

Fergus of Galloway

Fergus of Galloway (died 12 May 1161) was a twelfth-century Lord of Galloway. Although his familial origins are unknown, it is possible that he was of Norse–Gaelic ancestry. Fergus first appears on record in 1136, when he witnessed a charter of David I, King of Scotland. There is considerable evidence indicating that Fergus was married to an illegitimate daughter of Henry I, King of England. It is possible that Elizabeth Fitzroy was the mother of Fergus's three children.

Fergus forged a marital alliance with Óláfr Guðrøðarson, King of the Isles, through the marriage of the latter to Fergus's daughter, Affraic. As a consequence of this union, the leading branch of the Crovan dynasty descended from Fergus. When Óláfr was assassinated by a rival branch of the dynasty, Galloway itself was attacked before Fergus's grandson, Guðrøðr Óláfsson, was able to seize control of Isles. Both Fergus and his grandson appear to have overseen military operations in Ireland, before the latter was overthrown by Somairle mac Gilla Brigte, Lord of Argyll. The fact that there is no record of Fergus lending Guðrøðr support against Somairle could be evidence of a slackening of Fergus's authority. Contemporary sources certainly report that Galloway was wracked by inter-dynastic strife during the decade.

Fergus's fall from power came in 1160, after Malcolm IV, King of Scotland, settled a dispute amongst his leading magnates and launched three military campaigns into Galloway. The reasons for the Scottish invasion are unknown. On one hand, it is possible that Fergus had precipitated events by preying upon Scottish territories. In the aftermath of the attack, the king came to terms with Somairle which could be evidence that he had either been allied with Fergus against the Scots or that he had aided in Fergus's destruction. In any case, Fergus himself was driven from power, and forced to retire

Fergus of Galloway

Lord of Galloway



Fourteenth-century illuminated initial of Leiden University Library Letterkunde 191 (*Roman van Ferguut*). The knight depicted in the initial may represent an Arthurian character who, in turn, may be named after Fergus himself.^[1]

Died	12 May 1161
Spouse	Elizabeth Fitzroy (possibly)
Issue	Affraic
	<u>Gilla Brigte</u>
	<u>Uhtred</u>

to the abbey of Holyrood. He died the next year. The Lordship of Galloway appears to have been partitioned between his sons, Gille Brigte and Uhtred, and Scottish influence further penetrated into Galloway.

Origins

Fergus's familial origins are unknown.^[3] He is not accorded a patronym in contemporary sources,^[4] and his later descendants are traced no further than him in their charters.^{[5][note 1]} The fact that he tends to be styled "of Galloway" in contemporary sources suggests that he was the head of the most important family in the region. Such appears to have been the case with Fergus's contemporary Freskin, a significant settler in Moray, who was styled *de Moravia*.^[15]



Fergus's name as it appears on folio 35v of British Library Cotton Julius A VII (the *Chronicle of Mann*): "*Fergus de Galwedie*"^[2]

One source that may possibly cast light on Fergus's familial origins is *Roman de Fergus*,^[16] a mediaeval Arthurian romance, mainly set in southern Scotland,^[17] which tells the tale of a knight who may represent Fergus himself.^[18] The name of the knight's father in this source is a form of the name borne by Fergus's neighbouring contemporary Somairle mac Gilla Brigte, Lord of Argyll, and could be evidence that Fergus's father bore the same name.^{[19][note 2]} On the other hand, instead of being evidence of any historical relationship, the names could have been employed by the romance merely because they were regarded as stereotypically Gallovidian.^[21] In any case, there is reason to suspect that the romance is a literary pastiche or parody of the compositions of Chrétien de Troyes,^[22] and besides the coincidence of names, the tale has little to commend it as an authoritative source for the historical Fergus.^[23]

Despite the uncertainty surrounding his origins, it is possible that Fergus was of Norse–Gaelic and native Gallovidian ancestry.^[24] Traditionally, the Gallovidians appear to have looked towards the Isles instead of Scotland, and the core of his family's lands seems to have centred in valley of the river Dee and the coastal area around Whithorn, regions of substantial Scandinavian settlement.^[25] In any case, the fact that Fergus died as an old man in 1161 suggests that he was born before 1100.^[26]

Early career

Fergus first appears on record in about 1136×1141, when he and his son, Uhtred, witnessed the grant of the lands of Partick to the church of St Kentigern at Glasgow.^{[28][note 3]} The exact extent of the twelfth-century Lordship of Galloway is unclear.^[37] Surviving acta of Fergus and Uhtred reveal a concentration of endowments in central Galloway, between the rivers Urr and Fleet. Subsequent grants of lands by later descendants of Fergus in the Dee valley could represent the expansion of territory from this original core.^[38] There is evidence indicating that Fergus's domain extended into western Galloway as well. His descendants were certainly associated with the castle of Cruggleton and dealt with lands in the vicinity.^[39]

In 1140, during the return journey of Máel Máedoc Ua Morgair, Archbishop of Armagh from Clairvaux to Ulster, the latter made landfall at Cruggleton, as evidenced by *Vita Sancti Malachiae*, composed by Bernard of Clairvaux.^[40] Although this source associates the castle with the Scots, it seems unlikely that Scottish royal authority extended to the Gallovidian coast, and the statement could therefore be a result of confusion with Máel Máedoc's previous stay at the castle of Carlisle, then controlled by David I, King of Scotland. In fact, Máel Máedoc's visit to Cruggleton may have involved the local lord of the region,^[39] conceivably Fergus himself.^[41] The mid-twelfth-century lordship, therefore, seems to have been centred in the region of Wigtown Bay and the mouth of the river Dee.^[39]



One of the mounds in Lochfergus, a now-drained lochan near Kirkcudbright, where Fergus may have had a fortress^[27]



The ruinous castle of Cruggleton from a distance. This fortress was an ancient Gallovidian power centre,^[42] and the castle itself may have been built by Fergus's grandson, Roland fitz Uhtred.^[43]

The fact that Gilla Brigte, who may well have been Fergus's eldest child, later appears to have drawn his power from west of the river Cree could be evidence that this man's mother was a member of a prominent family from this region. Such an alliance could also explain Fergus's apparent westward expansion.^[44] Whatever the case, the fact that the Diocese of Whithorn was revived in about 1128, possibly at the hands of Fergus himself, could indicate that he purposely established an episcopal see that encompassed the entirety of his domain.^[45] The apparent extension of Fergus's authority into western Galloway may have been facilitated by the disintegration of the expansive nearby Kingdom of the Isles. Upon the death of the reigning Guðrøðr Crovan, King of the Isles, the Isles plunged into chaos, enduring periods of vicious dynastic kin-strife, overwhelming Norwegian overlordship, and Irish intrusion as well. By the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century, however, Guðrøðr Crovan's youngest son, Óláfr, seems to have been reinserted into the Isles by Henry I, King of England. This restoration of the Crovan dynasty appears to have formed part of the English Crown's extension of influence into the Irish Sea region.^[46] Another aspect of this expansion was the establishment of David, a younger brother of the reigning Alexander I, King of Scotland, as Henry I's vassal.^[47]

Allied to the English

There is considerable evidence indicating that Fergus married a daughter of Henry I (many believe it was Elizabeth Fitzroy).^[48] For example, there is documentary evidence suggesting that all three of Fergus's children—Uhtred, Gilla Brigte, and Affraic—were related to the English royal family.^[49] Specifically, Uhtred was called a cousin of Henry I's grandson, Henry II, King of England, by Roger de Hoveden.^[50] Although sources specifically concerning Gilla Brigte fail to make a similar claim, potentially indicating that he had a different mother than Uhtred,^[51] Gilla Brigte's son, Donnchad,

Earl of Carrick, was certainly regarded as a kinsman of Henry II's son and successor, John, King of England.^[52] In regard to Affraic, Robert de Torigni, Abbot of Mont Saint-Michel remarked that her son, Guðrøðr Ólafsson, King of Dublin and the Isles, was related to Henry II through the latter's mother, Matilda,^[53] one of Henry I's daughters.^[54]



Henry I, King of England as depicted in British Library Royal 14 C VII

Henry I appears to have had about twenty-four illegitimate children.^[55] Although the name and identity of Fergus's wife is unknown,^[3] she would seem to have been one of Henry I's numerous illegitimate daughters through which the king forged marital alliances with neighbouring princes along the periphery of his Anglo-Norman realm.^[56] The date of Uhtred's earliest attestation suggests that he was born in about 1123/1124 at the latest, whilst the fact that Guðrøðr was old enough to render homage to the Norwegian king in 1153 suggests that Affraic herself was born no later than about 1122. Such birth dates suggest that Fergus's marriage dates to a period when the English Crown consolidated authority in the north-west and extended its influence into the Irish Sea. From the perspective of the English, an alliance between Henry I and Fergus would have secured an understanding with the man who controlled an important part of the north western flank of the Anglo-Norman realm.^[57] In fact, one of Henry I's bastard daughters, Sybilla, was wed to the reigning Alexander, seemingly not long after the latter's accession.^[58] Fergus's own apparent marriage, therefore, appears to evidence not only his pre-eminent status in Galloway itself, but the degree of political sovereignty he possessed as

its ruler.^[59] The unions of Alexander and Fergus evidence Henry I's intent of extending English authority north of the Solway Firth.^[60]

David and Scottish consolidation

The early twelfth century saw the rise of Alexander's younger brother, David.^[61] The latter's close connections with the English likely contributed to his eventual acquisition of a substantial part of southern Scotland from Alexander.^[62] In about 1113, David married Maud de Senlis, a wealthy English widow, and through her came into possession of extensive lordship that came to be known as the Honour of Huntingdon.^[63] As the mid-part of the century approached, the balance of power along the northern part of the Anglo-Norman realm began to shift in favour of David.^{[61][note 4]} In 1120, Henry I's only legitimate son died along with Richard d'Avranches, Earl of Chester in the White Ship disaster. The latter's lordship in the Welsh March was a critical region of Henry I's realm, and the English king responded by transplanting Ranulf le Meschin from his lordship of Carlisle to Richard d'Avranches's former lordship along the Welsh frontier.^[65]

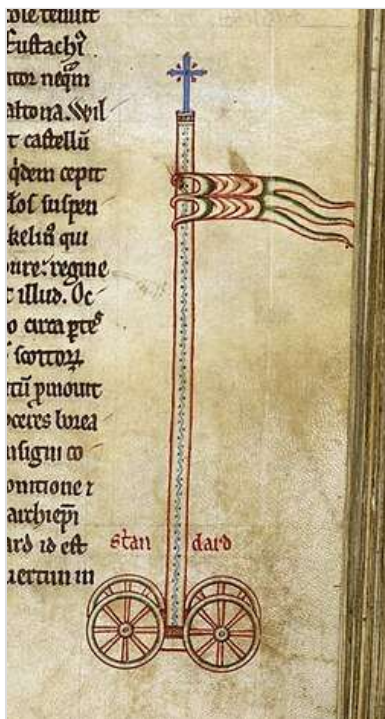


Seal of Alexander I, King of Scotland, apparent brother-in-law of Fergus

Upon Alexander's death in 1124, David succeeded to the throne.^[66] The latter's subsequent endowment of Annandale to Robert de Brus appears to have not only signalled the Scottish Crown's intention of consolidating control of the region, but served as a declaration of the kingdom's claims to Cumbria.^[67] Fergus's marriage to Henry I's daughter, which appears to date to about this period, may have been arranged with such developments in mind. If so, the union could have been orchestrated as a means to not only compensate for Ranulf's removal, but to counter the dramatic rise of David and the resultant imbalance of power his ascent created.^[68] With Ranulf thus vacated from the north, Henry I had filled the power vacuum with various so-called "new men".^[61] One such incomer may have been Robert de Brus, a Norman who had previously received extensive lands from the English Crown.^[69] In fact, it is possible that it was in the wake of Ranulf's removal that Robert de Brus originally received the lordship of Annandale. If so, the latter may have been inserted into the region by Henry I, or perhaps through collaborative effort between Henry I and his then-vassal David as a means of securing the Anglo-Scottish border.^{[70][note 5]} The apparent rise of Fergus at about this time may have also played a part in the infetment of Annandale.^[72]



David I, King of Scotland as he is depicted in a mid-twelfth-century royal charter



Marginal illustration in British Library Royal 14 C II (*Chronica*) of the standard after which the Battle of the Standard is named

Henry I himself was married to David's older sister, Edith, a union which closely bound him to the Scottish royal house.^[73] For as long as Henry I lived, relations between him and David remained harmonious. When the former died in 1135, however, the peace between the neighbouring realms was shattered when his nephew, Stephen of Blois, Count of Boulogne and Mortain, successfully seized the throne.^[74] Before the end of the year, the Scots surged forth and seized Carlisle and Cumberland before peace was restored. Relations broke down the following year, and the Scots again invaded in 1137, seizing Northumberland, and pushed forth towards York.^[75] The contemporary accounts of the English chroniclers Richard Hexham^[76] and Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx single out Gallovidian soldiers for their excessive atrocities in David's campaign.^[77] Disaster struck the Scots in 1138 at the Battle of the Standard, when David's forces were utterly overcome by the English near Northallerton.^[78]

Although Gallovidians clearly took part in David's campaigning, there is no specific evidence connecting Fergus to the operations until after operations ceased.^[79] It is possible that Fergus's attestation of 1136 could have had bearing on Gallovidian participation in the king's campaigning.^[80] If Fergus's wife was indeed a bastard of Henry I, Fergus himself had a stake in the unfolding English succession crisis, as she would have been a half-sister of Stephen's opponent, Matilda,^[81] whom Henry I had nominated as his royal successor.^[82]

