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“Sweet Civility and Barbarous Rudeness”: a View from the Frontier. Abbot Ailred of Rievaulx and the Scots

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ABSTRACT

This chapter examines the representation of the Scots in the historical writings of Abbot Ailred of Rievaulx. It takes as its starting point Abbot Ailred's account of a battle between the Scots and English in August 1138. The Scots were led by King David I (1124-1153), who had been educated at the court of the Norman king of England, Henry I (1100-1135). When he became king, David imported the socio-cultural values he had learned in England in order to strengthen his kingship in Scotland. The study explores Ailred's close relationship with David and his representation of the Scots and their invasion of the North of England. It concludes by suggesting that Ailred's emphasis on the barbarity of the men of Galloway, who fought in David's army, can be related to Abbot Ailred's missionary activity in Galloway in the 1150s. It is argued that the exaggerated language of Ailred's account of the war against the Scots can, in part, be explained by this reforming mission in south-western Scotland. The chapter also demonstrates the phenomenon of cultural mimesis across the Anglo-Scottish frontier.

On, or shortly before, the 22 August 1138, a wagon, to which a ship's mast had been fixed, was wheeled on to the wide plain of Cowton Moor, near Northallerton in Yorkshire. Those who had fashioned the machine called it the 'Standard'¹. A silver pyx containing the body of Christ was fixed to the top of the mast, and, perhaps from a yard-arm, were hung the banners of St Peter the Apostle, the patron saint of York Minster, and those of the northern English saints, John of Beverley and Wilfrid of Ripon². The wagon with its mast and banners was to act as a rallying point for an army, which had been hastily mustered by members of the nobility of Northern England in order to oppose an invasion force led by David I, king of Scots (1124-1153).

By invading the North of England, David I of Scotland was taking advantage of the political upheavals that attended the succession of Stephen of Blois to the English throne in 1135. Stephen's right to rule England was challenged by the Empress Matilda, the daughter of his predecessor, Henry I, and the resulting civil war destabilised England for nineteen years³. Although David's invasions of northern England are often interpreted as the expression of his political support for his niece the Empress, the war of

the English succession was an opportunity to extend his power southwards. Soon after the beginning of Stephen's reign, David took possession of the town of Carlisle in the North-West of England, and re-established Scottish lordship over 'English Cumbria', which had been lost in 1092⁴. David aimed at incorporating the northern English counties in a Scoto-Northumbrian realm, perhaps reaching as far south as the River Humber⁵. Although the battle fought at the Standard in August 1138 resulted in a defeat for the Scots, this was a temporary setback and, in a peace brokered by the papal legate Bishop Alberic of Ostia, Stephen was obliged to acknowledge David's son Henry as the earl of Northumbria⁶. The Scots retained possession of the northern English counties until 1157, when David's grandson, Malcolm IV (1153-65) was forced to restore them to Stephen's successor, Henry II (1154-1189)⁷. Nevertheless, for almost two decades the dominant political power in the north of England was the king of Scots, rather than the more distant, and otherwise engaged, king of the English.

The Battle of the Standard in 1138 and King David I's occupation of the northern counties of England provides the departure point for a discussion of medieval English historians' characterisations of the Scots. The discussion focuses on the historical account of the battle by Abbot Ailred of Rievaulx (1110-1167), who, although born at Hexham in England, had an intimate knowledge of Scotland and the Scots. As abbot of a Cistercian abbey, Ailred was also an agent for the transmission of 'modernising' French cultural and political values across the Anglo-Scottish frontier. In this case, the frontier acted as a zone of communication between ethnic groups and, in an act of cultural mimesis, the Scots adopted key social and political institutions from their southern neighbours. From Ailred's point of view, this was a 'civilising process' and, as a Cistercian monk, he was obliged to promote peace in the North of Britain and disseminate the moral imperatives of the reformed Latin Church⁸.

Thus, for historians writing in the middle of the 12th century, particularly those based in the North of England, Scots campaigns in the region forced a re-evaluation of the socio-cultural attributes of their neighbours to the north, especially in comparison with those of the ruling classes of England. As the differences between the Scots and the English became clearer, these 12th-century historians, representatives of a lowland, arable, society with a developed, monetized economy, began to generate a largely negative image of their 'Celtic' neighbours⁹. Recent historiography has portrayed the French expansion of settlement into Wales, Scotland and Ireland as a series of 'imperialist wars' during which the conquerors 'learned to despise their Celtic neighbours and to think of themselves as belonging to a higher level of civilisation'¹⁰. Therefore, the political borders of the kingdom of England became the frontier between "sweet civility" and "barbarous rudeness"¹¹. In this context, the Battle of the Standard was viewed by English writers as nothing less than a struggle between civilised society and barbarians¹².

For those living in the North of England in the middle decades of the 12th century, the characteristics and deeds of the Scots became a central concern. Much of our information about the campaigns of David I was generated by historians connected with Durham and Hexham, ecclesiastical institutions whose landed estates were directly in the

path of the invading Scots¹³. Both Hexham and Durham suffered depredations at the hands of David's armies, but their historians were, as members of 'frontier churches', also well-informed about their neighbours to the north. One of the leading figures among this group of northern English historians was Ailred, abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Rievaulx in Yorkshire. Ailred's career made him uniquely qualified to comment with authority on David I and the Scots.

Ailred of Rievaulx was born at Hexham, an ancient Northumbrian ecclesiastical centre situated on the banks of the River Tyne. He was the son of Eilaf, the last hereditary priest of the church of St Andrew at Hexham. Ailred's grandfather, another Eilaf, had been treasurer of the Church of St Cuthbert at Durham, and his great-grandfather, Alfred son of Westou, had been sacristan and guardian of St Cuthbert's relics. In 1113, Ailred's father was forced to surrender the Church of Hexham into the hands of the reformed order of Augustinian canons established under the patronage of the archbishops of York¹⁴. After receiving a basic education at Hexham and Durham, in around 1124, Ailred entered the court of King David I of Scotland, as one of the companions of the king's eldest son, Henry, and his two stepsons, Simon and Waldef¹⁵. He rose to a position of honour in the Scottish court, serving as the king's steward and acting as his envoy on missions within Scotland and to the north of England¹⁶. According to his medieval biographer, Walter Daniel, it was while on a mission to the archbishop of York that Ailred learned of the Cistercian monks at their recently founded abbey at Rievaulx. Ailred's conversion to the monastic life followed soon after¹⁷.

