle and niece. Because no will or testament is extant for either Robert or Frances, and there are no extant wills or testaments from any Henrysons who claim either one as a son or daughter, this is purely fanciful speculation. Other names common in the area were Turnbull or Trumbull, and Blair, though Wright or Wicht is far too common to trace a locale.

Unclear also is the financial situation of the hospital and sisters; reports from various sources are mixed. Bishop Lesley reported in the sixteenth century that it was among the wealthier houses, but Spottiswood in the eighteenth century stated that they had no revenues and depended on God and the charity of people.³⁴ The reality is probably somewhere in the between these two extremes; the sisters had the eight acres at their disposal, though if they were caring for either pilgrims or young women, the land might not have yielded sufficient rents whether in kind or monies. But the lands were not their only source of income; other sources, among them Exchequer Rolls, Treasurer Accounts, and the rental records of St. Andrews and Dunkeld, show that payments in kind and in cash were given regularly to the sisters for their support. Further, if they were indeed teaching young women of good parentage, they would likely have received sufficient income for their maintenance and that of the students in their custody.

When the Reformation Parliament met in 1560, religious houses were not necessarily dissolved and disbanded as they were in England; often the religious community was permitted to remain in their establishments until they died out, and they were often given a life rent of lands. In the case of the sisters in Aberdour, as noted above, a charter returning the lands to the Earls of Morton was made by the women on August 18, 1560. As early as

1567 the lands had been contracted by the Earl to James Millar and his wife Margaret Tailliefer (possibly Taylor). In August of 1576 Millar resigned the lands to his two daughters, Marion and Sybilla. Millar must have died sometime before 1585 when Margaret was re-married to Robert Young, who is listed along with her as receiving rental payments from John Robertson (alias Downy) in kind for the lands. In 1588 we find Marion and Sybilla chartering the lands to a James Cuik (Cook), son of Francis Cuik in Aberdour.³⁵ In 1609, the monastery of Inchcolm was dissolved and the lordship of Inchcolm was created, the Sisterlands formed a part of the lordship, which was given to Henry Stewart, but in 1614, the lands were returned to William, 5th Earl of Morton because of debts owed by James Stewart who had inherited the lands from his father, Henry. By 1620, we find the Earl of Morton returning the lands to Stewart. We do not know what happened next, except to say that Stewart must have chartered the lands back to the Cuik family, for in 1643, Anne Keith, Countess of Morton made a procuratory for the redemption of the Sisterlands from the relict (widow) and children of James Cuik, and at that time this would have been Barbara Cuik, the heir of James Cuik. In 1647, the Earl of Morton chartered the lands to Robert Bruce, then minister at Aberdour. It seems at this point that the Sisterlands became part of the glebelands of Aberdour Church.³⁶

Curiously, the name for the lands, 'The Sisterlands', never fell out of use. Though the sisters held the land for less than one hundred years, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and forward to the present, the area of Aberdour that had made up the Sisterlands is still known by that moniker. In all likelihood, the name was, in the legal and historical senses, an easy way to describe an eight acre parcel of land in a specific area, and it ultimately became habit.

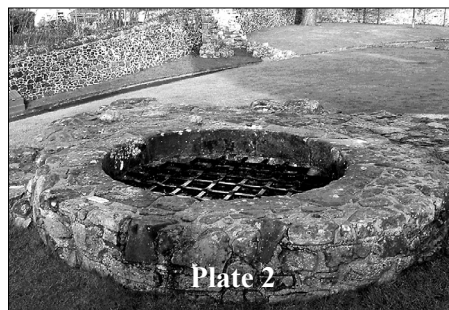
Returning to a slightly earlier time, my focus falls on the larger land holdings of the Earls of Morton and concludes with a brief look at James, 4th Earl of Morton, also known as Regent Morton. Much has been written about Regent Morton and information about him can be found in numerous works in which Morton is the primary focus, but also in the plethora of books and articles on Mary, Queen of Scots and James VI, for Morton had significant roles to play in their stories as well. James Douglas was born in roughly 1516 to George Douglas, younger brother of the Archibald,