Explicit confirmation of Fergus's involvement may exist in the terms of the subsequent peace treaty,

as Richard Hexham recorded that one of the hostages that was handed over to the English for surety was the son of an earl named Fergus.^[83] The fact that there was no Scottish earl of that name suggests that, unless Richard Hexham was mistaken, it was Fergus himself who was referred to. In any case, after this date there is no further evidence of Fergus's involvement in Anglo-Scottish affairs.^[84]

Ecclesiastical activities

In about 1128, the Diocese of Whithorn was revived after three centuries had passed since the consecration of the last diocesan bishop.^[86] The revival itself is revealed by a papal mandate dated December 1128,^[87] and the record of the oath of the bishop-elect, Gilla Aldan, to Thurstan, Archbishop of York between about 1128 and 1140.^[88] It is uncertain who was the driving force behind the revival. David's known ecclesiastical activities could suggest that he was responsible. On the other hand, the extent of David's authority in Galloway is questionable. As for Fergus himself, there is no conclusive proof that he controlled the lordship at this point in time,^[89] or that he himself established the see.^[90]

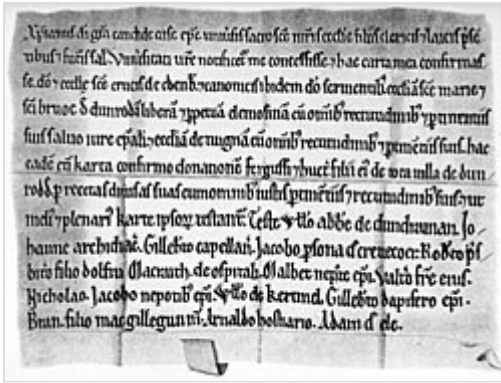
The fact that Gilla Aldan was likely of native origin—as opposed to David's apparent preference for Anglo-Norman clergy—and the fact that Gilla Aldan professed obedience to the Archbishop of York—an ecclesiast whom David was attempting to exclude from influencing the Scottish Church—would both appear to indicate Gilla Aldan was a non-Scottish appointment.^[91] If Fergus was indeed responsible for Whithorn's revival, it would have almost certainly aided his royal aspirations since securing ecclesiastical independence could have been part of the process of ensuring political independence.^[92] Gilla Aldan's successor was Christian, a man who was consecrated in 1154 by Hugh d'Amiens, Archbishop of Rouen, who in turn may have been acting as a proxy for Roger de Pont l'Evêque, Archbishop-elect of York.^[93]

Fergus and his family were remarkable ecclesiastical patrons, working with Augustinians, Benedictines, Cistercians, and Premonstratensians.^[94] Surviving charter evidence reveals that Fergus granted the lands of Dunrod, St Mary's Isle (upon which a priory was at some point erected), and nearby Galtway to the Augustinian abbey of Holyrood.^[95] A fifteenth-century list of properties belonging to the Knights Hospitaller reveals that Fergus had granted this order of the lands of Galtway (within the mediaeval parishes of Balmaclellan and Dalry) at some point in his career.^[33] This transaction appears to further evidence Fergus's alignment with the English Crown.^[61]

The necrology of the abbey of Newhouse states that Fergus was the founder of a Premonstratensian house at Whithorn.^[97] Both he and Christian are stated by the necrology of the abbey of Prémontré to have founded a monastery at Whithorn.^[98] Christian's tenure as bishop (1154–1186), and Fergus's reign as lord (×1160), suggest that the priory of Whithorn was founded at some point between about 1154 and 1160.^[99] According to the annals of Maurice of Prato, this house was transformed into a



Divisions within the Lordship of Galloway (coloured green) and surrounding lordships in the twelfth century.^{[85][note 6]} The Diocese of Whithorn encompassed all Gallovidan regions except Desnes loan, which fell under the Scottish Diocese of Glasgow, and appears to have been only incorporated into the lordship during the tenure of Fergus's sons.



Confirmation charter noting Fergus's grant of lands of Dunrod to the Scottish abbey of Holyrood.^[96] Fergus's name appears on the sixth line.

Either Fergus or David—or perhaps both Fergus and David—may have been responsible for the foundation of the abbey of Dundrennan, a Cistercian house situated well within the confines of Fergus's lordship.^[103] John Fordun and Walter Bower accord its foundation solely to David,^[104] although the near contemporary John Hexham failed to note the house amongst David's known foundations.^[105] The fact that Walter Daniel, a Cistercian monk from the community at Rievaulx, was highly critical of Galloway and its inhabitants may be evidence that Fergus was unlikely to have been the sole founder.^[106] David's own close connections with the Cistercians could suggest that the monastery owed its formation, as a daughter house of Rievaulx, to cooperation between David and Fergus.^[107]

The abbey of Dundrennan appears to have been founded in about 1142,^[108] which in turn places its formation at a time when David had extended his power in the south west.^[107] Such a date also places the foundation at about the time Máel Máedoc was in the region, which in turn may hint at his own involvement.^[109] In any case, if Fergus and David were involved in the abbey's endowment, the fact that it was colonised by Cistercians from Rievaulx suggests that it was somewhat of a penitential foundation in regard to the infamous Gallovidian contribution at the Battle of the Standard four years previously.^[110] Furthermore, the fact that Thurstan himself had been responsible for the English resistance meant that Fergus had warred against his own spiritual overlord, and had almost certainly endured ecclesiastical repercussions as a result.^[111] In the eyes of the Cistercians, Fergus and David were both responsible for failing to curb atrocities committed during the campaign, and Fergus himself was held accountable by Walter Daniel's *Vita Ailredi* for thousands of deaths.^[112]

Another religious house possibly founded by Fergus was the abbey of Souleseat, a Premonstratensian house seated near Stranraer.^[115] Walter Bower and the necrologies certainly state as such.^[116] However, the fact that this house appears to be identical to the "*Viride Stagnum*" attested by the contemporary *Vita Sancti Malachiae* seems to be evidence that Souleseat originated as a Cistercian house founded by Máel Máedoc himself.^[117] If Máel Máedoc and Fergus met during the former's apparent stay in Cruggleton, it is conceivable that Fergus granted him the lands upon which he

Premonstratensian house by Christian in about 1177.^[100] These sources, therefore, appear to reveal that Fergus was responsible for the establishment of a possibly Augustinian house at Whithorn, whilst Christian was responsible for its later refoundation as a Premonstratensian institution.^[101] Such a switch was not an unknown occurrence in England or on the Continent.^[102]



The ruinous remains of the Cistercian abbey of Dundrennan, perhaps founded or co-founded by Fergus. It is possible that monastery was founded partly as an act of penitence for Gallovidian atrocities committed in 1138 during the Scottish Crown's invasion of northern England.



Soulseat Loch, sometimes called the Green Lake,^[113] where the abbey of Soulseat once stood. The abbey could be identical to "*Viride Stagnum*" ("green lake"),^[114] where Máel Máedoc founded a monastery.

Although the late mediaeval *Hystoria Fundacionis Prioratus Insule de Traile* claims that Fergus founded the priory of St Mary's Isle,^[122] the fantastical foundation claims preserved by this source are not corroborated by contemporary sources.^[123] According to a confirmation charter dating to within the decade after Fergus's death, Fergus granted the house to the abbey of Holyrood.^[124] A confirmation charter of William I, King of Scotland reveals that the priory of St Mary's Isle may have been in existence by the time of Fergus's grandson, Roland fitz Uhtred, Lord of Galloway,^[125] although the first recorded prior appears in the thirteenth century.^[126] Fergus's supposed links with this house, therefore, are dubious.^[123] Although Walter Bower declared that Fergus was responsible for the foundation of the abbey of Tongland, his great-grandson, Alan fitz Roland, Lord of Galloway, appears to have founded it in the thirteenth century.^[127] The erroneous attribution of Fergus to this house may be the result of an attempt to enhance the antiquity of its establishment by linking it with the progenitor of Alan's family.^[128]



The ruinous remains of the Augustinian abbey of Holyrood, where Fergus retired in 1160

It is a wild country [Galloway] where the inhabitants are like beasts, and altogether barbarous. ... Rievaulx made a foundation in this savagery, which now, by the help of God, who gives the increase to a new plantation, bears much fruit.

The inspiration behind Fergus's ecclesiastical patronage is uncertain. On one hand, it is conceivable that he was imitating or competing with the extensive patronage of the Scottish monarchy.^[130] On the other hand, familial connections with the rulers of England and the Isles could have played a part in his ecclesiastical interests. Contact with influential ecclesiasts like Máel Máedoc and Ailred could have also inspired Fergus's benefactions.^{[131][note 7]}

Furthermore, the introduction of Augustinians and Premonstratensians into Galloway may have been part of a process of revitalising the newly reformed diocese.^[135] The construction of ecclesiastical buildings, much like castles, was often a means by which mediaeval rulers displayed their pre-eminent status, which in

—excerpt from *Vita Ailredi* depicting the perceived contrast between the Gallovidian culture and the reformed religious foundations introduced by Fergus.^[129]

turn could explain Fergus's ecclesiastical activities.^[136] In effect, his religious foundations may evince attempts to assert his authority in the region.^[137] While the foundation of an episcopal see seems to have been a means by which Fergus sought to reinforce his independence from the Scots, his remarkable support of reformed religious orders may have been a way in which he attempted to legitimise his regal aspirations.^[138]

Unravelling of the Isles

Alliance with Óláfr Guðrøðarson

Early in his career, Fergus bound himself to the Isles in the form of a marital alliance between Affraic and Óláfr, the reigning King of the Isles.^[141] Although the union itself is not dated in contemporary sources,^[142] the Scandinavian sojourn undertaken the couple's son in 1152 suggests that the marriage was arranged in the 1130s or 1140s. The alliance forged between Óláfr and Fergus gave the former's family valuable familial-connections with the English Crown, one of the most powerful monarchies in western Europe.^[143] As for Fergus, the union bound Galloway more tightly to a neighbouring kingdom from which an invasion had been launched during the overlordship of Magnús Ólafsson, King of Norway.^[144] The alliance with Óláfr also ensured Fergus the protection of one of Britain's most formidable fleets, and further gave him a valuable ally outwith the orbit of the Scottish Crown.^[145]

One possible reason for Fergus's apparent lack of further participation in Anglo-Scottish affairs may have been due to events in the Isles.^[146] Although the thirteenth- to fourteenth-century *Chronicle of Mann* portrays Óláfr's reign as one of tranquillity,^[147] a more accurate evaluation of his reign may be that he adeptly managed to navigate an uncertain political climate.^[148] In regard to Fergus, the acquisition of the Dublin kingship in 1142, by the Islesman Ottar mac meic Ottair, may well have represented a threat to the authority of Óláfr, and the prospects of Fergus's grandson.^[149] By the mid-part of the twelfth century, however, the ageing Óláfr's realm may well have begun to buckle under the strain,^[150] as perhaps evidenced by the depredations wrought on the Scottish mainland by Óláfr's leading ecclesiast, Wimund, Bishop of the Isles.^[151] Confirmation of Óláfr's concern over the royal succession may well be preserved by the chronicle,^[150] which states that Guðrøðr journeyed to the court of Ingi Haraldsson, King of Norway in 1152, where Guðrøðr rendered homage to the Norwegian king, and seemingly secured recognition of the royal inheritance of the Isles.^[152]



A king gaming piece of the so-called Lewis chessmen.^[139] Some of the pieces may have arrived in the Isles as a result of Guðrøðr's dealings in Norway.^[140]



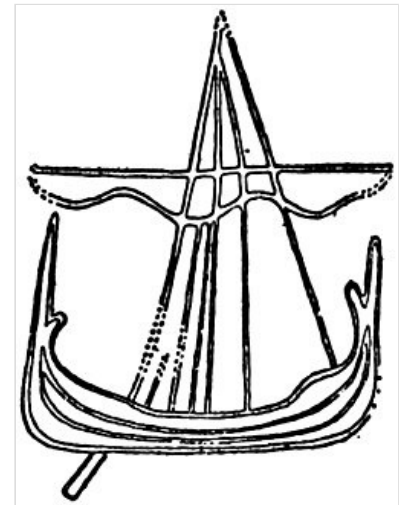
A queen gaming piece of the so-called Lewis chessmen^[153] Almost nothing is known of queenship in the Isles.^[154]

The following year marked a watershed in the history for the Kingdom of the Isles with the successive deaths of David and Óláfr.^[155] The latter was slain by three Dublin-based sons of his exiled brother, after which these men—the Haraldsonnar—partitioned Mann amongst themselves.^[156] Once in control, the chronicle reveals that the Haraldsonnar fortified themselves against forces loyal to the kingdom's legitimate heir by launching a pre-emptive strike against Fergus. Although the invasion of Galloway was repulsed with heavy casualties, once the Haraldsonnar returned to Mann the chronicle records that they slaughtered and expelled all resident Gallovidians that they could find. This ruthless reaction evidently reveals an attempt to uproot local factions adhering to Affraic and her son.^[157] Whatever the case, within months of his father's assassination, Guðrøðr executed his vengeance. Enstrengthened with Norwegian military support, Guðrøðr overcame his three kin-slaying cousins, and successfully secured the kingship for himself.^[158]

Rise of Somairle mac Gilla Brigte

Midway through the twelfth-century, Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn, King of Tír nEógain pressed forth his claim to the high-kingship of Ireland, an office then held by the elderly Toirrdelbach Ua Conchobair, King of Connacht.^[162] In 1154, the forces of Toirrdelbach and Muirchertach met in a major maritime conflict off the Inishowen coast.^[163] According to the seventeenth-century *Annals of the Four Masters*, Muirchertach's maritime forces were mercenaries drawn from Galloway, Arran, Kintyre, Mann, and "the territories of Scotland".^[164] This record appears to be evidence that Guðrøðr, Fergus, and perhaps Somairle, provided ships to Muirchertach's cause.^{[165][note 8]} Although Toirrdelbach's forces obtained a narrow victory, his northern maritime power seems to have been virtually nullified by the severity of the contest,^[167] and Muirchertach soon after marched on Dublin,^[168] gained overlordship over the Dubliners, and effectively secured himself the high-kingship of Ireland for himself.^[169]