Therefore, during his time at David's court, Ailred was in a position to observe the Scots at close quarters. Scotland in this period cannot be simply and unequivocally labelled 'Celtic'. As it emerged in the 11th and 12th centuries, the kingdom of the Scots was a hybrid entity, composed of several ethnic groups, only some of whom could justifiably be seen as belonging to the 'Celtic' world of Western Britain¹⁸. The significant ethno-cultural frontier was not so much that between southern Scotland and Northern England, as that between Lowland and Highland Scotland. The distinction between the *gens maritima*, the tame, home-loving people of the Lowlands and the *gens montana*, wild, proud Highlanders, who included the inhabitants of the Western and Northern Isles, was drawn most strikingly by the Scots historian John of Fordun, writing in the 14th century¹⁹. Lothian, southern Scotland between the Rivers Forth and Tweed, had been settled by the English in the early medieval period and, together with the lands between the Tweed and the River Tees had formed the Anglian kingdom of Bernicia, one of the two constituent parts of the early medieval kingdom of Northumbria. To that extent, the River Tweed was a political border rather than a cultural frontier between the English and the Scots²⁰.

In its attempt to extend its authority over the disparate peoples of Scotland, the native Scots royal house had made use of external influences from England and beyond in the later 11th century. Significantly, around 1069-70, David I's father, Malcolm III (1054/7-1093) married the exiled Margaret, sister of Edgar Ætheling, the Anglo-Saxon claimant to the English throne, which had been won by Duke William of

Normandy in 1066. According to the early 12th-century *Life of St Margaret*, almost certainly composed by Turgot, prior of Durham, Malcolm's English queen set about civilising the manners of her husband and his court²¹. For example, Turgot tells us that Margaret improved conditions in Malcolm's kingdom, and, in particular, enhanced his royal status through the elaboration of court ceremonial²². Queen Margaret personally supervised the education of her children and may have impressed upon her son David the benefits of looking south to the more cultured and civilised world of England. In the aftermath of the deaths of Malcolm and Margaret in 1093, the Norman king, William Rufus (1087-1100), supported the attempts of Malcolm's sons, Duncan and then, more successfully, Edgar, to secure the Scots throne²³. Links between the ruling houses of England and Scotland were strengthened further when, in November 1100, Henry I married Malcolm and Margaret's daughter Edith (Matilda)²⁴. When Matilda took up residence at the Norman king's court, her brother, David accompanied her²⁵. The future king of Scotland was thus educated in the cultural values of the French-dominated English court. According to one 12th-century commentator, David was

a young man of more courtly disposition (*curialior*) than the rest, he had from boyhood been polished by familiar intercourse with the English, and rubbed off all the barbarian gaucherie of Scottish manners (*omnem rubiginem Scotticae barbariei*: more literally, 'all the rust of Scottish barbarity'); for example, soon after his accession he gave a three-year exemption from the payment of dues to any of his countrymen who was prepared to raise his standard of comfort in housing, of elegance in dress, and of civility in diet²⁶.

The author of this passage, William, monk and precentor of Malmesbury Abbey in the West of England, was one of the first 12th-century writers to articulate the negative image of the Celtic peoples of Britain²⁷.

In 1113, Henry I made David a fully-fledged member of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy by giving him a noble wife, Matilda de Senlis, the daughter of Waltheof earl of Northumbria (executed 1076), and with her the English lands of the honour of Huntingdon²⁸. According to a later source, David, supported by his sister the queen, specifically petitioned Henry for Matilda de Senlis's hand in marriage. The significance of her status as the daughter of the last English earl of Northumbria would surely have been a consideration in the young man's mind. Henry I's agreement to the match was motivated in part by a desire to secure the northern frontier of his kingdom, by binding members of the Scots royal house closer to him²⁹. David's political and cultural education in England made him aware of the advantages to be gained from subscribing to the values of the Norman elite. When he succeeded his elder brother Alexander I (1107-1124) as king of Scots in 1124, David modelled his kingship on the practices he had learned at Henry's court. Even before his accession, David had made use of the Norman barons of Northern England in securing Scottish Cumbria and lands in eastern Scotland as an appanage. As king, David began to reward his Norman and French allies by creating lordships for them. One of the first of these enfeoffments was that of Robert (I) de Brus (died 1142), who was given Annandale in South-West Scotland³⁰. This im-

portation of 'feudal lordship' enhanced the status of the Scots royal house, binding the great magnates of the realm more closely to the king³¹. In addition, David's reign saw the patronage of the newly reformed religious orders, the enhancement of the resources of the Scottish dioceses, and the development of a monetized economy focused on the markets in the Scottish *burhs*³². Royal administration was enhanced and marked by a great increase in the use of the Latin charter and other instruments and institutions of government recognisable in contemporaneous western European monarchies³³. David has been credited with the 'modernisation' of Scotland and Ailred himself recognised David's achievements in a *lamentatio* [lament or eulogy] composed in memory of the king soon after his death in May 1153.

He (David) adorned you (ie. Scotland) with castles and cities; he enriched your ports with foreign merchandise and increased your delights with the delicacies of other kingdoms. He exchanged your shaggy cloaks for precious garments and covered your former nakedness with linen and purple. He set your barbarous way of life aright by the Christian religion. He proclaimed to you marital chastity, of which you were ignorant, and he brought your priests to a more respectable way of life³⁴.

