Rock-Rider

Saint Conval
and his Church at Inchinnan

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Inchinnan Historical Interest Group

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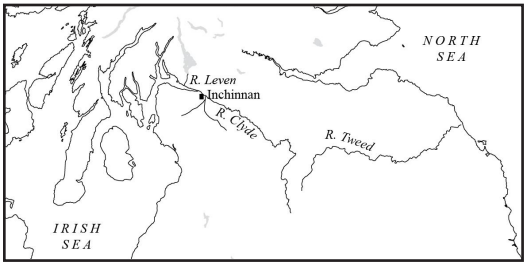
Introduction

This booklet explores, as its title suggests, the cult of St Conval and the medieval church of Inchinnan which was dedicated to that saint. We might want to ask questions such as: Who was St Conval? When did Christianity first appear here, and was it brought by Conval? What did medieval Christians in Inchinnan believe about this saint, and who wrote the stories we have now, and why? Should we treat these accounts as historically accurate, or are there more illuminating ways of reading them? In the following pages we will examine some of the evidence which might help us to answer such questions, looking at translations of the original medieval texts about Conval, at the landscape and the archaeology of the church site, and at the history of the area as known from other sources.

This publication is part of a research programme organised by Inchinnan Historical Interest Group and conducted by Calluna Archaeology and Northlight Archaeology which included a community excavation of the site of the old church in 2017. The questions and tentative suggestions in the following pages should be read in combination with the report of that excavation for a better understanding of the site and its past.

Inchinnan in Context

The site of the old church of Inchinnan was part of a vital communication hub on the lower Clyde. Waterways in the ancient and medieval world were the main thoroughfares, and for thousands of years the Clyde has been used for long-distance travel for trade, invasion, raiding and exploration. A bronze sword found in the River Clyde very close to Inchinnan was made nearly three thousand years ago, but it is not a local artefact. It was made on the Continent. Did some traders bring it here to exchange for local produce? Was it brought here as part of an exchange of gifts, perhaps as two communities created an alliance of some sort? If that was the case, how did this precious object end up in the river? Was it dropped here by accident, or was it deposited as a sacrificial offering to the goddess of the river? Another scenario is that it was owned by one of a raiding party which came here to attack local people, dropping his weapon in the river as he leaped onto his ship when the raid was over? Whatever its story, this sword speaks to us of long-distance connections between the lower Clyde and the continent during the Bronze Age.

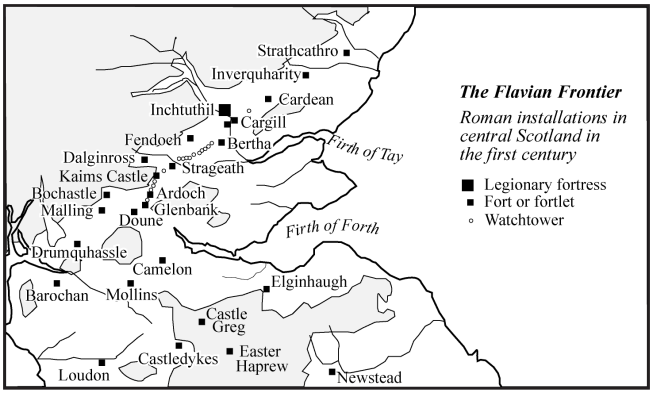


Inchinnan's place by the River Clyde not only gave

direct access to the Irish Sea and beyond. Using these waterways people could travel up the River Leven to Loch Lomond in the north, and so into the Highlands. They could go up the Black Cart, the White Cart and the River Gryffe into the hills of Renfrewshire. And most dramatically they could also travel far up the River Clyde, deep into southern Scotland. And once they reached the headwaters of the Clyde, it was only a couple of hours walk across the moorland at the 'Biggar Gap' to the headwaters of the Tweed, which would take them to the east coast and the North Sea.

The Roman experience

Nine centuries after that bronze sword was dropped in the Clyde, other armed men stood on the banks of the river. Roman legions fought, bribed and bullied their way northwards through Britain in the 60s and 70s AD. According to the first-century writer Tacitus, the Roman governor Agricola built a line of forts across the country from the Clyde (*Clota*) in the west to the Forth in the east. This was in the year 79 or 80 AD. The line of forts may be an error, but there is little doubt that Agricola crossed the Clyde and marched his legions well into the north. During his operations in Scotland, the archaeological evidence (as opposed to Tacitus's writing) shows that his army did build a line of forts across Scotland, not from the Clyde to the Forth but along the southern edge of the Highlands, controlling movement between the mountainous areas and the lowlands. The first-century fort at Barochan, a mere four miles from Inchinnan, lay at the south-western end of the line.



But Agricola's works were not destined to last. The line of forts was abandoned in AD 86 or 87, and Roman troops withdrew further south. In the mid-second century, however, the Roman army pushed north again into the Central Belt, and this time they did create a frontier between the Clyde and the Forth and the Emperor Antoninus Pius built 'a wall of turf, driving off the barbarians'. The 'barbarians' now were the non-Roman Britons living north of the AntonineWall. The implication of this statement about the 'barbarians' is that the people to the south of the wall were beginning to be regarded as non-barbarians, and therefore in some sense *Romani*.

And that included the people of what would one day become the parish of Inchinnan, since it lay south of the wall whose western end was at Old Kilpatrick on the other side of the Clyde. By AD 142 or 143 then, the people here were being portrayed as part of the Empire. They could see the wall and its forts across the River Clyde to the north. For example Duntocher, lying directly on the wall, was on high ground less than three miles away. The Gaelic name Duntocher means 'fort on the road', and the road or *tóchar* in question was presumably the Roman road which ran alongside the Antonine Wall, enabling troops, equipment and officials to move easily along it. The Antonine defences also extended beyond the end of the wall, so that there was a fort on the south bank of the Clyde at Bishopton, not far from Inchinnan, which should be seen as part of the same militarised frontier.

It is important to remember that the Roman Empire was not run only by people from the city of Rome. It was a conglomeration of people – soldiers, lawyers, administrators, merchants, slave-traders, pimps, sailors and more – who thought of themselves as Romans, but came from a huge number of different societies in Europe, Africa and Asia. They spoke various different languages, wore different clothing, and worshipped countless different gods. The names of some of their gods appear on the altars that Roman soldiers and others carved in the areas they occupied: a goddess called Harimella, evidently German, was culted at Birrens in Dumfries-shire. Also at Birrens a god called Ricagambeda was honoured by a Tungrian unit who came from the area near modern Maastricht (Netherlands). In the second century a unit of five hundred archers originally from Northern Syria served on both Hadrian's Wall and at Bar Hill on the Antonine Wall where they left an altar dedicated to 'the goddess of the Samians'. And more than five thousand Sarmatian cavalry were recruited to serve the Empire in northern Britain, no doubt bringing recollections of their own gods from back home (Sarmatia lay to the north of the Black Sea, roughly corresponding to modern Ukraine).

Among the huge variety of traditions and practices that washed up on the shores of Britain during nearly four centuries of Roman occupation there was one which lasted. At first it had arrived just like all the others, part of the soup of miscellaneous cultures that came and went. But in spite of being disliked – and sometimes persecuted – by the Roman authorities until the early fourth century, Christianity survived to become the religion of the Roman Emperor Constantine in or shortly after AD 312. Christianity would thereafter become a constant presence both within and beyond the Empire. Coins began to circulate bearing the Emperor's

A coin of the usurper emperor Magnentius bears the chi-rho symbol (c.350 x 353)

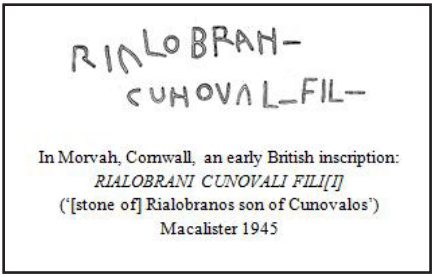
image on one side and the *chi-rho* symbol (*X* and *P*) on the other. These two Greek letters are the first letters of *Christos* or 'Christ'. Every time such a coin changed hands it proclaimed that the Christian faith was 'ours'.

Even after the collapse of Roman rule in Britain in about AD 410, the Christian idea and Christian practices had so permeated the local cultures that they continued to thrive. Sub-Roman inscriptions in southern Scotland indicate a continuing Christian belief among the British communities here, and among the scattering of former Roman troops and officials who probably remained behind as part of the local society when the Empire withdrew.

Conval and the Early British Church

It is in this context that we have to consider the beginnings of the church at Inchinnan. The earliest Christianity in southern Scotland was simply one of the traces of a widespread international Roman culture, what we might call 'the dregs of Empire'. It was not the result of a 'mission' in which a church was founded by a bishop or preacher sent from far away to convert the 'pagans'. It was simply the result of centuries of cultural exchange between Scotland and the wider world. When imperial control collapsed, many Roman features were left behind in northern Britain, like driftwood left on the shore as the tide goes out: traces of spoken Latin, the residue of military units around Hadrian's Wall, the occupation of old Roman buildings by new local elites, and various manifestations of a British church, including bishops and clergy.

At some point during the sub-Roman period, probably in the sixth or seventh century, someone whom later Latin writers called *Convallus* was to live and die. We don't know where he was from or where he lived. We will return in due course to what medieval writers said about him many centuries later, but these writings don't help us to find 'the historical Conval'. We don't even know what language he spoke, because the Latin form of his name disguises the original name by which he was known to his own people in his own language. Latin *Convallus* may represent one of two different names.



In Morvah, Cornwall, an early British inscription:
RIALOBRANI CUNOVALI FILI[I]
('[stone of] Rialobranos son of Cunovalos')
Macalister 1945

The first possibility is that his name was a version of an early Common Celtic *Cunoualos* which means 'mighty hound' (the 'hound' element is actually an honourable one). The original name *Cunoualos* developed reflexes in both British (the language ancestral to Welsh) and Gaelic. In Welsh it became *Cynwal*; in Gaelic it developed as *Conuall* and later as *Conall*. It is worth noticing that the *u* or *v* of the original *–ualos* element is retained as a *w* in British and then Welsh, but Gaelic eventually loses it. Whether our saint was a Briton or a Gael then, *Cunoualos* may be the name that underlies the

form that we find in medieval Latin documents as *Convallus*.[1]

The second possibility for the origin of his name is that it comes from a Common Celtic *Cunomaglos* 'hound lord'. This became Welsh *Cynfael* and Gaelic *Conmáel*. The British *f* and the Gaelic *m* were both pronounced as a /v/ in this context, so Latin *Convallus* would be a good representation of the name. Though our Latin form *Convallus* could represent either *Cunoualos* or *Cunomaglos* the former is more likely.

