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Furness Abbey, the archbishopric of Niðaros and the diocese of Sodor

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In his own research and various collaborative projects, Jón Viðar Sigurðsson has cast his eyes *á vestrvegum* ‘on the west-ways’.[[1]](#footnote-1) His studies of Viking-Age history have ranged from Iceland and Norway to Orkney, the Scottish kingdom, the Hebrides, the Isle of Man and Ireland.[[2]](#footnote-2) We have greatly benefited from this area of Jón Viðar Sigurðsson’s expertise, and so we are glad to have this opportunity to present a joint chapter on one aspect of the history: the bishopric of Sodor (otherwise known as the bishopric of the Isles or of Man). This diocese lay within the kingdom of Man and the Isles, whose ruling dynasty had an enduring if intermittent relationship with Norway. Óláfr I, king of Man and the Isles, originally granted the right of episcopal election to the monks of Furness Abbey, a reformed Savigniac house located a short voyage away. The bishop of Sodor became a suffragan of the archbishopric of Niðarós along with many other bishops across the Scandinavian area in 1154. Yet the monks of Furness Abbey did not abandon their claim to elect the bishops.

In this chapter, we explore a document produced by or for Furness Abbey in the thirteenth century. Unusual in format, it seems to be an authenticated record of royal and papal confirmations of the right to elect the bishop. The contents of the document are relatively well-known and excerpts from it have been cited in relation to the bishopric and the wider history of the kingdom of Man and the Isles.[[3]](#footnote-3) However, the document has never been studied in its entirety and few historians are aware of its unusual character. In this chapter we will consider the circumstances that led the Furness community to make a record of their right of episcopal election.

Furness Abbey’s election of the bishops of Sodor

Furness Abbey was unusual in being a reformed monastery (outside a cathedral) which had the right to elect bishops. This may be one reason for the later tensions with the archbishops of Niðarós and other parties over the right to elect the bishop of the Isles. Before examining Furness Abbey’s compilation of evidence in support of their right, it is worth exploring how this unusual arrangement began.

Furness Abbey was founded by Stephen of Blois (the future King Stephen) while he held Honour of Lancaster. The core of the honour was an extensive block of land that extended from the River Ribble to the area north of Morecambe Bay in the far north-west of the English kingdom.[[4]](#footnote-4) The region was at the northernmost limit of control for the tenth- and eleventh-century English kings. [[5]](#footnote-5) It had experienced a significant degree of Scandinavian settlement, which had lasting effects for the region’s culture and language. Place-names and runic inscriptions (notably in Pennington Church) indicate that Old Norse was a living language on the Furness peninsula as late as the twelfth century, and it left a strong imprint on the region’s dialect following the shift to Middle English. The region’s place-names also reveal the influence of Gaelic speakers, who likely spoke Norse as a second language.[[6]](#footnote-6) The linguistic blend is similar to that of the Isle of Man,[[7]](#footnote-7) which is usually visible from the tip of the Furness peninsula. When Óláfr I, king of Man and the Isles, became a patron of Furness Abbey, he was replicating age-old patterns of communication between the Island and the Furness peninsula.

Óláfr’s youthful exile at the court of Henry I also influenced his decision to become a patron of Furness Abbey.[[8]](#footnote-8) Óláfr went into exile following the death of his father during a precarious time in the kingship of Man and the Isles. There was strife between his brothers, pressure from the Irish king Muirchertach Ua Briain, and a threatening expedition by the Norwegian ruler Magnús berfœttr.[[9]](#footnote-9) Óláfr’s links with Henry remained influential later in his life; indeed, his second wife may have been Henry’s grand-daughter (she was Affrica, the daughter of Fergus of Galloway, who had married one of Henry’s illegitimate daughters).[[10]](#footnote-10) Another member of Henry’s entourage was his nephew, Stephen of Blois, who would have coincided with Óláfr shortly before the latter took the throne of the Isles in c.1113. Around this time, Stephen was granted the Honour of Lancaster, the Honour of Eye in Suffolk and the county of Mortain in western Normandy.[[11]](#footnote-11) Stephen chose Savigny Abbey in the county of Mortain as Furness Abbey’s mother house, making Furness the first Savigniac abbey in Britain.[[12]](#footnote-12) The abbey’s own historical tradition, supported by a near- contemporary chronicle, was that Stephen had originally founded the abbey in Tulketh (now part of Preston, Lancashire).[[13]](#footnote-13) Tulketh was the location of a castle, which guarded the River Ribble at the southern edge of the Honour of Lancaster’s core.[[14]](#footnote-14) Other Savigniac houses were quickly founded in Wales and England, and their founders had close links to one another, if less so to Stephen.[[15]](#footnote-15)

The general interest in Savigny’s reformed monasticism, the particular connection with Stephen, and the close ties between the Isle of Man and the Furness peninsula inspired Óláfr I to found a Manx daughter house of Furness: Rushen Abbey. An account of the Furness filiation at the front of the Coucher Book implies that the land was first offered to Rievaulx, a Cistercian abbey in Yorkshire; however, the account was written in the fifteenth century and it contains chronological errors. This detail most likely reflects confusion with a later grant of lands to Rievaulx, which were eventually reallocated to Rushen Abbey.[[16]](#footnote-16) Rushen’s own record, *Cronica regum Mannie et Insularum*, is a thirteenth-century text incorporating twelfth-century elements. This chronicle lists the grant of Rushen to Furness under the year 1134 and a grant of land in Myroscough to Rievaulx in 1176.[[17]](#footnote-17) The most likely scenario is that Óláfr always intended Furness Abbey to be the mother house for a new Savigniac community on the Isle of Man.