According to Ailred, then, David had done nothing less than tame a ferocious, barbarous people and for this he was to be remembered as a 'holy and devout king', and 'a most Christian king'³⁵. According to Ailred, David had 'reformed' his kingdom, and the passage even suggests that he introduced Christianity to his subjects, which, of course, ignores the centuries-old traditions of the native Scottish Christian Church. Ailred's assessment of David's achievement portrayed the Scots as barbarians in need of the civilising benefits of (reformed) Christianity, and similar themes are found in Ailred's account of the Battle of the Standard.

Ailred of Rievaulx's *Relatio de Standardo* [Narrative of the Standard] provides the most extensive account of the battle fought on Cowton Moor³⁶. As well as his intimate knowledge of the protagonists, Ailred may have been involved in the negotiations that brought the conflict to an end in 1139³⁷. Ailred's text brings out the complexities of the political situation surrounding the battle, for this was far from being a simple conflict between the Scots and the Norman nobility of the North of England. The composition of David's army reflected his policy of encouraging French settlement in southern Scotland³⁸. Therefore, the Scots host was composed of native contingents, as well as a core of Anglo-Norman knights, some of whom faced relatives in the opposing ranks.

The structure of Ailred's *Relatio* is dominated by two speeches supposedly delivered by prominent Norman barons with extensive landholdings in the North of England³⁹. The first is a battle oration by Walter Espec, the founder and patron of Ailred's abbey of Rievaulx⁴⁰. The second is by Robert (I) de Brus, ancestor of the Bruce kings of Scotland and the man who was granted the lordship of Annandale by David I in 1124⁴¹. The prominence given to Walter Espec's oration by Ailred is understandable, given the baron's status as the benefactor of Rievaulx. Espec's rousing address focused on the military strengths of the Normans and referred to their conquests throughout Europe⁴². The purpose of Robert de Brus's speech directed at David I, was, however, to dissuade the

king from his aggression against the North of England. Robert de Brus, for many years a close confidant of David, faced a dilemma associated with the bonds inherent in his acceptance of the grant of the barony of Annandale⁴³. Brus's counsel was that his former patron should not abandon the advice of the English and Normans in favour of that being offered by his native Scots subjects.

Therefore I ask you, my lord, have you found such fidelity in the Scots [*Scottis*] that you can safely dismiss the counsel of the English for yourself and your people and deprive yourself of the aid of the Normans, as if the Scots alone sufficed even against the Scots? This reliance on the 'Galwegians' (*Galwensibus*) is new to you. Today you are attacking with arms those through whom you have until now ruled, beloved by the Scots and terrible to the Galwegians⁴⁴.

Despite spelling out the English and Norman help for David's predecessors as king, Robert de Brus could not dissuade David from the attack. Amid accusations of treason Robert withdrew from David's army.

The words which Ailred put into the mouths of Walter Espec and Robert de Brus provide an expression of that growing cultural antipathy between the Anglo-Norman ruling class of England – and, to an extent, Scotland – and their Celtic neighbours that was mentioned earlier. At one point, Ailred has Walter Espec disparage the barbaric appearance of David's Scots:

Who therefore would not laugh rather than fear when the worthless Scot with his nearly bare buttocks runs to fight such as these?⁴⁵

The physical appearance of the Celts, their clothes, table manners and sexual mores, in fact all distinctive ethnic markers, were subjected to pejorative comments from these 12th-century commentators⁴⁶. In their conduct of warfare, the differences between the Scots and the French were most clearly seen.

In order to encourage his men, Walter Espec pointed out the inferior military technology of the Scots, suggesting that they lacked not only iron armour and effective weapons, but also true courage⁴⁷. Similar passages can be found in 12th-century histories referring to the Welsh and Irish⁴⁸. Above all, the Scots, Welsh and Irish lacked the concept of chivalrous warfare. Chivalry in this context should be understood as a "set of attitudes and conventions shared between the great aristocrats and their *milites*" which attempted to "limit the brutality of war by treating the defeated in a more humane fashion"⁴⁹. The methods of war practised by the 'Celtic' peoples of Britain were, by contrast, savage, characterised by the slave-hunt and the killing of opponents of whatever status, and the slaughter of non-combatants. Certainly, despite his experiences at David's court, Ailred, like his fellow writers based in the North of England, described the warfare practised as brutal and merciless. Here, for example, Walter Espec warned his men of the consequences of a Scots victory:

Remember what they did in the lands across the Tyne, and hope for nothing gentler if the Scots (*Scotti*) conquer. I am silent about the slaughter, the rapine, the fires that the enemy employed in something like a human way (*humano quodammodo more*). I would

tell such acts as no stories tell and no histories relate of the fiercest tyrants; I would tell them, I say, if words did not fail before such horror, or the listener flee. They spared no age, rank, or sex. The high-born, boys as well as girls were led into captivity⁵⁰.

For Ailred and his audience, the last sentence emphasised the basic difference between civilised, chivalrous warfare, and the warfare as slave-hunt, practised by the Celtic peoples.

Ailred's account of the Battle of the Standard singles out one ethnic group for particular opprobrium and King David was criticised for his inability to restrain them from their blood-thirsty excesses. Particularly vilified were the Galwegians, the hybrid Gaelic-Norse population of Galloway in south-western Scotland⁵¹. In Ailred's *Relatio* and in other accounts of the Scots depredations of the 1130s, emanating from the North of England, the Galwegians are depicted as especially savage and godless barbarians. They are accused of atrocities, which left their barbarity in no doubt. According to Ailred, these sub-human beasts even descended into acts of cannibalism⁵². Even the abbot of Rievaulx's admiration for his erstwhile patron did not curb his criticism of David I's employment of these bestial elements in his army. Although, educated in the conventions of chivalric warfare, David no doubt recognised the shock-value of unleashing these fierce contingents on his enemies. There was, then, a distinction being made between the Galwegians and the other elements in the Scots army. When it came to the battle itself, Ailred leaves his readers in no doubt that it was the rout of the Galwegian forces, who had insisted on leading the attack that brought about the defeat of David's army⁵³.