The defeat of forces drawn from the Isles, and Muirchertach's subsequent spread of power into Dublin, may have had severe repercussions concerning Guðrøðr's career.^[170] In 1155 or 1156, Somairle and an apparent relative of Ottar precipitated a coup against Guðrøðr, presenting Somairle's son, Dubgall, as a replacement to Guðrøðr's rule.^[171] Late in 1156, Somairle and Guðrøðr clashed and divided the Kingdom of the Isles between themselves. Two years later the former drove the latter from the kingship and into exile.^[172]



Detail from Maughold IV,^[159] a Manx runestone displaying a contemporary sailing vessel.^[160] The power of the kings of the Isles laid in their armed galley-fleets.^[161]



A rook gaming piece of the so-called Lewis chessmen^[173]

It is uncertain why Fergus failed to support his grandson against Somairle.^[174] The record of the capture of Domnall mac Máel Coluim at Whithorn in 1156, as recorded by the twelfth- to thirteenth-century *Chronicle of Holyrood*,^[175] and *Gesta Annalia I*, may have bearing on Fergus.^[176] Domnall appears to have been a son of Máel Coluim mac Alasdair, who was in turn a claimant to the Scottish throne and somehow related to Somairle.^[177] Following David's death in 1153, Somairle and Máel Coluim had risen in revolt against a newly inaugurated Malcolm without much success.^[178] Domnall's later capture in western Galloway, therefore, could be evidence that the Meic Máel Coluim claimants had attempted to forcefully carve out a power base in western Galloway. However, the fact that the chronicle makes no mention of such conflict in Galloway, coupled with the fact that Whithorn was a spiritual centre rather than a secular power centre, could suggest that Domnall was in the region under less violent circumstances. If so, it is conceivable that Fergus could have originally forged an understanding with the Meic Máel Coluim before pressure from his sons forced him to desert Domnall's cause. The fact that the latter's capture preceded Somairle's coup could suggest that, although Domnall may have been in the midst of securing Gallovidian support, once Somairle's designs against Guðrøðr became apparent, the Gallovidians handed over Somairle's kinsman to the

Scots.^{[179][note 9]}

Scottish subjection of Galloway

There is evidence to suggest that Fergus struggled to maintain control of his lordship during the decade. Such a crisis could well have kept him from intervening in the Isles on Guðrøðr's behalf. As with the latter, the failure of Muirchertach's mercenary fleet could have contributed to a loss of Fergus's own authority.^[174] Disarray in the lordship is evidenced by *Vita Ailredi*, which reveals that the region was wracked by inter-dynastic strife during this period.^[180]

In 1160, Malcolm returned to Scotland having spent months campaigning in the service of the English on the Continent. After successfully dealing with a considerable number of disaffected magnates at Perth,^[181] the *Chronicle of Holyrood* and the twelfth- to thirteenth-century *Chronicle of Melrose* reveal that he launched three military expeditions into Galloway.^[182] The circumstances surrounding these invasions is unclear,^[183] although what is clear is that Fergus submitted to the Scots before the end of the year.^{[184][note 10]} Specifically, according to *Gesta Annalia I*, once the Scots subdued the Gallovidians, the conquerors forced Fergus to retire to the abbey of Holyrood, and hand over his son, Uhtred, as a royal hostage.^[186] The *Chronicle of Holyrood*^[187] and the fifteenth-century *Ordinale of Holyrood* corroborate Fergus's monastic retirement,^[188] with the former source further recording Fergus's grant of the lands of Dunrod to the abbey.^{[187][note 11]}



Seal of Richard de Morville, Constable of Scotland.^[190] The Morvilles were one of numerous knightly families used by the Scottish Crown to encircle Fergus's lordship.^{[191][note 12]}

On one hand, it is possible that Fergus himself had precipitated Malcolm's reaction by raiding into the territory between the rivers Urr and Nith.^[193] The fact that the *Chronicle of Holyrood* describes Malcolm's Gallovidian opponents as "federate enemies", and makes no mention of his sons, suggests that Fergus was supported by other accomplices.^[194] In fact, it is possible that Malcolm had encountered an alliance between Fergus and Somairle.^[195] Evidence of such a coalition may exist in the dating clause of a royal charter that notes a formal agreement between Somairle and Malcolm that Christmas.^[196] Additionally, the fact

that several churches near Kirkcudbright are recorded to have once belonged to Iona, an ancient ecclesiastical centre that Somairle attempted to revive during his reign in the Isles, could suggest some sort of concord between the rulers.^[197] If Somairle and Fergus had indeed been allies, the fall of the latter, coupled with the further advancement of Scottish authority into the Solway region, may have finally brought Somairle to terms with the Scots.^[198] An alternate possibility is that the charter clause could be evidence that Somairle supported Malcolm in his suppression and destruction of Fergus.^[21] There is also reason to suspect that Ferteth, Earl of Strathearn possessed some sort of affiliation with Fergus.^[199] Not only does Ferteth appear to be the most prominent of the disaffected magnates who confronted Malcolm in 1160,^[200] but his father is recorded to have taken a leading part in the Battle of the Standard,^[201] and Ferteth himself was married to a woman whose name may be evidence that she was a native of Galloway.^{[199][note 13]} The kin-strife noted by *Vita Ailredi* could be evidence that Fergus's sons assisted in his overthrow, or at least did little to arrest it.^[203]

Death and aftermath

Fergus did not live long after retiring, and died on 12 May 1161, as evidenced by the *Chronicle of Holyrood*.^[205] Surviving sources reveal that he overshadowed his sons during his lifetime, with Uhtred witnessing only three charters and Gilla Brigte none at all. The latter's apparent exclusion from affairs of state could be relevant to the subsequent animosity between the siblings, as well as the difficulties Fergus faced with the men late in his career.^[206] Upon Fergus's death, the lordship appears to have been split between the brothers. Although there is no specific evidence for Gilla Brigte's share, later transactions involving Uhtred reveal that the latter held lands in the lower Dee valley, seemingly centred in an area around Kirkcudbright. The fact that this region appears to have

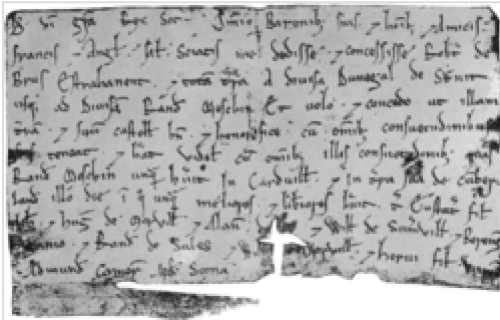


Malcolm IV, King of Scotland as he is depicted in a mid-twelfth-century royal charter

formed the core of Fergus's holdings could be evidence that Uhtred was the senior successor. Conceivably, Uhtred's allotment consisted of the lordship's territory east of the river Cree, whilst Gilla Brigte's share was everything east of this waterway.^[207]



The remains of Motte of Urr, the earthen remains of a twelfth-century motte-and-bailey castle. The motte may have been the site of a castle of Walter de Berkeley, Chamberlain of Scotland, an Anglo-Norman settled in Galloway by Uhtred in the 1160s.^[204]



Charter of David to Robert de Brus concerning Annandale.^[208] The settlement of such men in southern Scotland may have been a means of countering the rise of Fergus.

In the wake of Malcolm's destruction of Fergus, the Scottish Crown moved to further incorporate Galloway into the Scottish realm. Uhtred appears to have been granted the territory between the rivers Nith and Urr,^[209] whilst Gilla

Brigte may have been wed to a daughter or sister of Donnchad II, Earl of Fife, the kingdom's foremost Gaelic magnate.^[210] Scottish authority penetrated into the lordship through the installation of royal officials,^[211] and Scottish power was perhaps further projected into Galloway by a royal castle at Dumfries.^[212] Surviving royal acta dating to after the fall of Fergus indicate that, from the perspective of the Scottish Crown, the Lordship of Galloway had been integrated into the Kingdom of Scotland, and was subject to the overlordship of Malcolm himself.^[213]

Notes

1. The only known examples of surnames borne by members of Fergus's family in the Irish Annals are the following attributed to (Fergus's grandson) Roland fitz Uhtred, Lord of Galloway and his sons: "*Ailín mac Uchtraigh*",^[6] "*Rolant mac Uchtraich*",^[7] "*Rollant mac Uchtraigh*",^[8] "*Tomas mac Uchtraigh*",^[9] "*Tomas mac Uchtraigh*",^[10] "*Tomás mac Uchtraigh*",^[11] "*Tomas mac Uchtraigh*",^[12] "*Tomass mac Uchtraigh*",^[13] and "*Tomáss macc Uchtraidh*".^[14]
2. Conversely, the name of the knight's father could indicate that this character represents the historical Somairle himself.^[20] Evidence that Somairle and Fergus were indeed related could be the fact that Gilla Brigte, who may have been Fergus's eldest son, bore the same name as Somairle's father, Gilla Brigte.^[21]

3. At about the same time, Fergus also witnessed a grant of David to the church of St Kentigern in Glasgow concerning the king's gift of revenue from Strathgryfe, Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick.^[29] Another grant witnessed by Fergus at about this date concerned David's grant of a cut of the profits from Cumberland to the church. Both of these acts were concluded at Cadzow.^[30] The three transactions are the only Scottish royal acts witnessed by Fergus.^[31] Although Fergus is generally styled Lord of Galloway in modern historiography, there is no evidence that Fergus himself bore such a title. Surviving sources typically fail to accord him any title whatsoever, although there a few that may allude to royal status.^[32] For example, a late mediaeval list of endowments to the Knights Hospitaller accords him the royal title "*rex Galwitensium*", a style unlikely to have been invented by the clerk.^[33] *Vita Ailredi* describes Fergus as a *regulus*, a title which can either represent a diminutive form of *rex* ("king"), or simply refer to a ruler without any royal connotations.^[34] The twelfth- to thirteenth-century *Chronicle of Holyrood* calls Fergus *princeps Galwaie*, a style that likewise does not necessarily refer to royalty.^[35] Nevertheless, this source styles both Óengus, Earl of Moray and Donnchad I, Earl of Fife as *comites*, which seems to be indicate that Fergus was regarded to be of a higher status to these men.^[36]
4. David's latter's extension of authority into the Southern Uplands, in a specific region perhaps stretching from Strathgryffe to Carrick, appears to be evidenced by a later grant of his succeeding grandson, Malcolm IV, King of Scotland, which mentions unspecified *Gall Gaidhel* lands held by David during Alexander's reign.^[64]
5. Another possibility is that Robert de Brus had been originally installed in Annandale by Ranulf himself.^[71]
6. The Gallovidian regions are the Rhinns, Farines, the Glenkens, Desnesmor, and Desnes loan.
7. Considering Fergus's apparent connections with Cistercians, Augustinians, and Premonstratensians, a possible relationship between him and Máel Máedoc is not inconceivable.^[132] Fergus may have also possessed connections with Ailred, who spent part of his career as a member of David's court before becoming Abbot of Rievaulx.^[133] According to *Vita Ailredi*, it was Ailred who later reconciled Fergus with his sons, and further prevailed upon him to retire from the lordship to the abbey of Holyrood.^[134]
8. An alternate possibility is that the annal does not refer to Galloway at all, and that it actually refers to the *Gall Gaidheil* of Arran, Kintyre, Mann, and the territory of Scotland.^[166]
9. Domnall's involvement in western Galloway may also hint at a possible connection between Somairle and Galloway, perhaps forming further evidence of kinship between Fergus and Somairle.^[21]
10. There is a fantastical account of Fergus's revolt preserved by *Hystoria Fundacionis Prioratus Insule de Traile*.^[185]
11. Later evidence reveals that Fergus's descendants chose to regard his submission and retirement as one of piety rather than political submission. The *Ordinale of Holyrood* reveals that the souls of Fergus, Uhtred, Roland, and Alan were commemorated at the abbey as late as the fifteenth century.^[189]
12. The Morville's were settled in Cunningham, north of Galloway.^[191] Richard himself was the father-in-law of Roland.^[192]
13. According to Ailred, there was much confusion and consternation on the Scottish side before the Battle of the Standard, with the Gallovidians claiming the right to occupy the front line. Ailred states that it was Ferteth's father, Máel Ísu I, Earl of Strathearn, who convinced David to acquiesce to his Gallovidian troops.^[202]