The foundation of reformed monastic communities was widespread amongst the royalty and nobility of twelfth-century Europe. Much less typical was Óláfr’s grant to Furness Abbey of the right to elect the bishop for his kingdom: a ‘curious privilege’ in F. M. Powicke’s words.[[18]](#footnote-18) Óláfr explained that he made this grant *propter loci confinium immo pro bona vita inhabitantium ipsius* ‘on account of the proximity of the place and moreover the excellent life of its inhabitants’. It was also because he wished his kingdom to be wholly under its own bishop rather than *sub aduenis … desoletur* ‘made desolate under strangers’.[[19]](#footnote-19) Óláfr would have heard much about Church reform at King Henry I’s court, especially through the reforming archbishop of Canterbury, Anselm. Lay investiture (including kings selecting bishops) was a source of tension between Anselm and Henry I, leading to Anselm’s exile during the early 1100s, although a compromise was eventually reached.[[20]](#footnote-20) Óláfr would have known that canonical elections were *a clero et populo* ‘by clergy and people’. In practice, by this time the main electoral body tended to be the cathedral canons, who might include monks, albeit usually operating with royal approval.[[21]](#footnote-21) Óláfr therefore distanced himself from the episcopal election by involving a reformed monastery. However, his arrangement was unusual because Furness Abbey was not associated with the cathedral, even if the daughter house at Rushen Abbey was located within the diocese.[[22]](#footnote-22)

One possible reason why Óláfr involved Furness rather than a cathedral chapter is that the episcopal see had not yet been fixed.[[23]](#footnote-23) A cross-slab from the important Manx church of Maughold reveals the presence of a bishop there as early as the seventh or eighth century.[[24]](#footnote-24) However, a list of bishops appended to the *Cronica* laments the lack of information prior to the late eleventh century. It is possible that the Isle of Man was served by prelates based in Dublin earlier in the century, given the political links between the two places.[[25]](#footnote-25) By contrast, Wimund (or Hamond), an early twelfth-century bishop of the Isles, was linked with the *sancta ecclesia de Schith* ‘holy church of Skye’. He was perhaps based at the church of Snizort, which was elevated to the see of Sodor in the later fourteenth century.[[26]](#footnote-26) Rushen Abbey was preceded by two groups of early burials, which may be identifiable with the *monasterium Sancti Leoc* mentioned in a papal bull issued to Furness, but there is nothing to indicate that the early bishops were connected with this site.[[27]](#footnote-27) Another important church was located on St Patrick’s Isle, Peel, Isle of Man. This site has a cemetery dating from early Christian times until the end of the medieval period (including Viking-Age burials with grave goods), eleventh-century ecclesiastical buildings and a royal fort. In the early thirteenth century, Bishop Simon began the building of St German’s Cathedral here (probably developing a twelfth-century structure), which finally gave the diocese a fixed see.[[28]](#footnote-28)

Furness Abbey and King Óláfr had another connection through Archbishop Thurstan of York. Thurstan and Óláfr would have encountered each other at the court of Henry I, for Thurstan was a royal chaplain before his election as archbishop of York.[[29]](#footnote-29) Thurstan had been born in Normandy, where he cultivated links with the reformed monasteries and also with Stephen as count of Mortain.[[30]](#footnote-30) When Óláfr granted the right to elect the bishop of the Isles to Furness, he solidified a link not only with Thurstan himself but more generally with the archdiocese in which Furness was located. This is clear from a letter that Óláfr wrote to Thurstan, which reiterated the grant of the right to elect the bishop on account of Furness Abbey’s proximity and its notable religious life. The letter asked Thurstan to raise the candidate to the episcopal rank *sub auctoritatis vestre signaculo* ‘under the authority of your seal’.[[31]](#footnote-31) There was a precedent in the case of Hamond/Wimund, bishop of the Isles, who was consecrated by Archbishop Thomas II of York (1109–14).[[32]](#footnote-32) The connection between Furness Abbey and the archdiocese of York was a complication for the archbishops of Niðarós later in the twelfth century.

Furness Abbey exercised the right to elect the bishop from their own community in the case of the notorious Bishop Wimund.[[33]](#footnote-33) This individual (distinct from the earlier bishop also known as Hamond) is known primarily from a vivid account by the late-twelfth-century chronicler William of Newburgh, who had encountered the former bishop in his retirement at Byland Abbey in Yorkshire. William relates that Wimund was a monk of Furness who was elected bishop on the Isle of Man. Wimund claimed to be a son of the earl of Moray and he launched attacks on the kingdom of the Scots. King David I (1127–53) sought to appease Wimund by offering him territory on the Furness peninsula. When Wimund did not desist, he was mutilated and he retired to Byland.[[34]](#footnote-34) This sensational story accords with the historical context, for David I gained control of the Honour of Lancaster (including Furness) during the civil war between Stephen and the Empress Matilda. A likely candidate for Wimund’s father, the earl of Moray, is David I’s nephew, William fitz Duncan, who had maternal connections in northern England.[[35]](#footnote-35) Furthermore, Wimund’s link with the Furness region is supported by a surviving deed and corresponding record in the Byland cartulary, which relate that William of Lancaster granted lands to Byland in order to settle a dispute between his father and Wimund, bishop of the Isles.[[36]](#footnote-36) King Óláfr apparently sought to resolve the difficulties of Wimund’s episcopate by asking the dean of York to elect another bishop (the archbishopric being vacant for a time after Thurstan’s death) but his request met opposition, perhaps from Furness.[[37]](#footnote-37) This turbulent time was compounded by the decision of the Savigniac congregation to join the Cistercian order in 1147, a move that Furness Abbey opposed.[[38]](#footnote-38) Another bishop, John, was consecrated by the archbishop of York when Wimund was finally removed from the episcopate.[[39]](#footnote-39)

The archdiocese of Niðarós was established in 1152/3, and the bishopric of Sodor was amongst those made subject to the new archbishop.[[40]](#footnote-40) The preparations coincided with turmoil culminating in Óláfr’s assassination by his nephews. Óláfr’s son Guðrøðr had already voyaged to Norway to offer homage to Ingi Haraldsson krókryggr of Norway. Establishing an ecclesiastical connection between Sodor and Niðarós not only supported Norway’s assertion of overlordship in the Isle of Man, it also minimised the risk of the bishopric of the Isles becoming subject to Dublin, which had been elevated to one of Ireland’s metropolitan sees. Indeed, Óláfr’s nephews had grown up in Dublin, and Guðrøðr would come into contention with the powerful Irish king Muirchertach Ua Briain, over the rulership of the city.[[41]](#footnote-41) Meanwhile, however, King Guðrøðr confirmed his father’s grant to Furness Abbey of the right to elect the bishops of the Isles, and Furness is likely to have appointed the Gamaliel *anglicus genere* ‘born an Englishman’ who was consecrated in 1154.[[42]](#footnote-42) Furness Abbey’s electoral role could have coexisted with the archbishops of Niðarós in theory, but in practice the new arrangements disrupted the neat connection with the archdiocese of York, in which Furness Abbey was located. Archbishops may not have been the main electoral body, but they consecrated the bishops and they could overturn elections.[[43]](#footnote-43) The next bishop of Sodor, Rgnvaldr, was a Norwegian who is unlikely to have been well known to the monks of Furness. He was, however, recorded in the Icelandic annals on the other side of the archdiocese of Niðarós.[[44]](#footnote-44)