This emphasis on the barbarity of the Galwegian allies of David I to a certain extent deflected the barbs of cultural antipathy from the king and his Anglo-Norman allies. The accounts of Galwegian atrocities make for grim reading in the sources, but, especially in the case of Ailred, there may have been exaggeration relating not so much to the context of the wars of the 1130s, as to the circumstances of the 1150s and 1160s.

Although Ailred's account of the Scots invasion of the North of England in 1138 has been cited in support of the thesis that, in the 12th century, "the English learned to despise their Celtic neighbours and to think of themselves as belonging to a higher level of civilisation", the *Relatio* also had a more specific context, concerning developments in South-West Scotland underway at the time Ailred was writing and in which, as Abbot of Rievaulx, he had a central role.

The *Relatio de Standardo* was written between 1155 and 1157, nearly two decades after the events it recounts⁵⁴. By the 1150s, Galloway, perhaps best described as a semi-independent lordship, had been brought into a closer relationship with the Scots crown and with the cultural values of the rest of Lowland eastern Scotland than had been the case when the Galwegians had joined King David's campaigns of the late 1130s.

Many of the French aristocratic settlers brought into Scotland during the reign of David I had been granted estates in south-western Scotland. For example, the above-mentioned Robert (I) de Brus, was granted Annandale in or before 1124 and his compact

lordship directly bordered Nithsdale in Galloway⁵⁵. Therefore, the lordships of these settlers, allies of the king, began to encircle Galloway, threatening the independence of the Gaelic-Norse lordship. The response of Fergus, the 'king' of Galloway, was to attempt to modernise his lordship in imitation of the policies that David had adopted in Lowland Scotland. In modernising Galloway and thereby strengthening his lordship, Fergus adopted the same methods and institutions redolent of wider European culture that David I had imported on a greater scale into Lowland eastern Scotland. Thus, by the end of the 1160s it is possible to find evidence of Latin documents issued in the name of the lords of Galloway, many of them detailing the plantation of reformed religious orders in the province. It was in connection with the latter that Ailred had a special interest in Galloway, as, by the time he was writing, the Cistercians and other reformed orders were moving into the South-West of Scotland⁵⁶.

The rhetoric employed by Ailred and other ecclesiastical writers describing the battles against the Scots in the 1130s portrayed the struggle in the language of Holy War. As has been seen, the Standard erected on Cowton Moor in August 1138, held a pyx containing the Host, and displayed the banners of the Apostle Peter and two of the most prominent northern saints, John of Beverley and Wilfrid of Ripon⁵⁷. The forces answering the summons issued by Archbishop Thurstan of York were led to the muster by priests bearing holy relics in solemn procession. Throughout the *Relatio*, Ailred characterises the struggle against the Scots as one 'in defence of the Church of Christ against the barbarians'⁵⁸.

As well as being the language of Holy War, this was the rhetoric of ecclesiastical reform. The reformed monastic orders, including most prominently the Cistercians, which had been established at the beginning of the 12th century, quickly achieved great influence in the Latin Church. By the end of David's reign, the reformed orders were actively engaged in missionary work in Galloway and, in their evangelical enthusiasm, they were prone to exaggerate the depraved spiritual and moral state of those they had come to save. Although the inhabitants had long been Christian, and the region possessed ancient Christian sites such as the church at Whithorn, it was in the interests of the reformed orders to exaggerate the wilderness, the barbarous nature of the inhabitants and the degeneracy of the local clerical establishment⁵⁹. The missionary activity of the reformed monastic orders became an epic struggle worthy of the saintly heroes of the early Church.

According to his biographer, Ailred acted as spiritual adviser to Fergus, the lord of Galloway. When the abbot visited Rievaulx's daughter house of Dundrennan Abbey he found "a wild country where the inhabitants are like beasts, and [it] is altogether barbarous"⁶⁰. The visit came at a time of internal strife among the lords of Galloway, with Fergus engaged in a struggle against his sons. True to his Cistercian vocation, the abbot of Rievaulx was called upon to bring peace to the region⁶¹. In order to end the violence, Fergus was persuaded to enter a monastery, an appropriate symbol of the taming of these uncivilised barbarians.

The Cistercians and Augustinian canons brought reformed Christianity to this barbarous region and with it came "sweet civility"⁶². Ailred recognised the importance of recruiting the ancient saints of the region in order to make progress with the reform and to this end produced a *Life of St Ninian*⁶³. Gradually, and surely to be associated with the arrival of the reforming monks and their French baronial allies, Galloway experienced socio-economic and cultural change and, in the process began to turn away from the Irish Sea world towards that of eastern Lowland Scotland and the rest of Western Europe beyond⁶⁴. It is striking how the experience of the lordship of Galloway resembled in microcosm that of the Scots kingdom at large. The response of the native Lord of Galloway to the experience of defeat at the Battle of the Standard was to recognise the value of imitating the socio-cultural values of the opposition, values which had already taken root in the heartlands of the Scots monarchy among the *gens maritima*. In this case, the lords of Galloway, imitating the kings of Scots, were the instruments and recipients of their own civilising process. It is surely significant that the kingdom of Scotland, although composed of disparate ethnic groups, managed to integrate those diverse elements into a unified polity. It was this fact that allowed kings of Scots, whose lineages were French in origin, to lead a political nation in resisting successfully the imperialist ambitions of their English neighbours.

Frontiers are as much zones of interaction as lines of demarcation between peoples. This study of the conflict in the 1130s, ostensibly between the Scots and the English, has revealed an example of cultural practices making their way across political borders by a process of mimesis. The exaggerated language employed by Ailred of Rievaulx and his contemporaries to describe the Scots, represents the cultural antipathy that the 'civilised' Anglo-Norman elite felt for their Celtic neighbours, but it was also the language of the reformed Western Church intent on spreading its message to the very frontiers of Latin Christendom. In the opinion of these reformers, given expression in texts such as the *Relatio de Standardo*, even fellow Christians who did not adhere to the reform agenda, or had not been introduced to it, were considered to be beyond Christendom's limits, and beyond the 'sweet civility' of (reformed) Christendom there was only 'barbarous rudeness'.