So, we can't be certain what this saint's original name was, and we can't tell from the Latin form of his name whether he was originally named in British or in Gaelic. In fact it seems likely that the British-speaking south-west coast of Scotland and the Gaelic-speaking north-east of Ireland were as close together culturally and socially as they are geographically. There seems to have been a good deal of to-ing and fro-ing of churchmen between the two sides of the water in the sixth century. We get a clear sense of this in the case of another saint's cult[2] which, if we explore it a little, will shed light on aspects of the cult of St Conval. The original name of this other saint was *Uindobarros* 'white head', often shortened to *Uinniau*. He was probably a British saint, with a British name, but he actually has a higher profile on the Irish side of the water where very important churches commemorated him and where he had the reputation of having been the teacher of St Columba of Iona. In the case of *Uinniau* we have one saint whose original name gradually assumed multiple forms, partly because he was celebrated in two different languages, and partly because of the practice common to both Gaelic and British churches of playing with a saint's name, giving it various affectionate or devotional forms.[3] In Gaelic sources his name appears as *Findbarr* and by inversion *Barrfhind,* but also *Finnian, Finnio, Finnianus, Finnen, Findén* and others. In Britain his name appears in place-names such as Kil*winning*, Kirk*gunzion*, Inch*innan*, Kirk*ennan*, and possibly Loch*winnnoch* – giving a sense of the multiple forms his name could take.[4] So Uinniau, as we may call him, with a cult on both sides of the sea, gives us a flavour of the sixth-century multi-cultural world in which he lived.[5]

A further aspect of the cult of Uinniau is worth highlighting here. As his cult spread, as he became associated with more and more places, and as his name took ever more variant forms, his cult began to fragment. People forgot that the Uinniau celebrated in one place was the same as the Uinniau or Finnian celebrated in another. So it seems that one man gradually became two: he became 'Finnian of

[1] For the loss of the *u* or *v* in the *–ualos* element in Gaelic contexts, and its maintenance in British, compare *Totaval[os]* which is rendered in British *Tudwal* and Gaelic *Tuathal*; likewise Celtic *Dumnoualos* (world-mighty) appears as *Dumngual* in British and *Domnall* in Gaelic.

[2] The word 'cult' has long been used by to refer to ordinary expressions of Christain devotion. It is in no way pejorative in this sense (unlike the modern popular use of the term). Of course, it is associated with words like 'culture', 'cultivation', and so on, which are much more like what it means in 'the cult of saints'.

[3] The technical word for such a name is a 'hypocorism' or 'hypocoristic form'.

[4] The occurrences of the saint's name are italicised here to highlight their place in the names.

[5] For detailed study of this cult see Clancy, 2001.

Moville' and 'Finnian of Clonard', and new miracle stories, family relationships and feast-days for these 'two' saints began to appear. In this way we see what became a common practice of a single cult splitting into two or three or even more distinct cults.

We will return to Uinniau in due course, but in the meantime what his cult does is to reveal a pattern which will help us to understand the cult of St Conval: a British saint acquires multiple name-forms in both British and Gaelic; he is culted on both sides of the Irish Sea; later confusion about the multiple forms of his name gives rise to multiple identities, while the number of different places dedicated to him in different guises adds further confusion. A plurality of saints arises out of one original. The same pattern may be seen in the case of Conval, as we shall see.

Later writers wrote extensively about Conval, about who he was, where he came from, what he did, and where he died. But these writings are not reliable from the historian's point of view. They are the work of the creative and devout minds of people who were writing many centuries after Conval's death. Their stories were often created out of thin air, or were simply borrowed from a large stock of standard motifs which were widely applied to any number of saints, sometimes simply transferred from one saint's dossier to another. These stories are often very interesting in their own right, because they tell us about *later* devotion to the saint and about the people who honoured him, but they tell us next to nothing about the historical figure of Conval himself.[6]

Inchinnan Church (part I)

At the time when St Conval lived – probably in the sixth or seventh century – most churches in Scotland were made of wood. There were some exceptions to this which were built in stone, but they were few and far between. Wood rots away over the centuries, and leaves very little for the archaeologist to discover. Sometimes we might find a series of dark patches of soil in the ground, arranged in a rectangular shape. These are the remains of post-holes, where the upright wooden posts of the building's frame went into the ground. Over the centuries they have rotted away completely and left only a dark stain where they once stood. Such marks might tell us how big a building was, how it was organised, or how it was orientated, but sadly nothing of this sort has been found of the early church building of Inchinnan – at least so far. What has been found from an early part of the church's history is a number of carved stones (see final pages for illustrations). As these stones were probably made in the tenth or eleventh century, they pre-date the earliest writings

[6] For this reason we will not go into great detail about the many supposedly different saints called Conval, and we will not dwell on the details of his life other than to reproduce (in translation) some of the earlier statements about him. There is absolutely no point in wondering, as some have, what happened to the books that Conval (or 'one of the Convals') was supposed to have written, such as the *Life of Kentigern*, a book *Contra ritus Ethnicorum* 'against the rites of the pagans'. These works almost certainly never existed, and are the product of a much later imagination.

about Inchinnan, and they may pre-date the earliest stone-built church here. The stones are therefore important evidence for the earlier history of Inchinnan church. They bear some resemblance to other carved stones of the same period, at Govan and in other parts of this area, which was then the heartland of the British kingdom of Strathclyde.

Much more work needs to be done on this family of carvings, what they meant, where they were located and why, but in the meantime we may simply remark that the early carvings at Inchinnan include four large pieces and one small fragment.[7] One of the large pieces is the shaft of a cross that would once have stood upright. Its head and arms are missing. Two other stones are recumbent monuments, slabs marking burials, each bearing a cross and adorned with interlace or knotwork. A fourth stone – the most elaborate – is possibly the cover of an early medieval shrine. Its corners have curious rounded features which look as if they may have been the topmost parts of corner columns or posts. Three of these stones were kept at the site of the old church for centuries until it was closed and demolished in 1965; they were then moved to the new church in the town of Inchinnan where they can still be seen in an outbuilding by the bell tower. One cross-slab was largely effaced and re-worked for use as a burial monument, probably in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, but Megan Kasten of the University of Glasgow has identified the traces of an early medieval cross carved on the upper surface by the use of photogrammetry and RTI (reflectance transformation imaging). Full publication of her findings on this stone will be published in due course.

The fifth stone was discovered as recently as 2010 in the riverside mud to the north-west of the old church. It is a small fragment of a carved stone cross which may originally have been erected to mark the boundary of the early church's *termonn* or area of sanctuary. It is now in the care of Paisley Museum.

There is another possible piece of evidence for the earlier church at Inchinnan. In a military map of Scotland made by William Roy in about 1750 the site of the church is shown on the riverside in some detail.[8] There is a small cluster of buildings to the east of the church: one them will have been the manse where the minister lived, and one was perhaps the house of the ferryman who carried people and goods across the River Cart before the bridge was built (it appears as *Ferrycroft* on later maps). But for our purposes the most interesting detail on

[7] Three of the large stones are well-known already, and are illustrated below, and discussed on line at https://canmore.org.uk/site/43095/inchinnan-new-parish-church-gravestones. The fourth large stone is currently lying among the 'Templar stones' outside the modern church.

[8] Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland. Roy's map is available on line (http://maps.nls.uk/) together with other important early maps of Scotland.

this map is what seems to be an oval enclosure around the church and its associated buildings. Such 'curvilinear' enclosures are typical of early medieval church sites. Roy's map was made when the medieval church was still standing, before it was demolished and rebuilt twice in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During these changes much of the churchyard area was also reorganised. Perhaps during those works an ancient curvilinear enclosure was removed, and this map may be evidence of its original shape.

The reader will notice that though we are discussing the archaeological evidence for an early medieval church at Inchinnan, we have not mentioned St Conval in this period. While he may or may not have been here during his lifetime, we have no evidence of his cult here during a period of many centuries. Indeed, there is no mention of Conval in relation to Inchinnan before the fourteenth century. We will turn to that evidence now.

Conval in the Middle Ages

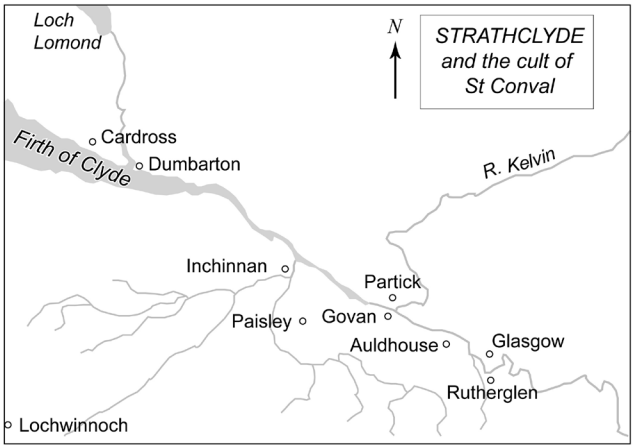
Who did people think St Conval was? Where did they say he came from, and where did he go? Who were his parents? What did he do? These are the kinds of questions we naturally want to ask about a historical figure like our saint. People have always wanted to ask such questions, and that is why they have written things which seem to offer answers those questions. The problem is that all the surviving writings about Conval come from a time several centuries after his death, and as already stated we cannot use them as reliable evidence about the man himself. But they do invite us to look at the cult of the saint in the later middle ages. There were people who felt a strong bond of devotion and loyalty to the saint, for whatever reason. How did they enact that bond? What stories did they tell to make sense of it?

The very earliest evidence of the cult of Conval in this part of the world appears in the thirteenth century, and it does not refer to Inchinnan at all. Paisley Abbey, the important Cluniac monastery lying 4 km south of Inchinnan, was granted much land and many churches in the area. One of them was a piece of land called Auldhouse (*Aldhus*) which stood in the lordship of Nether Pollok. The burn beside this land is still called the Auldhouse Burn, though the area is now called Mansewood and Pollokshaws. In 1265 Roger, son of Reginald of Auldhouse, resigned any claim that he had on the land of Auldhouse, which he and his father had enjoyed 'in ferme' from the monks of Paisley. He added, as he granted the land back to the monks, 'I fear divine vengeance if I should detain in occupation the said land, which is the endowment of the church of St Conval of Pollok' (*que dos est ecclesie Sancti Convalli de Polloc*).[9]

This charter presents us with the earliest evidence for the cult of St Conval in what was once the kingdom of Strathclyde, and it is not at the church of Inchinnan at all, but at the church of Nether Pollok (later known as Eastwood), which lies about

[9] *Paisley Reg.* 63. It is confirmed 19 years later by his son, John (*Paisley Reg.* 64).

eight miles up the Clyde from Inchinnan.[10] It is interesting that two churches so close together should share the same saintly dedication, though. We will return to this question later.