Guðrøðr’s reign saw the incorporation of some of the islands in his kingdom into the rival thalassocracy of Somairle (Somerled) of Argyll and his sons. This dynasty would in time found a bishopric for Argyll, incorporating the diocese of Lismore.[[45]](#footnote-45) In the short term, the influence of Clann Somairle led to the appointment of a bishop of Sodor named Christian from Argyll.[[46]](#footnote-46) The next king of Man and the Isles, Rgnvaldr, regained the initiative and stabilised his kingdom, including its diocese. Christian was replaced by a new bishop, whom the Cistercian general chapter in turn expelled for accepting consecration during the lifetime of his predecessor. This monk is generally identified with Michael, the next bishop noted in the episcopal list of Sodor, who was said to have been a monk. Given that he was *Mannensis genere* ‘a Manxman by birth’ he is likely to have been a monk of Rushen Abbey selected for the episcopate by the mother house at Furness.[[47]](#footnote-47) Certainly King Rgnvaldr confirmed his grandfather’s grant to Furness of the right to elect the bishops.[[48]](#footnote-48) It seems likely that Michael was consecrated at York rather than Niðarós, not least given that Michael spent time in Yorkshire towards the end of his life: he witnessed a charter for the archbishop and was buried at Fountains Abbey.[[49]](#footnote-49) By contrast, the Icelandic annals report that the bishopric of the Isles was vacant, which may indicate that no information was forthcoming from Niðarós. This changed in 1210, when the Icelandic annals record that the archbishop of Niðarós consecrated a Bishop Nicholas, known as Koli. He must have travelled to Norway in the company of King Rgnvaldr, who submitted to the Norwegian ruler Ingi Bárðarson (probably to King John’s displeasure).[[50]](#footnote-50) Bishop Nicholas was apparently accepted in the Isle of Man, and indeed he was a member of the royal dynasty, as recorded in the Sodor episcopal list.[[51]](#footnote-51) An original letter survives in which he acknowledged receipt of a *baculum* (crosier), vestments and books under the will of his predecessor, Michael, and from the hands of the abbot of Furness. The seal describes Nicholas as *Sodrensis e(piscopus)* ‘bishop of Sodor’.[[52]](#footnote-52)

Furness Abbey’s right to elect the bishop was challenged in 1217, when two rival candidates were appointed. Furness elected their own abbot, Nicholas de Meaux, and they went to significant effort to have him recognised. Nicholas himself produced a record of his election, which was copied into Furness Abbey’s dossier of material relating to the bishopric. An original document pertaining to the matter survives in the archive of the Duchy of Lancaster, which received Furness Abbey’s muniments following the Dissolution. It was issued by the abbot of Rushen Abbey to verify Nicholas’s election, and it was witnessed monks of the abbey and an archdeacon.[[53]](#footnote-53) In a letter of 1219, Pope Honorius III ordered the bishop of Carlisle and the papal legate to reprimand a *princeps* of Man for his refusal to accept the bishop. The Pope acknowledged that the right of election belonged to Furness, and noted that the bishop had been consecrated in Dublin.[[54]](#footnote-54) This move was apparently unsuccessful, for in 1224 the Pope gave the archbishop of York permission to release Nicholas from his episcopal role on account of the continuing opposition of *dominus terre* ‘a lord of the land’.[[55]](#footnote-55) Nicholas de Meaux is last recorded as a *quondam* bishop in charters pertaining to the archbishopric of York. This suggests once again that York maintained an interest in the diocese of Sodor, and was not merely filling the gap when bishops-elect could not reach Niðarós.[[56]](#footnote-56)

The rival candidate was another Bishop Rgnvaldr, who had the advantage of being a member of the royal dynasty.[[57]](#footnote-57) It seems likely that his supporter was Óláfr, half-brother and rival to King Rgnvaldr, which would explain why Nicholas’ opponent was described as *princeps* rather than *rex*.[[58]](#footnote-58) Indeed, King Rgnvaldr enjoyed good relations with both Pope Honorius III and Furness, having surrendered the Isle of Man to the papacy (following the example of King John). He offered to pay tribute to the Pope annually at Furness Abbey, and was eventually buried there.[[59]](#footnote-59) By contrast, King Henry III reprimanded Óláfr for causing harm to Furness.[[60]](#footnote-60) There is no evidence as to where Bishop Rgnvaldr was consecrated, but Niðarós seems more likely than York. Indeed, the new Norwegian laws of succession, supported by both the king and the archbishop in Norway, would have assisted Óláfr (who was considered a legitimate heir) in his struggle against Rgnvaldr (the older half-brother).[[61]](#footnote-61) The election of the bishop of Sodor had become embroiled in the internecine rivalries of the ruling dynasty.

By the first half of the thirteenth century, the implementation of Furness Abbey’s right to elect the bishop of Sodor was, in Keith Stringer’s words, ‘an uphill struggle’.[[62]](#footnote-62) The complications stemmed partly from the reallocation of the bishopric from York to Niðarós; however, internal struggles within the kingdom and the ambitions of neighbouring powers also played their part. As the thirteenth century wore on, these difficulties would only increase, but Furness Abbey still defended its role in episcopal elections.

Furness Abbey’s records of its right of election

The foregoing analysis is essential background for understanding the document at the heart of our enquiry. It is a compilation of material pertaining to the elections of bishops of the Isles, drawing on material that would have been in the archives of Furness Abbey. The document is now part of the Duchy of Lancaster’s collections at The National Archives, which include the records that passed to the Duchy following Furness Abbey’s dissolution in 1537.[[63]](#footnote-63) The production of the document, and its potential purposes, shed further light on the abbey’s tenacity in defending its role in the episcopal elections.

The document is a single sheet of vellum measuring around 20 x 22 cm. At first glance it has the appearance of a charter with pendant seals attached. The document is folded at the bottom and there are three slits for the insertion of seal-tags, although the tags and seals do not survive. This would have been a document of some importance, which three authorities had authenticated. One of the seals was still attached in the sixteenth century, to judge by one of the endorsements, which reads: *In presencia Willelmi Thornboroht armigeri cecidt sigillum hujus carte* ‘In the presence of William Thornborough, *armiger*, the seal of this charter fell off’. A tax record of 1587 places a certain William Thornborough *armiger* (esquire) in Lancashire. He was based at Hampsfield Hall, Cartmel, and his daughter married Sir Thomas Preston, who leased the abbey buildings following the Dissolution.[[64]](#footnote-64) Another endorsement, in a different hand, reads *De electione episcopatus Mannie*, and this may reflect Furness Abbey’s own cataloguing system.[[65]](#footnote-65) The script on the front of the document is much earlier, being a carefully written thirteenth-century charter hand. The date is suggested by a combination of features including: looped ascenders on ‘f’ and ‘s’, flourishes on the descenders of ‘x’, double bars in many capital letters, the abbreviation for *eorum*, the diacritical mark of the ‘i’ and cross-strokes on the Tironian ‘et’ (albeit not consistently). Points of comparison can be found throughout the 1200s, especially in the first half of the century.[[66]](#footnote-66) However, the document comprises copies of earlier documents, and the scribe may have carried over some of the features of the earlier script.