NOTES

¹ *Mox autem aliqui eorum in medio cuiusdam machine, quam ibi adduxerant, unius navis malum erexerunt, quod Standard appellaverunt.* The historian, Richard, Prior of Hexham (1141 - 1155 x 1167), writing in the 1140s, tells us that the archdeacon of York, Hugh Sottewain, explained that it was called the Standard 'because there stood the brave knights to conquer or die.' *Unde Hugo Sotevagina Eboracensis archidiaconus: Dicitur a stando Standardum, quod stetit illic/Militie probitas, vincere sive mori.* See *Historia Richardi, prioris ecclesie Haugustaldensis de gestis regis Stephani et de bello standardii*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, 4 vols., London: Rolls Series, 1884-89, III, pp.162-63; translated in *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers, AD 500 to 1286*, ed. A. O. Anderson, London 1908; reprinted Stamford, 1991, pp.200-201.

² Richard of Hexham, *De gestis regis Stephani* cit., p.163; Anderson, *Scottish Annals* cit., p.200. Elizabeth Freeman suggested that the banner of St Cuthbert was also present on Cowton Moor, but none of the

extant sources support this contention. Indeed, it is argued below that it was not in the interests of the Church of St Cuthbert to be seen to take sides in the ensuing struggle. See E. Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order. Cistercian Historical Writing in England, 1150-1220*, Turnhout 2002, p. 46.

- ³ The E recension of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* summed up the problems of Stephen's reign in a long passage that ends, *hi seden openlice ð Xpist slep. 7 his halechen. Suilc 7 mare þanne we cunnen sein. we þo-lenden. xix. wintre for ure sinnes*; [they said openly that Christ and his saints slept. Such things and more than we know how to tell, we suffered nineteen years for our sins.] C. Plummer, J. Earle (eds.), *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, 2 vols., Oxford 1892, I, p. 265; cf. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. and ed. M. Swanton, London 1996, p. 265. There are several accounts of the reign of King Stephen; for example, K.J. Stringer, *The Reign of Stephen. Kingship, Warfare and Government in Twelfth-Century England*, London 1993; D. Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen, 1135-1154*, London 2000.
- ⁴ H. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle: the City and the Borders from the Late 11th to the Mid-16th Century*, 2 vols., Kendal 1993.
- ⁵ K.J. Stringer, *State-building in twelfth-century Britain: David I, king of Scots, and Northern England*, in J.C. Appleby, P. Dalton (eds.), *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England, 1000-1700*, Stroud 1997, pp. 40-62. J. A. Green has suggested that David may have had his sights on the English crown itself; *David I and Henry*, "Scottish Historical Review", 1996, 75, pp. 1-19 at 18. Ailred of Rievaulx's 'Genealogy of the Kings of the English', detailed the Scots king's claim to the English throne through his mother. See *Ailred of Rievaulx: The Historical Works*, trans. J.P. Freeland, ed. M.L. Dutton, Kalamazoo 2005, pp. 71-122 at 116-120.
- ⁶ Richard of Hexham, *De gestis regis Stephani* cit. pp. 177-78; cf. *Scottish Annals* cit., p. 215. The peace was arranged at Durham, 9 April 1139. Stephen retained possession of Newcastle and Bamburgh, but, in compensation, allowed Henry to control the English lordship of Huntingdon.
- ⁷ William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum anglicarum*, in *Chronicles of Stephen* cit., I, pp. 105-6; trans. in *Scottish Annals* cit., p. 239.
- ⁸ On the theme of reform, see G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge 1996. See also, R.J. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350*, London 1993.
- ⁹ See R.R. Davies, *Sweet civility and barbarous rudeness* in Id., *The First English Empire. Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093-1343*, Oxford 2000, pp. 113-41 at 116.
- ¹⁰ J. Gillingham, *Conquering the Barbarians: War and Chivalry in Britain and Ireland*, in "Haskins Society Journal", for 1992, Woodbridge 1993, pp. 67-84, reprinted in Id., *The English in the Twelfth Century. Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values*, Woodbridge 2000, pp. 4 1-58 at 42. Gillingham, (*Conquering the Barbarians* cit., p. 42, n.1), uses the term "English" rather than "French, Norman or Anglo-Norman" to describe the nobility of England who were, by and large, of Continental origins, because "almost all the authors whose words I shall be quoting thought of themselves as English rather than Norman or Anglo-Norman, so English is the term I shall invariably use." In this chapter, the terms "French", "Norman", and "Anglo-Norman" are used in conjunction with the term "English" to indicate the Continental, or hybrid ethnicity of those who undertook the expansion into the "Celtic" lands. This can be justified by examining the *inscriptio* (address) clauses of the charters of the Scottish kings, which collectively refer to "*Francis, Scottis et Anglicis*"; see, for example, G.W.S. Barrow (ed.), *The Charters of David I. The Written acts of David I King of the Scots, 1124-53, and of his son, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, 1139-52*, Woodbridge 1999, Nos. 44, 171. For detailed discussion of when those of Continental origin came to think of themselves as "English", see H.M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans. Ethnic hostility, assimilation and identity 1066-c.1220*, Oxford 2003.
- ¹¹ Davies, *Sweet civility* cit., p. 114.
- ¹² According to the later 12th-century writer, Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald of Wales), the distinction was between the *regio composita* and the *regio barbara*; Davies, *First English Empire* cit., p. 119, n.25. Given

the lack of native Scottish accounts for this period, we are unable to provide a corrective to this pejorative English narrative.