The next medieval reference to the cult of St Conval does not appear until the fourteenth century, when Robert the Bruce appears to have granted some of his revenues from the burgh of Rutherglen to 'the church of St Conval'. In the collection of royal accounts known as *The Exchequer Rolls* we find the king making payments in the last few years of his life, when he was probably already seriously ill. On 5th February 1327 the provosts of the burgh of Rutherglen went to Dumbarton and gave an account of the king's 'fermes' or rents in their burgh. Their account included 'thirteen shillings and four pence for the lights of the Church of St Conval'.[11] This payment was repeated over several years, for it is recorded in the *Exchequer Rolls* every year from 1327 until 1331.[12] As Robert I died in June 1329, this means that his successor, his son David II, was continuing the payment.

But where were 'the lights of the church of St Conval' (*luminaria ecclesie Sancti Convalli*) to which these payments were being made? James Murray Mackinlay stated that 'the saint had a chapel at Rutherglen', citing these *Exchequer Roll* payments as evidence.[13] But these accounts make it quite plain that the lights were in a church (*ecclesia*), not a chapel or *capella*, and there was a pretty clear distinction between the two in the Middle Ages. Others have suggested that the parish church of Rutherglen was in fact the church of St Conval whose lights were

[10] There was another lordship to the south of Nether Pollok which was called, unsurprisingly, Upper Pollok. It was also called Mearns (*Mernys* and such like in the charters), and gave its name to modern Newton Mearns.
[11] *ER* i, 70: '*Et ad luminaria ecclesie Sancti Convalli, xiij s. iiij d.*'
[12] *ER* i, 87, 163, 270, 300, 357.
[13] Mackinlay 1914, 189.

funded out of the king's rents of Rutherglen.[14] But we know from other sources that the church of Rutherglen was actually dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. In 1262 for example we find the church referred to as 'the church of St Mary the Virgin ... in the town of Rutherglen' (*ecclesia Sancte Marie Virginis ... in villa de Ruthglen*').[15] Clearly therefore, the grant made to St Conval from the rents of Rutherglen was not being made to the church of Rutherglen. The whole idea that there was a medieval church of St Conval in Rutherglen arises from the misguided assumption that money granted out of Rutherglen rents ought to be supporting a church in that parish, as if such burgh funds must always go to the local church. But this assumption is quite clearly disproved by the observation that the grant made annually to St Conval usually coincides with a larger grant from the fermes of Rutherglen made to the church of St Kentigern in Glasgow. Robert also granted from the fermes of Rutherglen six merks annually for a chaplain in the Chapel of the Blessed Mary in Cambuslang.[16] Grants like these reflect the devotion of the king and the saints he was interested in; they do not reveal the dedication of the parish church in the burgh whose rents were supporting them.[17]

If St Conval's Church and its candles or lamps were not in Rutherglen, where were they? We have seen that the church of Eastwood/Auldhouse in Nether Pollok enjoyed that dedication. But a few years after Robert's grant of Rutherglen money to St Conval's candles, we also find evidence of the dedication of the church of Inchinnan to the same saint. And in this case we find that not only is the church dedicated to St Conval, but his body is supposed to be there too, and it has become a place of pilgrimage where the sick find healing through the prayers of the saint. We will come to this evidence in a moment, but in the meantime we might simply note that the cult of Conval, while present at both Auldhouse and Inchinnan, has a much higher profile at Inchinnan, and has more importance because of the supposed presence of the saint's body. Furthermore Inchinnan's reputation as a place of healing perhaps makes it more likely that the grant made by an increasingly sick king, who would die of his illness at nearby Cardross only two years later, was intended for the candles at the shrine of St Conval's church at Inchinnan.

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[14] Campbell (1902, 12) goes even further stating Conval 'certainly ministered' at Rutherglen, assuming (a) that there was a dedication to Conval there and (b) that where there was a dedication to a saint it followed that the saint must have ministered there. Both of these assumptions are false.

[15] *Paisley Reg.* 377.

[16] *RMS* i no. 645.

[17] None of this shows that there was no devotion to Conval in Rutherglen. One possible indication of this is the supposed discovery of two 'porringers' (bowls) dug up in or near the tumulus of Gallowflat in 1773, some distance to the east of Rutherglen (NS622616). These vessels supposedly bore the name of Conval, but as they were already 'irrecoverably lost' when they were first mentioned in 1793, it is hard to assess their significance, or the accuracy of the report. See Butter (forthcoming) for discussion. But they tell us nothing, in any case, of the dedication of the church.

Conval and the Scottish Historians

The cult of St Conval begins to appear with much greater clarity in the later fourteenth century, this time in the writings of Scotland's early historians. Here the writers are not particularly interested in recording devotion to the saint, but rather fitting the saint into the story of the nation's development, partly so that the past can be used to promote a particular view of the present. The earliest attempt to write a coherent historical narrative of Scotland was made by a priest (probably of Aberdeen) called John of Fordun, whose *Chronica gentis Scotorum* ('chronicle of the nation of the Scots') was probably completed in the 1370s. Here we have his account of the cult of St Conval:

> Now, at the same time as St Columba there flourished the most blessed bishop of Glasgow, Kentigern, a man of wonderful holiness and the worker of many miracles. His venerable bones lie entombed there [in Glasgow], renowned for many miracles performed to the glory of God. The southernmost limit of his diocese at that time was – as it still ought to be today by rights – at the royal cross below Stainmore (*Stanemoor*).[18] A special one of his disciples was St Conval (*Conuallus*), outstanding for his miracles and powers, whose bones accordingly lie buried at Inchinnan beside Glasgow.[19]

Notice here how the story about St Kentigern (*alias* Mungo[20]) in the sixth century is being used to bolster a claim about Glasgow's territory in the fourteenth. This is therefore, at least in part, hagiography as propaganda. Another propagandistic device may be the claim that Conval was a disciple of Kentigern. What the author implies by this statement is that just as Conval was subject to Kentigern as disciple to master, so Conval's church of Inchinnan should be subject Kentigern's church in Glagsow.

Fordun's narrative was repeated by another great writer of Scotland's history, Walter Bower, abbot of the Augustinian monastery of Inchcolm in the Firth of Forth. Written in the 1440s, his *Scotichronicon* repeated Fordun's paragraph almost word-for-word.[21]

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[18] Stainmore appears to have marked the southern limit of the territory ruled by the kings of Strathclyde or Cumbria at its greatest historical extent, perhaps in the tenth or eleventh century. It is many miles south of the modern Scottish-English border, lying in what is now North Yorkshire. The fact that later medieval writers made the extraordinary claim that the *crux regia* or 'royal cross' (now called the Rey Cross) at Stainmore (NY904122) should be treated as the southern limit of the Glasgow diocese shows how that diocese with its bishop were treated after the political disappearance of the kingdom of Strathclyde as a kind of ecclesiastical continuation of that kingdom.

[19] *Chron. Fordun* III, xxix.

[20] Mungo is a hypocorism derived from the name Kentigern. It was formed in a British-speaking milieu. The equivalent Gaelic hypocorism was Mo Cha.

[21] *Scotichronicon*, ii, 78.

Conval and the Scottish Liturgy

In the year 1510, Bishop William Elphinstone of Aberdeen published a new breviary (the formal book of Divine Office or prayer which the clergy and monks sang or said every day). This is a very different kind of writing from that of the historians we have just looked at. The book, in two volumes, was the first printed book to be made in Scotland. Though modelled on the English 'Sarum Breviary', it leaves out many of the English saints honoured there, and includes a great deal of material concerning the Scottish saints. It was intended to provide an emphatically Scottish liturgy to express the church's life and identity which up to that point Elphinstone seems to have thought was lacking. The bishop appointed various of his friends, kinsmen and clergy to seek out the materials that he wanted to include, and these people collected the prayers and stories which Elphinstone brought together in the Breviary.

Some of the stories that are found in the *Aberdeen Breviary* were lifted from the *Vitae* or 'Lives of Saints' that may have been written in the twelfth century or earlier, and this is probably true of the material for St Conval. Elphinstone's agents may have got hold of some now lost *Vita Sancti Convalli* or 'Life of St Conval', most likely from Inchinnan itself, and selected a few short readings from it. Such stories from his Life would have been read in Inchinnan church on his feast-day there (28 September), together with the special Collect or opening prayer. His feast may have been celebrated in this way at Inchinnan for some centuries before Elphinstone's collectors found it there.

The clergy and congregation of Inchinnan would no doubt have shared their records of St Conval's miracles most willingly with Elphinstone's collectors. They would have been glad to tell their visitors about the holiness of their saint, the power of his prayers, and the efficacy of pilgrimages to their church. The readings also give us an insight into some of the more physical aspects of the Inchinnan pilgrimage: there was an *imago* associated with the saint (which may have been a statue, or a carved sarcophagus or a reliquary) where miracles took place. It is possible that the large carved slab discussed above as a possible shrine-cover was part of this *imago*. Could it be the top of the sarcophagus around which St Conval's cult was celebrated, and within which his holy bones lay? The readings also refer to a famous stone on which Conval is said to have sailed here from Ireland. This was also part of the pilgrimage landscape of Inchinnan where the sick used to touch it. Water which collected in the stone was used to bring healing. In the Breviary, then, we find not just the ideas of the devout folk of Inchinnan about their saint but also something of the actual physical procedures involved in the pilgrimage and the landscape in which it took place. Here is the material for St Conval's feast-day in the *Aberdeen Breviary*.

Enlighten our hearts and bodies, we pray, O Lord, through the loving prayer of your blessed confessor[22] Conval, that we may love you, the true God, with a sincere mind.

Readings:

I: St Conval was a disciple of St Kentigern, powerful in his amazing signs and miracles in nearly the earliest church of the Scots. His father was a king of the Irish, and his mother was the sister of a ruler.

But though he was born the future heir to a kingdom, he thought it would be an even higher thing to serve Christ freely, and so he left his father's house, having been instructed by an angelic declaration, and came to Scotland by a miraculous voyage.

II: For as he stood on the shore, he looked behind him at the unstable world which he was fleeing, and in front of him at the wild sea. Turning to the Lord he prayed, saying, "O God, whose right hand lifted up Peter the apostle as he walked on the waves, lest he sink,[23] command that I be borne across the sea by some conveyance."