The contents are copies of, and excerpts from, charters and papal bulls pertaining to the bishopric of the Isles. There is no royal or episcopal *inspeximus* formula at the beginning; rather, it seems that the monks of Furness copied out their own records as a sort of exemplification, which was verified through the three seals (perhaps one of the abbot and two other authorities).[[67]](#footnote-67) The monks would have gone to some trouble to have the copy authenticated, which suggests a specific need for a document in this format. For example, it could have been a portable point of reference, to be used during a dispute over the episcopal election. The contents of the document provide further hints as to its purpose and date.

The first text is a copy of the charter of King Óláfr to the monks of Furness Abbey of the right to elect the bishop for his kingdom. The charter appears to have been copied in its entirety, including an extensive witness-list (featuring Eudo, abbot of Furness, and various members of the king’s entourage) and the place at which the charter was issued (Hou Ingren, presumably on the Isle of Man). There is no date, but *Cronica regum Mannie et Insularum* placed this grant in 1134, along with the foundation of Rushen Abbey.[[68]](#footnote-68) Indeed, Óláfr refers in this charter to a separate *cartula*, which recorded the donation of land to found a new abbey. Neither of the two charters survives in the original, but both would have been kept in Furness Abbey’s archive. They were not copied into the abbey’s fifteenth-century Coucher Book because that extensive compendium was primarily concerned with deeds pertaining to lands on the Furness peninsula and elsewhere in England.[[69]](#footnote-69)

The second text is a charter of King Guðrøðr, which confirms his father’s grant to Furness Abbey of the right to elect the bishop of the Isles *sicut carta patris mei Olavi testatur* ‘just as the charter of my father Olavus testifies’. The text ends with *hiis testibus* but the witnesses are not named. Again, there is no dating clause, but this confirmation is generally dated to 1154, the start of Guðrøðr’s reign.[[70]](#footnote-70) In the charter, Guðrøðr noted that he had affixed a seal. It is worth considering whether this was one of the seals with the title *Rex Mannie et Insularum* that William Camden saw when he was writing his work *Britannia* in the later sixteenth century.[[71]](#footnote-71) Camden consulted other Furness Abbey records, and so he may have come across the original, sealed version of King Guðrøðr’s confirmation charter to the abbey.

The next item in the document is an excerpt from a bull of Pope Celestine III to Furness Abbey. It confirms the liberty that Kings Óláfr and Guðrøðr had granted to the abbey. The scribe drew special attention to this record by including an extra capital letter ‘C’ in the margin. This papal bull still survives in the original, issued in 1194, and it was also copied into the abbey’s Coucher Book. In addition to the election of the bishops, the bull confirmed to Furness Abbey the grants of the churches of Dalton and Urswick, and freedom from episcopal demands that were contrary to the customs of the Cistercians.[[72]](#footnote-72) The leaden seal was found in the abbey ruins during the nineteenth century, which indicates that the papal bull was originally kept at Furness.[[73]](#footnote-73)

The fourth text is again copied in its entirety, and it is another royal confirmation to Furness Abbey, this time by King Rgnvaldr. In it, he confirmed all of the possessions, liberties and dignities that grandfather, King Óláfr, granted to the abbey. Rgnvaldr’s confirmation referred directly to his grandfather’s charter, and so the term *dignitates* can be taken to include the *episcopalis electionis dignitatem* that Óláfr had granted. This time the witness-list is copied out; it is headed by Jocelin, abbot of Rushen and it comprises other Manx clergy such as Archdeacon Deremod (Diarmait), alongside members of the royal household and those in the ambit of the abbot of Furness, such as William, chaplain of Dalton. There is no date on the charter, but historians tend to date it to the start of the reign, *c*. 1188.[[74]](#footnote-74) In the text, Rgnvaldr noted that he had applied his seal to verify the charter.[[75]](#footnote-75)

The final text, reproduced in its entirety, is the statement of Nicholas, bishop of the Isles, concerning his election by the monks of Furness. In it, Nicholas noted that the kings of the Isles had voluntarily conferred this privilege on the abbey. He issued the charter and affixed his seal *ne ergo aliquid in preiudicium eorundem monachorum fiat in posteritum* ‘lest therefore in time to come anything be done to the prejudice of those monks’. The witnesses were associates and neighbours of the monks of Furness, ranging from John, abbot of Furness Abbey’s daughter house at Calder, to the parsons of nearby parish churches. It is likely that this charter was produced at Furness while Nicholas was being prevented from assuming his episcopal role, which could be any time from 1217 until his resignation in 1224.[[76]](#footnote-76) The document ends with another very short précis of Pope Celestine III’s bull confirming the right of election, again highlighted in the margin with a capital ‘C’.

The contents of the document provide a *terminus post quem* of 1217 × 1224 for the copying of this material pertaining to Furness Abbey’s role in the election of the bishop of Sodor. Pope Gregory IX pronounced on the matter in 1231, and Pope Innocent IV in 1244, but these mandates were sent to the bishop of Sodor and the archbishop of York rather than to Furness Abbey itself.[[77]](#footnote-77) The absence of later material need not, therefore, mean that the dossier was produced during the 1220s; it may simply reflect the fact that the relevant documents were not available at Furness Abbey. Next, we consider a range of thirteenth-century contexts that might have prompted the monks of Furness to search their archive, carefully copy the relevant material and have it authenticated by seals.

Thirteenth-century and early fourteenth-century contexts

The mid- to late thirteenth century presents a number of likely contexts in which Furness might have felt compelled to produce this dossier. Their right to elect the bishop of Sodor had been confirmed by Pope Innocent IV in 1244, when he also permitted consecration of new bishops by either the archbishop of Niðarós or York.[[78]](#footnote-78) However, the next candidate for bishop in *c*. 1248, Laurence archdeacon of Man, was elected, according to *Cronica regum Mannie et Insularum*, *communi consilio & assensu totius mannensis capituli*.[[79]](#footnote-79) Laurence then travelled to Norway to seek approval from Harald, king of Man, who was at that point visiting the Norwegian court, and consecration by the archbishop of Niðarós. There must have been local opposition on Man to Laurence’s election because Harald refused to agree to his appointment and insisted that they return to Man where he should be elected *ipso presente ab omni clero & populo*.[[80]](#footnote-80) The identity of the apparent opposition is unknown, but it is interesting to note that Harald too was ignoring Furness’s right to elect. Unfortunately, the entire party – king, bishop-elect, and the retinue – were drowned off Shetland on their return journey.