Citations

1. Besamusca (2002) p. 211.
2. Munch; Goss (1874) pp. 60–61; Cotton MS Julius A VII (n.d.).
3. Oram, RD (2004).
4. Oram, RD (1991) pp. 117, 119; Oram, RD (1988) p. 27, 32.
5. McDonald (2000) p. 172; Oram, RD (1991) p. 119.
6. Annala Uladh (2005) § 1234.1; Annala Uladh (2003) § 1234.1; Oram, RD (1988) p. 31–32.
7. Annals of Loch Cé (2008) § 1199.11; Annals of Loch Cé (2005) § 1199.11; Oram, RD (1988) p. 31–32.
8. The Annals of Ulster (2012) § 1200.6; The Annals of Ulster (2008) § 1200.6; Oram, RD (1988) p. 31–32.
9. Annals of Loch Cé (2008) § 1211.7; Annals of Loch Cé (2005) § 1211.7; Oram, RD (1988) p. 31–32.
10. Annals of Loch Cé (2008) § 1213.6; Annals of Loch Cé (2005) § 1213.6; Oram, RD (1988) p. 31–32.
11. Annala Uladh (2005) § 1214.2; Annala Uladh (2003) § 1214.2; Oram, RD (1988) p. 31–32.
12. Annala Uladh (2005) § 1212.4; Annala Uladh (2003) § 1212.4; Oram, RD (1988) p. 31–32.
13. Annals of Loch Cé (2008) § 1213.9; Annals of Loch Cé (2005) § 1213.9; Oram, RD (1988) p. 31–32.
14. Annals of Loch Cé (2008) § 1221.7; Annals of Loch Cé (2005) § 1221.7; Oram, RD (1988) p. 31–32.
15. Oram, RD (1988) p. 32.
16. McDonald (2000) p. 173; Oram, RD (2000) pp. 53–54; Oram, RD (1991) pp. 119–120; Oram, RD (1988) pp. 35–41; Legge (1964).
17. Wenthe (2012) pp. 28, 33, 35–36; Hunt 2005 pp. 55–56; Besamusca (2002) p. 213; Thomas (1993) p. 91.
18. Rickard (2011) p. 113; Hunt (2005) p. 55; McDonald (2002) p. 116 n. 53; Thomas (1993); Oram, RD (1988) pp. 35–41; Legge (1948–1949) pp. 167–171.
19. Oram, RD (1988) pp. 35–41; Legge (1964); Martin (1872) pp. 9 § 37, 10 § 27, 15 § 16, 32 § 37, 73 § 25.
20. Rickard (2011) p. 113; Hunt (2005) p. 61 n. 26; McDonald (2003) p. 177; Thomas (1993); Legge (1964); Brugger (1929–1930).
21. Woolf (2013) p. 5.
22. Faletra (2014) p. 206 n. 26; Archibald (2009) p. 144; Hunt (2005); Besamusca (2002) p. 213; Kuiper (1998); Thomas (1993) p. 94; Oram, RD (1991) p. 120; Oram, RD (1988) p. 37; Freeman (1983).
23. Kuiper (1998); Oram, RD (2000) pp. 53–54; Oram, RD (1991) pp. 119–120; Oram, RD (1988) pp. 35–41.
24. Scott, JG (1997) p. 25; Oram, RD (1991) pp. 121–122.
25. Scott, JG (1997) p. 25; Oram, RD (1991) p. 122.
26. Scott, JG (1997) p. 25.
27. Oram, RD (2000) pp. 56, 221.
28. Sharpe (2011) p. 96 n. 243; Hudson, B (2006) p. 223, 223 n. 54; McDonald (2000) p. 171; Oram, RD (1988) p. 31; Legge (1964); Lawrie (1905) pp. 85–86 § 109; Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis (1843) p. 9 § 3; Document 1/4/29 (n.d.).
29. Sharpe (2011) pp. 93–94, 95–96, 93–94 n. 236; Lawrie (1905) pp. 95–96 § 125; Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis (1843) p. 12 § 9; Document 1/4/30 (n.d.).

30. Sharpe (2011) pp. 96, 94 n. 237; Hudson, B (2006) p. 223, 223 n. 54; Lawrie (1905) p. 96 § 126; *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (1843) p. 12 § 10; *Document 1/4/31* (n.d.).
31. Sharpe (2011) p. 6 n. 243.
32. Oram, RD (1988) p. 48.
33. Sharpe (2011) pp. 95–96, 96 n. 242; Hudson, B (2006) p. 223, 223 n. 55; McDonald (2002) p. 104; McDonald (2000) p. 180; Oram, RD (2000) p. 62; Stringer, KJ (2000) p. 157; McDonald (1995) p. 201, 201 n. 76; Brooke (1991) pp. 55, 57; Oram, RD (1988) pp. 48, 52, 333; Barrow, GWS (1975) p. 128; Dugdale; Caley; Ellis et al. (1830) p. 838.
34. Oram, RD (1988) p. 49; Powicke (1978) p. 45.
35. Oram, RD (1988) pp. 50–52; Anderson; Anderson (1938) pp. 139, 189; Anderson (1922) p. 245.
36. Taylor (2016) pp. 36–37 n. 49; Anderson; Anderson (1938) pp. 118, 126, 186, 188; Anderson (1922) pp. 174 n. 3, 224.
37. Oram, RD (1988) pp. 44–45.
38. Oram, RD (1988) pp. 42–43.
39. Oram, RD (1988) pp. 45–46.
40. Hudson, BT (2005) p. 139; McDonald (1995) pp. 202–203; Oram, RD (1988) pp. 45–46; Lawlor (1920) pp. 76, 76 n. 4, 78, 78 n. 1.
41. McDonald (1995) pp. 202–203; Scott (1988) p. 36.
42. Oram, RD (2008) pp. 171, 181.
43. Oram, RD (2008) p. 181.
44. Oram, RD (2000) pp. 57–58.
45. Oram, RD (2000) p. 58; Oram, RD (1988) pp. 269–270.
46. Oram, RD (2000) pp. 58–59.
47. Oram, RD (2000) p. 59.
48. Barrow (2005) pp. 430–431 n. 28; Thompson (2003) p. 150; Oram, RD (2000) p. 60; Oram, RD (1988) pp. 30, 70–74; Hollister; Keefe (1973) p. 5, 5 n. 17.
49. Brooke (1994) p. 80.
50. Barrow (2005) pp. 430–431 n. 28; Oram, RD (2000) p. 60; Oram, RD (1988) pp. 71, 99; Keefe (1981) p. 191 n. 5; Anderson (1908) p. 258; Stubbs (1869) p. 105; Stubbs (1867) p. 80; Riley (1853) p. 423.
51. Oram, RD (1988) pp. 71–72, 99.
52. Barrow (2005) pp. 430–431 n. 28; Oram, RD (1988) p. 99; Bain (1881) pp. 81–82 § 480.
53. Oram, RD (2000) p. 60; Oram, RD (1993) p. 116; Oram, RD (1988) pp. 72, 99; Lawrie (1910) p. 115; Anderson (1908) p. 245; Howlett (1889) pp. 228–229.
54. Oram, RD (2011) p. xiii tab. 2; Hollister (2004).
55. Hollister (2004); Hollister (2003) p. 41, 41 n. 68; Thompson (2003).
56. Hollister (2004); Thompson (2003); Hollister; Keefe (1973) p. 5.
57. Oram, RD (2000) pp. 59, 61; Oram, RD (1993) pp. 115–116.
58. Duncan (2008); McDonald (2000) pp. 174–175; Oram, RD (1993) p. 116; Brooke (1991) pp. 48–49.
59. McDonald (2000) pp. 174–175; Brooke (1991) pp. 48–49.
60. Oram, RD (2011) p. 85; Blakely (2005) p. 20.
61. Oram, RD (2000) p. 62.
62. Barrow, GWS (2006); Oram, RD (1991) pp. 122–123.
63. Barrow, GWS (2006); Kapelle (1979) p. 204.

64. Oram, RD (2000) p. 63; *Liber S. Marie de Calchou* (1846) pp. III–VII; *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* (n.d.) vol. 19 § 38; *Document 1/5/24* (n.d.).
65. King (2004); Oram, RD (2000) p. 62.
66. Oram, RD (2000) p. 63.
67. Oram, RD (2000) pp. 63–64.
68. Oram, RD (1993) p. 116; Oram, RD (1988) pp. 73–74.
69. Blakely (2005) pp. 8–27; Oram, RD (2000) p. 62; Kapelle (1979) p. 198.
70. Oram, RD (2011) p. 86; Oram, RD (2000) pp. 63–64; Scott, JG (1997) pp. 29–30.
71. Kapelle (1979) p. 206.
72. Oram, RD (2011) p. 86.
73. Barrow, GWS (2006); Barrow, GWS (1992) pp. 62–63.
74. Barrow, GWS (2006); Barrow, GWS (1992) pp. 62–65.
75. Barrow, GWS (2006).
76. Oram, RD (1988) p. 77; Anderson (1908) pp. 181, 182–183, 185–186, 187–190; Howlett (1886) pp. 152–159.
77. Aird (2007) pp. 65, 72 n. 52; Oram, RD (1988) p. 77; Anderson (1908) p. 180, 180 n. 4; Howlett (1886) pp. 187–188.
78. Strickland (2012) pp. 100–101; Oram, RD (1988) p. 77.
79. Oram, RD (1993) p. 114 n. 5; Oram, RD (1988) p. 78.
80. Oram, RD (1993) p. 114 n. 5.
81. Oram, RD (1991) pp. 123–124.
82. Hollister (2004).
83. Oram, RD (1988) p. 78; Anderson (1908) pp. 214–215; Howlett (1886) p. 178.
84. Oram, RD (1988) p. 78.
85. Scott, JG (1997) pp. 13a fig. 1, 23 fig. 5; Oram, RD (1991) p. 118 fig. 8.1; Barrow, GWS (1980) p. 51.
86. Oram, R (2009) p. 132; Oram, RD (1988) p. 268.
87. Oram, R (2009) p. 132; Hudson, B (2006) p. 222; Hill (1997) p. 23; Oram, RD (1988) pp. 268, 293; Lawrie (1905) pp. 53–54 § 63, 314 § 63; Raine (1894) pp. 48–49.
88. Oram, R (2009) p. 132; Oram, RD (1988) pp. 268–269, 294; Raine (1894) p. 60.
89. Oram, RD (1988) p. 269.
90. Stringer, KJ (2000) p. 157 n. 119.
91. Oram, RD (1988) pp. 270–271.
92. Smith (2016) p. 245; Oram, RD (1988) pp. 271–272.
93. Oram, R (2009) pp. 132 tab. 8.1, 133; Oram, RD (1988) p. 275; Anderson; Anderson (1938) pp. 127, 188.
94. McDonald (1995) p. 201.
95. Sharpe (2011) p. 92 n. 230; Webb (2004) p. 93; Oram, RD (2000) p. 110 n. 38; Brooke (1991) p. 57; Oram, RD (1988) pp. 311, 316; Barrow; Scott (1971) pp. 146–149 § 39; *Charters and Other Documents* (1871) pp. 9–13 § 2; *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis* (1840) pp. 20–21 § 25, 22–25 § 27, 38–40 § 49; *Document 1/6/34* (n.d.); *Document 2/12/6* (n.d.); *Document 2/12/12* (n.d.).
96. *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis* (1840) pp. 20–21 § 25; *Document 2/12/6* (n.d.).
97. McDonald (1995) p. 197; Cowan; Easson (1976) p. 103; Radford (1948–1949) p. 103; *Report of the Manuscripts* (1907) pp. xxxvii, 484.
98. Hill (1997) p. 23; Oram, RD (1988) p. 46; Cowan; Easson (1976) p. 103; Radford (1948–1949) pp. 103–104, 103 n. 89.

99. Hill (1997) p. 23; McDonald (1995) p. 197.
100. Hill (1997) p. 23; McDonald (1995) p. 198; Migne (1885) pp. 33, 54.
101. Barrow, J (2015) pp. 109–110; McDonald (1995) p. 198.
102. McDonald (1995) p. 198.
103. Jamroziak (2008) p. 41; Stringer, KJ (2000) pp. 142–143; McDonald (1995) pp. 194–195; Oram, RD (1993) pp. 115–116; Stell (1991) p. 151; Scott (1988) p. 35; Cruden (1986) p. 76; Stringer, K (1980); Cowan; Easson (1976) p. 74.
104. McDonald (1995) p. 194; Skene (1872) pp. 230–231; Skene (1871) p. 238–239; Goodall (1759) p. 538; Hearnus (1722) p. 1551.
105. McDonald (1995) p. 194; Arnold (1885) p. 330.
106. Scott (1988) p. 36; Stringer, K (1980); Powicke (1978) pp. 45–46.
107. Stringer, K (1980).
108. Hill (1997) p. 23; Oram, RD (1993) p. 115; Stringer, K (1980); Cowan; Easson (1976) p. 74.
109. McDonald (1995) p. 203.
110. Stringer, KJ (2000) pp. 142–143.
111. Oram, RD (1993) p. 115.
112. Stringer, KJ (2000) pp. 142–143; Powicke (1978) p. 46.
113. Cowan; Easson (1976) pp. 78–79; Reid (1932).
114. Reid (1932).
115. McDonald (1995) pp. 196–197.
116. Oram, RD (1988) p. 46; Cowan; Easson (1976) p. 102; Radford (1948–1949) p. 103; *Report of the Manuscripts* (1907) pp. xxxvii, 484; Goodall (1759) p. 538; Hearnus (1722) p. 1551.
117. McDonald (1995) pp. 196–197; Duffy (1993) p. 72; Scott (1988) p. 36; Radford (1948–1949) p. 103; Lawlor (1920) p. 120; *Acta Sanctorum* (1894) p. 165.
118. Scott (1988) pp. 36–37.
119. Scott (1988) pp. 37–38.
120. Duffy (1993) p. 72.
121. Stell (1991) p. 150.
122. McDonald (1995) p. 199; Cowan; Easson (1976) p. 96; Gordon (1868) pp. 204–206; *The Bannatyne Miscellany* (1836) pp. 19–20.
123. McDonald (1995) p. 199.
124. McDonald (1995) p. 199; *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis* (1840) pp. 22–25 § 27; *Document 1/6/34* (n.d.).
125. McDonald (1995) p. 199; Cowan; Easson (1976) p. 97; Barrow; Scott (1971) pp. 313–314 § 293; *Document 1/6/265* (n.d.).
126. McDonald (1995) p. 199; Theiner (1864) pp. vi, 14 § 32; *Document 2/139/41* (n.d.).
127. McDonald (1995) pp. 199–200; Cowan; Easson (1976) p. 103; Goodall (1759) p. 538; Hearnus (1722) p. 1552.
128. McDonald (1995) p. 200.
129. Jamroziak (2008) pp. 41, 43; Aird (2007) pp. 66, 72 n. 60; Stringer, KJ (2000) pp. 131–132; Powicke (1978) pp. 44–45.
130. Jamroziak (2008) pp. 41–42; Aird (2007) p. 66; McDonald (1995) pp. 201–206, 215.
131. Jamroziak (2008) pp. 41–42; McDonald (1995) pp. 192, 202–207.
132. McDonald (1995) pp. 203, 205–206.
133. Aird (2007) p. 66; Stringer, KJ (2000) p. 143 n. 67; McDonald (1995) pp. 203–204, 205–206.
134. McDonald (1995) p. 204; Powicke (1978) pp. 45–46.