Then an amazing thing! The stone on which the saint was standing, as if it were the lightest of boats, carried him safe and sound to the shore of the River Clyde and finished its journey there. It is called 'St Conval's Chariot'.[24]

III: Even today, many sick people are cured by touching this stone or by washing in its water, as is seen daily, and men and beasts are kept free of all kinds of illness. Then the saint travelled around monasteries and cloisters seeking a worthy man to whom he might submit himself to learn the discipline of the regular life.[25] On hearing that St Kentigern the bishop was gifted with holiness beyond all others, he went to him and became his disciple.

IV: On the solemnity of this day, so that the extraordinary powers of this holy man should not be hidden from the hearts of the faithful, we shall take care to mention a few of his miracles. There came a man from Ireland, where the blessed man also had his origin, who was deprived

[22] Latin *confessor* is one who professes the Christian faith and is regarded as a saint, but cannot be assigned to any other category such as martyr, apostle, bishop, evangelist etc.

[23] Matthew 14: 28-33.

[24] *currus Sancti Conualli*. *Currus* means 'chariot, wagon, car' etc., but I use 'chariot' here in spite of its slightly military tone, because that is the name by which the stone is known locally. The motif of saints sailing on stones is not uncommon; St Baldred's boat, a rock in the Firth of Forth, brought him to the area across the sea, while a rock on the island of Barra was said to have been St Barr's means of sea-transport around the Hebrides (Mackinlay 1904, 413).

[25] To be a monk was to live under a guiding 'rule' or *regula.*

of the use of his feet, for his feet curved round and were fixed to his buttocks; he came on pilgrimage to the blessed man[26] for the sake of recovering his health. This poor little man kept watch for three days before his *imago*,[27] but in the last watch the blessed Conval was seen to appear to him in his sleep.[28] He touched the man's crooked feet with his hands, and restored him to health.

V: Likewise, a woman who suffered almost intolerable pain from stones was healed by the prayer of the blessed man. And also someone with dropsy (*ydropicus*) and another person almost eaten up by worms who could not be healed by any medicine were both restored to health by the merits of the blessed Conval.

VI: In this place, he has cured many sick and diseased people from their illnesses, and sometimes the blind too, whenever they have asked the blessed man. And those who have a disease, or sick people who are restricted by any kind of illness, would not be denied their just desires. This Conval is honoured at Inchinnan as a renowned patron.[29]

These readings reveal the popular devotion to the saint as recorded during the last flourishing of the late medieval church in Scotland. The presumed *Life of St Conval* from which they were taken must once have existed, but it simply disappeared during the Reformation of the sixteenth century when such popular devotions were regarded as 'superstition' or worse. Pilgrimage, the cult of saints, and interest in holy places were all suppressed. But in spite of official disapproval it seems that people continued to engage with the remains of Inchinnan's pilgrimage landscape. 'St Conval's Chariot', mentioned in 1510 in the *Aberdeen Breviary*, probably stood originally on the Inchinnan side of the Cart, in or near the churchyard, where it was part of the pilgrimage landscape around the saint's relics. Indeed it was itself one of the relics of the saint, and interest in it seems to have continued after the Reformation.

It is possible that the original St Conval's Chariot is one of the two stones now contained in a small enclosure in the Normandy Hotel car park, on the east side of the River Cart, in Renfrew parish. These two stones are (1) a roughly rounded boulder (illustrated above) and (2) a square-cut stone with a slight hollow in its top

[26] The saint was long dead by now, but the presence of his relics at Inchinnan meant that a pilgrim could approach the man himself, in a sense. The bodily remains in this place represented the continuing presence and power of the saint who was now with God.

[27] Usually 'image', but could it refer to some other monument? A shrine perhaps, whose lid or top may survive as one of the carved stones at Inchinnan.

[28] It is interesting that he should be asleep during a *vigilia*, a word which meeans 'watching' and normally involves staying awake. Clearly *vigilia* is being used here simply to mean being there and waiting.

[29] My translation of the Latin from Macquarrie 2012, 238-40.

as shown here. Modern commentators and local tradition about these stones say that (1) is St Conval's Chariot and (2) is a cross-base. That may be the case, but we might note that the Aberdeen Breviary says that St Conval's Chariot was associated with miracles of healing for people 'washing in its water'. This suggests that the original St Conval's Chariot had a hollow in its top which was capable of collecting rainwater, and it may be that (2) which has exactly such a hollow should be regarded as the original relic.

The square-cut stone, number (2), may be commonly described as a 'cross-base', but it cannot in fact ever have functioned in this way. The hollow in its top is far too shallow and irregular ever to have supported a standing cross, whether of wood or of stone. But it does resemble a cross-base in its general form, and it is possible that it was originally intended to be the base for a stone cross but for some reason it was abandoned half-way through its production, before its socket could be fully carved out. It bears comparison with the base of the Barochan Cross, an early medieval stone carving now kept in Paisley Abbey but whose base still stands in a field at Barochan Mill, nine miles west of Inchinnan.[30]

Whatever their relationship to the 'St Conval's Chariot' noted in 1510, at some point before 1836 both these stones were located on the land of Blythswood House, on the east side of the Cart, and placed a short distance away from the river (perhaps when it was being canalised) where they remain today.[31] In spite of the disapproval of Reformers, these stones seem to have kept their ancient association with the saint, though the supposed cross-base is also called by another name: 'the Argyle Stone'. This arises from a story that when Archibald earl of Argyll was being pursued by government troops in 1685, as his rebellion against King James VII was collapsing, he was arrested here before being taken to his execution at Edinburgh. An ongoing local interest in St Conval and his stone was apparent in 1620, when the magistrates of Paisley offered a silver bell for the winner of a horse-race which would be run 'fra the gray stane callit St Connallis Stane, to the said lytill house, and fra that to the Walneuk of Paislaye'.[32] Clearly one stone was still a landmark (though where it stood in 1620 is not known), and it was still recognised as having a relationship to St Conval (here called 'Connall') though no longer an object of devotion in respect of the saint.

Or so it would seem! But when Sir Walter Scott visited Inchinnan on 7

[30] The base is at NS40586937; it was moved there in the late nineteenth century from c. NS40676940 nearby.

[31] The stones are at NS494678.

[32] Mackinlay 1904, 413.

September 1827 he recorded in his diary the following day, 'I omitted to mention in yesterday's note that within Blythswood plantation, near to the Bridge of Inchinnan, the unfortunate Earl of Argyle was taken in 1685, at a stone called Argyle's Stone. Blythswood says the Highland drovers break down his fences in order to pay a visit to the place.' The story of the earl of Argyll we have already met. But what about the Highland drovers? Perhaps they wanted simply to see the stone where a Campbell earl had been arrested, treating it as a kind of ghoulish tourist destination. But this does not seem entirely plausible. Perhaps a more likely explanation is that these drovers, some of whom will have come from parts of the Highlands where the old devotion to the saints lived on, sought to make contact with St Conval at his stone. We might also ask why they had to break down Lord Blythswood's fences to get there. Could they not have just hopped over the wall? Perhaps they were bringing their cattle there too, because they still knew, in spite of official suppression of such beliefs, what St Conval and his stone could do, as detailed in the *Aberdeen Breviary:* 'Many sick people are cured by touching this stone or by washing in its water, as is seen daily until now, and men and beasts are kept free of all kinds of illness.'

And it is worth noting that even today coins are still sometimes left in the hollow of the square stone, number (2), small offerings made by local people or visitors. Do these represent a continuing sense of the 'presence' of St Conval in the landscape?

Later histories

It may be that the supposed *Life of St Conval* was the source for other, later stories told about the saint. The *Life* may be lost, therefore, but some of the stories which it contained may survive in the works of historians who recorded them before the loss took place. On the other hand, those historians may have got their stories from elsewhere or, as sometimes happened, simply made them up. Hector Boece published a *Historia Gentis Scotorum* ('history of the nation of the Scots') which included the by now well-known claim that our saint was a disciple of Kentigern:

> And Conval, a disciple of Kentigern, whose relics, in a famous monument in Inchinnan, not far from the city of Glasgow, are even today held in great honour by the Christian people.[33]

Boece adds some further information about Conval, and this may be material he found in the hypothetical lost *Life* that we have mentioned. He claimed that Conval had been at the funeral of King *Aidanus* when his body was brought from *Kylsthorain* in *Cantio* (? Kintyre) to the island of Iona.[34] And a little later the saint was also present for the election of a new king in place of the deceased one when *Kennethus*

[33] Boece 1527, fo. CLXXVIIv. (Ch. 10).

[34] Aedán mac Gabráin was king of Dál Riata (died AU 606), supposedly inaugurated as king by Colum Cille of Iona according to Adomnán's *Life of Columba* written a century later. The location of *Kylsthorain* is unknown.

Keyr,[35] son of the former king *Conuallus*, was chosen in the place of Aedán by all the electors. This additional material which Boece adds to the conventional account of Conval and Kentigern is all highly implausible as a historical account. What it does, however, is to relate St Conval to the story of Aedán mac Gabráin and subsequent rulers of Dál Riata (the early Gaelic-speaking kingdom of western Scotland, more or less the area of modern Argyll). Now later medieval kings of Scotland sought to demonstrate the antiquity of their royal line by tracing their ancestors back to Aedán mac Gabráin and beyond. Boece depended on the patronage of one of these kings, James IV, and we must suppose that this story connecting a popular saint to the king's supposed ancestor would have been flattering to the king (and beneficial to Boece).

Four years after the publication of Beoce's Latin history of Scotland, the new king, James V, asked the poet William Stewart to produce a version of the *Historia* in Scots verse. Stewart began his work in 1531, but it remained as a manuscript until 1858 when William Barclay Turnbull published an edition. This is how Stewart represented Boece's original thought in verse:

> *Off the Halie Man Convallus*
> Ane halie man of Scotland of greit fame,
> That samin tyme, hecht Convallus to name,
> Discipill als he wes of Sanct Mungow,
> In Inchennane, schort gait bewest Glasgw,
> His bodie lyis, quhair I my self hes bene,
> In pilgremage, and his relicques hes sene.[36]

It is sometimes said that Boece himself had been on pilgrimage to Inchinnan,[37] but that seems to be simply because the people who say it are coming to Boece through Stewart's poetic version and imagine that if Stewart says it then Boece must have said it. But Boece does not say that he himself went there. It is apparently William Stewart who was the devout pilgrim who had seen the 'relicques' of St Conval, and he inserted his account of his own pilgrimage into his translation of Boece's work.