An interregnum of about five years followed before Sodor acquired a new bishop in 1253.[[81]](#footnote-81) This time, however, the new bishop, Richard, had no connection that we know of either to the diocese or the Isle of Man. He was an English canon of St Andrews Priory in Scotland, who happened to be at the papal curia when the archbishop of Niðarós was present. Sørle, archbishop of Niðarós, appointed and consecrated Richard as bishop of Sodor.[[82]](#footnote-82) Here, Furness must have had no opportunity to object, though the interregnum between 1248 and 1253 might have been a potential time when rival claims could have been collected and presented. The apparent simplicity of the selection of Richard in 1253 marks a failure on Furness’s part to get their view accepted.

Events in the 1260s made Furness’s position even weaker. After the fiasco of the Norwegian expedition to the Hebrides, the defeat at Largs and Hákon Hákonarson’s death in Orkney, Norway ceded secular control over the Hebrides and the Isle of Man to Scotland in the Treaty of Perth in July 1266.[[83]](#footnote-83) The king of Scots was granted patronage over the bishopric of Sodor, but the diocese itself remained a part of the Norwegian archdiocese. The treaty makes no mention of Furness’s claim to hold the right to elect the bishop; the negotiators for the treaty had been some fairly obscure Scottish envoys – two unnamed Franciscans and Reginald of Roxburgh – and on the Norwegian side, Askatin, the royal chancellor, and first Henry bishop of Orkney and later Gilbert bishop of Hamar, and Andres Nikolasson, a Norwegian magnate.[[84]](#footnote-84) No clerics with connections to Sodor, let alone Furness Abbey, were involved in negotiating or indeed witnessing the treaty. Local interests were effectively being downgraded in favour of national concerns.

However, the significance of the treaty for the diocese was apparent within ten years. Bishop Richard died at Copeland in Cumberland en route back from the General Council of 1274 and was buried at Furness. According to the entry for 1275 in the Annals of Furness *abbas Furnensis, adiens regem Scotiae, prosequebatur jus summum de electione episcopatus Manniae*.[[85]](#footnote-85) The chronicler claims that although Alexander III, king of Scots, was courteous, he forbade the clergy and people of Man from receiving *quenquam electum per abbatem et conventum Furnesii*.[[86]](#footnote-86) Nonetheless, the clergy and people of Man chose as bishop Gilbert, abbot of Rushen. However, Gilbert’s election was annulled by Alexander III and another individual was chosen by the king. *Cronica regum Mannie et Insularum* recorded that he was called Mark, a native of Galloway; no further details such as a surname or family connections are mentioned. This is how he has tended to be described by historians – for example, in his entry in Watt’s *Fasti Ecclesie Scoticanae*.[[87]](#footnote-87) There is a rather overlooked record in the Annals of Furness which allows us to understand why he was selected and in particular explaining his connection to Alexander III. This entry of 1275 states that the king of Scotland *intrusit quendam magistrum, Marcum nomine, germanum ballivi Manniae*.[[88]](#footnote-88) This entry is almost certainly contemporary with Mark’s selection by Alexander III since it notes that he was immediately sent to Norway for confirmation and consecration, but that they did not know the outcome yet.

Who was the king’s preferred candidate and why was the king prepared to risk discontent on the Isle of Man? The key two details for Mark’s identity are that he was born in Galloway and was a brother of the bailiff of Man. Between 1266 and 1285, four men were granted the office of baillie or bailiff of Man – Godred MacMares, Alan son of Thomas of Galloway earl of Atholl, Maurice Okarefair and Reginald.[[89]](#footnote-89) We would like to suggest that Mark was the brother of Alan and that such a relationship offers an explanation as to Mark’s promotion to the bishopric of Sodor. Alan of Galloway was clearly an Alexander III loyalist; for example, he appears as a signatory to the 1284 recognition of Margaret, maid of Norway, as Alexander's legitimate heir.[[90]](#footnote-90) It is arguable that by selecting Mark for the bishopric, Alexander III was placing a loyal representative in control of the diocese. Events in the Isle of Man shortly after Mark’s selection suggest that islanders also interpreted Alexander’s actions in a similar way – there was a Manx rebellion which was crushed by Alexander III; one of his captains was Alan of Galloway. Indeed, *Cronica regum Mannie et Insularum* states that Mark himself was not accepted by the islanders for three years after his promotion to the bishopric.[[91]](#footnote-91) Mark’s close ties to the Scottish Crown are evident around ten years’ later, when between 1286 and 1289, he acted as an envoy for the king in Norway where he and his fellow envoy, John de Keth, may have been negotiating the terms of the marriage of Alexander III’s granddaughter, Margaret, to Edward I of England’s son, the future Edward II.[[92]](#footnote-92)

Whilst there was clearly some controversy within the diocese about the choice of bishop, there is no evidence to suggest that the archbishop of Niðarós balked at consecrating and confirming Alexander’s candidate. In reality, of course, the terms of the Treaty of Perth meant that Archbishop Jon was obliged to consecrate the candidate presented by the king of Scots. Mark’s journey to Norway for consecration was noted by the chronicler at Furness Abbey, which is indicative of their continued interest in the bishopric; his presence in Norway is also recorded by the Icelandic Annals. *Gottskalks Annaler* recorded that he was consecrated bishop of Sodor in Tunsberg in 1276.[[93]](#footnote-93)

This is the most plausible context for Furness to have searched their archives and compiled their dossier. It is a clear case of Furness and Man versus the choice of the king of the Scots. It is the episcopal election/controversy to which the chronicler of the Furness Annals devotes the most attention. Nonetheless, we should give brief consideration to the bishops who succeeded Mark after his death in 1303 or 1305.