6th Earl of Angus. Archibald married as his second wife, Margaret Tudor, widow of King James IV. After Margaret obtained a divorce from Angus, and the young James V escaped from his control in 1528, he was forfeited and banished from Scotland; also banished with him was his brother George. James Douglas remained in Scotland during his father's exile, and *The Scots Peerage* notes that he lived for some time under assumed names and through the aid of family friends.³⁷ In 1543 he married Elizabeth, daughter of James, 3rd Earl of Morton, who had no male heirs, James became the 4th Earl of Morton. After the death of King James V in 1548, the forfeitures against the Earl's uncle, Angus, were annulled, and the Earl began a political career that saw him as tutor and guardian of his nephew Archibald, 8th Earl of Angus, raised to the Privy Council, a member of the party of Reformation and a Protestant leader after 1560, and in 1562 he was appointed Chancellor.³⁸ The Earl of Mar, who had served as regent during the minority of James VI, died in 1572, and Morton was appointed regent; he ruled Scotland until early in 1578, when he was deposed. During Morton's regency, and in the few years after his removal from it, Morton spent considerable time at the estates in Aberdour. He was responsible for completing the centre section of the castle, and may have begun planning the last addition to the castle on the east side of the building, which was finally completed in the seventeenth century. The Earl also created the terraced gardens, which were cared for by a permanent gardener.³⁹ During the regency the Privy Council met at Aberdour in 1576.

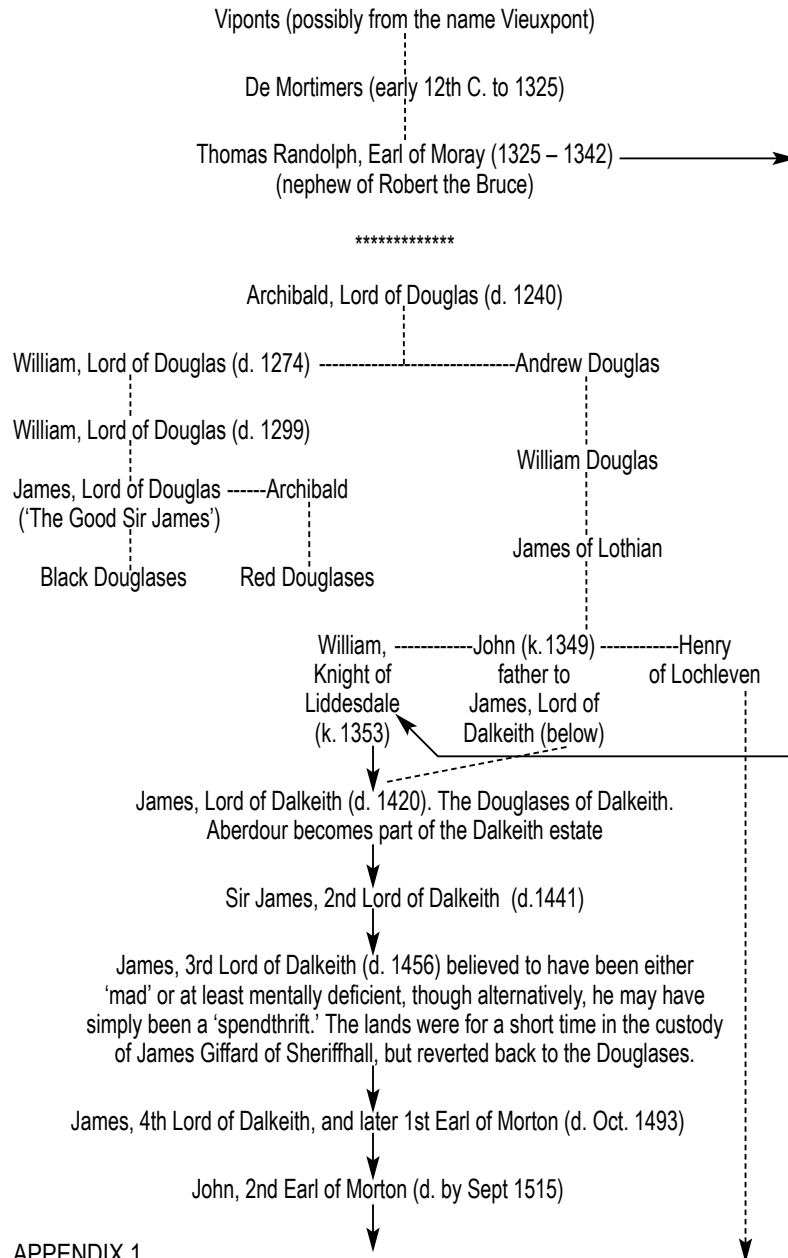
Morton regained power sometime in 1580, but by December of that year, he was 'accused of complicity in the murder of Darnley' by James Stewart, and remanded to prison. In 1581, he was tried for treason and beheaded. During his imprisonment, Morton's estates were placed alternately in the custody of the Earls of Angus and Lennox, but after his death they came into the custody of Robert, Lord Maxwell, husband of Morton's wife's sister. Finally, in 1588, another branch of the Douglas family succeeded to the Earldom through William Douglas of Lochleven.⁴⁰