St Conval around Scotland

We saw above how the saint's Latin name, *Convallus*, probably derived from a name based on an original **Cunoualos*, which was realised in British (the ancestral language of Welsh) as *Cynwal* and in Gaelic as *Conuall,* later *Conall*. On the basis of his name he could therefore have been either a Briton or a Gael, and we don't have sufficient evidence to decide which. But there are other things we might pursue to help us get a clearer picture. To understand the cult of a saint we need not only

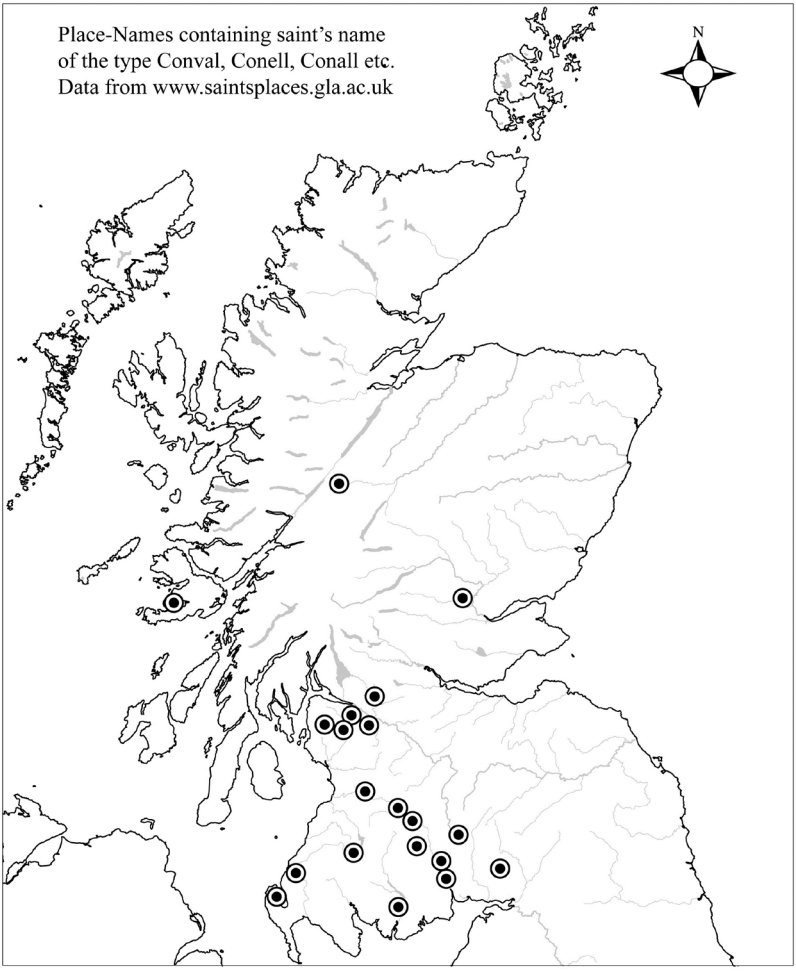
[35] Connad Cerr was king of Dál Riata (roughly modern Argyll) until his death in AD 629/630.
[36] Stewart 1858, ii, 294-5.
[37] Probably depending on some author such as Mackinlay (1904, 147) who states of Conval that 'his relics were venerated in the time of Beoce' and cites this passage to imply that Boece himself had been there.

to find stories, poems and so on to shed light on what people said about him or her, but also to look at *where* this saint is culted. This might give us an idea of who was interested in the saint, and perhaps why. Of course churches and chapels are formally dedicated to saints, and they are obviously an important resource for studying this. But many other place-names invoke saints by name as well, such as holy wells, burial grounds, or fields which might have supported a chaplain at a saint's altar. It is possible to plot such evidence on a map and so get a snapshot of who was interested in St Conval and where they were. This map shows the known occurrences of church-dedications and place-names commemorating a saint with a name of the form Conval, Conall, Cynwal, Convallus etc.[38] There is a very strong association, as can be seen immediately, with the south-west of Scotland – an area with a strong British-language history during centuries when Gaelic was taking over much of the northern part of the country, but which also became largely Gaelic speaking from the ninth or tenth century.

It is worth pointing out here that the names north of the Forth-Clyde line involve the Gaelic personal name *Conall*; most names on Clydeside and in Ayrshire involve the name *Conval* (which as we have seen is the Scots and English form derived from Latin *Convallus*); and the names in the far south-west have the name in the form *Connel* or similar. However, once we start looking at the early forms of these place-names, we quickly find that the precise forms in which the saint's name appears varies a lot from place to place, and that the forms of the name are – in the historical perspective at least – much closer to each other than they are on modern Ordnance Survey maps. Here are a few examples taken from the records found on the University of Glasgow website mentioned above:

- Beside the church of St Conval in Eastwood (Nether Pollock) there used to be a holy well called *St Conal's Well* until at least 1915. The church and the well are presumably dedicated to the same saint, so one man appears as both *Conval* and *Conal*.
- In upper Nithsdale is the parish of Kirkconnel whose church appears as *Kirkconeuel* in 1274. Note that the *u* in *Coneuel* here would correspond to the *w* in British *Cynwal* and the *v* in Latin *Convallus*.
- In Troqueer parish in Kirkcudbrightshire there was a church called Kirkconnell and a settlement nearby which took its name from it. That name appears in the thirteenth century as *Kirkeconeuel* and *Kirkoneuill* in the Registry of Holm Cultram, the *u* again showing the *w* of an original presumed *Cynwal*.
- The medieval parish church of Cumnock was dedicated to *Convallus*, but the burn that runs through the parish, which also appears to commemorate the saint, is called the Connel Burn.

[38] This kind of mapping is made possible by a research project at the University of Glasgow which investigates saints occurring in Scottish placenames. Its searchable website www.saintsplace.gla.ac.uk records all the 'hagiotoponyms' (i.e. place-names containing a saint's name) in Scotland.



The places where the saint's name is commemorated are (question-marks indicate doubt): Soweconaill (? Mull), Luibchonnal (? Kilmonivaig), St Conwall's Well (Tibbermore), Gartconnel (New Kilpatrick), St Conval's Church, St Conval's Chariot, St Conval's Stone (Inchinnan), St Convall's Church , St Conal's Well (Eastwood), St Connel's Well, St Connel's Chapel (Neilston), St Conval's Church (Old Cumnock), Connel Burn (New Cumnock), St Connel's Grave, St Connal's Well, St Connels Church (Kirkconnel), Connelbush (Sanquhar), Kilwhannel (Balantrae), St Connel's Chapel (Tynron), Cairnconnel, Loch Connel (Kirkcolm), Kirkconnel (Tongland), Kirkconnel (Troqueer), Kirkconnel (Kirkpatrick Fleming), Connel's Well (Kirkmichael), Craigmawhannel (Barr), Dun Connel (? Lochwinnoch).

- The stone associated with St Conval of Inchinnan, now in the hotel car park, is called *St Connallis Stane* in 1620, having lost its *v* in a presumed Gaelic- and then Scots-speaking environment.

These few examples are given simply to reassure the reader that the variety of spellings of the name does not imply that the *Conval* dedications of Clydeside and Ayrshire represent a different saint from the *Connel* dedications of the south-west or the *Conall* dedications of the Gaelic highlands. The variety of spellings of the name is partly the result of it having been filtered over many centuries through different local languages in different areas - British, Gaelic, Scots, English and, of course Latin, which was a universal language in writing and which could also influence the spelling and pronunciation of saints' names.[39]

We might briefly discuss one more of these place-names. Dercongal is the name of the old church-site at what became Holywood (*Sacrum Nemus* in Latin sources). The name Dercongal contains Gaelic *daire* 'wood, oak-wood' (or perhaps Welsh *derw* 'trees, oak trees') with a saint's name as the second element.[40] The saint's name *looks* like Congal, which is a quite different name from *Cunoualos* and its derivatives such as Conval, Conall and so on. But it is possible that the spelling Congal is deceptive. In early medieval British orthography a *g* began to appear before /w/ in internal position in a word, so that an original *Cunoualos* was later represented in writing as *Congual*.[41] Clearly this offered the possibility of name-confusion in the case of Dercongal, where an original *Congual* from *Cunoualos* was misread as *Congal* and that spelling in turn affected the subsequent pronunciation of the name. Given the possibility of this explanation of the place-name Dercongal, and the density of Conall (< *Cunoualos*) dedications in this part of the country, we may include Dercongal in our list of Conval dedications – albeit tentatively.

Of course the fact that these variant spellings of the name *could* all relate to the same saint does not mean that they actually do. What are we to make of the fact that the feast of Conval is celebrated at Inchinnan on 28 September, but the feast of Conval at Eastwood was always on 18 May? Does that mean that there must be two saints called Conval, one culted in Inchinnan and the other in Eastwood? Or what does it mean when St Conval is said to be buried at Inchinnan, while another tradition has it that 'St Conval's dust' (i.e. his earthly remains, his body) rest in the church of Cumnock? Does it mean that Conval of Cumnock and Conval of Inchinnan were two different saints?

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[39] I would argue that the modern version of the name, *Conval*, arises as a reflex of written forms such as *Convallus*, which in more oral contexts would have become *Conall* – as indeed it did in the case of *Connallis Stane*.

[40] It is worth considering the correspondence in meaning between the *wood* of Holywood, the *nemus* in its Latin name, and the *daire/derw* in its Gaelic or British name. In Latin *nemus* 'wood' often has the connotation of a 'sacred grove', a wood dedicated to the worship of some deity. And there are numerous references in medieval Gaelic literature to associations of trees and woods with the sacred.

[41] Jackson 2000, 385-94. This process happens before *u* (pronounced /w/). We find the same insertion in the old Common Celtic name *Dumnoualos* 'world mighty', which appears in the tenth-century Welsh Harleian Genealogies, for example, as *Dumngual.* The same name becomes *Dyfnwal* in later Welsh, and *Domhnall* in Gaelic, Donald in English.