135. McDonald (1995) p. 215.
136. Jamroziak (2008); McDonald (1995) p. 215.
137. Jamroziak (2008); Aird (2007) p. 66.
138. Stringer, KJ (2000) pp. 157–158.
139. Caldwell; Hall; Wilkinson (2009) pp. 156 fig. 1b, 163 fig. 8e.
140. Caldwell; Hall; Wilkinson (2009) p. 178.
141. Oram, RD (2000) p. 69.
142. Oram, RD (1988) p. 79.
143. Oram, RD (1993) p. 116; Oram, RD (1988) p. 79.
144. Oram, RD (1993) p. 116; Oram, RD (1988) pp. 10, 78, 80.
145. Oram, RD (1988) p. 80.
146. Oram, RD (2000) p. 67.
147. Beuermann (2014) p. 85; Oram, RD (2011) p. 113; Oram, RD (2000) p. 73; Anderson (1922) p. 137; Munch; Goss (1874) pp. 60–61.
148. Oram, RD (2000) p. 73.
149. Downham (2013) pp. 171–172; Oram, RD (2000) p. 67.
150. Oram, RD (2011) p. 113; Oram, RD (2000) p. 73.
151. Beuermann (2014) p. 93 n. 43; Oram, RD (2011) p. 113.
152. Downham (2013) p. 172; McDonald (2012) p. 162; Oram, RD (2011) p. 113; Beuermann (2010) pp. 106–107; Power (2005) p. 22; Oram, RD (2000) p. 73; Anderson (1922) p. 225; Munch; Goss (1874) pp. 62–63.
153. Caldwell; Hall; Wilkinson (2009) p. 157 fig. 2a, 163 fig. 8d, 187 fig. 14.
154. McDonald (2007b) p. 163.
155. Oram, RD (2011) pp. 108, 113.
156. Beuermann (2014) p. 85; Downham (2013) p. 171; Oram, RD (2011) p. 113; Duffy (1993) pp. 41–42, 42 n. 59; Oram, RD (1988) pp. 80–81.
157. Oram, RD (1988) p. 81; Anderson (1922) pp. 225–226; Munch; Goss (1874) pp. 64–65.
158. Beuermann (2014) p. 87; Downham (2013) p. 171; McDonald (2012) p. 162; McDonald (2007b) pp. 67–68, 85; Oram, RD (2011) p. 113; Oram, RD (2000) pp. 69–70; Duffy (1993) p. 42; Oram, RD (1988) p. 81.
159. McDonald (2007a) p. 59; McDonald (2007b) pp. 128–129 pl. 1; Rixson (1982) pp. 114–115 pl. 1; Cubbon (1952) p. 70 fig. 24; Kermode (1915–1916) p. 57 fig. 9.
160. McDonald (2012) p. 151; McDonald (2007a) pp. 58–59; McDonald (2007b) pp. 54–55, 128–129 pl. 1; Wilson (1973) p. 15.
161. McDonald (2016) p. 337; McDonald (2012) p. 151; McDonald (2007b) pp. 120, 128–129 pl. 1.
162. Duffy (2007) p. 2; O'Byrne (2005a); O'Byrne (2005c); Duffy (2004).
163. Oram, RD (2011) pp. 113, 120; McDonald (2008) p. 134; Duffy (2007) p. 2; McDonald (2007a) p. 71; O'Byrne (2005a); O'Byrne (2005b); O'Byrne (2005c); Duffy (2004); Oram, RD (2000) p. 73; Duffy (1992) pp. 124–125.
164. *Annals of the Four Masters* (2013a) § 1154.11; *Annals of the Four Masters* (2013b) § 1154.11; Oram, RD (2011) pp. 113, 120; Clancy (2008) p. 32; McDonald (2008) p. 134; Butter (2007) p. 141, 141 n. 121; Duffy (2007) p. 2; McDonald (2007a) p. 71; McDonald (2007b) p. 118; Oram, RD (2000) p. 73; Simms (2000) p. 12; Duffy (1992) pp. 124–125.
165. Oram, RD (2011) pp. 113, 120; McDonald (2008) p. 134; Duffy (2007) p. 2; McDonald (2007a) p. 71; McDonald (2007b) p. 118.
166. Clancy (2008) p. 34.
167. Griffin (2002) p. 42.

168. O'Byrne (2005a); Duffy (2004); Griffin (2002) p. 42.
169. Duffy (2004).
170. Oram, RD (2011) p. 120.
171. Downham (2013) p. 172; Woolf (2013) pp. 3–4; Oram, RD (2011) pp. 113–114, 120; Forte; Oram; Pedersen (2005) pp. 243–244; Woolf (2004) p. 104; Oram, RD (2000) pp. 74, 76; Sellar (2000) p. 191; McDonald (1997) pp. 54–58; Duffy (1993) pp. 40–41.
172. McDonald (2012) pp. 153, 161; McDonald (2007b) pp. 92, 113, 121 n. 86; Oram, RD (2011) pp. 120–121; McDonald (2007a) pp. 57, 64; Forte; Oram; Pedersen (2005) p. 244; Woolf (2004) p. 104; Oram, RD (2000) pp. 74, 76; Sellar (2000) p. 191; McDonald (1997) p. 56.
173. Caldwell; Hall; Wilkinson (2009) pp. 161 fig. 6c, 184 fig. 11, 189 fig. 16.
174. Oram, RD (2011) p. 121.
175. Oram, RD (2000) p. 77; Oram, RD (1988) p. 84; Anderson; Anderson (1938) pp. 128, 188; Anderson (1922) p. 232.
176. Oram, RD (1988) p. 84; Skene (1872) pp. 249–250; Skene (1871) p. 254–255.
177. Neville (2016) p. 9; Woolf (2013) pp. 2–5.
178. Oram, RD (2000) p. 74.
179. Oram, RD (2000) p. 77.
180. Oram, RD (2011) p. 121; Stringer, K (1980); Powicke (1978) pp. 45–46.
181. Scott, WW (2008); Ewart; Pringle; Caldwell et al. (2004) p. 12; Oram, RD (1988) p. 90; Neville (1983) pp. 50–53.
182. Ewart; Pringle; Caldwell et al. (2004) p. 12; Oram, RD (2000) p. 80; Brooke (1991) pp. 52–54; Anderson; Anderson (1938) pp. 136–137, 136–137 n. 1, 189; Anderson (1922) pp. 244–245; Stevenson (1856) pp. 128–129; Stevenson (1835) p. 77.
183. Oram, RD (2000) p. 80.
184. Scott, WW (2008); Oram, RD (2000) p. 80.
185. Oram, RD (1988) pp. 91, 84 n. 78; Gordon (1868) pp. 204–206; *The Bannatyne Miscellany (1836)* pp. 19–20.
186. MacInnes (2019) pp. 136–137; Neville (2016) p. 11; Oram, RD (1988) p. 93; Skene (1872) p. 251; Skene (1871) p. 256.
187. Neville (2016) p. 11; Oram, RD (2000) p. 80; McDonald; McLean (1992) p. 18; Oram, RD (1988) p. 93; Anderson; Anderson (1938) pp. 137, 189; Anderson (1922) p. 245.
188. Stringer, KJ (2000) pp. 144–145; Eeles (1914) pp. 67–68.
189. Stringer, KJ (2000) p. 145 n. 73; Eeles (1914) pp. lxi, 2.
190. Laing (1850) pp. xxix, 101 § 593, pl. 5 ill. 6.
191. MacQueen (2003) p. 290.
192. Stringer, K (2004).
193. McDonald (2002) p. 116 n. 55; Brooke (1991) pp. 54–56.
194. Oram, RD (2000) p. 80; Anderson; Anderson (1938) pp. 136–137, 136 n. 1, 189; Anderson (1922) p. 245.
195. Woolf (2013) pp. 4–5; Oram, RD (2011) p. 122; Oram, RD (2000) pp. 80–81.
196. Woolf (2013) pp. 4–5; Oram, RD (2000) pp. 80–81; McDonald (1997) p. 52; Innes (1864) pp. 2, 51–52.
197. Oram, RD (2011) p. 122; Oram, RD (2000) p. 78; Oram, RD (1988) pp. 298–299; Barrow; Scott (1971) pp. 213–214 § 141; *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis (1840)* p. 41 § 51; *Document 1/6/124 (n.d.)*.
198. Oram, RD (2000) pp. 80–81.
199. Neville (1983) pp. 53–54.

200. Hodge (2007) p. 315; Oram, RD (1988) p. 90; Neville (1983) pp. 53–54.
201. Neville (1983) pp. 53–54, 90 n. 29.
202. Neville (1983) pp. 47, 90 n. 29; Howlett (1886) pp. 189–190.
203. Oram, RD (1991) p. 126.
204. Oram, RD (2011) pp. 314 fig. 9.1, 315; Scott (1993) p. 133; Oram, RD (1988) p. 238; Barrow, GWS (1980) p. 174.
205. McDonald (2002) p. 104; Oram, RD (1988) p. 93; Barrow, GWS (1975) p. 128; Anderson; Anderson (1938) pp. 139, 189; Anderson (1922) p. 247.
206. Oram, RD (1988) p. 97.
207. Oram, RD (1988) p. 101.
208. Gladstone (1919).
209. Oram, RD (2011) p. 127; Oram, RD (1988) pp. 101–104.
210. Oram, RD (2011) p. 127; Oram, RD (2000) pp. 89.
211. Oram, RD (2000) pp. 89; Oram, RD (1988) p. 104.
212. Oram, RD (1988) pp. 101–102; Scott (1982).
213. Oram, RD (2000) p. 89; Oram, RD (1988) p. 104.

References

Primary sources

- *Acta Sanctorum: Novembris* (<https://archive.org/details/actasanctorum63unse>). Vol. 2. Brussels: Socio Bollandianos. 1894.
- Anderson, AO, ed. (1908). *Scottish Annals From English Chroniclers, A.D. 500 to 1286* (<https://archive.org/details/scottishannalsfr00andeuoft>). London: David Nutt. OL 7115802M (<https://openlibrary.org/books/OL7115802M>).
- Anderson, AO, ed. (1922). *Early Sources of Scottish History, A.D. 500 to 1286* (<https://archive.org/details/cu31924077097958>). Vol. 2. London: Oliver and Boyd.
- Anderson, MO; Anderson, AO, eds. (1938). *A Scottish Chronicle Known as the Chronicle of Holyrood* (<https://digital.nls.uk/125885866>). Publications of the Scottish History Society. Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable.
- "Annala Uladh: Annals of Ulster Otherwise Annala Senait, Annals of Senat" (<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100001B/index.html>). *Corpus of Electronic Texts* (28 January 2003 ed.). University College Cork. 2003. Retrieved 30 August 2015.
- "Annala Uladh: Annals of Ulster Otherwise Annala Senait, Annals of Senat" (<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/G100001B/index.html>). *Corpus of Electronic Texts* (13 April 2005 ed.). University College Cork. 2005. Retrieved 30 August 2015.
- "Annals of Loch Cé" (<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/G100010A/index.html>). *Corpus of Electronic Texts* (13 April 2005 ed.). University College Cork. 2005. Retrieved 30 August 2015.
- "Annals of Loch Cé" (<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100010A/index.html>). *Corpus of Electronic Texts* (5 September 2008 ed.). University College Cork. 2008. Retrieved 30 August 2015.
- "Annals of the Four Masters" (<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/G100005B/index.html>). *Corpus of Electronic Texts* (3 December 2013 ed.). University College Cork. 2013a. Retrieved 15 July 2015.
- "Annals of the Four Masters" (<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100005B/index.html>). *Corpus of Electronic Texts* (16 December 2013 ed.). University College Cork. 2013b. Retrieved 15 July 2015.