- ¹³ A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c.550 to c.1307*, London 1974, pp. 186, 216-218, 261, 286-289 [Hexham] and 114-122 [Durham].
- ¹⁴ J. Raine, *The Priory of Hexham, its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals*, Vol.1, Durham, 1864, vol. xlv, pp. lx-lxx. As compensation, Eilaf was allowed to retain "the greater part of the endowments" of the Church of Hexham until his death in 1138 at Durham; Raine, *Hexham* cit., p. lxvii. As well as being a spiritual devotee of Durham's St Cuthbert, Ailred retained his connection with Hexham, composing an account of its patron saints, whose relics were translated in 1154; *De sanctis ecclesie Haugustaldensis et eorum miraculis libellus*, in Raine, *Hexham*, pp. 173-203.
- ¹⁵ W. Daniel, *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*, ed. and trans. F.M. Powicke, London 1950. A. Squire, *Aelred of Rievaulx: A Study*, Kalamazoo 1981; D.N. Bell, *Ailred [Ælred, Æthelred] of Rievaulx (1110-1167), religious writer and abbot of Rievaulx*, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford 2004.
- ¹⁶ Daniel, *Life* cit., p. 3; "The king was so fond of him that he made him great in his house and glorious in his palace. He was put in charge of many things and was as a second lord and prince over a host of officials and all the men of the court, going in and out by the King's command, faithful in all things, friendly and welcome to the good, fearful and stern, though sympathetic, to the evil." According to the *Life* cit. (pp. 5-6), Ailred's position was challenged by members of David's court.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11. M.L. Dutton, *The Conversion and Vocation of Aelred of Rievaulx: A Historical Hypothesis*, in D. Williams (ed.), *England in the 12th Century*, Woodbridge 1990, pp. 31-49.
- ¹⁸ Davies, *Sweet civility*, p. 115-16; Gillingham, *Conquering the Barbarians* cit., p. 54.
- ¹⁹ *Johannis de Fordun, Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, ed. W.F. Skene, Edinburgh 1871-2, i, p. 42 cited in G.W.S. Barrow, *The Lost Gàidhealtachd*, in Id., *Scotland and its Neighbours in the Middle Ages*, London 1992, pp. 105-26. See *John of Fordun's Chronicle of the Scottish Nation*, ed. W.F. Skene and trans. F.J.H. Skene, 2 vols., Edinburgh 1872; reprinted Llanerch, 1993, I, p. 38: "The manners and customs of the Scots vary with the diversity of their speech. For two languages are spoken amongst them, the Scottish and the Teutonic; the latter of which is the language of those who occupy the seaboard and the plains, while the race of Scottish speech inhabits the highlands and outlying islands. The people of the coast are of domestic and civilized habits, trusty, patient, and urbane, decent in their attire, affable, and peaceful, devout in Divine worship, yet always prone to resist a wrong at the hands of their enemies. The highlanders and people of the islands, on the other hand, are a savage and untamed nation, rude and independent, given to rapine, ease-loving, of a docile and warm disposition, comely in person, but unsightly in dress, hostile to the English people and language, and, owing to diversity of speech, even to their own nation, and exceedingly cruel. They are, however, faithful and obedient to their king and country, and easily made to submit to law if properly governed."
- ²⁰ For the history of Northumbria, see D.W. Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100. Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom*, Cambridge 2003. On the Anglo-Scottish Border in the Middle Ages, see G.W.S. Barrow, *The Anglo-Scottish Border*, in Id., *The Kingdom of the Scots*, London 1973, pp. 139-61; Id., *Frontier and Settlement: Which Influenced Which? England and Scotland, 1100-1300*, in R. Bartlett, A. MacKay (eds.), *Medieval Frontier Societies*, Oxford 1989, pp. 2-21. On the similarities between Scots and English Northumbria, see G.W.S. Barrow, *Northern English Society in the 12th and 13th Centuries*, in Id., *Scotland and Its Neighbours* cit., pp. 127-53.
- ²¹ *Vita sanctae Margaretae Scotorum reginae*, Bibliotheca hagiographica latina, ed. Society of Bollandists, 2 vols. and supplement, Brussels, 1898-1901, 1986, Item number 5325; printed in *Symeonis Dunelmensis opera et collectanea*, i., ed. J. Hodgson Hinde, Durham, 1868, li, pp. 234-54. There is a translation of the *Vita* in L.L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship*, Woodbridge 2003, pp. 161-78.
- ²² *Vita sanctae Margaretae* cit., pp. 240-42; Huneycutt, *Matilda* cit., p. 167.