It was a common feature of early medieval saints' cults that they were very easily multiplied. The cult of a single saint might have been celebrated on one day in one place while at another place the *same* saint was commemorated on another day, perhaps because of straightforward error, or because they obtained a relic of that saint on a different day, or because they got that saint mixed up with another saint with a similar name,[42] or because one feast was the date of the saint's death and the other feast was the date of his or her 'translation'.[43] Whatever the cause, the outcome was that two places which celebrated the same saint had two different feast-days for their feast-day. It is not surprising that over the years this one original saint adopted two different personalities to go with the two different dates. Each place would develop its own stories to express the local devotion, inventing a place of their saint's birth, an ethnic identity, his or her family connections, miracle stories and a place of death and burial. Thus a single original saint could in a few centuries end up with two or more completely different profiles. The fact that someone called Conval was believed to be buried in Inchinnan and someone called Conval was also believed to be buried in Cumnock does not mean that there were two Convals. Mackinlay makes this mistake when he points out that the saint commemorated at Kirkconnel cannot be the same as Conval of Inchinnan, citing the local minister who states that in Kirkconnell the saint 'is said to have been buried in the Glenwhurry range of hills'.[44] The multiplication of saintly identities is simply the result of the fertile imaginations of devout medieval people who liked to tell stories about their patron saints. They also longed to have relics of their saint in close proximity, so they told stories which 'proved' that they did. We should bear in mind as an example, though it is a rather extreme example, the legend of St Baldred whose body was suddenly and miraculously multiplied after his death so that he could be buried simultaneously in three different parishes.[45]

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[42] The Irish saint Maelrubha, for example, has his feast on the 21st April; but *Aberdeen Breviary* celebrates him on 27 August which is the feast of St Rufinus of Capua. This probably happens because of the similarity of the *rubh* part of one name and the *Ruf* part of the other. Note that St Maelrubha's chapel in the castle of Crail in Fife is referred to for the same reason as *capella beati Rufini in castello* in 1458 (*RMS* ii no. 610).

[43] 'Translation' is the word for a saint's body being dug up and moved elsewhere, usually to an above-ground shrine where the saint's relics could be venerated more easily by the people.

[44] *NSA*, Kirkconnell, Dunfriesshire, p. 316: 'It is said that St Connel, who built the kirks of Kirkbride and Kirkconnel, was buried on the top of that range of hills called Glenwhurry; but the writer never could discover the smallest vestige of the saint's grave.'. The claim is made again in *The National Gazetteer of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1868) which states, 'Glenwhurry Hill has recently been discovered to be the burial-place of St, Connel.' We might ask ourselves what exactly would such a discovery look like?

[45] Macquarrie 2012, 73.

The Use of a Cult

The above map of *Conall-Cynwal-Conval* place-names and dedications shows a marked south-western distribution. Almost all of the sites fall within what was a British-speaking area at the time when we must assume St Conval lived, or when his cult probably first appeared. This does not necessarily mean that Conval was a Briton. He may possibly have been a Gaelic-speaking Irishman, as the sixteenth-century legend in *Aberdeen Breviary* suggests, but while that remains a possibility the legend itself is historically worthless as an indicator of his origin or ethnic identity.

There was in any case, as we have seen, much communication between Britain and Ireland at that time, especially among churchmen. This created a kind of porosity between the two language-areas, a porosity which we have already encountered in our discussion of the saint called Finnian (in Gaelic) or Uinniau (as he was probably known in British). It is in this bi-lingual environment that we should imagine a cleric or monk called *Cunoualos* living, perhaps in the sixth century, making him a contemporary of Uinniau. Perhaps he worked on both sides of the Irish Sea, as Uinniau may have done. But we cannot be certain about where our saint worked; we must remember that the distribution of his name in place-names reflects not his own activities and movements during his lifetime, but the celebration of his memory in the years and centuries following his death. Wherever the original *Cunoualos* came from, it is his cult, not his life-story, that is visible in the place-names and the writings that survive today.

The dedication to Conval at Inchinnan church sits within the main cluster of his dedications in south-west Scotland. Each individual dedication in this cluster represents someone's decision in the past that St Conval was the most suitable saint for that place and for the devotion of the people there. Some of those decisions will have been made by bishops or priests, or perhaps monks, who sought to associate their churches with Conval. Why would they have chosen this particular saint in preference to others? Perhaps there were local stories already in circulation associating the saint with a particular place. Perhaps the bishop or monk who imposed the name came from a family with a tradition of honouring Conval 'back home' and so brought the cult with him. We also know that sometimes an important 'mother-church' had an extensive territory or *paruchia* where it owned and managed churches and chapels; in such cases the mother-church might mark its ownership of its daughter-churches by imposing a saintly dedication on them which identified them as her own. In this way, for example, Iona's daughter-houses were often dedicated to Saint Columba, the founder of Iona, or to other saints from that monastery.

In some cases the person who imposed the name of a saint on a place may have been not a bishop or monk, but rather the local lord and his family, who may have used the cult of St Conval as a mark of their authority. The local ruler might have been attracted to the cult of a particular saint. He may have heard that a particular saint was a member of his family, for example. Or perhaps he thought he had received a miracle of healing through that saint's prayers, and would

consequently dedicate (or re-dedicate) a church in that saint's honour. We also know that when a new political elite took control of a territory they would also take control of aspects of the local church, and they might impose the cult of their favourite saint on that church as a mark of their control.

There are obviously many possible explanations of the celebration of a particular saint in a place-name. What can we say in this context about Inchinnan? The first thing to note is that the name 'Inchinnan' is a Gaelic or British name. The *Inch-* part is from either Gaelic *innis* meaning 'island', but also with secondary meanings such as 'haugh, land rising from a flood-plain or marsh, meadow beside a river', or from British *ynys* which means the same thing. It is in the secondary sense that we should understand Inchinnan, whose land lies beside the River Clyde, and whose church was built on ground which rises above the flat and often flooded fields. The second part of the name Inchinnan is probably a personal name. The *innan* element is probably a version of the name Uinniau, the saint we have discussed above, whose name appears in Kirkgunzeon, Kilwinning, Kirkennnan and so on.[46] This strongly suggests that the first saint to be commemorated here was not Conval but Uinniau. Like Conval, Uinniau has most of his dedications in Scotland clustering in the south-west of the country, between the Clyde and Galloway, and the one at Inchinnan forms part of that pattern.

There is another interesting piece of evidence about the saints culted at Inchinnan. While St Conval was celebrated at Inchinnan on 28 September, there is an alternative celebration of his feast at his church of Eastwood (aka Nether Pollok), where he was commemorated on 18 May as mentioned above. We have already discussed various ways in which one saint might acquire two feast-days, as seems to be the case here. We might ask ourselves which of these two feast-days was the original celebration of Conval's cult. We may have some guidance here from the cult of St Conall of Inishkeel in Ireland (remembering that Conall is the Gaelic version of the name Conval). Conall was an important saint in Ireland, and his feast-day is celebrated on 22 May in the *Martyrology of Tallaght* and the *Martyrology of Gorman*. Elsewhere in Irish sources he is remembered on 12 May and 20 May.[47] Given that the Irish celebrations of Conall cluster so closely around the celebration of Conval of Eastwood (and that *Conall* and *Conval* are variants of the same name) on 18 May, we might suspect that the original Clydeside feastday for Conval was that kept in Eastwood and it was originally a celebration of Conall of Inishkeel. If that is the case – and I admit this this whole argument is a speculative and by no means conclusive one – then the celebration of Conval at Inchinnan on 28 September may have another origin.

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[46] It is worth pointing out that Gaelic *innis* is often twinned with a saint's name in Scottish place-names. Thus we have Inchmichael, Inchcolm, Inchmarnock, Inchmurrin, Inchkenneth and Inchmahone, which all contain saints' names.

[47] For these last two, see Ó Riain 2011, 223.

If we seek another origin for Conval's feastday on 28 September, we might turn again to the Gaelic martryologies. The *Félire Óengusso*, a martyrology of the early ninth century, has this celebration on 28 September:

> The two bright Findios
> are to be asked for every aid.[48]

Findio is one of the many variants of the name we have standardised as *Uinniau*, the name which also appears in Gaelic sources with a diminutive suffix as *Finnian*, and arguably the saint who gave his name to Inchinnan. Why are there 'two bright Findios' in this martyrology? It is likely that there was originally a feast of a single saint called Findio/Finnian which split into two at an early stage, as the single original saint began to enjoy two separate cults as a result of his reputation as the founder of two separate churches – 'Finnian of Mag Bile' (Co. Down) and 'Finnian of Clonard' (Co. Meath). If the cult of Finnian was celebrated at Inchinnan on the same day as it was in Ireland, then we might wonder if something like this occurred:

1. An ancient church stood at Inchinnan which was dedicated to Uinniau/ Finnian and gave its name to Inchinnan.
2. The church celebrated St Finnian on 28 September, as the Gaelic-speaking churches of Ireland did.
3. At some point, and for reasons which we will discuss shortly, the cult of Conval was introduced at Inchinnan – perhaps migrating from the nearby church of Eastwood.
4. Although the patron saint of Inchinnan changed, the annual celebration on 28 September remained unchanged. So now the people of Inchinnan celebrated St Conval on what was originally St Finnian's day.[49]

If such a change took place at Inchinnan, we would naturally ask ourselves why. Why might the dedication at Inchinnan have changed from Uinniau/Finnian to Conval, and when did this change take place? Unfortunately, we have no reference to any saint's cult at Inchinnan until the fourteenth century. It is likely that Robert I's grants to the church of St Conval (from the fermes of Rutherglen, as we saw above) were to the church of Inchinnan, but we can't be certain. It is not until John of Fordun wrote

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[48] *Dá Ḟindio geldai / it gessi im cech cobair*. The *Martyrology of* Tallaght, probably in the early ninth century, records Finnio on the same day. The *Martyrology of Gorman*, composed in the twelfth century, has Finnian on the preceding day, 27 Sept: 'Let the elevation of bishop Finnian the soft-skinned be in thy memory' (*tocbail Finniain epscuip in cnesbuicc it chuimne*).

[49] Such a change requires us to imagine a deliberate suppression of the cult of Finnian in favour of Conval, while at the same time maintaining Finnian's feast-day. This might seem strange, but we should consider that feast-days were not merely religious events. They often involved large gatherings of people from the surrounding countryside for secular activities, including horse-racing, buying and selling, and assorted legal and administrative business. The importance of this annual fair would mean that it might be maintained at its original date even after the saint in whose honour it was originally established had been replaced by another saint.

his *Chronica Gentis Scottorum* in the 1370s that we get clear and unambiguous evidence of a Conval cult at Inchinnan. Clearly the change had already happened by then and was well-established. Whatever suggestions we make as to the 'when' and 'why' of the change must inevitably be speculative and tentative.

One approach to exploring the change might begin with comparing the profiles of the two saints, Finnian and Conval. How did they fit into a medieval view of the past? Which of them was more important or authoritative? Such questions might help us to understand why one might have displaced the other. In order to understand the balance of authority, or perhaps we should say the hierarchy of authority, between Finnian and Conval, we will have to talk about two other saints as well: Columba (or Colum Cille) and Kentigern. This argument is a bit complicated, and I hope the reader will forgive me, but it draws us in an interesting way into the use of saints in the medieval imagination.