Bishop Mark died during the Wars of Independence – indeed, he had briefly been imprisoned for refusing to swear allegiance to Edward I[[94]](#footnote-94) – his immediate successor, Alan, was imposed by Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham and holder of the English Lordship of Man.[[95]](#footnote-95) The next bishop, Gilbert MacLellan, was probably promoted by Robert I; he witnessed seven Scottish royal charters between 1324 and 1326.[[96]](#footnote-96) This pattern of clerics with strong royal connections, either English or Scottish, and no involvement from either Furness or the Isle of Man clergy continued with the next bishop appointed in 1328 – Bernard, abbot of Arbroath and royal chancellor.[[97]](#footnote-97) Bernard’s promotion looks like an attempt by Robert I to place his man in a diocese which lay in a crucial geographic position between Scotland, England and Ireland. Furthermore, Bernard had connections to Norway since he had been one of the royal envoys involved in negotiating the renewal of the Treaty of Perth, agreed in Inverness in October 1312.[[98]](#footnote-98)

It is only with the death of Bernard three years later that there was any further controversy about the promotion to the bishopric of Sodor. In June 1331, two Hebridean clerics arrived in Bergen; they claimed to be proctors for Cormac, archdeacon of Sodor, who had been elected bishop by the clergy of Skye and the canons of Snizort. His electoral body was unconventional and it may be one reason why the archbishop of Niðarós failed to confirm him.[[99]](#footnote-99) The other, more compelling one was that Pope John XXII had concurrently provided and consecrated Thomas de Rossy, a papal chaplain and canon of Dunkeld, to the bishopric of Sodor.[[100]](#footnote-100)

Thomas de Rossy’s elevation to the episcopate was a turning point for the bishops of Sodor; for from then on, all future bishops of Sodor would be confirmed and consecrated by the papacy. The ties to the archbishopric of Nidaros were becoming ever weaker. The monks of Furness Abbey might not have renounced their claim to the right to elect the bishops of Sodor, but events had overtaken them. The centralisation of the late medieval Church and the papal curia ensured that what mattered more was contact with the papacy, not Niðaros or local customs of particular dioceses. The Treaty of Perth was a turning point at which the Kings of Man and other interested parties like Furness lost their remaining control, having been edged out by royal Scottish and Norwegian and then papal interests.

The Furness dossier is testimony to the organisation and tenacity with which Furness abbey pursued their claims. The dossier’s focus on statements from the kings of the Isles, of previous bishops, and a papal confirmation of the rights of the abbey suggests that it would have been most effective when these precedents had the most impact. The first episcopal vacancy after the Treaty of Perth was an opportunity for Furness to assert its rights. Unfortunately for them, Alexander III also seized the chance to demonstrate his control over the bishopric of Sodor and the Isle of Man.[[101]](#footnote-101)