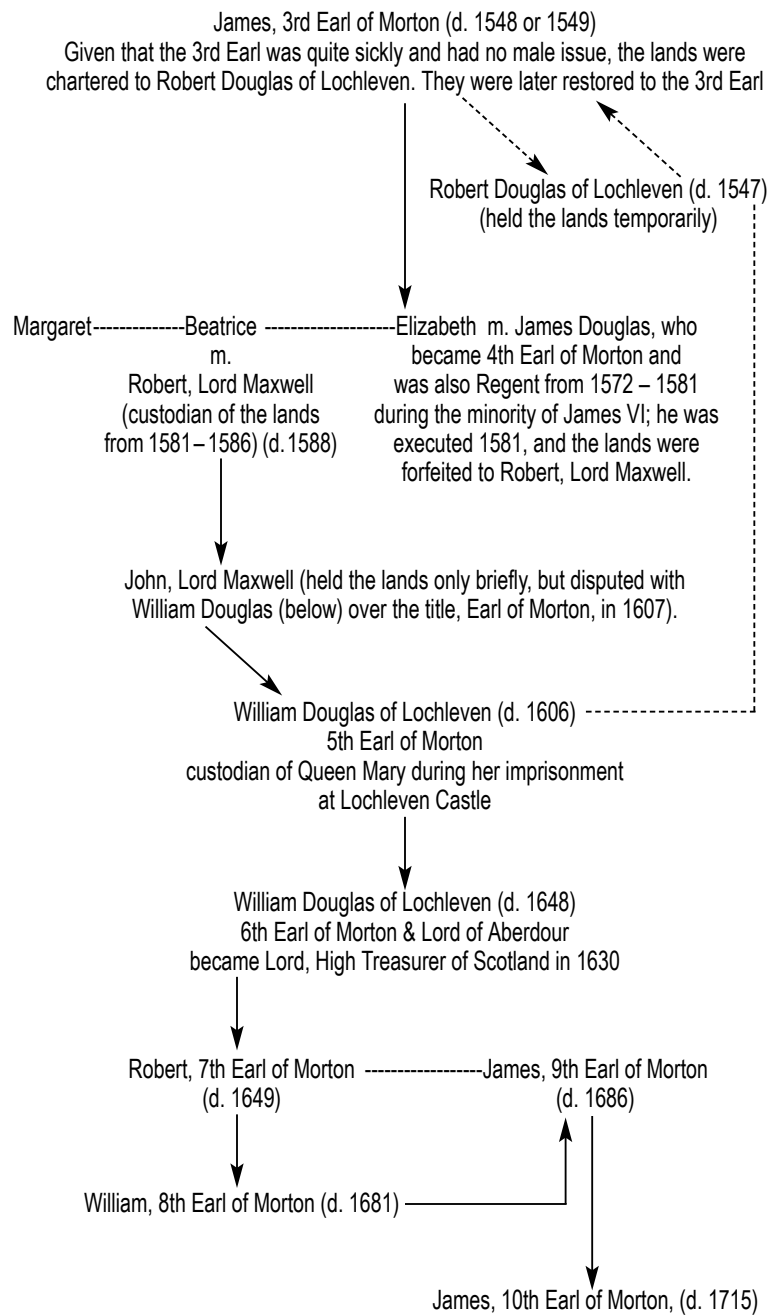
From the seventeenth century documentary evidence and written histories of Aberdour, the Morton estates, and the heritors of the lands become more plentiful. Though the paper concludes here, a chart of the major lands and the heritors is included (see Appendix 1), and the chart extends to 1715.⁴¹ For the sake of

space, I have omitted those persons who held the lands very briefly or who held them in custody; for example, omitted is John Randolph who briefly inherited the lands from his father, Thomas, and then gifted them to William Douglas. More information on later lords of the Aberdour lands can be found in the sources listed in note 41. As mentioned, some of this information was gathered in Edinburgh and Fife while researching another topic; that research, and thus some of the information presented here, was aided by the generous award of the Frank Watson Travel Award established by Frank and Cecily Watson, and presented through the Scottish Studies Foundation at the University of Guelph.



Major Land-holding families in Aberdour, Fife
 (land transfers — solid lines; family lineages ----- broken lines)





Notes

¹ Straightaway it must be said that this is not intended as formal, fully academic paper; the information was initially presented in April of 2006 at a small colloquium that approached Scottish family research, and it is one that originated through curiosity and a fondness for Aberdour. In essence, it is a compilation of numerous sources. Some of the information presented comes from 18th and 19th century sources, some of it is legend; some is derived from primary sources located in the National Archives of Scotland, and some is conjecture both on my part and the part of other scholars who have tried to uncover more information about this particular parcel of land and the heritors who held the land.

² David Ross, *Scottish Place-names* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001), p. 2; Simon Taylor, 'Place-names of Fife' in Donald Ormond (ed.), *The Fife Book* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2000), p. 207. In fact, the Dour burn divided the village into two parts, Aberdour Easter and Wester; it was in Aberdour Easter that the castle, St. Fillan's and much of the desmesne lands were situated.