The first thing to notice is that Columba and Kentigern were regarded in twelfth-century Glasgow as being contemporaries and equals. Jocelin's *Life of St Kentigern* tells the story of how Columba and Kentigern met each other. The way Jocelin recounts this meeting gives no indication of any difference in status, and there are many phrases in the passage which seem to stress their equality of spiritual authority. The passage concludes with this vision:

> When these two god-like men met they hastened together into a mutual embrace with a holy kiss. And when they had been thoroughly nourished by a spiritual feast by speaking of divine things, then they refreshed themselves together with bodily food. How great was the sweetness of divine contemplation in their holy breasts it is not for me to say.[50]

Kenitgern, the supposed founding bishop of Glasgow, and Columba, the founding abbot of Iona, are treated here as of equal status. The significance of these two saints and their equality is that they enable us to see the *inequality* between Finnian and Conval.

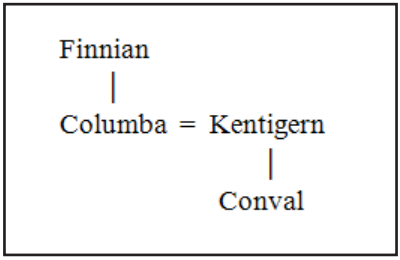
Finnian, wherever he originally came from, appears to have operated in Ireland in the first half of the sixth century and died, according to the Annals of Ulster in AD 579. If Adomnán's account is true – and it seems perfectly plausible – Finnian was the teacher of St Columba who died in AD 597. In his *Vita Columbae* Adomnán informs us:

> At another time the holy man, a youth, went to the venerable bishop Finnio, that is his master. When Saint Finnio saw him approaching him he likewise saw an angel of the Lord as his companion on the way.[51]

[50] *Vita Sancti Kentegerni*, § xxxix.
[51] *Vita Columbae* iii, 4.

The implication is that when St Columba was a young man, before he went from Ireland to Iona in AD 563, he was taught by St Finnian, who was therefore presumably a generation or so older than Columba. In the Medieval church, antiquity implied authority. He was also Columba's master or teacher, which enhanced his authority still further. And finally, Finnian was a 'venerable bishop' – a status which Columba never enjoyed. Finnian as an internationally important saint of the early sixth century, as the master of another internationally important saint of the later sixth century, as a bishop and founder of great monasteries, and a saint with dedications spread widely in Scotland and Ireland, had a very high status indeed.

We may now contrast Finnian's with that of Conval. First of all, Conval is not attested in any early medieval source in Scotland. Secondly, when he does appear in later medieval writings he appears not as a master or teacher of saints, but as the disciple of a more important saint, St Kentigern or Mungo, bishop of Glasgow. Finally, there is no tradition that Conval was a bishop, as Finnian and Kentigern were, nor that he founded any very important church such as a great monastery or a diocesan see. In terms of authority or status, therefore, we might represent the respective positions of Finnian and Conval, using their friends Columba and Kentigern, in diagramatic form thus:



We should note that this tells us nothing about the 'real' or historical St Conval, nor his relationship (if any) to Kentigern or anyone else. This diagram merely represents how late medieval writers *imagined* his place in a hierarchy of saintly authority several centuries after he lived and died. And we must also remember that medieval stories about saints are very often written to express a view of how churches should relate to each other. In arguments between churches, to claim that my patron saint was senior to yours was a way of claiming the priority of my church over your church. In medieval stories about Kentigern and Conval, Kentigern represents Glasgow and Conval represents Inchinnan. The description of a master-disciple relationship between Kentigern and Conval is therefore an assertion of a hierarchical relationship between their two respective churches: Glasgow is in charge, and Inchinnan is under her authority.

In what period of Glasgow's history might such an assertion have seemed useful? What kind of context would encourage the promulgation of this story? I

am going to argue here that the view of Kentigern as an authority figure points to twelfth-century developments on the Clyde. We have no evidence of Glasgow as a cathedral before the twelfth century. We have no evidence of Glasgow as the see of St Kentigern, its supposed founding bishop, before the twelfth century. We have no evidence of Glasgow being the chief church of the region before that time, either. In fact, in the tenth century it seems likely that it was Govan which was the mother-church and the royal church of the British kingdom of Strathclyde – the place of high-status and probably royal burials, facing across the Clyde towards the royal estate of Partick.[52]

It was in the twelfth century (probably around 1114 x 1124) that Earl David, a member of the Scottish royal house who would later become King David I of Scotland, ruled over *Cumbria* or *Cambria*, the former British kingdom of Strathclyde, and sought to consolidate Scottish control of the territory by erecting Glasgow as the chief church of his *regio*.[53] It was probably at this time, and for this reason, that Govan was displaced from its former position of honour as mother-church of the old British kingdom. David's territory was held to extend from the River Clyde in the north to Carlisle and some distance beyond in the south,[54] and henceforth it would be Glasgow Cathedral which was to exercise authority over much of this great area. This was made abundantly clear in a grant by David, by this time king of Scots, in which he gave Govan to 'the church of St Kentigern of Glasgow', thus demoting the former royal church of Strathclyde and reinforcing Glasgow's role as the centre of authority.[55] David's purpose in all this was to consolidate his own authority over Cumbria. His new ecclesiastical power-centre at Glasgow, manned by his bishop and under his control, would tie Cumbria more closely to the kingdom of Scotland, though it was still not fully part of that kingdom. In the pre-amble to David's *Inquisitio* or 'enquiry' into Glasgow's possessions made about 1120, Cumbria was described as a region 'lying between England and Scotland' (*inter Angliam et Scotiam sita*), therefore not yet seen as an integral part of *Scotia*.

It is also worth noting that in David's *Inquisitio*, though he is described as 'ruler of the Cumbrian region' (*Cumbrensis regionis princeps*), and though the document notes that there were several provinces of Cumbria under his power and dominion, 'he did not rule over the whole of the Cumbrian region' (*non toti Cumbrensi regioni dominabatur*). Parts of what we might call 'greater Cumbria' were still the subject of dispute (and presumably conflict, though this is harder to spot in the record). We should probably see at least some of these parts as being under the control of the 'Gall-Ghàidheil' – an ethnic and political grouping of Gaelic-speaking communities with strong connections to the Norse or sub-Norse rulers of the Irish Sea world. They controlled much of the western coastal area between the lower Clyde

[52] See Dalglish and Driscoll, 2009.

[53] On the twelfth-century development of Glasgow as the new expression of British identity, political and ecclesiastical, see Broun 2004; Driscoll 1998.

[54] David died at his castle in Carlisle in 1153.

[55] *David I Chrs* no. 34 (1128 x 1136).

and the Solway Firth – and eventually gave their name to Galloway (it appears as *Gallovidia*, *Galweia* etc. in medieval documents). It seems likely that Strathgryffe, the lordship in which Inchinnan lay and which corresponds to the later county of Renfrewshire, was part of that Gall-Ghàidheil territory. David had to struggle to get it under his control and succeeded in doing so partly by installing the powerful Walter fitz Alan, his steward, as lord of Renfrew and Strathgryffe in the 1130s. He also granted to Glasgow Cathedral part of the teinds or tithes of Strathgryffe and other Gall-Ghàidheil territories in about 1136,[56] effectively strengthening his grip on those areas.

Another part of David's strategy for obtaining control of Strathgryffe was to grant the church of Inchinnan to the Knights Templar – a military-monastic order whose purpose was to protect pilgrims to Jerusalem and the Holy Land (we will look at them more closely in due course). It is likely that Inchinnan had been the most important church in Strathgryffe, as witnessed by its collection of early sculptures and its strategically important position on the River Cart. David's grant to the Templars removed control of Inchinnan church from the rulers of Strathgryffe, and placed it in the hands of a religious order which was closely associated with the king and whose headquarters were far away at Balantrodach in Midlothian, close to Edinburgh and beyond the reach of even the most ambitious of the Gall-Ghàidheil. In some ways the grant of Inchinnan to the Knights Templar will have given it a degree of independence from the diocese of Glasgow. The Knights Templar were, for example, exempt from paying taxes to their bishop,[57] and lands owned by the knights were exempt from paying teinds or tithes to the church. There were other peculiarities about the church of Inchinnan. In the 1160s or 1170s Walter Fitzalan, the king's steward, granted 'all the churches of Strathgryffe except for the church of Inchinnan' to the monks of Paisley Abbey.[58] Again, presumably because it already belonged to the Knights Templar, Inchinnan was being exempted from Walter's re-organisation of local churches.

These events of the first half of the twelfth century, I would suggest, provide the most plausible context for the invention of St Conval as the founding patron saint of Inchinnan and the disciple of St Kentigern. The stories of Conval and Kentigern were a way of strengthening the authority of David prince of Cumbria (later the king of Scotland) over the lordship of Strathgryffe by ensuring the control of the bishop of Glasgow over the church of Inchinnan (without prejudice to the rights of the Templars), at a time when the political and ecclesiastical shape of the lower Clyde was changing.

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[56] *David I Chrs*. no. 57 (1131 x 1141): David grants the teind of his *cáin* tribute from Strathgryffe, Cunningham, Kyle and Carrick to 'the church of St Kentigern of Glasgow'. He addresses the charter 'to both Gall-Ghàidheil (*Gawensibus*) and English and Scots', suggesting that this is a stage in his subjection of parts of Gall-Ghàidheil territory to his lordship and the see of Glasgow.

[57] This is presumably why in 1275 a list of the churches in the Deanery of Rutherglen and the taxes they were supposed to pay does not include Inchinnan, though it was in that deanery. *Glasgow Reg.* i, xlvii.

[58] *Paisley Reg.* 5. Strathgryffe (*Stragrif*) was at this time a lordship in the hands of the steward.

Bishop of Glasow vs. King of the Isles

There is another Glasgow document, written somewhat later in the twelfth century, which was probably designed to make a similar point about the authority of Kentigern and his successor bishops of Glasgow. It is a poem written at the time when the Western Isles of Scotland were ruled by their own *regulus* ('little king' or 'under-king'), a man with the Norse name Somerled.[59] The Isles at this time were not part of the kingdom of the Scots. Somerled launched an attack on the Clyde lands in 1164. The Chronicle of Holyrood for this year tells us: 'Somerled, the enemy of the king of Scotland, launched an attack with a very great fleet at Renfrew. He and his son were slain, along with a great number of his men.' We do not know exactly where in the lands of Renfrew the attack was launched, but Somereled's fleet may well have used the River Cart to gain access to Renfrew from the Clyde, meaning that they probably landed only a stone's throw from Inchinnan church.