- Arnold, T, ed. (1885). *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* (https://books.google.com/books?id=_UYWAAAAYAAJ). Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores. Vol. 2. London: Longmans & Co.
- Bain, J, ed. (1881). *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*. Vol. 1. Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House. [hdl:2027/mdp.39015014807203](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015014807203) (<https://hdl.handle.net/2027%2Fmdp.39015014807203>).
- Barrow, GWS; Scott, WW, eds. (1971). *The Acts of William I, King of Scots, 1165–1214* (<https://archive.org/details/actsofwilliamiki0002barr>). Regesta Regum Scottorum, 1153–1424. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. ISBN 0-85224-142-9.
- *Charters and Other Documents Relating to the City of Edinburgh, A.D. 1143–1540* (<https://archive.org/details/chartersotherdoc00edin>). Edinburgh: The Scottish Burgh Records Society. 1871. OL 23704566M (<https://openlibrary.org/books/OL23704566M>).
- "Cotton MS Julius A VII" (https://web.archive.org/web/20210720174904/http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_julius_a_vii). *British Library*. n.d. Archived from the original (http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_julius_a_vii) on 20 July 2021. Retrieved 14 September 2015.
- "Diplomatarium Norvegicum" (http://www.dokpro.uio.no/dipl_norv/diplom_field_eng.html). *Dokumentasjonsprosjektet*. n.d. Retrieved 14 July 2015.
- "Document 1/4/29" (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/218/>). *People of Medieval Scotland, 1093–1371*. n.d. Retrieved 1 November 2018.
- "Document 1/4/30" (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/220/>). *People of Medieval Scotland, 1093–1371*. n.d. Retrieved 1 November 2018.
- "Document 1/4/31" (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/222/>). *People of Medieval Scotland, 1093–1371*. n.d. Retrieved 1 November 2018.
- "Document 1/5/24" (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/92/>). *People of Medieval Scotland, 1093–1371*. n.d. Retrieved 1 November 2018.
- "Document 1/6/34" (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/362/>). *People of Medieval Scotland, 1093–1371*. n.d. Retrieved 1 November 2018.
- "Document 1/6/124" (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/617/>). *People of Medieval Scotland, 1093–1371*. n.d. Retrieved 1 November 2018.
- "Document 1/6/265" (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/295/>). *People of Medieval Scotland, 1093–1371*. n.d. Retrieved 1 November 2018.
- "Document 2/12/6" (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1175/>). *People of Medieval Scotland, 1093–1371*. n.d. Retrieved 1 November 2018.
- "Document 2/12/12" (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/1180/>). *People of Medieval Scotland, 1093–1371*. n.d. Retrieved 1 November 2018.
- "Document 2/139/41" (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/3483/>). *People of Medieval Scotland, 1093–1371*. n.d. Retrieved 1 November 2018.
- Dugdale, W; Caley, J; Ellis, H; Bulkeley, B, eds. (1830). *Monasticon Anglicanum* (<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb30369530m>). Vol. 6, pt. 2 (New ed.). London: Joseph Harding.
- Eeles, FC, ed. (1914). *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* (<https://archive.org/details/bookofoldeedinbur07olde>). Vol. 7. Edinburgh: The Old Edinburgh Club.
- Gladstone, R (1919). "The Early Annandale Charters and Their Strange Resting Place" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20160304185344/http://www.dgnhas.org.uk/transonline/SerIII-Vol6.pdf>) (PDF). *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*. **6**: 137–146. ISSN 0141-1292 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0141-1292>). Archived from the original (<http://www.dgnhas.org.uk/transonline/SerIII-Vol6.pdf>) (PDF) on 4 March 2016. Retrieved 16 September 2015.
- Goodall, W, ed. (1759). *Joannis de Fordun Scotichronicon cum Supplementis ac Continuatione Walteri Boweri*. Vol. 2. Edinburgh: Roberti Flaminii. [hdl:2027/mdp.39015005759371](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015005759371) (<https://hdl.handle.net/2027%2Fmdp.39015005759371>).

- Gordon, JFS (1868). *Monasticon* (<https://archive.org/details/monasticonaccoun01gorduoft>). Vol. 1. Glasgow: John Tweed. OL 7239194M (<https://openlibrary.org/books/OL7239194M>).
- Hearnus, T, ed. (1722). *Johannis de Fordun Scotichronici* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=MLNhAAAAcAAJ>). Vol. 5. Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano.
- Howlett, R, ed. (1886). *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I* (<https://archive.org/details/chroniclesofreig03howl>). *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores*. Vol. 3. London: Longman & Co.
- Howlett, R, ed. (1889). *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I* (<https://archive.org/details/chroniclesofreig04howl>). *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores*. Vol. 4. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
- Innes, C, ed. (1864). *An Account of the Familie of Innes, Compiled by Duncan Forbes of Culloden, 1608* (<https://archive.org/details/aneaccountoffami00spal>). Aberdeen: The Spalding Club. OL 24829824M (<https://openlibrary.org/books/OL24829824M>).
- Laing, H (1850). *Descriptive Catalogue of Impressions From Ancient Scottish Seals, Royal, Baronial, Ecclesiastical, and Municipal, Embracing a Period From A.D. 1094 to the Commonwealth* (<https://archive.org/details/descriptivecatal00bann>). Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club. OL 24829707M (<https://openlibrary.org/books/OL24829707M>).
- Lawrie, AC, ed. (1905). *Early Scottish Charters, prior to A.D. 1153* (<https://archive.org/details/earlyscottishcha00lawruoft>). Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons. OL 7024304M (<https://openlibrary.org/books/OL7024304M>).
- Lawrie, AC, ed. (1910). *Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William, Kings of Scotland, A.D. 1153–1214* (<https://archive.org/details/annalsofreignsof00lawruoft>). James MacLehose and Sons. OL 7217114M (<https://openlibrary.org/books/OL7217114M>).
- Lawlor, HR, ed. (1920). *St Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of St Malachy of Armagh* (<https://archive.org/details/stbernardofclair00bernuoft>). Translations of Christian Literature, Series V: Lives of Celtic Saints. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. OL 7108542M (<https://openlibrary.org/books/OL7108542M>).
- *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis: Munimenta Ecclesie Sancte Crucis de Edwinesburg* (<https://archive.org/details/libercartarumsan00bann>). Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Club. 1840. OL 24829738M (<https://openlibrary.org/books/OL24829738M>).
- *Liber S. Marie de Calchou: Registrum Cartarum Abbacie Tironensis de Kelso, 1113–1567* (https://archive.org/details/libersmariedecal01kels_0). Vol. 1. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club. 1846.
- Martin, E, ed. (1872). *Fergus Roman von Guillaume le Clerc* (<https://archive.org/details/fergusromanhrsgv00guiluoft>). Halles: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses. OL 17935822M (<https://openlibrary.org/books/OL17935822M>).
- Migne, J-P, ed. (1855). *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus* (https://books.google.com/books?id=H_UQAAAAYAAJ). Latina. Vol. 198. Paris: Jacques-Paul Migne.
- Munch, PA; Goss, A, eds. (1874). *Chronica Regvm Manniæ et Insularvm: The Chronicle of Man and the Sudreys* (<https://archive.org/details/chronicaregvmma00gossgoog>). Vol. 1. Douglas, IM: Manx Society.
- Powicke, M, ed. (1978) [1950]. *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*. Oxford Medieval Texts. Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN 0-19-822256-4.
- Raine, J, ed. (1894). *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops* (<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb372363237>). Vol. 3. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
- *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (<https://archive.org/details/registrumepiscv175glasuoft>). Vol. 1. Edinburgh: Impressum. 1843. OL 14037534M (<https://openlibrary.org/books/OL14037534M>).
- *Report of the Manuscripts of the Earl of Ancaster* (<https://archive.org/details/reportonmas66s7000greauoft>). Historical Manuscripts Commission. Dublin: His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1907. OL 7047737M (<https://openlibrary.org/books/OL7047737M>).

- Riley, HT, ed. (1853). *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden: Comprising the History of England and of Other Countries of Europe, From A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201* (<https://archive.org/details/annalsofrogerdeh01hoveuoft>). Vol. 1. London: H. G. Bohn. OL 7095424M (<https://openlibrary.org/books/OL7095424M>).
- Skene, WF, ed. (1871). *Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum* (<https://archive.org/detail/s/johannisdefordun01ford>). Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. OL 24871486M (<https://openlibrary.org/books/OL24871486M>).
- Skene, WF, ed. (1872). *John of Fordun's Chronicle of the Scottish Nation* (<https://archive.org/details/johannisdefordun02ford>). Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. OL 24871442M (<https://openlibrary.org/books/OL24871442M>).
- Stevenson, J, ed. (1835). *Chronica de Mailros* (<https://archive.org/details/chronicdemailros00melr>). Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Club. OL 13999983M (<https://openlibrary.org/books/OL13999983M>).
- Stevenson, J, ed. (1856). *The Church Historians of England* (<https://archive.org/details/churchhistorians41stev>). Vol. 4, pt. 1. London: Seeleys.
- Stubbs, W, ed. (1867). *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis. Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores*. Vol. 1. Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. hdl:2027/osu.32435026697177 (<https://hdl.handle.net/2027%2Fosu.32435026697177>).
- Stubbs, W, ed. (1869). *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene* (<https://archive.org/details/chronicamagistri02roge>). Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores. Vol. 2. Longmans, Green, and Co.
- "The Annals of Ulster" (<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/G100001A/index.html>). *Corpus of Electronic Texts* (29 August 2008 ed.). University College Cork. 2008. Retrieved 30 August 2015.
- "The Annals of Ulster" (<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100001A/index.html>). *Corpus of Electronic Texts* (15 August 2012 ed.). University College Cork. 2012. Retrieved 30 August 2015.
- *The Bannatyne Miscellany* (<https://archive.org/details/bannatynemiscell02bann>). Vol. 2. Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Club. 1836. OL 24829681M (<https://openlibrary.org/books/OL24829681M>).
- Theiner, A, ed. (1864). *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia* (https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_20XwMW0Y7PcC). Rome: Vatican. hdl:2027/mdp.39015022391661 (<https://hdl.handle.net/2027%2Fmdp.39015022391661>).

Secondary sources

- Aird, WM (2007). " 'Sweet Civility and Barbarous Rudeness': A View From the Frontier. Abbot Ailred of Rievaulx and the Scots" (http://www.cllohres.net/books2/5/04_aird.pdf) (PDF). In Ellis, SG; Klusáková, L (eds.). *Imagining Frontiers Contesting Identities*. Pisa: Edizioni Plus – Pisa University Press. pp. 59–75. ISBN 978-88-8492-466-7.
- Archibald, E (2009). "Questioning Arthurian Ideals". In Archibald, E; Putter, A (eds.). *The Cambridge Companion to the Arthurian Legend*. Cambridge Companions to Literature. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 139–153. ISBN 978-0-521-86059-8.
- Barrow, GWS (1975). "The Pattern of Lordship and Feudal Settlement in Cumbria". *Journal of Medieval History*. 1 (2): 117–138. doi:10.1016/0304-4181(75)90019-6 (<https://doi.org/10.1016%2F0304-4181%2875%2990019-6>). eISSN 1873-1279 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/1873-1279>). ISSN 0304-4181 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0304-4181>).
- Barrow, GWS (1980). *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. ISBN 0-19-822473-7.
- Barrow, GWS (1992). *Scotland and its Neighbours in the Middle Ages*. London: The Hambledon Press. ISBN 1-85285-052-3.
- Barrow, GWS (2005) [1965]. *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. ISBN 0-7486-2022-2.

- Barrow, GWS (2006). "David I (c.1085–1153)" (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7208>). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (January 2006 ed.). Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/7208 (<https://doi.org/10.1093%2Fref%3Aodnb%2F7208>). Retrieved 5 July 2011. (Subscription, [Wikipedia Library](https://wikipedialibrary.wmflabs.org/partners/88/) (<https://wikipedialibrary.wmflabs.org/partners/88/>) access or [UK public library membership](https://www.oxforddnb.com/help/subscribe#public) (<https://www.oxforddnb.com/help/subscribe#public>) required.)
- Barrow, J (2015). *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c. 800–c. 1200*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 978-1-107-08638-8.
- Besamusca, B (2002) [2000]. "The Medieval Dutch Arthurian Material" (http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/besa001medi01_01/besa001medi01_01.pdf) (PDF). In Jackson, WH; Ranawake, SA (eds.). *The Arthur of the Germans: The Arthurian Legend in Medieval German and Dutch Literature*. Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. pp. 187–228. ISBN 0-7083-1776-6.
- Beuermann, I (2010). "'Norgesveldet?' South of Cape Wrath? Political Views Facts, and Questions". In Imsen, S (ed.). *The Norwegian Domination and the Norse World c. 1100–c. 1400*. Trondheim Studies in History. Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press. pp. 99–123. ISBN 978-82-519-2563-1.
- Beuermann, I (2014). "No Soil for Saints: Why was There No Native Royal Martyr in Man and the Isles". In Sigurðsson, JV; Bolton, T (eds.). *Celtic-Norse Relationships in the Irish Sea in the Middle Ages, 800–1200*. The Northern World: North Europe and the Baltic c. 400–1700 AD. Peoples, Economics and Cultures. Leiden: Brill. pp. 81–95. ISBN 978-90-04-25512-8. ISSN 1569-1462 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/1569-1462>).
- Blakely, RM (2005). *The Brus Family in England and Scotland, 1100–1295*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press. ISBN 1-84383-152-X.
- Brooke, D (1991). "Fergus of Galloway: Miscellaneous Notes for a Revised Portrait" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20150402133630/http://www.dgnhas.org.uk/transonline/SerIII-Vol66.pdf>) (PDF). *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*. **66**: 47–58. ISSN 0141-1292 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0141-1292>). Archived from the original (<http://www.dgnhas.org.uk/transonline/SerIII-Vol66.pdf>) (PDF) on 2 April 2015. Retrieved 14 September 2015.
- Brooke, D (1994). *Wild Men and Holy Places: St. Ninian, Whithorn and the Medieval Realm of Galloway*. Edinburgh: Canongate Press. ISBN 0-86241-479-2.
- Brugger, E (1929–1930). "The Hebrides in the French Arthurian Romances". *Arthuriana*. **2**: 7–19. doi:10.2307/43859652 (<https://doi.org/10.2307%2F43859652>). eISSN 2515-1029 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/2515-1029>). ISSN 1359-4133 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/1359-4133>). JSTOR 43859652 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/43859652>).
- Butter, R (2007). *Cill- Names and Saints in Argyll: A Way Towards Understanding the Early Church in Dál Riata?* (<http://theses.gla.ac.uk/4509/>) (PhD thesis). Vol. 1. University of Glasgow.
- Caldwell, DH; Hall, MA; Wilkinson, CM (2009). "The Lewis Hoard of Gaming Pieces: A Re-examination of Their Context, Meanings, Discovery and Manufacture". *Medieval Archaeology*. **53** (1): 155–203. doi:10.1179/007660909X12457506806243 (<https://doi.org/10.1179%2F007660909X12457506806243>). eISSN 1745-817X (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/1745-817X>). ISSN 0076-6097 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0076-6097>). S2CID 154568763 (<https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:154568763>).
- Clancy, TO (2008). "The Gall-Ghàidheil and Galloway" (<http://www.clanntuirc.co.uk/JSNS/V2/JSNS2.pdf>) (PDF). *The Journal of Scottish Name Studies*. **2**: 19–51. ISSN 2054-9385 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/2054-9385>).
- Cowan, IB; Easson, DE (1976) [1957]. *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland: With an Appendix on the Houses in the Isle of Man* (<https://archive.org/details/medievalreligiou0000cowa>) (2nd ed.). London: Longman. ISBN 0-582-12069-1. OL 5212943M (<https://openlibrary.org/books/OL5212943M>).