³ D.E. Easson and Angus MacDonald (eds.), *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, Scottish History Society, 3rd Ser., Vol. 32 (Edinburgh, 1938), pp. 1-2.

⁴ Simon Taylor, 'Aberdour Parish,' unpublished paper. Aberdour Community Library, N.D. p. 1.

⁵ E. Patricia Dennison, 'Living in Medieval Dunfermline,' in Richard Fawcett (ed.), *Royal Dunfermline* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries, 2005), p. 21.

⁶ On Aberdour Wester, see William Ross, *Aberdour and Inchcolm: being Historical Notices of the Parish and Monastery* (Edinburgh: 1885), p. 140. Regarding Aberdour Easter, see Sir James Balfour (ed.), *The Scots Peerage*, vol. VI (Edinburgh: 1909), p. 375.

⁷ A.H. Millar, *Fife: Pictorial and Historical; its People, Burghs, Castles, and Mansions*, Vol. II. (Cupar: 1895), pages not numbered.

⁸ David Rutherford, *St. Fillan's Church, Aberdour* (Dunfermline: 1973), p. 3.

⁹ Ross, *Aberdour and Inchcolm*, p. 44; See also: Rutherford, *St. Fillan's Church*, p. 7.

¹⁰ Rutherford, *St. Fillan's Church*, p. 7.

¹¹ John of Fordun. *Chronicle of the Scottish Nation*, vol. II, edited by W. F. Skene (Edinburgh: 1993), pp. 218 & 424. Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 3, edited by D.E.R. Watt (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press,

1995), p. 107. Ross, *Aberdour and Inchcolm*, p. 59. Rutherford, *St. Fillan's Church*, p. 4.

¹² Ross, *Aberdour and Inchcolm*, p. 10.

¹³ Richard D. Oram. 'Prayer, Property, and Profit: Scottish Monasteries, c. 1100-1300' in Sally Foster, Allan MacInnes, and Ranald MacInnes (eds.), *Scottish Power Centres from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1998), pp. 79-99.

¹⁴ Ross, *Aberdour and Inchcolm*, pp. 62-66.

¹⁵ Ross, *Aberdour and Inchcolm*, pp. 36-38.

¹⁶ Michael Brown, *The Black Douglasses* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1999), p. 46.

¹⁷ *The Scots Peerage*, p. 346.

¹⁸ *The Scots Peerage*, p. 352-53.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ *The Scots Peerage*, p. 355; Ross, *Aberdour and Inchcolm*, p. 45; Rutherford, *St. Fillan's Church*, p. 7.

²¹ *The Scots Peerage*, p. 355.

²² Ross, *Aberdour and Inchcolm*, p. 45.

²³ Rutherford, *St. Fillan's Church*, p. 7.

²⁴ *Registrum Honoris de Morton*, Vol. II. (Edinburgh, 1853), pp. 235-243. See also Ross, *Aberdour and Inchcolm*, pp. 44-52.

²⁵ My thanks to Kimm Curran for telling me about the earlier charter (NAS GD 150/248) mentioning Blair and Bissette.

²⁶ Kimm Curran, 'Looking for Nuns: A Prosopographical study of Scottish Nuns in the later Middle Ages', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, XXXV (2005), p. 65.

²⁷ Rutherford, *St. Fillan's Church*, p. 8.

²⁸ This document is still extant and is in excellent condition. It is housed in the National Archives of Scotland under document number GD211.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ W. Moir Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars*, vol. II (Edinburgh: 1909), p. 527.

³¹ This charter is still extant and is in the National Archives of Scotland under document number GD 150/887.

³² Curran, 'Looking for Nuns', p. 41.

³³ *The Annals of Dunfermline and Vicinity from the Earliest Authentic Period to the Present Time A. D. 1096-1878*, edited by Ebenezer Henderson (Glasgow: 1879), p. 143.

³⁴ John Spottiswood, *Account of all the Religious Houses that were in Scotland at the Time of the Reformation* (Edinburgh: 1734), p. 517.

³⁵ NAS GD150/887 - 904.

³⁶ NAS GD150/887 - 904.

³⁷ *The Scots Peerage*, p. 362.

³⁸ Ibid. pp. 362-364.

³⁹ Michael Apted, *Aberdour Castle* (Hawick: Historic Scotland, 1961), pp. 7-9.

⁴⁰ *The Scots Peerage*, p. 363; Apted, *Aberdour Castle*, p. 9.

⁴¹ The chart was made using several sources including: *The Scots Peerage*, vol. VI, pp. 337-389; William Frazier, *The Douglas Book*, vols. 1 & 2 (Edinburgh: 1885); Apted.