The immediate target of Somerled's attack on Renfrew must have been the king's steward, Walter FitzAlan, who held the lordship of Renfrew.[60] As we have seeen, the placement of the steward here by David I thirty or so year earlier should be seen as part of the king's strategy for securing Scottish royal control of the lower Clyde lands of Strathgryffe, including Inchinnan and Renfrew. Somerled's attack may well have been an attempt to reverse the Scottish takeover of Gall-Ghàidheil lands or at least to prevent the steward encroaching even further on his territory in the west.

Whatever Somerled's motives, the attack on Renfrew in 1164 was felt sharply enough to inspire this poem, which powerfully conveys the experience of violence and destruction, chaos and fear that such a raid brought with it. But the real purpose of the poem is to show that it is St Kentigern and his successors at Glasgow's new cathedral who have the power to protect the people of the lower Clyde from such violence. Here are the opening verses of the poem.

> Norsemen and Argyllsmen, who leaned on Scotsmen's might,
> raging, slaughtered righteous men with cruel hands.
> Though good men rushed to calm the fury of the wicked
> who raved and ruined their churches and their towns,
> war returned, peace was lost, the strong thrust out the weak,
> the wretched slain and maimed by foes with fire and sword.
>
> Gardens, fields and plough-lands were laid waste and destroyed;
> the gentle, menaced by barbarous hands, were overwhelmed.
> Wounded, Glasgow's people fled the blows of two-edged swords,
> while Mark, of all the scattered clergy, murmuring remained

[59] The complete poem translated by Gilbert Márkus is in Clancy (ed.), 1998, 212-4. Selections only are reproduced here.

[60] Walter had been made the king's Steward by David I, and granted the lands of Renfrew. By the time of Somerled's attack, Walter was still the steward, but the king now was Malcolm IV. Walter died in 1170.

within the church's hard high walls, bearing his harsh fate,
weeping and lamenting the prosperous days of old.

Though far off, the Bishop Herbert, gentle and noble,
suffered with him, and shared his lamentation.
He prayed to Kentigern to plead with the King Most High
to grant his captive people's hopes and curse their foes.

Note in that second verse, how the victims of the violence are called 'Glasgow's people'. The attack is at Renfrew, but the victims are seen as belonging to Glasgow, because the purpose of the poem is to show how these people in Renfrew are protected by the saintly bishop of Glasgow – no matter that they live 'far off' (as the poet says). The poem goes on to tell how Bishop Herbert of Glasgow addressed himself in prayer to St Kentigern, rebuking the saint for failing to protect his innocent people, urging him to act and save them. In response the long-dead bishop intervenes miraculously in the battlefield, while the living bishop Herbert goes in person towards the fray. There amidst the violent scenes at Renfrew (though the poem itself does not mention the name of Renfrew) Saint Kentigern's miraculous power is seen as he brings dismay to the invaders, causing them to hallucinate:

Hear and be amazed! To the terrible the fight was terrible.
Broom thickets and thorn hedges tossed their heads;
wild thyme burning, orchards, brambles, ferns
filled them with fear, as they appeared as armed men to our foes.
In this life there have not been heard such miracles.
Smoky shadows of thyme reared up to be our ramparts.
The deadly leader Somerled died. In the first great clash of arms
he fell, wounded by a spear and cut down by the sword.

The poem describes the destruction of Somerled's army. 'The raging sea consumed ... many thousands of wounded men in flight,' and the people of Renfrew were saved.

A cleric hacked off the head of the wretched leader Somerled,
and placed it into Bishop Herbert's outstretched hands.
He said, 'The Scottish saints are surely to be praised!'
yet wept, as his custom was, to see the head of his enemy.
And to blessed Kentigern he attributed the victory,
so keep you his memory always, and that fittingly.

And that is the point of the poem. Those who live in the lordship of Renfrew, those vulnerable people on the Clyde, should look to Glasgow for their protection – to St Kentigern and to the bishop of Glasgow.

Given these medieval stories about Conval and Kentigern, about Renfrewshire and Glasgow, we can see the twelfth century as a time when it would have made sense for Inchinnan to redefine itself by adopting Kentigern's protegé Conval as its patron saint. We need not imagine, however, that the cult of St Conval was simply 'helicoptered in' from nowhere at Inchinnan to displace the earlier cult of St Finnian. Both of these saints have commemorations clustered in south-west Scotland, and Rachel Butter has shown how they regularly appear together in place-names and literature in this area.[61] It is possible that prior to the twelfth century Uinniau/Finnian was the principal patron of Inchinnan while Conval had a subsidiary role, and that Conval was simply elevated at the expense of Finnian when the bishops of Glasgow felt that this would be useful for the consolidation of their authority. Perhaps the people of Inchinnan also felt, at a time when Kentigern was being promoted as the chief holy figure in the history of Strathclyde/Cumbria, that it would be good for them to have the patronage of Conval, who they thought had enjoyed close connections to the great St Kentigern whose special protection would therefore embrace Inchinnan too. The promotion of Conval as their saint might therefore have seemed good to them as well.

From Inchinnan to Jerusalem

There is one further interesting dimension to the church of Inchinnan that we have already touched on briefly. At around the same time as David I was using the church of Glasgow and the cult of Mungo to consolidate the former kingdom of the Cumbrians, or Strathclyde, he was also pursuing more international goals. In the early twelfth century the Church throughout Europe was investing heavily in a newly founded military religious order, the Knights Templar.[62] This body of men was created to roll back the Muslim conquest and takeover of the Holy Places, and especially the Temple in Jerusalem (hence the name of the Order). Following the approval of the Order's foundation at the Council of Troyes in 1128, kings and lords throughout Europe poured huge amounts of wealth into the hands of these Knights. This is not the place to go into the two-centuries long history of the Order, but suffice it to say that David I was a supporter of the Knights Templar and seems to have granted the church of Inchinnan to the Order. The original charter of this grant does not survive, nor does any copy of it, but a charter of 1215 survives among the Torphichen Muniments naming David I, Malcolm IV (1153-65) and William I (1165-1214) as royal benefactors of the Templars, supporting the tradition that David had introduced the Templars to Scotland.[63]

The Order of Knights Templar consisted first of all of the knights themselves, fighting men, highly trained and well equipped. Then there were the 'sergeants'

[61] Butter, forthcoming.

[62] Their full formal title was 'Poor Knights of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon'.

[63] See *RRS* i, p. 98; *David I Chrs.* no. 234 for discussion.

(*sergeandi*, perhaps better translated as 'servants' or 'officials') who did not usually fight, but supported the knights in the Holy Land and also helped administer their extensive estates and properties in Europe. And although members of the Order were not generally clergy, some priests did join the ranks of the Knights Templar. They were not permitted to fight, but offered spiritual and sacramental support to the houses and chapels of the Order. Finally there were lay people who wanted to support the work of the Knights by their offerings and grants, and who would benefit in various ways from this association.

It has to be said that there is no reason to believe that there was ever actually a Knights Templar *presence* in Inchinnan. If Inchinnan was granted to the Order, it was not so that a lot of knights, sergeants or other members of the Order could come and live here. It was so that the Order could take the revenues of the parish to spend on their own aims. This meant that the teinds and other offerings that would normally be paid to the local church were taken instead by the Order's 'preceptory' or chief house in Scotland (which was at Balantrodach in Midlothian, now called Temple), and a portion of that income would then be used by the Preceptor to appoint and support a vicar in Inchinnan kirk (who would not have been a Templar). The rest of the income would go to fund the Knights Templar and their projects.

By the early fourteenth century the Order had been driven out of the Holy Land, thus losing the main reason for its existence. It was formally suppressed in 1312, and its vast wealth largely redistributed to the Knights Hospitaller, whose Scottish branch consequently took over the church of Inchinnan. Their preceptory was at Torphichen in West Lothian, where the preceptor of the Knights Hospitaller would have managed much the same arrangements as the Templars had enjoyed - appropriation of revenues and appointment of vicars. This arrangement lasted until 1560, when the Reformation cast aside the long-standing relation between the church and the knights, though the Lords of Torphichen – who now had nothing to do with any religious order – still continued to enjoy rights in both the church and the Templar lands around Inchinnan.

Inchinnan Church (part II)

The medieval church of Inchinnan was built in stone. Though it is sometimes said that it must have been built around 1100, there seems no good evidence for this. The suggested date probably arises from the belief that the church was given to the Knights Templar by David I and that it must therefore have been a substantial building. But this does not follow. The stone building could have been erected either before that date or after it. It was, in any case, not the building itself but the parish revenues which would have been of interest to the Templars, and we simply cannot assume that this grant tells us anything about when the stone church was built. If archaeologists were able to discover parts of the medieval building this would probably help to date its creation, but so far nothing has come to light. There is a painting of the later medieval church, now hanging on a wall in the modern church of Inchinnan. Alas, it is the only visual record we have of that building, and

sadly it is not the clearest of images; it is hard to make out much in the way of detail in the painting.

The medieval church was demolished in 1828. It had supposedly become dangerous, with large cracks appearing in the walls, perhaps due to subsidence of the ground. In spite of the large cracks, however, parts of it were so solid that they could not be demolished in the usual way, and had to be blown up with explosives. The new building erected in 1828 was itself torn down and a new church erected on the site bewteen 1899 and 1904, now with a new dedication as 'All Hallows' (i.e. all saints).

There is a series of later medieval carved stone grave-markers in Inchinnan. They were originally at the old church, but they were taken away when the church was demolished in the 1960s to make way for the extension of Glasgow Airport, and they can now be found outside the new church, a mile to the north-west. Although these stones are locally known as 'the Templar Stones', as we have seen there is no reason to believe that the people who died and were buried under them were actually Templars. Apart from the fact that the Knights Templar held the church of Inchinnan, appointed its vicar, took away its income, and owned some lands in the parish from which they obtained rents, the impact of the Order on the daily life of the parish would hardly have been noticeable from day to day.

Following the demolition of the last church on the site, there remain some vestiges of the 1904 church above ground. There are also a number of grave-slabs in the surrounding cemetery, all post-medieval. Excavation in 2017 revealed some information about the site, and readers should consult the reports of that excavation to learn more.

Appendix: Early Medieval Carved Stones

As discussed above, four large carved stones survive of probable tenth- or eleventh-century date, three of which are now displayed in a porch attached to the modern church of Inchinnan. Three photographs, the first reproduced by kind permission Spectrum, show some principal features of their design. The fourth photograph is of the two stones in the car park of the Normandy Hotel known as the 'Argyll Stone' and 'St Conval's Chariot'.

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