- ²³ See A.A.M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842-1292. Succession and Independence*, Edinburgh 2002, pp. 53-60.
- ²⁴ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E, *sub anno* 1100, *Two Saxon Chronicles* cit., I, p. 236: *And siðþan sona her æfter se cyng genam Mahalde him to wife Malcolmes cynges dohter of Scotlande. 7 Margareta þære goda cwæne Eadwardes cynges magan. 7 of þan rihtan Ængla landes kyne kynne* [translated, Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 236: "And then soon after this the king took as his wife Maud, daughter of King Malcolm of Scotland and the good queen Margaret, King Edward's relative, of the rightful royal family of England."] In 1107, David's brother, King Alexander I of Scotland married an illegitimate daughter of Henry I; see Anderson, *Scottish Annals* cit., pp. 128-29.
- ²⁵ David seems to have been close to his sister, although, at times, disturbed by her expression of piety; see Aelred, *Historical Works* cit., pp. 119-20.
- ²⁶ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum. The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson, M. Winterbottom, 2 vols., Oxford 1998, vol. I, v. 400.2, pp. 726-27: *iuuenis ceteris curialior et qui, nostrorum conuictu et familiaritate limatus a puero, omnem rubiginem Scotticae barbariei deteraserat. Denique regno potitus mox omnes compatriotas triennialium tributorum pensione leuauit qui uellent habitare cultius, amiciri elegantius, pasci accuratius.*
- ²⁷ Gillingham, *Conquering the Barbarians* cit., p. 43.
- ²⁸ Green, *David I and Henry* cit., pp. 1-19 at 6. The Honour of Huntingdon brought David lands in the East of England, in Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire. He also held land in Yorkshire and Middlesex. David may have been granted land in Western Normandy after Henry I assumed control of the duchy by defeating his elder brother Robert in 1106.
- ²⁹ R. Oram, *David I. The King who made Scotland*, Stroud 2004, pp. 64-5.
- ³⁰ G.W.S. Barrow (ed.), *The Charters of David I. The Written acts of David I King of the Scots, 1124-53, and of his son, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, 1139-52*, Woodbridge 1999, No. 16, pp. 61-2. For this settlement more generally, see G.W.S. Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History*, Oxford 1980.
- ³¹ The 'feudalisation' of Scotland should not be exaggerated, as more traditional bonds between lords and men continued right through the Middle Ages. In 'Scotia' proper, that is north of the line of the Rivers Clyde-Forth, the provinces were still ruled by hereditary dynasties of *mormars* ('great officers' or 'chief stewards'). The relationship between these territorial lordships and the crown was marked by periodic revolt, such as that in Moray in 1130, and the gradual extension of more direct control by the crown. The king's cause was aided by the tendency for Gaelic chieftains to imitate the practices of the king and re-orientate their interests to align with those of the crown; see below and A. Grant, *Scotland's 'Celtic Fringe' in the Late Middle Ages: The Macdonald Lords of the Isles and the Kingdom of Scotland*, in R.R. Davies (ed.), *The British Isles 1100-1500. Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections*, Edinburgh 1988, pp. 118-41.
- ³² G.W.S. Barrow, *David I of Scotland (1124-1153): The Balance of New and Old*, The Stenton Lecture, 1984, Reading, 1985; reprinted in Id., *Scotland and its Neighbours* cit., pp. 45-65.
- ³³ Id., *Charters of David I* cit., Cf. D. Broun, *The Adoption of Brieues in Scotland*, in M.T. Flanagan, J.A. Green (eds.), *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, Basingstoke 2005, pp. 164-8. It is also worth noting that David's association of his eldest son Henry in his government suggests that he was adopting practices gaining currency among the nobility of France; see A.W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France. Studies on Familial Order and the State*, Cambridge (MA) 1981.
- ³⁴ *Lament for David, king of the Scots*, in *Aelred of Rievaulx: The Historical Works*, translated by J.P. Freeland, ed. with an introduction and annotations by M.L. Dutton, Kalamazoo 2005, pp. 45-70 at 60.
- ³⁵ Aelred, *Lament* cit., pp. 45, 65.
- ³⁶ *Relatio venerabilis Ælredi abbatis Rievallensis de Standardo*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, 4 vols., London 1884-89, III, pp. 181-99; trans. in Aelred, *Historical Works* cit., pp. 245-69. Aelred seems to have known the work of Richard of Hexham and that of Henry of Huntingdon, who also provided accounts of the battle. For a discussion of these other sources for the

- battle of the Standard, see D. Baker, *Ailred of Rievaulx and Walter Espec*, in "Haskins Society Journal", 1989, 1, pp. 91-98 at 91, n.1.
- ³⁷ Aelred's abbot, William, was a party to the negotiations at Durham; see P. Dalton, *Churchmen and the promotion of peace in King Stephen's reign*, in "Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies", 2000, 31, pp. 79-119, at 85. I am grateful to Dr Dalton for providing me with a copy of his article.
- ³⁸ The details of this settlement are brought out in G.W.S. Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History*, Oxford 1980.
- ³⁹ It was common for medieval historians to invent speeches for their main characters. However, while invented, these speeches were usually considered to represent the sort of things the historical figures would have said.
- ⁴⁰ J.R.E. Bliese, *The Battle Rhetoric of Aelred of Rievaulx*, in "Haskins Society Journal", 1989, 1, pp. 99-107.
- ⁴¹ See above, n. 30.
- ⁴² See Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order* cit., pp. 31-53. Espec's speech was used by R.H.C. Davis in his discussion of Norman identity; Id., *The Normans and their Myth*, London 1976.
- ⁴³ Aelred tells us that Robert de Brus and David had trained as knights together; *Relatio* cit., pp. 264-65. According to another account, Brus was accompanied on his mission to David by Bernard de Balliol, another baron who acquired interests in southern Scotland as well as the North of England; see John of Hexham in *Symeonis monachi opera omnia*, ed. T.Arnold, 2 vols., London 1882-5, ii, p. 293.
- ⁴⁴ Aelred, *Relatio* cit., pp. 192-93; "*ex quo rogo te, domine mi, tantam fidem invenisti in Scottis ut tam secure tibi tuisque Anglorum demas consilium, auxilium abroges Normannorum, quasi soli tibi sufficient Scotti etiam contra Scottos. Nova tibi est in Galwensibus ista securitas, qui eos hodie armis petis per quos hactenus amabilis Scottis, terribilis Galwensibus imperasti*" [translated, Id., *Historical Works* cit., pp. 261-62:].
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 186: "*Quis igitur non rideat, potius quam timeat, quod adversus tales vilis Scottus seminudis natibus pugnaturus occurrit*" [translated in Id., *Historical Works*, p. 253.] On the appearance of the bare-legged Scots, see A.A.M. Duncan, *The Dress of the Scots*, in "Scottish Historical Review", 29, 1950, pp. 210-11. Duncan draws attention to passages in Abbot Guibert of Nogent's *Gesta Dei per Francos* (*The Deeds of God through the Franks*), an account of the First Crusade (1095-1100), written in the first decade of the 12th century, which also described the apparel of the Scots. Duncan suggested that this was the first recorded appearance of the sporran.
- ⁴⁶ Davies, *Sweet civility* cit., pp. 128-9.
- ⁴⁷ Aelred, *Relatio* cit., p. 186: *lanceis nostris, gladiis et telis nostris nudum obiciunt corium; pelle vitulina pro scuto utentes; irrationabili mortis contemptu, magis quam viribus animati*; translated, Aelred, *Historical Works* cit., pp. 253-54: "To our lances, to our swords and javelins they oppose bare leather, using calfskin for their shields; they are animated by an irrational contempt for death rather than by courage!" Military technology reflected the economic basis of medieval societies. Here the 'industrialised economy' of the French chivalric world was able to provide the iron necessary for the knights, who undertook these wars of expansion; see Gillingham, *Conquering the Barbarians* cit., p. 55.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50; Davies, *Sweet civility* cit., p. 131; M. Strickland, *War and Chivalry. The conduct and perception of War in England and Normandy 1066-1217*, Cambridge 1996, pp. 323-29.
- ⁴⁹ Gillingham, *Conquering the Barbarians* cit., p. 51 and the references therein.
- ⁵⁰ Aelred, *Relatio* cit., p. 187: "*Recolite quid in Transtinanis partibus egerint, nec mitiora sperate si vicerint Scotti. Taceo cedes, rapinas, incendia, quae humano quodammodo more exercentur ab hostibus: talia dicam, qualia nec fabulae ferunt, nec narrant historia a crudelissimis acta tyrannis. Dicam, inquam, si non praenimio horrore sermo defecerit, aut auditor aufugerit. Nulli etati, nulli ordini, nulli omnino sexui pepercerunt; nobiles, tam pueri quam puellae, ducti sunt in captivitatem*". Trans., Id., *Historical Works* cit., p. 254.
- ⁵¹ On the origins and ethnic composition of Galloway, see R. Oram, *The Lordship of Galloway*, Edinburgh 2000, pp. 1-50.