- Cruden, S (1986). *Scottish Medieval Churches*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers. ISBN 0-85976-104-5.
- Cubbon, W (1952). *Island Heritage: Dealing With Some Phases of Manx History* (<https://archive.org/details/islandheritagede00cubb>). Manchester: George Falkner & Sons. OL 24831804M (<http://openlibrary.org/books/OL24831804M>).
- Downham, C (2013). "Living on the Edge: Scandinavian Dublin in the Twelfth Century". *No Horns on Their Helmets? Essays on the Insular Viking-age*. Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, and Scandinavian Studies. Aberdeen: Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies and The Centre for Celtic Studies, University of Aberdeen. pp. 157–178. ISBN 978-0-9557720-1-6. ISSN 2051-6509 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/2051-6509>).
- Duffy, S (1992). "Irishmen and Islesmen in the Kingdoms of Dublin and Man, 1052–1171". *Ériu*. **43**: 93–133. eISSN 2009-0056 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/2009-0056>). ISSN 0332-0758 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0332-0758>). JSTOR 30007421 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/30007421>).
- Duffy, S (1993). *Ireland and the Irish Sea Region, 1014–1318* (PhD thesis). Trinity College, Dublin. hdl:2262/77137 (<https://hdl.handle.net/2262%2F77137>).
- Duffy, S (2004). "Mac Lochlainn, Muirchertach (d. 1166)" (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20745>). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.). Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/20745 (<https://doi.org/10.1093%2Fref%3Aodnb%2F20745>). Retrieved 5 July 2011. (Subscription, Wikipedia Library (<https://wikimedialibrary.wmflabs.org/partners/88/>) access or UK public library membership (<https://www.oxforddnb.com/help/subscribe#public>) required.)
- Duffy, S (2007). "The Prehistory of the Galloglass". In Duffy, S (ed.). *The World of the Galloglass: Kings, Warlords and Warriors in Ireland and Scotland, 1200–1600*. Dublin: Four Courts Press. pp. 1–23. ISBN 978-1-85182-946-0.
- Duncan, AAM (2008). "Alexander I (d. 1124)" (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/321>). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (October 2008 ed.). Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/321 (<https://doi.org/10.1093%2Fref%3Aodnb%2F321>). Retrieved 24 October 2011. (Subscription, Wikipedia Library (<https://wikimedialibrary.wmflabs.org/partners/88/>) access or UK public library membership (<https://www.oxforddnb.com/help/subscribe#public>) required.)
- Ewart, G; Pringle, D; Caldwell, D; Campbell, E; Driscoll, S; Forsyth, K; Gallagher, D; Holden, T; Hunter, F; Sanderson, D; Thoms, J (2004). "Dundonald Castle Excavations, 1986–93". *Scottish Archaeological Journal*. **26** (1–2): i–x, 1–166. eISSN 1766-2028 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/1766-2028>). ISSN 1471-5767 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/1471-5767>). JSTOR 27917525 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/27917525>).
- Faletra, MA (2014). *Wales and the Medieval Colonial Imagination: The Matters of Britain in the Twelfth Century*. The New Middle Ages. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. doi:10.1057/9781137391032 (<https://doi.org/10.1057%2F9781137391032>). ISBN 978-1-137-39103-2.
- Freeman, MA (1983). "Fergus: Parody and the Arthurian Tradition". *French Forum*. **8** (3): 197–215. eISSN 1534-1836 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/1534-1836>). ISSN 0098-9355 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0098-9355>). JSTOR 40551390 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/40551390>).
- Forte, A; Oram, RD; Pedersen, F (2005). *Viking Empires*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 978-0-521-82992-2.
- Griffin, PC (2002). *The Mac Lochlainn High-Kingship in Late Pre-Norman Ireland* (<http://evergreen.27names.org/academia/MmL.pdf>) (PDF) (PhD thesis). Trinity College, Dublin.
- Hill, P, ed. (1997). *Whithorn and St Ninian: The Excavation of a Monastic Town, 1984–91*. Phoenix Mill, Far Thrupp, Stroud, GLS: Sutton Publishing. ISBN 0-7509-0912-9.

- Hodge, A (2007). "A New Charter of William the Lion Relating to Strathearn". *Scottish Historical Review*. **86** (2): 314–318. doi:10.3366/shr.2007.86.2.314 (<https://doi.org/10.3366%2Fshr.2007.86.2.314>). eISSN 1750-0222 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/1750-0222>). ISSN 0036-9241 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0036-9241>). JSTOR 25529984 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/25529984>). S2CID 159647128 (<https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:159647128>).
- Hollister, CW (2003) [2001]. *Henry I. Yale English Monarchs*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. ISBN 0-300-09829-4.
- Hollister, CW (2004). "Henry I (1068/9–1135)" (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12948>). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.). Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/12948 (<https://doi.org/10.1093%2Fref%3Aodnb%2F12948>). Retrieved 5 July 2011. (Subscription, Wikipedia Library (<https://wikipedialibrary.wmflabs.org/partners/88/>) access or UK public library membership (<https://www.oxforddnb.com/help/subscribe#public>) required.)
- Hollister, CW; Keefe, TK (1973). "The Making of the Angevin Empire". *Journal of British Studies*. **12** (2): 1–25. doi:10.1086/385639 (<https://doi.org/10.1086%2F385639>). eISSN 1545-6986 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/1545-6986>). ISSN 0021-9371 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0021-9371>). JSTOR 175272 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/175272>). S2CID 146449981 (<https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:146449981>).
- Hudson, B (2006). *Irish Sea Studies, 900–1200*. Dublin: Four Courts Press. ISBN 9781851829835.
- Hudson, BT (2005). *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes: Dynasty, Religion, and Empire in the North Atlantic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN 978-0-19-516237-0.
- Hunt, T (2005). "The Roman de Fergus: Parody or Pastiche?". In Purdie, R; Royan, N (eds.). *The Scots and Medieval Arthurian Legend*. Arthurian Studies. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer. pp. 55–70. ISBN 1-84384-036-7. ISSN 0261-9814 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0261-9814>).
- Jamroziak, E (2008). "Cistercians and Border Conflicts: Some Comparisons Between the Experiences of Scotland and Pomerania". In Burton, J; Stöber, K (eds.). *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the Later Middle Ages*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press. pp. 40–50. ISBN 978-1-84383-386-4.
- Kapelle, WE (1979). *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and its Transformation, 1000–1135*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press. ISBN 0-8078-1371-0.
- Keefe, TK (1981). "King Henry II and the Earls: The Pipe Roll Evidence". *Albion*. **13** (3): 191–222. doi:10.2307/4048847 (<https://doi.org/10.2307%2F4048847>). ISSN 0095-1390 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0095-1390>). JSTOR 4048847 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/4048847>).
- Kermode, PMC (1916). "Further Discoveries of Cross-Slabs in the Isle of Man" (https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/catalogue/adsdata/arch-352-1/dissemination/pdf/vol_050/50_050_064.pdf) (PDF). *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*. **50**: 50–62. doi:10.9750/PSAS.050.50.62 (<https://doi.org/10.9750%2FPSAS.050.50.62>). eISSN 2056-743X (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/2056-743X>). ISSN 0081-1564 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0081-1564>). S2CID 223924724 (<https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:223924724>).
- King, E (2004). "Ranulf (I), Third Earl of Chester (d. 1129)" (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23127>). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.). Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/23127 (<https://doi.org/10.1093%2Fref%3Aodnb%2F23127>). Retrieved 1 June 2013. (Subscription, Wikipedia Library (<https://wikipedialibrary.wmflabs.org/partners/88/>) access or UK public library membership (<https://www.oxforddnb.com/help/subscribe#public>) required.)
- Kuiper, W (1998). "Fergus" (<https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofmedi00gerr>). In Gerritsen, WP; van Melle, AG (eds.). *A Dictionary of Medieval Heroes* (<https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofmedi00gerr/page/100>). Woodbridge: The Boydell Press. pp. 100–103 (<https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofmedi00gerr/page/100>). ISBN 0-85115-381-X. OL 356056M (<https://openlibrary.org/books/OL356056M>).

- Legge, MD (1948–1949). "Some Notes on the Roman de Fergus" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20190217084954/http://www.dgnhas.org.uk/tdgnhas/3027.pdf>) (PDF). *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*. **27**: 163–172. ISSN 0141-1292 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0141-1292>). Archived from the original (<http://www.dgnhas.org.uk/tdgnhas/3027.pdf>) (PDF) on 17 February 2019. Retrieved 20 May 2019.
- Legge, MD (1964). "The Father of Fergus of Galloway". *Scottish Historical Review*. **43** (1): 86–87. eISSN 1750-0222 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/1750-0222>). ISSN 0036-9241 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0036-9241>). JSTOR 25528555 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/25528555>).
- MacInnes, IA (2019). "'A Somewhat too Cruel Vengeance was Taken for the Blood of the Slain': Royal Punishment of Rebels, Traitors, and Political Enemies in Medieval Scotland, c.1100–c.1250". In Tracy, L (ed.). *Treason: Medieval and Early Modern Adultery, Betrayal, and Shame*. Explorations in Medieval Culture. Leiden: Brill. pp. 119–146. ISBN 978-90-04-40069-6. ISSN 2352-0299 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/2352-0299>). LCCN 2019017096 (<https://lccn.loc.gov/2019017096>).
- MacQueen, HL (2003). "Scotland: Politics, Government and Law". In Rigby, SH (ed.). *A Companion to Britain in the Later Middle Ages*. Blackwell Companions to British History. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. pp. 283–308. ISBN 0-631-21785-1.
- McDonald, A (1995). "Scoto-Norse Kings and the Reformed Religious Orders: Patterns of Monastic Patronage in Twelfth-Century Galloway and Argyll". *Albion*. **27** (2): 187–219. doi:10.2307/4051525 (<https://doi.org/10.2307/4051525>). ISSN 0095-1390 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0095-1390>). JSTOR 4051525 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/4051525>).
- McDonald, RA (1997). *The Kingdom of the Isles: Scotland's Western Seaboard, c. 1100–c. 1336*. Scottish Historical Monographs. East Linton: Tuckwell Press. ISBN 978-1-898410-85-0.
- McDonald, RA (2000). "Rebels Without a Cause? The Relations of Fergus of Galloway and Somerled of Argyll With the Scottish Kings, 1153–1164". In Cowan, E; McDonald, R (eds.). *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Middle Ages*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press. pp. 166–186. ISBN 1-86232-151-5.
- McDonald, RA (2002). "Soldiers Most Unfortunate" (<https://archive.org/details/historyliteratur0000unse/page/93>). In McDonald, R (ed.). *History, Literature, and Music in Scotland, 700–1560*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. pp. 93–119 (<https://archive.org/details/historyliteratur0000unse/page/93>). ISBN 0-8020-3601-5.
- McDonald, RA (2003). *Outlaws of Medieval Scotland: Challenges to the Canmore Kings, 1058–1266*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press. ISBN 9781862322363.
- McDonald, RA (2007a). "Dealing Death From Man: Manx Sea Power in and around the Irish Sea, 1079–1265". In Duffy, S (ed.). *The World of the Galloglass: Kings, Warlords and Warriors in Ireland and Scotland, 1200–1600*. Dublin: Four Courts Press. pp. 45–76. ISBN 978-1-85182-946-0.
- McDonald, RA (2007b). *Manx Kingship in its Irish Sea Setting, 1187–1229: King Rǫgnvaldr and the Crovan Dynasty*. Dublin: Four Courts Press. ISBN 978-1-84682-047-2.
- McDonald, RA (2008). "Man, Ireland, and England: The English Conquest of Ireland and Dublin-Manx Relations". In Duffy, S (ed.). *Medieval Dublin*. Vol. 8. Dublin: Four Courts Press. pp. 131–149. ISBN 978-1-84682-042-7.
- McDonald, RA (2012). "The Manx Sea Kings and the Western Oceans: The Late Norse Isle of Man in its North Atlantic Context, 1079–1265". In Hudson, B (ed.). *Studies in the Medieval Atlantic*. The New Middle Ages. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 143–184. doi:10.1057/9781137062390_6 (https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137062390_6). ISBN 978-1-137-06239-0.