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1. The phrase appears as *o : uastr: uakm* in the runic inscription on the Härlingstorp stone (Vg 61): *Samnordisk runtextdatabas*. This phrase and similar examples are analysed in Jesch, *Ships and Men*, p. 70. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. For example, Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, *Det norrøne samfunnet*,pp. 12‒13, 35‒8, 41‒3, 105‒7, 147‒9; idem, ‘Kings, Earls and Chieftains’; Etchingham, Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, Ní Mhaonaigh and Rowe, *Norse-Gaelic Contacts*. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Examples range from the nineteenth-century *Monumenta*, ed. by Oliver to the recent, insightful study by Hampton, ‘Power Relations’. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Green, ‘Earl Ranulf II and Lancashire’,99­–100. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Edmonds, *Gaelic Influence*, pp. 63‒4, 168‒70, 183. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. E 9: *Samnordisk runtextdatabas*; Edmonds, ‘The Furness Ieninsula’, pp. 25–­­34; *eadem*, ‘Norse Influence’. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Megaw, ‘Norsemen and Native’; Etchingham, Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, Ní Mhaonaigh and Rowe, *Norse-Gaelic Contacts*, pp. 15‒16, 24‒6. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Moore, *Diocesan Histories*, p. 32. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. *Cronica*, ed. and trans. by Broderick, fol. 35r; Beuermann, *Masters of the Narrow Sea*,p. 44. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. *Cronica*, ed. and trans. by Broderick, fol. 35v; Oram, *The Lordship*, pp. 60–1; McDonald, *Manx Kingship*, pp. 65–6. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, V.11 (III, 116–17); King, *King Stephen*, p. 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Burton, ‘Furness, Savigny’, pp. 7–9. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. *Coucher Book*, ed. by Atkinson and Brownbill, I, 21; Gaythorpe, ‘Richard of Esk’s Metrical Account’, 100‒1; *Historia regum*, s.a. 1123, ed. by Arnold, II, 267. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. David I, king of Scots, referred to the castle in a charter issued after he had gained the Honour of Lancaster in the late 1130s: G. W. S. Barrow, *The Charters of King David I: The Written Acts of David I, King of Scots 1124‒53 and of his Son Henry, Earl of Northumberland, 1139‒52* (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 107 (no. 112). [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Nigel Tringham, ‘Basingwerk Abbey (Flints.) and its Founders: An Earl, a King and a Prince’, *Welsh History Review*, 30 (2021), 287‒319, at 293–4. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. *Coucher Book*, ed. by Atkinson and Brownbill, I, 11. Nicholl, *Thurstan*, p. 139 n. 118 was also sceptical about this statement. However, an alternative possibility is that Óláfr became aware of Ailred of Rievaulx through his connection to Fergus of Galloway: Hampton, ‘Power Relations’, pp. 156‒7. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. *Cronica*, ed. and transl. by Broderick, fol. 35v, 40r; for Myroscough, see Davey, ‘Medieval Monasticism’, p. 351. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Powicke, ‘Houses of Cistercian Monks’, 116. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. TNA DL 36/1, fol. 30, printed in *Monumenta*, ed. and trans. by Oliver, II, 1–3; *Coucher Book*, ed. by Atkinson and Brownbill, II, 708. All translations by Fiona Edmonds. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Cantor, *Church, Kingship and Lay Investiture*, pp. 128‒30,146‒67, 197‒273. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, pp. 64‒5 (the case of Bath Abbey and the canons of Wells Cathedral), pp. 380‒3 (royal approval). [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. The cathedral chapter is first attested under Bishop Simon (1230–48), although even then its role in episcopal elections is unclear: Moore, *Diocesan Histories*, pp. 56–7; Hampton, ‘Power Relations’, pp. 204–7. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Moore, *Diocesan Histories*, p. 32 used the term ‘ambulatory bishop’. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Kermode, *Manx Crosses*, Appendix A p. 5; Wilson, *Manx Crosses*, pp. 29–31, 155 (Maughold 47). [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. *Cronica*,ed. and trans. by Broderick, fol. 50v; Woolf, ‘The diocese’, 171–2; *idem*, ‘The early history’, pp. 333–4. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. *Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiæ Eboracensis*, ed. by Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, II, 372; for Snizort, see Thomas, ‘Bishops’, 127–8, 130; Woolf, ‘The early history’, pp. 344, 346. Archbishop Thomas (1109–14) consecrated this bishop, and so he may be identical with a ‘Hamond’ mentioned third in the Sodor bishop list: Hudson, *Viking Pirates*, p. 182. Not all historians have taken this line (e.g. Watt, *Fasti*, 197–8; idem, ‘Bishops’, 110; Woolf, ‘The diocese’, p. 173; *idem*, ‘The early history’, p. 335) but it seems possible that the York chronicler accidentally updated the name ‘Hamond’ with that of the well-known Bishop Wimund. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. For the burials, see Davey, *After the Vikings*, pp. 94–6; *idem*, ‘Medieval Monasticism’, 349, 370 n. 7. The bull of Pope Eugenius III (1153) was copied into the Furness Coucher Book and is printed in *Coucher Book*, ed. Atkinson and Brownbill, I, 594; *Monumenta*, ed. by Oliver, II, 8–12; cf. Woolf, ‘The early history’, pp. 331–2. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Freke, *The Peel Castle Dig*, pp. 11–37; Davey, *After the Vikings*, pp. 78–85, 94; *idem* and Johnson, ‘Medieval Archaeology’, pp. 516–17 for the likely twelfth-century building. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Nicholl, *Thurstan*, pp. 12, 139. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Ibid., pp. 143–4. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. The letter was copied into York’s fourteenth-century Liber albus or Magnum registrum album and is printed in *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. by Raine, III, 58–9; *Monumenta*, ed. and trans. by Oliver, II, 4–6; *Coucher Book*, ed. by Atkinson and Brownbill, II, 709. For Óláfr’s interest in York, cf. Beuermann, ‘Sodor, Nidaros’, pp. 123–4. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. See n. 26, above. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. The list of bishops appended to the chronicle lacks information for the 1130s and 1140s; the next bishop listed after Hamond is Gamaliel, who was consecrated in 1154: *Cronica*, ed. and trans. by Broderick, fol. 50v. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, I, 23–4, ed. by Howlett, *Chronicles*,I, 73–6. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Woolf, ‘The diocese’, p. 173; *idem*, ‘The early history’, pp. 335–6; Oram, *Domination*, pp. 78, 103–4. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. *The Cartulary of Byland Abbey*, ed. by Burton, pp. 114–15 (no. 310); *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*, ed. by Farrer, I, 388–9. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. The letter was recorded in York’s *Liber albus* and a cartulary, and it is printed in *Coucher Book*, ed. by Atkinson and Brownbill, II, 709–10; *Monumenta*, ed. and trans. by Oliver, II, 49–50. In the latter it is dated to the reign of King Olaf II (d. 1237). However, at that time the Furness monks were in favour of a bishop named Nicholas, and so the earlier date makes more sense. Cf. Watt, ‘Bishops’, 116; McDonald, *The Sea Kings*, p. 275. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Burton, ‘Furness, Savigny’, pp. 11–14. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Robert of Torigny, *Cronica*, ed. by Delisle, I, 263; *Metrical Chronicle*, ed. by Raine, *Historians*, II, 462; Watt, ‘Bishops’, 116. John was a monk of Sées, which had a cell in Lancaster, which may be how he was known to Furness Abbey. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii, I, 229–30 (Papal confirmation, 1 December 1154). [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. *Cronica*, ed. and trans. by Broderick, fol. 36r–37v; for Dublin, see Beuermann, ‘Metropolitan ambitions’; idem, *Masters of the Narrow Sea*, pp. 42–51; for the Norwegian perspective, see *idem*, ‘Sodor, Nidaros’, pp. 118–19. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Guðrøðr’s confirmation: TNA DL 36/1, fol. 30, printed in *Monumenta*, ed. and trans. by Oliver, II, 13–14; *Coucher Book*, ed. and trans. by Atkinson and Brownbill, II, 711. Gamaliel: *Cronica*, ed. and trans. by Broderick, fol. 50v; ‘A Metrical Chronicle’, in *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. by Raine, II, 462; Watt, ‘Bishops’, 117; Beam et al., ‘People of Medieval Scotland’, no. 1649. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Harvey, *Episcopal Appointments*, pp. 102–3, 124–5. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm (*Annales regii* and Skálholts-annaler), s.a. 1210, pp. 123, 182. Here the bishop is called *Nemar*; cf. Beuermann, ‘Sodor, Nidaros’, p. 128. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Woolf, ‘The Diocese’, pp. 175, 177; MacDonald, *Clerics and Clansmen*, pp. 30–1. For the political background, see Duncan and Brown, ‘Argyll and the Isles’, 195–7. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. *Cronica*, ed. and trans. by Broderick, fol. 50v. There was a contemporary Bishop Christian of Whithorn, but against the identification of the two, see Beuermann, *Masters of the Narrow Sea*, pp. 181–5. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. *Cronica*, ed. and trans. by Broderick, fol. 50v; *Statuta*, ed. by Canivez, I, 179; Watt, ‘Bishops’, 119. However, see Beuermann, ‘Sodor, Nidaros’, pp. 129–30 for the view that Michael was more Rgnvaldr’s candidate than Furness’s. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. TNA DL 36/1, fol. 30, printed in *Monumenta*, ed. and trans. by Oliver, II, 19–20; *Coucher Book*, ed. and trans. by Atkinson and Brownbill, II, 711. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. *English Episcopal Acta 27*, ed. by Lovatt, p. 18 (no. 15); *Cronica*, ed. and trans. by Broderick, fol. 50v. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Beuermann, *Masters of the Narrow Sea*, pp. 285–6; *idem*, ‘Sodor, Nidaros’, pp. 136–8; Etchingham, Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, Ní Mhaonaigh and Rowe, *Norse-Gaelic Contacts*, pp. 182–3. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm (*Annales regii* and Skálholts-annaler), s.a. 1210, pp. 123, 182; *Cronica*, ed. and trans. by Broderick, fol. 51r; cf. Etchingham, Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, Ní Mhaonaigh and Rowe, *Norse-Gaelic Contacts*, p. 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. TNA DL 27/111; printed in *Monumenta*, ed. and trans. by Oliver, II, 38–9; *Coucher Book*, ed. and trans. by Atkinson and Brownbill, II, 712–13. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. TNA DL 36/1, fol. 30; printed in *Monumenta*, ed. and trans. by Oliver, II, 17–18; *Coucher Book*, ed. and trans. by Atkinson and Brownbill, II, 711–12; TNA DL 25/545, printed in *Coucher Book*, ed. and trans. by Atkinson and Brownbill, II, 712. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. *Vetera Monumenta*, ed. by Theiner, p. 14 (no. 31); Watt, *Fasti*, 260. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. *Monumenta*, ed. and trans. by Oliver, II, 67–8, also printed in *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. by Raine, III, 122–3. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. *Register*, ed. by Raine, 5, 153–4. Woolf, ‘The early history’, p. 340 notes the strife between certain Norwegian kings and archbishops of Niðarós, which could have led bishops-elect to be consecrated elsewhere. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. *Cronica*, ed. and trans. by Broderick, fol. 51r. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. This argument is made persuasively by both Beuermann, *Masters of the Narrow Seas*, pp. 328–9 and McDonald, *The Sea Kings*, pp. 275–6. For the deliberate use of *princeps*, see Hampton, ‘Power Relations’, pp. 193–4. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. *Vetera Monumenta*, ed. by Theiner, p. 11 (no. 26); *Monumenta*, ed. and trans. by Oliver, II, 53–7; *Cronica*, ed. and trans. by Broderick, fol. 44v. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, ed. by Hardy, II, 175; *Monumenta*, ed. and trans. by Oliver, II, 42. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Beuermann, *Masters of the Narrow Sea*, pp. 319–21. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Stringer, *The Reformed Church*, pp. 23–5 (quotation at p. 23). [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. TNA DL 36/1, fol. 30. For the transfer of Furness Abbey’s archive to the Duchy, see *Coucher Book*, ed. by Atkinson and Brownbill, II, 660. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Harland, *Lancashire Lieutenancy*, II, 193; Stockdale, *Annales Caermoelenses*, p. 75. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Public Record Office, *Duchy of Lancaster Descriptive List*, p. 12 (no. 90). Fiona Edmonds is grateful to Professor Teresa Webber for discussion of these endorsements. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Points of comparison have been sought in Brown, *A Guide*; *Models of Authority*. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Vincent, ‘The Charters’, p. 116. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. *Cronica*, ed. and trans. by Broderick, fol. 35v; see above n. 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. Tinmouth, ‘The Construction’ (forthcoming). [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. See above n. 42. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Camden, *Britannia*, ‘Insulae minores’, §12; Kermode, ‘First Appearance’. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. British Library, Harley Ch 83 A 22; Ellis and Bickley, *Index to the Charters*, II, 691; *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. by Jaffé, II, 605 (no. 17106); printed in *Monumenta*, ed. by Oliver, II, 21–4; see *Coucher Book*, ed. by Atkinson and Brownbill, I, 642–3 for the copy. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Baines, *The History*, p. 631. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. See n. 48, above. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. Cf. ‘Arms of the Isle of Man’, *Monumenta*, ed. by Oliver, I, 118; Megaw, ‘The ship seals’. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. See above, n. 53. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. ‘Bull of Pope Gregory IX’, ed. by Moore, 106; for 1244, see below, n. 78. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. DN 1, no. 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. *Cronica*, ed. and trans. by Broderick, f. 46v: ‘by the common agreement and assent of the entire Chapter of Man’. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. Ibid., ‘in his presence by the entire clergy and people’. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. Possible reasons for the vacancy are discussed by Hampton, ‘Power Relations’, pp. 200–1. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. CPL, i, 284; *Cronica*, ed. and trans. by Broderick, f. 51r; Woolf suggests that Richard was a compromise after Norwegian complaints about Scottish interference in the diocese (Woolf, ‘The Diocese’, p. 178). [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. DN 8, no. 9; Lustig, ‘The Treaty of Perth’; for the background cf. Duncan and Brown, ‘Argyll and the Isles’, 212–15. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, p. 383; *Chronicle of Melrose*, ed. by Stevenson, p. 215; *Magnús Saga*, ed. by Vigfusson, p. 361; *Scotichronicon*, ed. by Taylor and Watt, vi, 351. For discussion of the two ‘Franciscan’ envoys, see Digernes, ‘Fransiskanerordenen’, p. 25 fn. 180. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. ‘Continuatio’, ed. by Howlett, *Chronicles*, II, 569; *Scottish Annals*, ed. and trans. by Anderson, p. 381: ‘the abbot of Furness went to the king of Scotland, and claimed his right concerning the election to the bishopric of Man’. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. ‘Continuatio’, ed. by Howlett, *Chronicles*, II, 569; *Scottish Annals*, ed. and trans. by Anderson, p. 382: ‘anyone elected by the abbot and convent of Furness’. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. Watt, *Fasti*, p. 261. Hampton is the exception, since she cites the Annals of Furness, but she does not delve into Mark’s identity (Hampton, ‘Power Relations’, pp. 202–03). [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. ‘Continuatio’, ed. by Howlett, *Chronicles*, II, 569; *Scottish Annals*, ed. and trans. by Anderson, p. 382: ‘intruded one master Mark by name, brother of the bailiff of Man’. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. *Handlist of the Acts of Alexander III*, ed. by Simpson, p. 34; Barrow, *Kingship and Unity*, p. 119 [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. Foedera, ed. by Rymer, I, ii, 638. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. *Cronica*, ed. and trans. by Broderick, 51r. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. *The Exchequer Rolls*, ed. by Stuart et al., i, 49; Watt, *Scottish Graduates*, p. 296. Eldbjørg Haug claims that Mark was Alexander III’s chancellor (Haug, ‘The Nidaros Church as a Political Actor’, p. 110), but this is based on a later reference from 13 June 1291 where Mark was mistakenly named as chancellor (Stones and Simpson, *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland*, pp. 105 & 105 fn. 2). The then chancellor, Alan bishop of Caithness, was named in a document of 11 June 1291 (Stones and Simpson, *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland*, p. 93). Neither the Chronicle of Man nor the Annals of Furness, or indeed the Icelandic Annals, name Mark as Alexander’s chancellor. It is entirely conceivable that Mark had served in Alexander III’s household or administration, but we have no reliable records of him having served in such an important role as chancellor. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, p. 336. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. On his imprisonment, see *Scotichronicon*, ed. by Watt, vi, 106–09; Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*, p. 338 no. 37. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. *Monumenta*, ed. by Oliver, ii, 104. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. *Regesta Regum Scotorum, Robert I*, ed. by Duncan, pp. 523, 525, 531, 537, 548, 551 & 562. Woolf also suggests that both Alan and Gilbert ‘may mark the growing influence of another secular force, the House of Stewart, in the outer Clyde’ (Woolf, ‘The Diocese’, p. 179). [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. *Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc*, ed. by Innes and Chalmers, i, no. 357; *The Exchequer Rolls*, ed. by Stuart et al., i, 59. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. *Regesta Regum Scotorum, Robert I*, ed. by Duncan, p. 646; DN 19 no. 482. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. Thomas, ‘Rival Bishops’, p. 158. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. CPL, ii, 341. Thomas, ‘Rival Bishops’, pp. 160–63. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
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