- ⁵² Aelred, *Relatio* cit., pp. 187-88: "*Lassati innocentium cede, illotis cultellis, quibus miserorum effuderant viscera, carnes quas vorarent incidebant; humanumque sanguinem miscentes aqua, crudeli poculo sitim sedabant, dicentes se felicissimos quos in illud tempus fortuna servaverat, quo Gallorum sanguinem bibere potuissent. Casu inventi sunt in eadem domo plures parvuli. Stabat Galwensis, et unum post unum utroque pede arripiens, caput allidebat ad postem. Quos cum in unum coegisset acervum, ridens versus socium, 'Ecce', inquit, 'quot Gallos hodie solus occidi'*" [translated, Id., *Historical Works* cit., p. 255: "Wearied by the slaughter of innocents, they cut the meat they were wolfing down with the unwashed knives with which they had sliced out the entrails of the sufferers. Mixing human blood with water, they satisfied their thirst with the cruel cup, calling themselves happy that fortune had preserved them for the time when they could drink the blood of the Gauls. By chance they found many children in a single house. A Galwegian was standing there; seizing one after another by the foot, he smashed their heads on the doorpost. When he had collected them in a pile, he laughed and said to his friend, 'See how many Gauls I have killed all by myself today!'"].
- ⁵³ Aelred, *Relatio* cit., pp. 196-97 [translated, Id., *Historical Works* cit., pp. 266-67.] Richard of Hexham, *De gestis regis Stephan* cit., pp. 170-71 tells us that it was stipulated during the peace negotiations after the battle that the Galwegians should bring all captive females to Carlisle and set them free. In addition they were to refrain from attacking churches, and they should spare, women and children, the weak and the aged.
- ⁵⁴ Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order* cit., p. 31.
- ⁵⁵ Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era* cit., p. 12.
- ⁵⁶ K.J. Stringer, *Reform Monasticism and Celtic Scotland: Galloway, c.1140 to c.1240*, in E.J.Cowan, R. Andrew McDonald (eds.), *Alba. Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era*, East Linton 2000, pp. 127-65 and Id., *Acts of Lordship: The Records of the Lords of Galloway to 1234*, in T. Brotherstone, D. Ditchburn, (eds.), *Freedom and Authority. Historical and Historiographical Essays Presented to Grant G. Simpson*, East Linton 2000, pp. 203-34.
- ⁵⁷ As the Church of St Cuthbert possessed an estate at Northallerton, the absence of the banner of St Cuthbert from the Standard was significant and perhaps indicates the ambivalent attitude of Durham's bishop, Geoffrey Rufus, during the crisis. The Church of St Cuthbert had extensive properties in Lothian and it is likely that Bishop Geoffrey hoped to protect these estates by remaining apart from the struggle; see W.M. Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans. The Church of Durham, 1071-1153*, Woodbridge 1998, pp. 258-60.
- ⁵⁸ Aelred (*Relatio* cit., p. 182) tells us that Archbishop Thurstan of York issued an edict *ut, de singulis parochiis suis presbyteris cum cruce et vexillis reliquisque sanctorum praeuntibus, omnes qui possent ad bella procedere, ad procures properarent, ecclesiam Christi contra barbaros defensuri*. Translated Aelred, *Historical Works*, p. 248: 'that as the priests from every parish, with cross and banners and the relics of the saints, led the way, all who could go to war were to hasten to the barons to defend the Church of Christ against the barbarians.'
- ⁵⁹ D. Brooke, *Wild Men and Holy Places. St Ninian, Whithorn and the Medieval Realm of Galloway*, Edinburgh 1994.
- ⁶⁰ Daniel, *Life* cit., pp. 45-6. Quotation at p. 45: *Est autem terra illa fera et homines bestiales et barbarum omne quod gignit*.
- ⁶¹ Dalton, *Churchmen and the Promotion of Peace* cit.
- ⁶² Stringer, *Reform monasticism* cit., p. 128.
- ⁶³ W. MacQueen, *St Nynia with a translation of the Miracula Nynie Episcopi and the Vita Niniani*, Edinburgh 1990.
- ⁶⁴ Unlike Keith Stringer, (*Reform Monasticism and Celtic Scotland* cit., pp. 127-65), Richard Oram, (*Lordship of Galloway* cit.), takes a more cautious view of the effects of the introduction of these 'civilising' elements and is more inclined to stress the continuity of the Gaelic-Norse character of the region.

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