- McDonald, RA (2016). "Sea Kings, Maritime Kingdoms and the Tides of Change: Man and the Isles and Medieval European Change, AD c1100–1265". In Barrett, JH; Gibbon, SJ (eds.). *Maritime Societies of the Viking and Medieval World*. The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph. Milton Park, Abingdon: Routledge. pp. 333–349. doi:10.4324/9781315630755 (<http://doi.org/10.4324/9781315630755>). ISBN 978-1-315-63075-5. ISSN 0583-9106 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0583-9106>).
- McDonald, RA; McLean, SA (1992). "Somerled of Argyll: A New Look at Old Problems". *Scottish Historical Review*. **71** (1–2): 3–22. eISSN 1750-0222 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/1750-0222>). ISSN 0036-9241 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0036-9241>). JSTOR 25530531 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/25530531>).
- Neville, CJ (1983). *The Earls of Strathearn From the Twelfth to the Mid-Fourteenth Century, With an Edition of Their Written Acts* (PhD thesis). Vol. 1. University of Aberdeen.
- Neville, CJ (2016). "The Beginnings of Royal Pardon in Scotland". *Journal of Medieval History*. **42** (5): 1–29. doi:10.1080/03044181.2016.1212250 (<https://doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2016.1212250>). eISSN 1873-1279 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/1873-1279>). ISSN 0304-4181 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0304-4181>). S2CID 157655719 (<https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:157655719>).
- O'Byrne, E (2005a). "Mac Lochlainn, Muirchertach (c. 1110–1166)". In Duffy, S (ed.). *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Routledge. pp. 295–298. ISBN 0-415-94052-4.
- O'Byrne, E (2005b). "Ua Conchobair, Ruaidrí (c. 1116–1198)". In Duffy, S (ed.). *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Routledge. pp. 466–471. ISBN 0-415-94052-4.
- O'Byrne, E (2005c). "Ua Conchobair, Tairrdelbach (1088–1156)". In Duffy, S (ed.). *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Routledge. pp. 471–474. ISBN 0-415-94052-4.
- Oram, R (2009). "The Medieval Bishops of Whithorn, Their Cathedral and Their Tombs". In Lowe, C (ed.). *'Clothing for the Soul Divine': Burials at the Tomb of St Ninian, Excavations at Whithorn Priory, 1957–67*. Archaeology Report. Edinburgh: Historic Scotland. pp. 131–165. hdl:1893/7085 (<https://hdl.handle.net/1893/7085>). ISBN 978-1-84917-017-8.
- Oram, RD (1988). *The Lordship of Galloway, c. 1000 to c. 1250* (PhD thesis). University of St Andrews. hdl:10023/2638 (<https://hdl.handle.net/10023/2638>).
- Oram, RD (1991). "Fergus, Galloway and the Scots" (http://ssns.org.uk/resources/Documents/Books/Galloway_1991/08_Oram_Galloway_1991_pp_117-130.pdf) (PDF). In Oram, RD; Stell, GP (eds.). *Galloway: Land and Lordship*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Society for Northern Studies. pp. 117–130. ISBN 0-9505994-6-8.
- Oram, RD (1993). "A Family Business? Colonisation and Settlement in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Galloway". *Scottish Historical Review*. **72** (2): 111–145. doi:10.3366/shr.1993.72.2.111 (<https://doi.org/10.3366/shr.1993.72.2.111>). eISSN 1750-0222 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/1750-0222>). hdl:1893/6623 (<https://hdl.handle.net/1893/6623>). ISSN 0036-9241 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0036-9241>).
- Oram, RD (2000). *The Lordship of Galloway*. Edinburgh: John Donald. ISBN 0-85976-541-5.
- Oram, RD (2004). "Fergus, Lord of Galloway (d. 1161)" (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/49360>). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.). Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/49360 (<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/49360>). Retrieved 5 July 2011. (Subscription, Wikipedia Library (<https://wikimedialibrary.wmflabs.org/partners/88/>) access or UK public library membership (<https://www.oxforddnb.com/help/subscribe#public>) required.)
- Oram, RD (2008). "Royal and Lordly Residence in Scotland c 1050 to c 1250: An Historiographical Review and Critical Revision". *The Antiquaries Journal*. **88**: 165–189. doi:10.1017/S0003581500001372 (<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003581500001372>). eISSN 1758-5309 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/1758-5309>). hdl:1893/2122 (<https://hdl.handle.net/1893/2122>). ISSN 0003-5815 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0003-5815>). S2CID 18450115 (<https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:18450115>).

- Oram, RD (2011). *Domination and Lordship: Scotland 1070–1230*. The New Edinburgh History of Scotland. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. ISBN 978-0-7486-1496-7.
- Power, R (2005). "Meeting in Norway: Norse–Gaelic Relations in the Kingdom of Man and the Isles, 1090–1270" (<http://www.vsnrweb-publications.org.uk/Saga-Book%20XXIX.pdf>) (PDF). *Saga-Book*. **29**: 5–66. ISSN 0305-9219 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0305-9219>).
- Radford, CAR (1948–1949). "Excavations at Whithorn, 1949" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20190217084954/http://www.dgnhas.org.uk/tdgnhas/3027.pdf>) (PDF). *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*. **27**: 85–126. ISSN 0141-1292 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0141-1292>). Archived from the original (<http://www.dgnhas.org.uk/tdgnhas/3027.pdf>) (PDF) on 17 February 2019. Retrieved 20 May 2019.
- Reid, RC (1932). "Soulseat" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20130510102243/http://www.dgnhas.org.uk/transonline/SerIII-Vol17.pdf>) (PDF). *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*. **17**: 172–181. ISSN 0141-1292 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0141-1292>). Archived from the original (<http://www.dgnhas.org.uk/transonline/SerIII-Vol17.pdf>) (PDF) on 10 May 2013. Retrieved 14 September 2015.
- Rickard, P (2011) [1956]. *Britain in Medieval French Literature, 1100–1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 978-1-107-67070-9.
- Rixson, D (1982). *The West Highland Galley*. Edinburgh: Birlinn. ISBN 1-874744-86-6.
- Scott, JG (1982). "An Early Sheriff of Dumfries?" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20160304185957/http://www.dgnhas.org.uk/transonline/SerIII-Vol57.pdf>) (PDF). *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*. **57**: 90–91. ISSN 0141-1292 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0141-1292>). Archived from the original (<http://www.dgnhas.org.uk/transonline/SerIII-Vol57.pdf>) (PDF) on 4 March 2016. Retrieved 14 September 2015.
- Scott, JG (1988). "The Origins of Dundrennan and Soulseat Abbeys" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20160304192905/http://www.dgnhas.org.uk/transonline/SerIII-Vol63.pdf>) (PDF). *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*. **63**: 35–44. ISSN 0141-1292 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0141-1292>). Archived from the original (<http://www.dgnhas.org.uk/transonline/SerIII-Vol63.pdf>) (PDF) on 4 March 2016. Retrieved 14 September 2015.
- Scott, JG (1993). "Galloway in the 1100's" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20160304193216/http://www.dgnhas.org.uk/transonline/SerIII-Vol68.pdf>) (PDF). *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*. **68**: 131–133. ISSN 0141-1292 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0141-1292>). Archived from the original (<http://www.dgnhas.org.uk/transonline/SerIII-Vol68.pdf>) (PDF) on 4 March 2016. Retrieved 14 September 2015.
- Scott, JG (1997). "The Partition of a Kingdom: Strathclyde 1092–1153" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20130510102347/http://www.dgnhas.org.uk/transonline/SerIII-Vol72.pdf>) (PDF). *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*. **72**: 11–40. ISSN 0141-1292 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0141-1292>). Archived from the original (<http://www.dgnhas.org.uk/transonline/SerIII-Vol72.pdf>) (PDF) on 10 May 2013. Retrieved 14 September 2015.
- Scott, WW (2008). "Malcolm IV (1141–1165)" (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17860>). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (January 2008 ed.). Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/17860 (<https://doi.org/10.1093%2Fref%3Aodnb%2F17860>). Retrieved 24 October 2011. (Subscription, Wikipedia Library (<https://wikimedialibrary.wmflabs.org/partners/88/>) access or UK public library membership (<https://www.oxforddnb.com/help/subscribe#public>) required.)
- Sellar, WDH (2000). "Hebridean Sea Kings: The Successors of Somerled, 1164–1316". In Cowan, EJ; McDonald, RA (eds.). *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Middle Ages*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press. pp. 187–218. ISBN 1-86232-151-5.

- Sharpe, R (2011). "Peoples and Languages in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Britain and Ireland: Reading the Charter Evidence" (<http://paradox.poms.ac.uk/redist/pdf/chapter1.pdf>) (PDF). In Broun, D (ed.). *The Reality Behind Charter Diplomacy in Anglo-Norman Britain* (<http://paradox.poms.ac.uk/ebook/index.html>). Glasgow: Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies, University of Glasgow. pp. 1–119. ISBN 978-0-85261-919-3.
- Simms, K (2000) [1987]. *From Kings to Warlords*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press. ISBN 978-0-85115-784-9.
- Smith, B (2016) [2002]. "The Frontiers of Church Reform in the British Isles, 1170–1230". In Abulafia, D; Berend, N (eds.). *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*. Milton Park, Abingdon: Routledge. pp. 239–253. doi:10.4324/9781315249285 (<https://doi.org/10.4324%2F9781315249285>). ISBN 978-0-7546-0522-5.
- Stell, G (1991). "Medieval Buildings and Secular Lordship" (https://web.archive.org/web/20181125115525/https://ssns.org.uk/resources/Documents/Books/Galloway_1991/10_Stell_Galloway_1991_pp_145-160.pdf) (PDF). In Oram, RD; Stell, GP (eds.). *Galloway: Land and Lordship*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Society for Northern Studies. pp. 145–159. ISBN 0-9505994-6-8. Archived from the original (https://ssns.org.uk/resources/Documents/Books/Galloway_1991/10_Stell_Galloway_1991_pp_145-160.pdf) (PDF) on 25 November 2018. Retrieved 20 May 2019.
- Strickland, MJ (2012). "The Kings of Scots at War, c. 1093–1286". In Spiers, EM; Crang, JA; Strickland, MJ (eds.). *A Military History of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. pp. 94–132. ISBN 978-0-7486-3204-6.
- Stringer, K (1980). "Galloway and the Abbeys of Rievaulx and Dundrennan" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20130510060215/http://www.dgnhas.org.uk/transonline/SerIII-Vol55.pdf>) (PDF). *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*. **55**: 174–177. ISSN 0141-1292 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0141-1292>). Archived from the original (<http://www.dgnhas.org.uk/transonline/SerIII-Vol55.pdf>) (PDF) on 10 May 2013. Retrieved 14 September 2015.
- Stringer, K (2004). "Morville, Richard de (d. 1189/90)" (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19380>). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.). Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/19380 (<https://doi.org/10.1093%2Fref%3Aodnb%2F19380>). Retrieved 27 September 2011. (Subscription, Wikipedia Library (<https://wikimedialibrary.wmflabs.org/partners/88/>) access or UK public library membership (<https://www.oxforddnb.com/help/subscribe#public>) required.)
- Stringer, KJ (2000). "Reform Monasticism and Celtic Scotland: Galloway, c.1140–c.1240". In Cowan, EJ; McDonald, RA (eds.). *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Middle Ages*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press. pp. 127–165. ISBN 1-86232-151-5.
- Taylor, A (2016). *The Shape of the State in Medieval Scotland, 1124–1290*. Oxford Studies in Medieval European History. Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN 978-0-19-874920-2.
- Thomas, N (1993). "The Old French Roman de Fergus: Scottish Mise-en-Scène and Political Implication". *Parergon*. **11** (1): 91–101. doi:10.1353/pgn.1993.0045 (<https://doi.org/10.1353%2Fpgn.1993.0045>). S2CID 144806146 (<https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:144806146>).
- Thompson, K (2003). "Affairs of State: The Illegitimate Children of Henry I". *Journal of Medieval History*. **29** (2): 129–151. doi:10.1016/S0304-4181(03)00015-0 (<https://doi.org/10.1016%2FS0304-4181%2803%2900015-0>). eISSN 1873-1279 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/1873-1279>). ISSN 0304-4181 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0304-4181>). S2CID 144398531 (<https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:144398531>).
- Webb, N (2004). *Settlement and Integration in Scotland 1124–1214: Local Society and the Development of Aristocratic Communities: With Special Reference to the Anglo-French Settlement of the South East* (<http://theses.gla.ac.uk/3535/>) (PhD thesis). University of Glasgow.

- Wenthe, M (2012). "Mapping Scottish Identity in the Roman de Fergus" ([https://web.archive.org/web/20160815121415/http://oceanlinepress.com/LATCH%20\(Vol.%205,%202012,%20Wenthe,%20Mapping%20Scottish%20Identity,%20pp.%2028-53,%20IP%20Mar\).pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20160815121415/http://oceanlinepress.com/LATCH%20(Vol.%205,%202012,%20Wenthe,%20Mapping%20Scottish%20Identity,%20pp.%2028-53,%20IP%20Mar).pdf)) (PDF). *LATCH: A Journal for the Study of the Literary Artifact in Theory, Culture, or History*. **5**: 28–53. eISSN 1940-5731 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/1940-5731>). ISSN 1947-9441 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/1947-9441>). Archived from the original ([http://oceanlinepress.com/LATCH%20\(Vol.%205,%202012,%20Wenthe,%20Mapping%20Scottish%20Identity,%20pp.%2028-53,%20IP%20Mar\).pdf](http://oceanlinepress.com/LATCH%20(Vol.%205,%202012,%20Wenthe,%20Mapping%20Scottish%20Identity,%20pp.%2028-53,%20IP%20Mar).pdf)) (PDF) on 15 August 2016. Retrieved 31 July 2016.
- Wilson, DM (1973). "Manx Memorial Stones of the Viking Period" (<http://www.vsnrweb-publications.org.uk/Saga-Book%201-22%20searchable/Saga-Book%20XVIII.pdf>) (PDF). *Saga-Book*. **18**: 1–18.
- Woolf, A (2004). "The Age of Sea-Kings, 900–1300". In Omand, D (ed.). *The Argyll Book*. Edinburgh: Birlinn. pp. 94–109. ISBN 1-84158-253-0.
- Woolf, A (2013). "The Song of the Death of Somerled and the Destruction of Glasgow in 1153" (<http://openjournals.library.usyd.edu.au/index.php/JSSH/article/view/7372>). *Journal of the Sydney Society for Scottish History*. **14**: 1–11.

External links

- "Fergus, Lord of Galloway (d.1161)" (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/person/244/>). *People of Medieval Scotland, 1093–1371*.
-

Retrieved from "https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Fergus_of_Galloway&oldid=1361389130"